

M R JARMAN, G N BAILEY and H N JARMAN (eds), *Early European Agriculture — its foundations and development*. CUP, 1982. 283 pp. £25.

This is the third and final volume of results from the British Academy Major Research Project on the early history of agriculture. The work was carried out in the Department of Archaeology, Cambridge, under the direction of the late Eric Higgs who died in 1976, and this volume is written in his honour. The first two volumes *Papers in Economic Prehistory* (reviewed in AHR 22, 1974, 191–192) and *Palaeoeconomy* (reviewed in AHR 26, 1978, 48–49) argued (as is now widely recognized) that the development of agriculture was a much more gradual and widespread phenomenon than had been thought previously.

This book now discusses the origins and early development of agriculture within the framework of prehistoric subsistence economies. These are considered as adaptations to three crucial resource zones: the uplands, the lowlands, and littorals, which developed into the peasant economy that is particularly characteristic of European agriculture.

The first chapter, entitled 'Philosophy and Basic Principles', discusses among other topics the nature of the archaeological evidence, the resources, technology, and the role of population pressure. Chapter 2 deals with territories and their exploitation including catchment areas and exploitation on a seasonal basis, as well as mobility versus sedentism. The third chapter leads up to the birth of European agriculture through considerations of plant, animal and marine resources and categories of economic behaviour coupled with the question of predation versus husbandry and early animal-man relationships.

Littorals are covered in Ch 4, lake as well as marine, through specific geographical examples from the Mediterranean, Denmark and Poland.

The lowlands are discussed in Ch 5, starting with soil and arable agriculture, and continuing with botanical, archaeological, ethnographic and historical evidence on Neolithic agricultural systems before covering separate areas in turn from Greece and the Northern Balkans through Hungary and Austria to Italy, Germany and Poland. Ch 6 covers the uplands taking the Carpathians, Pyrenees, Apennines and other Italian mountains as examples, and the last chapter takes a new look at megaliths, treating these large and widespread Neolithic stone monuments as a problem in palaeoethology.

As a biologist I find it gratifying that these archaeologists acknowledge in the conclusions that much that is of importance in human economic behaviour can be understood only by reference to the behaviour of other animals; and further, that much of human behaviour is governed by biological laws which are no less powerful for their subconscious

operation. But it was disappointing to see that Sauer is quoted but not Darlington (*Evolution of Man and Society*).

Despite the specific examples listed above there are many generalizations, and there is much theorizing with inadequate presentation of the evidence. References are infrequent, particularly outside the work of the Research Project. Zeuner is referred to but not C A Reed. I found this so, for example, in a discussion of the Braşov area of Romania which I had happened to visit in June 1982. The treatment ranged from topography through soils and climate to recent transhumance routes with hardly a reference to sources. In addition, the possibility of past climate changes does not appear to have been considered in the discussion from recent evidence of what crops would grow in the area. The suddenness and severity of such fluctuations are illustrated by the information I was given: that sheep now go to the mountains three weeks later than 20 years ago owing to a worsening of the climate.

Despite the accent on economy it is disappointing to see so little discussion of animal products. Neither milk nor wool, for instance, is listed in the index, yet the use of ethnographic evidence is acknowledged.

These criticisms apart, it is only fair to say that the volume will provide stimulating reading on the early history of European agriculture providing new lines of thought and an incentive to seek out (and add to) the evidence on which the writings are based.

M L RYDER

P J FOWLER, *The Farming of Prehistoric Britain*. CUP, 1983. 246 pp. £7.50.

This paperback is a revised reprint of Dr Fowler's highly acclaimed contribution to vol 1 of the CUP *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, for which I wrote the section on livestock (see AHR vol 30, pp 80–82, 1982). The aim of the author was to make available to a wider readership at a lower price an essay 'sandwiched in a prestigious tome'. The title of the book is, however, misleading since by far the larger part is devoted to arable farming (plant cultivation) and only 10 pages to pastoral farming, in which even then the concentration is on landscape evidence. This discrepancy should have been explained in the foreword and covered in the title by addition of the word 'arable'. The inclusion of this section in the original volume was advantageous in providing a link with a further 100 pages on animal husbandry, but here it gives the student new to the subject the impression that little is known about livestock — it is no good presenting a book on farming and then referring the reader to other works for a full treatment of pastoralism.

The book starts with a new prologue on Neolithic

farming in which the author oversimplifies the immense problem of domestication, lending credence to the idea that it was a conscious process on the part of man. He rightly points out that in Mesolithic times there was probably some form of what I have termed 'game management', but ignores the fact that the initial domestication, at any rate of animals, was almost certainly an unconscious and very gradual ecological process, the full understanding of which leads one into considerations of modern animal behavioural and genetic theory.

The author's title in the original volume was 'Later Pre-history' and that of his first chapter, repeated here, 'Later prehistoric Britain' in which he covers sources of evidence, the chronological outline, followed by the environment, including climatic change which has received too little attention in the past as a contributor to historical events; we should all read the works of H H Lamb. Next follow peoples, population and society, in recognition of the fact that one cannot divorce prehistoric farming activity from life in general. The first chapter ends with sections on settlement distribution and farms and farm buildings.

The second chapter on 'Agrarian Techniques and Technology' has only three sections. There is a large one on arable farming which forms the major part of the book and reflects Fowler's archaeological background and specialization on field systems. There are 2 pages on the use of wild plants and animals as food, and the section on pastoral farming to which I have already alluded. In this there is an incomplete summary of animal products (which I deal with at length); I always thought it odd that in the original volume there was no editorial cross-reference. Now the reference is given, but there has been no change in the wording to take account of what I said, which is almost like the situation in which the author gives his own views and then quotes someone else with different evidence as authority for them. Indeed it is clear that the author's major revision has concerned plants, since he acknowledges the assistance of plant authorities but not of animal authorities.

The final chapter is concerned with the environmental, cultural, economic and social achievement of later prehistoric farming in Britain, and it is interesting that the author uses 'Britain' throughout, even in the original volume, when the title referred to 'England and Wales'.

There is an excellent bibliography, index, and site index, yet I was disappointed that I could not find in the bibliography two sources which were given in shortened form as footnotes.

This volume and the original one indicate the dilemma encountered today in the presentation of results from what must be interdisciplinary studies. It is not easy for one person to cover an entire field —

even a botanist would concede that animals are infinitely more complex organisms than plants. Yet if one invites a group of specialists (as in the original volume) to cover the field they tend to write without reference to one another, and whole areas can be omitted entirely. The solution with both approaches must be a greater degree of editorial understanding and control.

M L RYDER

CHRISTOPHER DYER. *Lords and Peasants in a changing Society: the estates of the bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540*. Past and Present Publications, CUP, 1980. xiv + 426 pp. 50 tables, 7 figures, 11 maps, 4 illustrations. £22.50.

This is an expansive book; quite out of character with these days of parsimonious publishing. It contains over 400 pages of text, fully supported by footnotes (at the bottom of each page), a wealth of statistical tables and a fine range of graphics. No less impressive is the chronological sweep: from the late seventh century to the Dissolution. Within this ample compass Dr Dyer has pursued a mature and reflective approach to his material, frequently posing questions and searching for answers. In addition there are many illuminating digressions into the medieval world outside the lordship of the bishops of Worcester. All of this results in a book which is far more than simply a good example of that mainstay of generations of economic and social historians, the estate study. For as well as telling the story of the lords and tenants of a large ecclesiastical estate throughout the middle ages, Dyer has contributed to our knowledge and understanding of a wide range of important issues and current concerns in the subject at large.

Typical of the merits of this study is the way in which a discussion of the famous pre-Conquest charters of Worcester leads into a fruitful general appraisal of the debate about the origins of feudalism in England. Passing to the twelfth century, Dyer provides yet more evidence of contracting demesnes and the growth of demesne leases. Thereafter the fortunes of the estate continued to follow a broadly typical path: a shift into direct cultivation and management in the early thirteenth century, rising incomes for bishops, falling real incomes for the majority of their customary tenants, and so on. Of course there was also colonization, but the expansion of the cultivated area must be placed in perspective; for we are told that the total cultivated area in 1299 was in the region of 30,000-40,000 acres, 'of which perhaps 2,000 acres had been cleared in the previous century and a half'. Moreover, 'the new lands were inferior to those settled earlier'. Less surprising, but

perhaps still in need of emphasis, is the overtaking of customary payments by inflation from c 1170 onwards, with the result that customary rents 'seemed very cheap in the late thirteenth century'.

Interesting as these conclusions are, they have to be drawn from relatively poor documentation. It is in the later middle ages that the book comes into its own; for here records are unusually plentiful and informative, and Dr Dyer's analysis of them especially pertinent and perceptive. It is a rare pleasure to be able to follow economic and social developments across that great but artificial divide between late medieval and Tudor times. In this instance it is also a distinctly rewarding experience, for close attention is paid to such central issues as the evolution of copyholds and leaseholds and the changing pattern of landholding in the west Midlands. In brief it is the story of struggles between the bishops and their officials and the tenants over the levels of rents and the burdens of servile obligations. It was of course the tenants who won, and by the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many enjoyed hereditary copyhold tenure. Over the same period the manorial courts suffered a dramatic collapse in business and authority. Yet despite continuing security of tenure at rents which fell further and further behind the full value of land, in the first half of the sixteenth century economic differentiation among the peasantry proceeded apace. The numbers of tenants declined, while the numbers of really substantial landholdings rose sharply. Moreover, the large landholdings of the sixteenth century exhibited greater stability than hitherto. The result was a stark contrast between the fortunes of the richer members of village society and the swelling ranks of the poor. As for the bishops, the inefficiency which characterized the estate administration in the later middle ages was heightened in the sixteenth century, and against an inflationary background they suffered sharp falls in real income.

In a work which consistently seeks to answer questions, establish relationships and sequences, and explain why things happened it is inevitable that the reader will find the treatment of some issues less than convincing. This reviewer found the chapter on 'Population change, 1348-1540' disappointingly imprecise and inconclusive. There is a certain obliquity in defining crisis mortality in an era of high mortality as a doubling of the 'normal' high rate. This means that a death-rate of 30 per 1,000 must reach 60 per 1,000 in the fifteenth century in order to qualify. Nor has enough account been taken of the frequent village practice of retirement before death; counting the deaths of tenants is not the same as counting the deaths of adult males.

There are also problems in using the deaths of beneficed clergy for anything other than large-scale national epidemics; for the death-rate in each parish,

with only one person at risk, must be either 100 per cent or nil.

Paradoxically medieval economic and social history has of late been declining in a number of universities, including some where the subject has traditionally been strongest, while at the same time attracting increasing attention from influential non-medievalists (*inter alia* Robert Brenner and Alan Macfarlane) who have helped to place the Middle Ages at the centre of major historical debates. Can it be that the Middle Ages are too interesting and important to be left to medievalists? Whatever one is at times tempted to think, books such as this offer reassurance. Dr Dyer's fine mix of painstaking scholarship, sound judgement and intellectual curiosity will serve to stimulate students, inform specialists, and restrain the excesses of inadequately informed synthesizers.

JOHN HATCHER

EMMANUEL LE ROY LADURIE and JOSEPH GOY. *Tithe and Agrarian History from the Fourteenth to Nineteenth centuries, an essay in comparative history* (translated by Susan Burke). CUP and Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1982. ix + 206 pp. £17.50.

The publication of this book is a major event in European agrarian history and marks the culmination of exactly 20 years of work co-ordinated and guided by Professors Ladurie and Goy. It is concerned with measuring long-term changes in the output of agriculture, a fundamental variable in any model of the pre-industrial economy. When work commenced in the early 1960s on the international project reported in this book, one of the principal *lacunae* in agricultural history was the lack of quantitative data on agricultural production in the period before central governments began collecting annual agricultural statistics. This book and its associated publications do much to fill the void.

In 1963, in a report to the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique de France, Ernest Labrousse argued that the analysis of long records of tithe payments might provide surrogate measures of gross agricultural product. This idea was subjected to further examination by seventeen authors in J Goy and E Le Roy Ladurie (eds) *Les fluctuations de la produit de le dime . . .* (Paris, 1972). In essence these papers confirmed the basic thesis but also revealed that in some European countries, notably those on the northern margins, the tithe/production equation was not so straightforward as that encountered in parts of France and Spain. A tithe curve cannot be likened to a seismograph or an electrocardiogram: it is not possible to assume a direct relationship between each movement up or down and the levels of

production. Nevertheless, Ladurie and Goy remained convinced of the merits of this approach to providing long-term data on agricultural production and with the continued support of the Centre de Recherches Historiques of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, they organized some 60 volunteer researchers to extend the territorial base of these studies. The detailed findings of this phase of the work carried out in the late 1970s have now been published as J Goy and E Le Roy Ladurie (eds) *Prestations paysannes, dîmes, rente foncière et mouvement de la production agricole à l'époque préindustrielle* (Paris, 1982, 2 vols). The book here reviewed summarizes the methods employed in these studies and their findings for Europe as a whole which, broadly speaking, are: (i) a late medieval collapse in agricultural output (though based on detailed evidence from just the Cambrésis and Upper Normandy in France); (ii) a general European recovery in the sixteenth century; (iii) crisis in some parts and stabilization in others in the seventeenth century; and (iv) various degrees of growth (except in Hungary) in the eighteenth century. Despite its title, the book does not concern itself with nineteenth-century developments.

The publication of this study should make what is an essentially continental European project better known in this country. There is not one reference to the admittedly few English studies which have used pre-Tithe Commutation Act records in the book; the paragraphs which discuss English agrarian history are derived in the main from the work of Deane and Cole. As a result, the book does not contribute anything really new to English agrarian history but does provide valuable comparative, European, context. However, all historians might profit from the authors' methodological comments and asides. For instance, Ladurie and Goy advocate the writing of history on a regional scale: 'the regional monograph is a powerful tool, a case study which reveals the functioning of a whole system in a much larger area' (p 78). On the strictly local study they comment by referring to the work of one author who 'worked on a mere 140 hectares, in the extreme north of France — which more or less amounts to studying the wealth of a vast region from a small garden in the suburbs' (p 84).

Professors Ladurie and Goy convincingly demonstrate that indices based on long series of tithe payments are potent tools for investigating long-term changes in agricultural production, though their comparative study of trends left this reviewer feeling that more 'suburban garden' scale work in the many as yet uncultivated parts of Europe would not be amiss to underpin the seductive general inferences.

R J P KAIN

PÉTER GUNST and TOMÁS HOFFMANN (eds). *Large Estates and Small Holdings in Europe in the Middle Ages and Modern Times. National Reports*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1982. 401 pp. \$29.

This volume contains 22 national reports written and discussed at regional conferences at Debrecen, Balatonmalmádi and Paris, for theme A1, preparatory to the Eighth International Economic History Congress, held at Budapest, 1982. Eight articles are in English, 6 in German, and 8 in French, by 28 authors. The printing is as typescript, and is remarkably accurate, with few of those awkwardnesses that occur in translations, or when the author is writing in a foreign language. The writing is simple, and avoids the highly technical, while the authors make the meaning of any special vocabulary very precise. The articles have few tables or maps, but most have a select bibliography. These are, in many cases, in eastern European, or other, languages not generally read by scholars, so that we are glad to learn about what we cannot read ourselves.

The subject is the intertwined development of large landholders and small men and dependants of every type. The authors have kept strictly to the point, though Melville's chapter may have crept in from another symposium. Each author deals with a different European country, and all are covered except for the south and south-east of Hungary, where the problem would have been of a different nature. The time range extends from the Middle Ages to modern times, but each author decides when to begin and end. Some go back to the genesis of the problem, but few come really up to modern times, when various solutions of the small man/big man problem have, perhaps, been achieved, or the problem has changed its character. In general, the sixteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries are discussed. The authors limit themselves to national frontiers or major long-enduring political units. Thus few consider regions other than political ones.

The articles are excellent and concise. In particular, one welcomes the freshness of discourse, and the absence of doctrines and preconceived ideas. More is known on some countries, and one can see why. The amount of statistical information available differs from country to country, but it is interesting to find authors in central and eastern Europe more ready to quote statistics.

Throughout Europe the large/smallholder problem existed, but its legal, social and practical significance varied greatly from place to place. An able pen is required to summarize these developments. Perhaps the most interesting feature described is the 'second' feudalization of large/small relationships in many countries in early modern times. The question is dealt with in full in the appropriate articles. The volume explores such developments clearly and

simply. While the articles do not read like digested reports, one would have liked every author to have had 40 rather than 20 pages, to look, for instance, across frontiers despite the many difficulties involved — difficulties of legal, social and conceptual definition. Were the problems of west, south, central and eastern Europe part of the same question, or merely apparently so?

Rarely does a volume of collected studies succeed as entirely as this. Responsibility for this great success rests upon the convenor, Professor H van der Wee, and the rapporteur, Professor L Makkai, and not least upon the publishers, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, whose publications always have qualities of finish and originality that are quite peculiar to it.

D J DAVIS

HERMANN REBEL. *Peasant Classes: The Bureaucratization of Property under Early Habsburg Absolutism, 1511-1636*. Princeton, Princeton UP, 1983. xvii + 354 pp.

This is a handsomely made and printed book, with no printers' errors, with useful notes appended, a proper (and uninflated) bibliography, and helpful index.

Rebel begins with a slightly laboured discussion of the ideas of others about peasant revolts in the sixteenth century. This establishes that he can handle history in happy association with sociology, anthropology and economics. Later he does not worry much about the opinions of others, having quite enough original material to hand. He introduces us to the historical and geographical background of Upper Austria (round Linz) at the end of the century, of great help as his readers will be starting from cold.

He clearly states the evidence gathered from the analysis of some 800 inventories — surely an adequate number — from certain lordships of Upper Austria. He had a computer at hand, and uses Pearson correlation coefficients, most tactfully, and usefully, to demonstrate relationships between assets, real property, movables, loans and debts, and to discern various groupings of people. But he also discusses live cases. He shows that the absolute state had established a class of tenant with official status, and that below them were servants and lodgers, often their own kith and kin, who were outside the system ('dispossessed'). The only others who had official status were millers, innkeepers and teamsters. Perhaps a participation in growing rural industries alongside of, or in the absence of farming, could raise one's state.

Now the people with the tenure of a farm were the creatures of the new political system established by the increasingly absolutist state. They were carefully appointed, their marriages and inheritances

approved, and they were manipulated by a tight bureaucracy established by the Emperor, and the holders under him of estates. They were wholly responsible for dues and taxes, for order and seemly behaviour in their households. They might side-step the system at quite an early age by becoming the retired ex-heads of a household with some latitude to make a life of their own. All others were 'dispossessed', with grievances, likely to cause friction in the household.

When rebellion took place in the 1620s it was not because this rigid system had been formalized to its limits, for it was not then regarded as a grievance by the tenured peasants, but because of the enforcement of the Counter Reformation upon Protestants. Those Protestants who chose to migrate (there was no alternative) were prevented from leaving with their wealth intact. Rebellion was suppressed, those remaining being *politiques*, conforming outwardly, and inwardly one knows not what. When 10 years later small-scale, possibly millenary, movements occurred, followers appear to have been lodgers, dispossessed servants, children, etc. It was the tenured peasants who had to suppress them, brutally.

My outline is without nuance, but this volume is a lucid, perceptive, subtle description, an estimation of how it was to live under the new absolutism. The tenured peasant, who must keep his hands clean, be solvent, and maintain all those subject to him 'in the right', was firmly in the grip of his betters. This state of affairs was not, as some have thought, a new feudalism, but a powerful, efficient, bureaucratic way of running society for those at the top of the system. Rebel does not neglect to show how what he describes in Upper Austria fits into the central European picture. It seems quite reasonable to make these deductions from a careful analysis of the 800 inventories.

This is a most successful, extremely well, and economically, written volume.

D J DAVIS

ALDO DE MADDALENA. *Dalla Città al Borgo. Avvio di una metamorfosi economica e sociale nella Lombardia spagnola*. Milano, Franco Angeli, 1982. 379 pp. No price stated.

This volume brings together ten of De Maddalena's previously published articles. They are related mainly to the period of Spanish Habsburg rule over the state of Milan. Reproduced substantially in their original form, they have some of the footnotes condensed and some of the tables and graphs omitted. There remains, however, a solid mass of reference material and critical apparatus.

The first seven of these articles, arranged in the

chronological order of their subject-matter, are slow-moving, painstakingly-compiled, micro-economic studies, based on copious documentation. De Maddalena, with a deep love for the region of his studies, with gentle wit and critical bite, considerable erudition and no little wisdom, builds up piece by piece case-studies, which, by and large and with some justification, he takes as exemplifying the years each covers.

The first deals with the amassing of a large fortune over 20 years under Charles V by a Milanese silk merchant and entrepreneur, Orombelli. This on his death — in virtue of the business ineptitude of his wife and heirs — was switched to the development of property investments he had already started making. That side of his business, which concerned the orchestration of scattered manufacturing activities, together with his dependence upon large credit operations, was particularly impressive, and so were the profit margins of his trade.

The next article, focused on the third quarter of the Cinquecento, is a detailed exploration of the methods, costs and profits of the manufacture and sale of luxury silks and silk-based cloth of gold, the major production cost of the gold thread for this being interestingly that for the silver leaf (52 per cent). The prominent place of credit in such operations is again demonstrated by De Maddalena, who also shows how the industry was confronted by obstacles posed by Mint regulations. He contends that the way profits were represented as industrial rather than as commercial by the operators suggests that they themselves controlled the manufacturing processes as entrepreneurs.

Next follows an account of the riches of Gottardo Frisiani over the last quarter of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. These were accrued largely by loans against properties disguised as sales with redemption agreements, *fitti livellari*, or by the acquisition from the Regia Camera, the exchequer at Milan, of rights to specific public revenues. In the process, town and country property was acquired by both purchase and default on payments of *livelli*. Frisiani showed no interest in commerce and industry, nor in the speculative activity which is the concern of the ensuing article.

In the 40 years around 1600, the Lucini, hailing from Como but settled in Milan, centred business operations, either on their own behalf or as agents for others, on the 'Besançon fairs' at Piacenza. There, their annual exchange profit on the *scudo di marco* over the 4 yearly fairs was always more than 6 per cent and reached well over 10 per cent during the first lustrum of the 'nineties. Profits not ploughed back into the exchange business were used on the development of the family properties in Milan and Como and in the country.

The fifth study deals with the property of the newly ennobled Marquis Ambrogio d'Adda during the first half of the seventeenth century. Of his 6000 acres, nearly three-fifths comprised entailed property. It is this De Maddalena brings under his scrutiny. He finds the profitability of right-bank property on the Adda around Cassano to be 9 times that of left-bank property of the Ghiaradadda; and, although agricultural production, and especially wine, accounted for most of the profits associated with Cassano, feudal incomes, sale of licences on monopolies, tolls, etc, brought in almost as much again. Profits fell in rough conformity with the downward turn of prices in the 1630s. At the same time land proprietors such as d'Adda were not able to defend their fiscal exemptions from attacks by the small country communities, as the government in Milan brought them effectively within the tax system. It was a harder time, but not disastrous, for a family, whose original riches had come from commercial and industrial activities in mid-Cinquecento Milan.

The following article concerns the Belgiojoso estates of the counts Barbiano. In it De Maddalena traces changes in land use, 1670–1770. He posits the view that during the preceding decades investment had been aimed at improving the land rather than advancing crop returns. This later made possible major changes in the nature of farming. Forage crops and meadowlands increased, while wheat production declined. Rice also made some progress, and rye maintained an important, if variable, place as a crop to be grown on poor land. Over the period, 1546–1766, the number of fruit trees, including vines, fell to about 20 per cent of the original production, whereas other trees rose over the period by three times. These were mainly pollards, for reinforcing canal banks as irrigation systems were extended, and mulberries, which increased by over 23 times during the period 1670–1766. Belgiojoso illustrates well the growth of livestock farming and the silk industry at the time.

The final detailed study is concerned with indebtedness and rates of interest between 1620 and 1720, and is based on some 15,000 notarial acts. These are arranged in four categories of debts connected with dowry agreements, the alienation of immovables, loan activities and other obligations in which set conditions of repayment were laid down. This last, known technically as *obligationes*, was the major category throughout the century, although outside Milan debts on property deals dominated indebtedness between 1620 and 1670. De Maddalena notes that there was a general fall in interest rates over the second fifty years, and that speculative activity at the fairs, although also falling in profitability, recorded profits averaging 34.5 per cent more than those related to the above categories. The

article raises a great range of questions, but suggests only very tentative answers.

The final three articles are general in aim and recall the brilliant, synoptic essay: 'Il mondo rurale italiano nel Cinque e nel Seicento', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 1964. They date from 1965 to 1981; the last, beginning as a critical appreciation of Domenico Sella's *Crisis and continuity*, ends with De Maddalena's mature thoughts on economic change in Spanish Lombardy. In so far as the material was investigated at the time, De Maddalena uses essentially the research behind his detailed articles as the basis of a general view, which leads to a certain unevenness of treatment. Little or nothing is said, for instance, specifically of towns such as Cremona, Pavia, Soncino, or Lodi.

As the title of this collection suggests, the trend in Spanish Milan is regarded as a movement from a flourishing urban economy to a concentration on the countryside. But first the urban economy was to recover from the disastrous period of war and become under Charles V reorientated to a changed international situation. The revival was greatly facilitated by the development of the manufacture of fine silks, but De Maddalena tells us little of the fortunes of other industries. At the end of the century monetary conditions had led to a growth in unproductive activities both on the exchange market and in usurious and rentier types of operation. Meanwhile, a share of profits had been directed towards the development of landed patrimonies. The family was becoming the vehicle of fortune and economic power; the land, the instrument whereby the power centres of government could be penetrated, so that power might be diverted to serve economic interests. It was not the introduction of Spanish attitudes, nor humanistic ideals concerning the *vita otiosa*, nor simply a desire for status, but cold, business calculation that lay behind the growth of a new, landed *élite*. Insistence on this is largely the basis of De Maddalena's rejection of the notion of refeudalization and its variants to describe the move from *città* to *borgo*. Similarly he rejects the notion of the betrayal of the bourgeoisie.

By 1620 the speculative drive, although not the sound business instincts of the Milanese, seemed to have given out. This, followed as it was by a period of war, the presence of troops, pestilence and famine, gave impetus to a realignment of the Milanese economy. With the subtle deployment of copious evidence relating to demographic, legal, monetary and political change, De Maddalena pursues over the next century or so this shift of the Milanese economy to a more soundly based rural regime, using new styles of agriculture and with trade and industry taking advantage of local raw materials and power sources, freedom from guild controls and cheaper labour.

Unfortunately one cannot leave a review of this book without serious reservation. First, the production of these articles is poor. An *errata* slip lists some 30 misprints. Many more could be added, including '28,050' *pertiche* (p 149) for what appears more correctly on p 139 as '20,850'; '100' *scudi* (p 107) for 10; and '15,560' *pertiche* (p 150) instead of 15,600. Moreover, throughout the seventh article references to tables are given wrongly. Second, there occur several numerical mistakes that cannot be attributed in any way to a printer: they are errors in calculation. Lire '1162.17.1' (p 108) should read 1162.16.11. 0.34% (pp 108, 119, 120) pointed to as a curious substitute for 0.33% should be, as one would expect, exactly one three-hundredth. The average profits of lire 33,422 (p 121) and lire 34,074 (p 123) have been increased here by a factor of ten, giving a completely false picture of the profitability of the Piacenza fairs. Also on p 123 lire '606,370' should read 596,370. '5.10%' (p 220) is a miscalculation for 5.01%, so that the consequent calculation of '17.3%' should be 15.8%. Incidentally, a little later, '*minimi*' appears for *massimi*. On p 215 '29.6%' should be 23.1%, and therefore the irrational '76.4%' (29.6 + 76.4 do not equal 100!) must become 76.9%. Some of these mistakes are substantial. Some were even translated into the 1967 *Annales* version of the article on the Besançon fairs. Perhaps one might consider whether De Maddalena's cavalier attitude towards arithmetical accuracy should undermine trust in the reliability of the numerical data on which the subsequent calculations have been made. At least it introduces a regrettable flaw into a devotedly scholarly achievement.

PETER LAVEN

J G L BURNBY and A E ROBINSON. 'Now Turned into Fair Garden Plots' (*Stow*). Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, occasional paper, new series, No 45, 1983. 68 pp. Illustrated. £2.

Interest in different aspects of the history of horticulture is growing markedly these days, and a local study on the detailed scale of this publication, and at this modest price, is warmly to be welcomed. It affords a remarkable glimpse of market gardening in the Lea Valley on the outskirts of London between the sixteenth and early twentieth centuries. It has been carried out by two members of the Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, who have different but kindred professional interests in the subject: Mrs Robinson with her husband is a breeder of dianthus and daffodils in the area; Dr Burnby recently completed a thesis on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century apothecaries, all of whom relied, of course, on wild and cultivated herbs for their medicaments.

Their study surveys commercial gardening enterprises in Tottenham, Edmonton and Enfield.

As the authors explain in their introduction, market gardeners were a heterogeneous group, using varied terms to describe their work. Some were 'gardeners', some 'fruiterers', some 'florists' and some just 'farmers'. The gardening business was not new in the later sixteenth century, even though Thomas Fuller maintained in 1662 that it was. But clearly it underwent a qualitative change around the mid-sixteenth century, stimulated by the arrival of religious refugees from Flanders, Holland and France, bearing varied horticultural skills with them.

Historians generally focus attention at this time on North-East Kent and Thameside, but around 1600, if not earlier, surveys of the Edmonton-Enfield area show gardens that appear to be something more than cottage gardens. Other clues point to a developing professionalism: one of the sons of William Billings, a yeoman family of some prominence in Enfield, was apprenticed to a well-known Shoreditch market gardener, and in 1638 gained his freedom (of the Tallow Chandlers Company, in this case, since his master was of that company). Already horticulture embraced several different specialisms. Some 10 acres of land in Tottenham was being used to cultivate roses, according to a survey of 1619. Soft fruit growers were established in Enfield in 1636, one of whom grew raspberries, strawberries and cherries, and undertook to pay some of these in rent to his landlord. He also undertook to plant apple and pear trees, and grow willows in the ditches round his land for the making of baskets to hold his harvested fruit. Tree fruit growing was also developing apace for a survey of Enfield in 1572 names 205 orchards in the parish, while later surveys in 1610, 1635 and 1686 give evidence of moves to convert more land to orchards. Some trees evidently produced cider apples, for Enfield cider later enjoyed a fine reputation. Complaints about the poor state of the roads hereabouts in the eighteenth century yield information on thousands of gooseberry trees [*sic*], dispatched to Gravesend, and of potatoes which were a considerable crop in Tottenham's common fields by 1713.

What was the source of all this professional expertise? The authors offer examples of apprenticeships taken up elsewhere in the London area, and of families which continued in the business for many generations. But the authors also rate highly the influence of gentlemen's vegetable gardens and orchards as training grounds for commercial growers. A survey of Theobald's house and park, next to Enfield Chase, under the Commonwealth, shows elaborate and extensive fruit, vegetable and flower gardens, including a hedge of gooseberries, and a mulberry walk. Unverified tradition has it that the famous seed and nurseryman, James Cuthbert,

founder of the Middlesex and Hertfordshire firm, came to Southgate, having trained on the Scottish estate of the Duke of Chandos. More connections of this kind are scattered through the second half of the book, which is a substantial catalogue, extending to 40 pages, of commercial horticulturists, compiled from directories, newspapers, the *Gardeners Chronicle*, rate books, and miscellaneous other sources. Family relationships cannot be pursued in great detail, but some individuals plainly set up dynasties; the supreme example is Michael Rochford, the founder of the firm celebrated for its houseplants. He came from Ireland to Chelsea, and was launched on the road to success in Tottenham.

This is one of the most adventurous of this historical society's publications, and an outstanding contribution to the local history of horticulture. In a small compass it offers wide views of a diversified and flexible range of enterprises that still seem not to have exhausted their full commercial and economic potential.

JOAN THIRSK

MICHAEL HUNTER. *The Royal Society and its Fellows, 1600-1700: the morphology of an early scientific institution*. British Society for the History of Science Monographs, No 4, 1982. 270 pp. No price stated.

This carefully prepared typescript monograph is a greatly extended and revised version of a paper published in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* in 1976. In the text, tables, notes, and appendices it contains a vast store of detail on the first 40 years of one of the world's oldest scientific societies. One of its major achievements is to provide an exhaustive analysis of the scientific activity of the 551 members elected between 1660 and 1700 and thus provide evidence of the changing nucleus of active members over four decades. There have been too many facile generalizations about membership of the early Society which failed to distinguish those who took the Society seriously from the majority who, disappointingly, provided little support. Michael Hunter's painstaking work provides powerful evidence refuting any assumptions of homogeneity among the members of the Society, who represented different social classes and occupations. Of the 479 British Fellows 14 per cent were members of the aristocracy (particularly prominent in the first decade), 16 per cent were 'courtiers, politicians or diplomats', 15 per cent were gentlemen of independent means, 16 per cent were medical practitioners, 12 per cent were scholars or writers, 8 per cent divines, 4 per cent lawyers, and 7 per cent merchants or tradesmen, although this latter group constituted only about 3 per cent in the first few years of the Society's history.

Despite what was said about respect for practical work, the superior social composition of the Society and its considerable membership fee did much to minimize participation by artisans. On the other hand medical men and scholars are shown to have been particularly active within the Society.

The ideal history of a scientific institution attempts to integrate a study of the organization and membership with an analysis of its scientific activities. The present book, though welcome, concentrates on the membership. It is to the credit of the Royal Society that it has conserved such a high proportion of documents relating to its early history and it is to the credit of Dr Hunter that he has made good use of them. The seventeenth-century history of the Royal Society has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars over the past 50 years. It is to be hoped that historians will now turn their attention to the history of the Society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some of which is still a veritable *terra incognita*.

MAURICE CROSLAND

PHILIP JENKINS. *The making of a ruling class. The Glamorgan gentry 1640-1790*. CUP, 1983. xxvi + 353 pp. £25.

This study of Glamorgan society before the Industrial Revolution is local history at its very best. Professor Jenkins is well versed in current views and theories on all aspects of his subject, from Mingay on estates to Malcolmson on recreations, and his findings are always concerned to confirm, correct or challenge received opinions. Glamorgan is an excellent test-bed in both the narrowly Welsh context and the wider aspects of British history. It was a dual community, with the rich southern Vale analogous to the wealthier English counties and a poorer upland typical of most of Wales. Peculiarly distinctive features are the religious background, with a fear of Catholicism remarkable even for the seventeenth century balanced by a correspondingly unusual toleration of Protestant dissenters after the Restoration, and of course the growing importance of industry from the later seventeenth century. Many of the gentry had disposable wealth: of 28 local squires who were MPs between 1700 and 1750, 15 of them sat for constituencies outside Glamorgan. The complex Glamorgan evidence does not confirm the Habbakuk view that great estates swallowed up small ones, and Jenkins himself prefers to emphasize the demographic lottery which saw the majority of the Glamorgan gentry fail in the male line during his period. Many estates passed into English hands, an important factor in the growing alienation of the gentry from their tenants not merely in life-style but also in a cultural and linguistic dimension that soon made

the Welsh rural situation more analogous to that of Ireland than England. If this tradition of Welsh history is confirmed, others are not. Jenkins challenges the conventional opinions that Wales was an ultra-Royalist area and that later on Welsh Whigs were thin on the ground. An unexpectedly large proportion of the book is concerned with the political context, whether radicalism (in both the mid-seventeenth- and late eighteenth-century senses), patronage, or Jacobitism and its links with freemasonry. On electoral alignments, however, the author seemingly fails to grasp that before 1760 a Whig versus Tory situation existed in Glamorgan that bore little relation to the behaviour of the participants in national politics.

Jenkins has produced a subtle analysis of a changing community, its attitudes and way of life. There is no narrative, and the book indeed suffers from a specialist fault commonly associated with thesis-writing. Undue familiarity with his evidence has made Jenkins forget that many of his readers may not understand his allusions to local and even national events. The fierce county elections of 1734 and 1745 are frequently mentioned, but nowhere discussed. The author's wish to avoid duplicating information in Volume IV of the official *Glamorgan County History* is in one sense commendable, but it might create difficulties for his audience. This drawback does not prevent the book from being an admirable case-study of the governing class of Georgian Britain in a peculiarly complex environment. It is impossible to mention all the good things in it, but there is enough space to deplore the lack of a bibliography.

PETER D G THOMAS

T M DEVINE and DAVID DICKSON (eds). *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850*. John Donald, Edinburgh, 1983. 283 pp. £16.

This book gathers together a score of papers presented to the second seminar in comparative Irish-Scottish economic and social history financed by the SSRC. Five of the contributions are collected in the section called 'rural themes': several of the others deal tangentially with agrarian matters.

The comparative element in the collection varies. Some papers deal solely with one country, and leave to the editors the task of drawing a comparative moral in the thoughtful concluding essay. Whyte's excellent novel account of rural social structure in seventeenth-century Scotland falls into this category, as does Dodgshon's survey of agricultural change in the Southern Uplands, 1600-1780. Mokyr's 'Uncertainty and Prefamine Irish Agriculture' amounts to a set of notes on risk avoidance strategies in respect to tenancy and crops and whets the appetite for his new book on pre-famine Irish agriculture.

More explicitly comparative are Crawford's essay on Ulster as a reflection of the two societies, and Lockhart's account of planned villages in Scotland and Ireland. Most interesting of all is Solar's comparison of the performance of Scottish and Irish agriculture in the early nineteenth century, arguing that there was little difference in the total factor productivity for the two countries, and that therefore the problems of backwardness in Victorian Ireland 'did not originate in a failure to modernise agriculture along Scottish lines'.

There are two main objections to Solar's thesis. Firstly, the data on which it is based are drawn from 1855-57, a decade after two million people in Ireland, heavily concentrated among the smallest and presumably least efficient landholders, had died or fled. Secondly, it takes no account of the main social effect of the agricultural revolution in Scotland, which was to effect a much more effective separation of the small man from the soil than ever took place in Ireland. Nevertheless, Solar is surely correct to emphasize the extraordinary fact that 'overcrowded' pre-famine Ireland not only easily fed itself (Mokyr reckons elsewhere that there was room for another million Irishmen on the uncolonized wastes by 1840) but exported a substantial quantity of food to England and Scotland — and that it achieved this without anything that would be recognized in the rest of Europe as an agricultural revolution. As explanation, he advances two points: that labour-intensive husbandry could be extremely efficient in terms of yield per acre, and, more interestingly if more tentatively, that Ireland had no need of an agricultural revolution since clover, that magic herb of fertility, spread uniquely there as a natural weed once it had been introduced, presumably in the seventeenth century.

Irish demographic historians have recently reached the conclusion that population grew from under one million to over eight million between 1600 and 1840. This is a rate analogous to American rather than European experience. The question of how Ireland could support such a natural increase over such a period and still have capacity to export, certainly demands an answer more sophisticated than that the Irish were fond of potatoes, and perhaps Solar provides the clue. A still more interesting problem, of course, is why the Irish should have wanted to breed to such extraordinary densities anyway. That could be on the agenda for another conference.

T C SMOUT

BARBARA ENGLISH and JOHN SAVILLE. *Strict Settlement: A Guide for Historians*. University of Hull Press, 1983. 144 pp. £5.95.

In the 1870s and 1880s historians tried to find an explanation for the concentration of landed property

revealed by the 1873 'New Domesday'. The most widely accepted opinion emphasized the role played by the strict family settlement in the period since 1660. In the twentieth century this view was refined by Sir John Habakkuk. He argued that from the time it came into operation shortly after the Restoration, the strict settlement was adopted earliest and most completely by the larger landed families. Consequently by the mid-eighteenth century the great estates had been constructed at the expense primarily of the smaller owners and yeomanry. However, Christopher Clay, and more recently Lloyd Bonfield, have used Hollingsworth's demographic data on the peerage to suggest that the actual role of strict settlement was less important than had previously been believed. Bonfield suggested that successive resettlement — the process whereby estates were held together — simply could not have happened.

Barbara English and John Saville do not accept this view. They believe Bonfield, and indeed many other historians of landownership, have misunderstood the nature of the strict family settlement by equating it more or less interchangeably with marriage settlement. Accordingly they attempt to unravel the legal intricacies of settlement, and to demonstrate the wide variety of practice. The first half of the book is primarily concerned with the history and legal structure of strict settlement, and it provides a 'model' settlement. For students of the subject this is a very useful guide, although the dangers of model building are also apparent in the authors' conclusion that every family pattern deserves investigation because none would perfectly fit the model. Certainly one of the most significant features emphasized by English and Saville is the occasion of settlement. They argue that marriage was only one of several possible opportunities; indeed, the significance of coming of age is emphasized throughout the book (pp 21, 22, 40, 104). Marriage settlements were often made only within the wider pattern of existing family settlements. The second half of the book is a series of case studies offering the settlement history of a variety of landed families at different levels of the hierarchy.

What emerges most clearly is the bewildering complexity of settlement practice, even in a small and admittedly non-random sample. English and Saville conclude that the settlement maze is sufficiently complex to render quantification impossible either as to the amount of settled land in England at any one time, or to the proportion of marriage settlements which were strict settlements in the sense that historians have usually viewed them. Clearly a representative sample cannot be found, and English and Saville rightly offer only 'impressions, not statistical certainties' (p 100). They suggest that the significance of wills in settlement history has been under-

estimated, and that land was more likely to be omitted from settlement due to a rational family decision than demographic chance. These conclusions clearly raise questions about Bonfield's findings, and they will cause other historians to make a more careful distinction in assessing the role of strict settlement.

The book is a useful guide to the background to strict settlement, and, in the wealth of example, a reminder that strict and marriage settlement should not necessarily be equated. However, this overall favourable impression is slightly marred in the epilogue. English and Saville forget their comment about 'impressions' to claim that 'Habakkuk's general thesis has certainly been vindicated in terms of the preservation argument' (p 114). Quite apart from the non-randomness of the sample, the book does not explain how strict settlement had brought about estate consolidation by c 1750. It would have been better to leave out such an unjustified assertion.

J V BECKETT

J R WORDIE. *Estate Management in Eighteenth-Century England. The Building of the Leveson-Gower Fortune*. Royal Historical Society, 1982. 303 pp. £20.

Dr Ross Wordie asks us to reconsider several key propositions about English agricultural history in the eighteenth century. He finds little significant evidence of depression in the years 1730 to 1750. He suspects that the most decisive changes associated with the 'agricultural revolution' occurred mainly after, rather than before, 1790. He believes that the financial demands of political status-seeking could drain a landlord's fortune and thereby force radical changes in estate policy. He argues that the great expansion of landlord investment in the land at the end of the century necessitated radical increases in rents and led to a serious overcapitalization of nineteenth-century agriculture. In general terms he contends that the great English landed estates were well managed by a working aristocracy who, despite an occasional tendency to squander their monies, ran a 'pretty good show'; the system was certainly better than the next most likely alternative method of running eighteenth-century England.

These are some of the themes drawn from a close study of the English estates of the Leveson-Gower family, the precursors of the dukes of Sutherland. More by luck than talent, the Leveson-Gowers had amassed one of the greatest territorial, commercial and political empires in the new industrial economy. Their estates in England, mainly in Shropshire (at Lilleshall) and Staffordshire (at Trentham), bestrode some of the classic territory of industrial genesis and agricultural advance in the West Midlands.

Wordie's study, severely managerial in focus, is

organized simply about the subjects of industry, agriculture and politics. Some of the bones of the research protrude through the body of the text — for this is a study heavily reliant on the paraphernalia of leases, rentals, vouchers, mining agreements, and endless estate correspondence. Packed full of data and cautious interpretation it adds up to a major contribution to our knowledge of the eighteenth-century estate and its managers. It is the fertile soil of scholarship, but sometimes rather heavy going.

The central argument of the book concerns the apparent re-definition of the landlord's economic function towards the end of the century. Having built up the family finances by lucrative marriages, good fortune and decent standards of management, the Leveson-Gowers increasingly came to call the tune in estate development and in every aspect of farming practice. In this policy the apparatus of control was vital: the channelling of capital investment became more directive and forceful, and the agents became more authoritarian. This process of modernization from above was consistent with the concurrent trend towards the concentration of ownership and the achievement of economies of scale in agricultural production. In the industrial development of the Leveson-Gower estates the story was different. In this sector the key to growth for the landlord was the engagement of co-operative and daring entrepreneurs, an 'important catalysing agent in the Industrial Revolution', in Wordie's view.

Telling the story of estate management and finances over 200 years is a tall order and Dr Wordie provides most of the answers, although some questions remain. For instance there is here little indication of the net return on capital during the entire period, an omission which necessarily vitiates any judgement on the effectiveness of investment policy. Nor is there much measurement of prevailing levels of consumption in the aristocratic household. The surviving evidence is probably inadequate for either of these tasks. Dr Wordie's book on Leveson-Gower estates, located in the very cradle of industrialization, should become the stimulus for a broader study of economic growth in the region. He demonstrates that it would be possible to produce an integrated study of the whole process of development (demographic, industrial and agricultural) for the West Midlands, on the model of J D Chambers' *The Vale of Trent 1670-1800*.

In the present book Dr Wordie has sensibly chosen to concentrate on the problems of management. Even his treatment of the political activities of the Leveson-Gowers is restricted to their consequences for estate policy. It is disappointing that the impact of estate management on social structure, and the relations of the classes, is excluded from this account, particularly since the author has already published

important findings in this area (in the *Economic History Review*, XXVII, 1974). There is virtually no reference to the social turmoil generated among the working people of the estates, and no mention of Thomas Bakewell's bitter denunciation of the Scottish estate agents imported to rule over Trentham. For here we have agricultural history written from the agent's office — even their masters have little voice in the story, while the tenantry, in their anonymity, are missing, presumably ploughing the fields and mining the coal and ironstone. The estate populations are practically invisible except for their alcoholic excesses during election campaigns. The available evidence of the period seems to allow Wordie no direct penetration into the minds of the people or their landlord. Even when the Leveson-Gowers decided to relinquish their great political power in Staffordshire, there is little explanation of their motives.

All of which is to say that the landed estate was a complex institution at the centre of economic and social change in the industrial revolution. Dr Wordie's sober discussion of such questions as the economics of aristocratic marriage, leasing policies, the interpretation of trends in rent arrears, and much more, will help build the foundations of our knowledge of agrarian change. His arguments about the timing and character of the changes in the West Midlands will require a response from agricultural historians.

ERIC RICHARDS

PAMELA HORN. *William Marshall (1745–1818) and the Georgian Countryside*. Beacon Publications, 1982. 88 pp. £3 post-free from 11 Harwell Road, Sutton Courtenay, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4BN

I find it extremely difficult to write an unbiased review of this book. Part of the difficulty is that I have myself written a good deal about Marshall, none of which is mentioned and probably not used by Mrs Horn, doubtless for the sufficient reason that she was not acquainted with these contributions. For the sake of the record I shall list these items, before going on to the proper purpose of this review which is, of course, an attempt to assess the value of the work in question. My own writings about Marshall appeared in: *Agricultural History* 23, 1 (Jan 1949); *Four Land Agents' Society* (Nov 1954); and *More old English farming books 1950* (reprinted 1978), pp 114–20. Her research is in other respects exhaustive, and she has discovered a portrait of Marshall, something that is of value to a reader trying to envisage the man. Mrs Horn has made a complete, if brief, examination of Marshall's writings, but she was evidently restricted by space considerations, the cost of publishing being what it is.

Marshall was cantankerous, feeling that he was not appreciated at his own worth, as he assessed it. I think it can reasonably be said that his *Rural Economy* series are more precisely informative than the rather cursory surveys made in the course of his travels by Arthur Young, although I suppose the latter has the more posthumous fame. Marshall was a rather meticulous man. He did not think it possible to gauge local farming practice by looking over a hedge, but believed it was essential to spend some time, even years, in a district in order to see and understand the farming practices there. This mode of approach, essentially Marshall's, is fully appreciated by his biographer.

Marshall dropped into the business almost by accident. He made his home at Croydon at a time when he was a businessman in the city, and it was this estate that he must perforce manage because he owned it. Suffering as he did from the urge to write he must, being the egoist that he was, write about what he did at Croydon. This was the birth of a distinguished career as a writer about the farming of different parts of the country, although his birth pangs as an author were limited to his writing about Croydon. In the end there was little of England that he did not inspect, but the fundamental basis of his *Rural Economy* series was grounded in the grass roots, he having spent lengthy periods in the various parts of the country that he describes so meticulously.

From the early days at Croydon until his end at Pickering, Marshall was busy, not only with observing farming practices, but often in performing these practices. His *Rural Economy* series are in many ways superior to the somewhat cursory observations made by his great (and in some ways more urbane) rival, but I doubt whether his productions will ever be so well known.

Unfortunately, space forbids any detailed discussion of Dr Horn's admirable introduction but it must be said that this book fills a gap in our acquaintance with William Marshall and his work, and is so far welcome.

G E FUSSELL

ROLLO ARNOLD. *The Farthest Promised Land*. Wellington, NZ. Victoria University Press, 1981. xiii + 408 pp. NZ\$35. (Obtainable from Cam Books, 13 Oakrits, Meldreth, Royston, Herts.)

This is an ambitious attempt to study in depth the background and fortunes of assisted migrants from rural England to New Zealand during the 1870s. To this end Professor Arnold has tackled a remarkably wide range of sources including, in his own country, records of the immigration department, theses, local histories and reminiscences; whilst British sources

mostly familiar to readers of this journal are supplemented by regular recourse to the census enumerators' schedules of 1871. Considerable use has been made of newspapers and periodicals ranging from the *Taranaki Herald* and *The Yeoman* (Wanganui) to *The Stamford Mercury* and *Kent Messenger*, as well as *The Labourers' Union Chronicle*, *Labour League Examiner*, etc.

Arnold's story commences with 1300 navvies who, with their dependants, were brought to New Zealand by Brogden's, the railway contractors, in 1872-73. This scheme primed the government's own efforts to attract immigrants, a cause advocated vigorously by Julius Vogel who in 1870 was Colonial Treasurer and subsequently became Premier of New Zealand. As is well known, the movement was supported by the new labourers' unions in England and the role of Christopher Holloway, one-time chairman of the Oxfordshire district of NALU, is particularly richly documented including a detailed account of his journeys in New Zealand in 1874-75. The flow reached its peak in May 1874: thereafter targets were set and revised according to circumstances and in 1879 numerous applicants were still awaiting consideration when the New Zealand government, faced with deteriorating economic circumstances, took steps towards phasing out assisted immigration.

Chapter 2, 'The Village World and the Labourers' Revolt', seeks to enquire why farm labourers were so undervalued in the land of their birth. This is a competent if somewhat conventional account with much reference to Arch, the causes of the labourers' 'degradation', etc. Happily, Arnold did not rest content with such an outline and 132 pages are devoted to studies of the position of the labourer in Oxon, Lincs, Warwicks, Kent, Cornwall, and Devon, all of which (in contrast to Wales and the North) provided strong contingents for the emigrant ships. These essays show considerable sensitivity to differences of terrain and the nuances of English social structure and display versatility and imagination in the use of sources. Certainly they should serve to clarify for New Zealanders the background from which their forbears sprang, for apparently most consider that they are descended from yeoman stock and have no inkling of the significance of 'The Revolt of the Field'. The scene then shifts to the receiving country. Here Arnold stresses that immigrants gained self-respect deriving from success in being selected and from the solicitude shown for their welfare during the voyage and upon arrival. Of particular importance in easing the assimilation of some immigrants were co-religionists, whilst as reported in letters home, relations with employers were usually close and good. Many soon acquired horses with which to ride to work, symbolizing their

improved status. Subsequent chapters differentiate between patterns of settlement in 'Feldon' (open country) and 'Arden' (forest) territories. Numerous instances of the successful establishment of one-time labourers as yeoman farmers in the coastal regions are given, whilst from the mid-1870s the backwoods were being tackled for the first time by settlers who included immigrants working alongside experienced colonials in relatively arduous conditions. In following up individual immigrants, considerable use is made of a *Return of Freeholders* (1884) and the multi-volumed *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* (1897-1908).

From a strictly social scientific standpoint, the book has some obvious weaknesses. For example, Arnold aspired to isolate the common features of villages supplying many applicants and to construct a profile of the 'typical' emigrant, to be contrasted with those who remained. Instead, his English studies succeed only in generating some tentative hypotheses, eg that there was some (unquantified) relationship with prevalence of nonconformity and whether a parish was open rather than closed. Even this relationship did not invariably hold true (see Lincolnshire, p 147), and emigration from the south-west patently had nothing to do with the 'Revolt of the Field', the primary influences being vicissitudes in the mining industry (Cornwall) and population pressure (south Devon). What stands out, therefore, is the diversity of circumstances conducive to emigration. Moreover, in tracing the fortunes of the migrants, Arnold's technique is to argue by example, using (as we have seen) sources which may be suspected of having a Smilesian bias towards the successful. In the final analysis, as he admits, a balance sheet can only be drawn up 'when we know how many remained illiterate labourers, how many became cottagers in town or city, and how many established themselves as yeoman farmers' (p 340). Of course, it is only fair to point out that research on the scale required to give final answers to such questions would require co-ordinated teamwork and massive financing, and can hardly be said to fall within the scope of the lone scholar, however imaginative he may be. In any case Arnold's book is a remarkable *tour de force*. Bold in design, graphic in detail, beautifully written and handsomely illustrated, *The Farthest Promised Land* is not a whit inferior to Charlotte Erickson's comparable study of the flow to North America (*Invisible Immigrants*, 1972) and it deserves to reach a wide audience in New Zealand and Britain.

W A ARMSTRONG

HEATHER A CLEMENSON. *English Country Houses and Landed Estates*. Croom Helm, 1982. 244 pp. 19 tables, 13 figures. £15.95.

Miss Clemenson is a Research Associate in the Department of Geography at the University of Guelph in Ontario, and although her book looks back as far as the Middle Ages to comment upon aspects of English landownership, essentially it concentrates upon the period between 1883 and 1980, relying heavily for its 1883 information on J Bate-man, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (4th edn, 1883). As many as 1336 'large landowners' are specified in this survey, and Miss Clemenson takes a sample of 500 of these to serve as the statistical basis for her study. The purpose of the book is to follow through the histories of these 500 estates as fully as possible up to the present day, producing tables to show how many country houses and stately homes are still occupied by private owners, how many have been pulled down and when, and how many have passed into institutional ownership. The declining areas covered by the sample estates are charted, and so too is the decline of the 'amenity land' which once surrounded them. A clear picture of trends of development emerges from the sample estates, showing how some have declined and some have adapted, and we learn what has become of many of our lesser known stately homes.

In order to establish the present day position of her sample estates, Miss Clemenson sent questionnaires to the present owners or to their representatives, but this procedure was less than entirely successful. 'By no means all 500 questionnaires were initially completed in all sections, but provided a base on which to build' (p 237). It would have been interesting to see an example of the questionnaire form, but none was provided. The gaps needed to be filled, but how? The dustjacket of the book claims that it is 'based on extensive research in estates' archives', but little evidence of this is to be found. There are 633 footnote references in this volume, but of these only two refer to the Somersetshire Record Office, in one case to a newspaper report of 1948. There are no other references to county record offices, the PRO, or any other form of record repository to be found in the book. Apart from one trip to Somerset, Miss Clemenson appears to have conducted her research for this study from Guelph, using internationally available secondary material and her questionnaire responses. Moreover, numerous little errors and strange notes undermine our faith. A Canadian geographer may perhaps be forgiven for thinking it necessary to inform us that 'a knightage is not hereditary', but surely not for telling us that '1 acre = 2.4 hectares'. The Act of Union with Scotland leaps back by more than 100 years to 1604 (p 40): Sir Edwin Lutyens becomes Sir Edward (p 187). The

heart sinks. Can any good thing come out of telemetric research?

The answer is that it can. Thanks to her extensive work on recent legislation concerning landed property and her very wide reading of contemporary journals, Miss Clemenson has been able to draw together for us a wealth of information on landed estates in the twentieth century which can be found nowhere else in such a convenient and well expressed form. This book is perhaps more for geographers than for historians, but it is one that I will be glad to have on my shelves.

ROSS WORDIE

DONALD H AKENSON (ed). *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, vol III. Gananoque, Ontario, Langdale Press, 1982. 256 pp. \$(Cdn)14.95.

It is odd that a country that was predominantly rural up to World War One and always dependent on the export of its natural resources should have shown so little interest in its rural past. The appearance of the first volume of *Canadian Papers in Rural History* in 1978 was one of several recent events that has signalled an end to that neglect.

Of the nine articles in this third volume, edited by Donald Akenson of Queen's University (Kingston, Ontario), two are controversial, another two are solid contributions to scholarship, and the rest are either less significant or do not belong in the collection. Gerald Bloch takes up the challenge extended by English agrarian radical, Robert Gourlay, to find error in his work. Bloch's lucid analysis reveals both the internal inconsistencies and utopian nature of Gourlay's thought which continued to centre on solving the problem of the English poor despite his active involvement in colonial life. Equally admirable is Peter Russell's statistical study of fifteen Upper Canadian townships from 1812 to 1842. His research in assessment rolls reveals that land clearing proceeded much more slowly than we have commonly thought. His findings are important, but his evidence is too slight to support his other attack on the prevailing interpretation which views land granting in the province as having been plagued with favouritism and speculation.

A number of other papers are less satisfactory. Bruce Batchelor's study of the Methodist-inspired Saskatchewan Homestead and Land Company is mercifully short as it gets little further than the company did in its colonization efforts around Red Deer, Alberta. John Mannion's previously published essay on the Waterford (Ireland) provisioning trade to Newfoundland does not belong in such a volume, despite the editor's rationalizations. The evolution of

the plough is described by Alan Skeoch in an interesting account, but as the author relies heavily on non-Canadian sources, more work remains to be done in this area. Two geographers, Darrell Norris and Victor Konrad, provide a survey of vernacular house types in one south-western Ontario township, which they have linked with traditional sources such as censuses, assessment rolls and local directories. While the approach is promising, their conclusions are banal and their prose is alternatively pretentious and impenetrable. Greater problems are manifest in the study by John Clarke of the land acquisition activities of Essex County merchant and fur trader, John Askin. Because the author ignores the political and economic situation of the Detroit area, he misses some of the factors that influenced the purchase of land. Even then he is not certain that the lands he discusses belonged to the John Askin who is the object of his study! Clark also employs his evidence too literally, quotes too frequently, and arrives at conclusions unjustified by his argument. This essay is something less than an exercise in local history.

The two prize pieces are the articles by the editor on the *Ontario Irish*, and the reconsideration of French Canadian agriculture in the early nineteenth century by economist, R M McInnis. The contemporary debate on the latter issue stems from the writings of Ottawa historian, Fernand Ouellet, and it has drawn more attention than any other dispute in Canadian history since the effects of the British conquest of 1760 were the centre of attention in the 1960s. McInnis brings a much needed broader perspective to the subject of 'agricultural crisis' without fundamentally altering the substance of the debate. This is more an essay in historiography than revisionism, as was a previous article by McInnis where he provided an econometric formula that attempted to prove that French Canadian agriculture was not inefficient in 1851. McInnis rejects the traditional interpretations proffered for French-Canadian agricultural deficiency: cultural backwardness, soil exhaustion, poor climate, and overpopulation. He is more willing to acknowledge the influence of limited markets but he fails to consider the effects of the colonial situation itself in stemming the flow of information about improved farming from the government controlled by one nation to the people of another. In the end, however, McInnis is forced to conclude that the key to determining

whether or not there was an agricultural crisis (which then influenced the rebellions of 1837-38) lies in determining whether rural incomes suffered a real decline. Here the research of Fernand Ouellet in the tithe collection records suggests that the habitants in the Montreal region, at least, did see their revenues diminish.

In a revisionist article exaggerated in its claims and unnecessarily defamatory of existing scholarship, editor Akenson attempts to determine the religious composition of the Ontario Irish between 1842 and 1881 as well as to emphasize that both Protestants and Catholics became predominately rural. Some of this is not as new as the author contends. Not long ago two sociologists studying the 1871 census showed that farming was the foremost occupation of the Irish of both denominations. Akenson projects their conclusions backward and forward in time but with considerably less success statistically. His manipulations of the 1842 census are so replete with assumptions as to provoke a common North American expression to assume a new form: 'You fakes your numbers and you takes your choice.' Despite his own awareness of the fragility of his endeavour, Akenson latches on to statistics for the percentage of Irish-born and for their religious affiliation that he then brandishes with the confidence of a positivist. We still only know what we knew before: the majority of the pre-famine immigrants were Protestant, but Catholics represented a significant minority. Akenson's article does suggest that the Irish experience in Canada did not duplicate their experience in the United States, yet despite much posturing, he does not answer in other than demographic terms the question that he himself sets: whatever happened to the Ontario Irish? It is also peculiar that a person who brands the work of others as 'racist' should himself indulge in a characterization of his special interest, the Protestant Irish, that is no different in kind from that which he denounces. Revisionism generally needs revising, and this piece is no exception.

While it is not difficult to take exception to parts of this volume, the collection remains an important vehicle for an area that is controversial even though it is still in its infancy. Unfortunately the French in the McInnis article is printed without accents, and typos are too numerous in the volume as a whole. Tighter editing would enhance the value of future volumes.

TERRY CROWLEY

## Shorter Notices

PETER FOWLER. *Farms in England: prehistoric to present.*

HMSO for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1983. 84 pp. 99 plates. £4.95.

This is a well-produced book of black and white photographs of farms, which word is used in the widest possible sense, even including supposedly prehistoric cultivations. The text is considerable, being partly in verse and partly in officialese, and occasionally ludicrous, as when describing a ploughed pond. But the illustrations are full of interest, showing, amongst other things, farm buildings of all kinds, agricultural implements, mills, livestock, and workers. I was struck by the photographs of farms in Brettenham and Shurdington and of the granary at Barton Turf, not to speak of the one at Colyton smithy, where the blacksmith worked within half a dozen yards of a supply of draught Bass. Obviously the National Monuments Record Photographic Archives, which contain over a million items, are a veritable treasure house of delights for the eye and the mind. We hope the volume at present under review will be far from the last in the series of which it forms part.

ERIC KERRIDGE

JOHN WOODFORDE. *Farm Buildings in England and Wales.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983. 150 pp. 18 illus, 68 drawings by John Penoyre. £7.95.

This is another addition to the library of general interest books on farm buildings that the publishing houses have been creating in recent years. Along with the others, it will be competing amongst a readership mildly drawn towards history, the countryside and conservation.

In Mr Woodforde's words, the object of the book 'is to consider how the farm buildings admired by visitors to the countryside came into existence, and how far that admiration is shared by farmers whose normal business is to make money by producing as much food as possible'. This, therefore, is not a work for breaking new ground but rather an introduction or compendium which, as the author freely admits, owes much to other writers and commentators amongst whom J C Loudon of the nineteenth, and Nigel Harvey of the twentieth century, are the most prominent.

Through the 10 chapters of Part One, Mr Woodforde summarizes in a fluid and readable way the changing framework of farming practice and fortunes. Colour is provided by a liberal sprinkling of quotations and anecdotes from sources as diverse as Chaucer and Rider Haggard but the illustrations, drawn from standard nineteenth-century works, are randomly distributed and neither add to, nor are sufficiently amplified by, the main text. The final chapter analyses elements of the current debate on conversion and continuing use of apparently redundant farm buildings with most attention, as usual, focused upon barns.

Following the background, Part Two of the book attempts to be more specific by presenting 68 captioned drawings of existing farm buildings and grouping them into 4 categories. This is less satisfactory, for the sketch style of illustration, while attractive in itself, finds difficulty in projecting architectural detail with clarity. Moreover, for most of the buildings no further details of location are given beyond the country of origin, and the accompanying text varies substantially in content and quality.

In all, Mr Woodforde manages to present a slight variation on the farm buildings theme but only by skimming across the surface of a subject that is covered in greater detail in other recent general works.

ROY BRIGDEN

WILFRED FOREMAN. *Oxfordshire Mills.* Phillimore, 1983. 140 pp. 67 plates, 58 text figures. £9.95.

This volume is a result of Wilfred Foreman's work over a number of years recording mills throughout the county, for which he received the Watermill Award of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings. In a very useful gazetteer, 186 sites are identified by map reference and their present condition is briefly described. Windmills are also detailed in a separate list of 60 sites but for many of these so little remains that it is difficult even to provide a grid reference. With a survey of this kind, the revised county boundaries that followed local government reorganization in 1974 will always present a problem. Here post-1974 Oxfordshire, including those

parts of what was previously Berkshire, forms the survey area.

Mr Foreman obviously knows his mills, knows what to look for when he records them and, through his architectural training, how to reproduce on paper what he sees. Outstanding features of the book, therefore, are the quality and clarity of the drawings. They number over 50 and many are concerned with the finer points of millwork, including some local peculiarities, which can be accurately described in no other way. There is also a very good selection of contemporary photographs taken mostly during the twilight years of the country mill around the beginning of the century. This perhaps is not a book to go to for a historical perspective on the development of milling in general but as a local study, covering mills of all sorts from grinding corn to fulling cloth and pumping water, it is recommended.

ROY BRIGDEN

JEREMY GIBSON and DENNIS MILLS (eds). *Land Tax Assessments c 1690–c 1750*. Plymouth Federation of Family History Societies, 1983. 40 pp. £1. The value and usefulness of Land Tax Assessments have been debated by historians since A H Johnson

first used them to argue that small landowners were fast disappearing from the English countryside by c 1780. Although this pamphlet is primarily aimed at family historians, the team of 40 researchers brought together by Gibson and Mills has produced a comprehensive county-by-county listing of LTA survivals. It reveals a range of material available not just for the period 1780–1832 — when LTAs were kept because they were used to establish voting qualifications — but for the whole period from the 1690s to compulsory redemption in 1949. For the agricultural historian it suggests the possibility of a new line of approach to the question of the declining small landowner. By comparing some of the earlier LTAs with the post-1780 survivals it ought to be possible to obtain a clearer indication on both a national and regional basis of the extent to which numbers really did fall. This will not be an easy task. Many of the problems associated with using the post-1780 LTAs are also pertinent to the earlier period, especially as it was only from 1772 that the list of occupiers was incorporated in the documents. However, if this booklet helps to re-open the debate it will have performed a worthwhile service to historians as well as providing a valuable guide for genealogists.

J V BECKETT

## Notes on Contributors

ADRIAN COWELL graduated in History at U.C.N.W. Bangor in 1968 and after a period in adult education returned there to read Botany. Currently he is with the Pollution Research Unit of the University of Manchester engaged in a project concerned with the inter-relationships between managed terrestrial systems and bodies of fresh water in their catchment areas. The article which appears here reflects his strong interests in the agricultural history and historical ecology of upland systems.

DR BARBARA ENGLISH is a lecturer in regional and local history at the University of Hull. Her publications include *John Company's Last War* (Collins, 1971), *The Lords of Holderness* (1979), and *Beverley: an archaeological and architectural study* (RC Historical Monuments: joint publication with K Miller, J Robinson and I Hall, HMSO, 1982). In 1983 she published (jointly with John Saville) *Strict Settlement: A Guide for Historians* (Hull UP). Her research interests cover agrarian history, both medieval and modern. She is currently working on a study of East Yorkshire landed estates.

PAUL MUSKETT teaches history at St Michael's School, Stevenage. A study of popular protest in East Anglia, 1740–1822, has just been published, and is to be followed by a work on eighteenth-century smuggling in East Anglia. Currently he is working on opposition to the New Poor Law in relation to the Swing riots in the region, and proposes to go on to study the coast blockade of Kent and Sussex in 1815–30.

DR M I RYDER is on the staff of the Agricultural Research Council, Animal Breeding Research Organization, Edinburgh, and an Honorary Lecturer of Edinburgh University. He is interested in sheep breed origins and the development of different fleece types, as well as the history of sheep husbandry, and his book *Sheep and Man* was recently published by Duckworth.

DR R B WEIR is the Provost of Derwent College, University of York, and a lecturer in Economic and Social History. His current research interests include a business history of the Distillers Company, industrial diversification in Scotland and Ireland and the history of biotechnology.