

Book Reviews

GERRY BARNES and TOM WILLIAMSON, *Rethinking ancient woodland: the archaeology and history of woods in Norfolk* (University of Hertfordshire Press, 2015). 288 pp., 73 illus. £35.

Any book with the term ‘ancient woodland’ in the title must expect comparison with the iconic works of Oliver Rackham. The latest contribution to University of Hertfordshire’s *Studies in Regional and Local History* series by Barnes and Williamson stands up well in that company. The approach taken by this book is to consider ancient woodlands as an integral part of a wider rural landscape, rather than places set aside and protected from the changes going on around them. It is therefore a book with much to offer readers of *Agricultural History Review*. The writers emphasize their historical and archaeological perspective, but this work is also grounded securely and effectively in the geography of the landscape, considering the relative roles of geology, soil and topography, and uses palaeo-ecological and neoecological arguments as deftly as human perspectives.

The authors don’t fall into the common trap of setting up a straw man and then knocking it down, preferring to use their case studies as tools to help them explore and develop the ancient woodland concept in a constructive and thought-provoking way. The first chapter concisely and effectively reviews how the concept of ancient woodland arose, and how it has developed within different disciplines and landscapes. This review leads Barnes and Williamson to suggest that the popular conception of ancient woodland as a relatively stable landscape element (that is, surviving largely unchanged over multiple centuries) not only isolates woodland from the wider landscape but in turn leads to a chronological imbalance in many accounts focused on woodland, which tend to skip over the last few centuries, perhaps influenced by the implied stability of the definition of ancient woodland in England as land which has been wooded since 1600. The three predominantly historical chapters of the book redress this balance somewhat by considering the origins of enclosed, coppiced woodlands in the medieval period as part of a process of population

increase, agricultural intensification and enclosure spanning the last millennium (Chapter 3), then focusing on the relatively neglected recent past in chapters titled ‘Ancient woodland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries’ (Chapter 6) and ‘The recent history of ancient woodland’ (Chapter 7).

The landscape approach allows the authors to expand and nuance the ancient woodland concept, as well as to explore the extent to which human actions and social changes have affected woodlands to create the remnants seen today. They argue that the apparent dominance of enclosed, coppice-with-standards ancient woods is a product of post-medieval landscape evolution, showing that before the Middle Ages both coppice products and pasturage would have come from more extensive, less intensely managed expanses of woodland. They suggest that some Anglo-Saxon ‘wood names’ actually refer to what landscape historians would now call wood pasture, and that ‘assarting’ may refer to either the grubbing out of closed canopy woodland or the removal of pollards and shrubby stands from grazed common lands to convert them to agricultural fields. Their exploration of the geography of surviving ancient woodlands and their association with former wastes and commons in the context of changing agricultural practices and developing settlement patterns shows how the use and survival of the two landscape elements diverged in Norfolk, and allows the authors to argue convincingly for the survival of wood pasturage in some locations until formal enclosure in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Norfolk is an apt study region since it has a marked variety of landscapes and landscape histories, reflecting the considerable diversity of geology, soils and topography, including areas with the characters of both ‘ancient’ and ‘planned’ countryside (in the sense used by Oliver Rackham). The Ancient Woodland Inventory (AWI) provides the starting point for site selection (and for the useful 91-page appendix containing summary case studies and maps of 50 woods visited and researched by the authors), and although the final chapters identify flaws in the Inventory, they are presented as an inevitable consequence of the limited

resources and large-scale mission of the AWI. The authors propose the useful corrective of introducing a new category of 'pseudo-ancient woodland'; in their case studies, almost a fifth of sites fall into this category. They are also careful to spell out the ways in which Norfolk cannot be taken as representative of the rest of the English lowlands and it is to be hoped that this will spur others on to investigate how their ideas and findings hold up in other counties.

Whilst some problems can always be found in any work, those noted here are minor: maps would sometimes benefit from better keys and the researcher 'Day' cited on page 154 is not male but female. Overall this is a fresh and readable study, of considerable value both as a regional landscape history and as a contribution to wider debates about the role and story of trees in the landscape. Its relatively short, focused approach makes it accessible to the lay naturalist or non-specialist historian, but the critique of the ancient woodland concept will be useful and thought-provoking for more specialist students of the woodland and landscapes of England over the last 1000 years. This book is thus both a useful contribution to regional landscape history studies in the UK and of wider value to anyone interested in the history of trees and woodland in the rural landscape.

M. JANE BUNTING
University of Hull

PETER FODEN and NORTON COMMUNITY
ARCHAEOLOGY GROUP, *Records of the Manor
of Norton in the Liberty of St Albans, 1244–1539*
(Hertfordshire Record Society, 2014). 360 pp.,
12 illus. £22.00.

Well-produced editions of primary sources in translation are always welcome and this present volume is no exception. The editors have produced a valuable collection of various sources pertaining to the St Albans manor of Norton. These include the translation of the court books of the manor dating from the first extant and very short halmote court held in April 1244, to the final court book entry dating from April 1460. In addition the editors have included surviving court rolls of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, amongst them some view of frankpledge courts, plus an eleventh-century charter and an account dating from 1488–89. There is a comprehensive and useful introduction explaining the sources at hand while also exploring aspects of the archaeology of the manor. A number of useful maps and illustrations alongside subject, name and place indices have also been included, which undoubtedly add value to the volume. Of particular value, especially perhaps to those less

familiar with the obscure terminology of court rolls, is the inclusion of a glossary.

A. E. Levett's *Studies in manorial history* (1939) first drew attention to the value and importance of the court books of the various manors belonging to the abbey of St Albans. These were, in effect, edited versions of the manorial court rolls, containing only the types of entries which were of direct significance to the lord. As such, the St Albans court books contain a wealth of information on land transfers (including upon the deaths of tenants), marriage licences and information on various manorial customs and villein dues. The abbey was a notoriously conservative landlord, forever in conflict with its various tenants and famously causing affront to the townspeople of St Albans not only by treating them like villein tenants, but also by insisting on calling them thus. In this respect, then, the existence of the court books can almost be seen as a reflection of the mentality of the lords of St Albans, creating simple short-hand reference guides to all matters pertaining to unfreedom in their manors by extracting the relevant information from the original court rolls. The latter, by their very nature, included a great deal of business concerning relations between the tenants themselves, such as brawls, accusations of debt, petty thefts and broken contracts. Such cases generated revenue for the abbots, but were not of any longer term consequence. Instead it is in land transfers, the rendering of labour services, marriage licences and other cases detailing other villein dues, such as having to use the mill of the lord to grind one's grain, that tests for unfreedom and the status of individual plots of land can be ascertained. These served as precedents and the compilations were a handy reference to the personal status of individual families and the land they held. Therefore the court books of the St Albans manors, the present example of Norton included, are excellent sources for anybody interested in the long-term development of villeinage and the often conflictual relationships between lord and tenant, including landholding patterns and peasant land markets.

That said, this present edition does include some interesting gems illustrating daily life at medieval Norton and the lord's attempts to regulate these to safeguard what he considered to be his assets. In May 1338 for example a decree by the lord is included stipulating that none of the unfree tenants were to spend their time at the tavern of Baldock to 'waste there their goods and chattels to the grave damage of the lord' (p. 115). This seigniorial decree was not due to moral concerns; instead the lord wanted his tenants to brew for themselves and ordered that they 'shall have a common brewery in Norton' to sell ale regulated under

the assize, which would have generated an additional income for the lord.

Overall this is a wonderful and useful volume, not least because the documents included span a significant chronology and include key periods of stress in later medieval rural life, including the famine years of the early fourteenth century and the arrival of the Black Death. It is likely to be highly valued as a teaching tool for undergraduate and postgraduate students and to be welcomed by anybody interested in researching daily life in later medieval England.

MIRIAM MULLER
University of Birmingham

VANDRA COSTELLO, *Irish demesne landscapes, 1660–1740* (Four Courts Press, 2015). 256 pp., 73 illus. €50.

‘For the house of the planter / Is known by the trees’ are lines from *The planter’s daughter*, a poem by Austin Clarke (1896–1974). The image is easily understood in an Irish context, for within a landscape denuded of trees the Irish demesne, with its dense plantations, stood out. Despite the visibility of demesnes – often delineated by high walls as well as trees – these places have been comparatively under-researched, unlike the houses which lay at their centre. Pioneering work on Irish gardening and the cult of improvement by Toby Barnard and on idealized and formal landscapes by Finola O’Kane has opened up this ground. *Irish demesne landscapes*, therefore, is a welcome addition to this emerging field.

The book opens with a cursory examination of the political, intellectual and economic background to seventeenth-century Irish estates. The turmoil created by the Civil War of the 1640s and the Commonwealth period of the 1650s, with its land redistributions, had unsettled estates and their owners. With the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 a more settled period developed, which had the effect of transforming the landscape in England. The same process was witnessed in Ireland and is expertly detailed in this book. (Surprisingly, Costello does not engage with Barnard’s *Improving Ireland? Projectors, profits and profiteers, 1641–1786*, which covers some of her case studies.)

The imperatives of bringing civility and making the land productive were motivating factors for landowners, their agents and gardeners. Costello rejects the notion that landscapes were politicized in Ireland, as they had been in some English places, and instead argues that taste, fashion and certain continuities from the past determined the look of Irish demesnes and gardens. Nevertheless, these were idealized landscapes, designed to complement houses and to exude prosperity,

usefulness and fecundity. Likewise, the book argues that to delineate gardens as Dutch, French, or Italianate is to mislead. Instead styles were mixed according to taste and fashion, and by the pooling of ideas between landowner, architects, agents, jobbing gardeners and tradesmen. Nevertheless, the constant communication with equivalents in England ensured that the Irish demesne closely mirrored developments there.

Several printed books, mostly published in England, acted as guides to the aspiring landowner. Yet while there was an appetite for these books, Costello acknowledges that much of the advice they contained was not well suited to Irish conditions. The first Irish book, Richard Lawrence’s *Interest of Ireland* (1682), sought to remedy this by providing practical suggestions on improving stock and land. For many, Irish demesnes were evidence of ‘improvement’, that often intangible concept that motivated several landowners to expend vast sums on their demesnes.

Perhaps the most rewarding part of the book is contained in chapters 4 to 9, which deal with the various elements that made up the Irish demesne: the pleasure garden, horticultural land, plants and shrubs, the use and control of water, and recreation within the landscape. Through careful archival research in the surviving papers for estates such as Breckdenston in county Dublin, Burton and Castlemartyr in Cork, Kilkenny Castle, and Kilruddery in Wicklow, Costello dissects the landscape into its various constituent parts. While some of this ground has been examined previously, Costello’s approach is different and rewarding. She introduces the reader to the limited range of ornamental and fruit plants that were available and where they were sourced, as well as the experiments in growing vines, melons, and mulberry trees. Demesne greenhouses, which became common in Ireland from the seventeenth century, made some of these experiments possible. Irish landowners and gardeners were as eager as their English counterparts to source exotic varieties, using both private contacts as well as nurserymen in the major cities to do so. For example, the gardens created by Arthur Rawdon at Moira had several Jamaican trees and plants, sometimes obtained from his friend Hans Sloane in London, but also through his own contacts in the Caribbean.

A chapter on trees and woodlands details the exacting rules for the layout of plantations, as well as the avenues and walks which dissected them. Another on canals, lakes and other water features demonstrate how ambitious some landowners were in creating their idealized landscape. In some cases, older fishponds were converted into canals and lakes, while still providing fish for the table. Fountains, jets and water

houses became *de rigueur* for those who wished to enjoy the spectacle and impress visitors. A final chapter investigates the deer park, rabbit warren and duck decoy. These elements appealed to those who wished to have a productive and useful landscape, although the high costs of building and maintenance ensured that few would survive into the nineteenth century. Indeed the desire for a more naturalistic landscape by the end of the eighteenth century ensured that many demesnes were transformed, obliterating much of the formality of earlier times.

Overall this is a well-researched and pioneering book, which capably dissects demesne landscapes in Ireland at a crucial period of their development. It will reward those who are interested in how the landscape was designed and laid out, and may prompt others to further investigate questions about the cost and continuing development and maintenance of gardens, woodlands, and other features in the same period and beyond. Some unfortunate typographical errors managed to escape the editing process. The footnotes in chapter 1 are out of sequence and the last footnote is missing. Nevertheless this is a book that will remain required reading for those interested in the study of Irish demesnes.

DAVID A. FLEMING
University of Limerick

ALAN FOX (ed.), *Parish government in a Leicestershire village: The Buckminster Town Book, 1655–1767 and Constable's Book, 1755–1813* (Leicestershire Archaeological and History Society, 2015). 228 pp., 5 illus. £15.

The parish of Buckminster with Sewstern is situated in north-western Leicestershire on the county boundary with Lincolnshire. This fine edition of two volumes of parochial records provides a useful source for insights into village-level governance, which touched on issues ranging from poverty and taxes to common fields and vermin. The editor, Alan Fox, provides a short but helpful introduction to the sources, in which he notes the growing responsibilities of parishes in this period, as has been shown at a broader level by historians such as Joan Kent, Steve Hindle, Barry Reay, Keith Snell and Henry French. He concisely summarizes the principal contents of each volume and glosses some of the more obscure terms one encounters in the transcriptions. The introduction also includes references to numerous other printed editions of vestry books and parochial accounts.

The Town Book (1655–1767) is essentially a stripped-down version of the sort of vestry minutes one is likely to encounter elsewhere. It consists almost entirely of

the annual appointment of the four chief parish officers – churchwarden, overseer of the poor, constable and surveyor of the highways – and the yearly balancing of their accounts. It should be noted that the latter does not include figures for the total amount spent or received, or itemized disbursements. It does, however, also include occasional references to setting rates, binding pauper apprentices, repairing the church and letting church land. This source will be useful mostly to genealogists, but the long lists of officers could also be used as a foundation for an attempt to reconstruct a prosopography of the parish elite, as Henry French has done for an earlier period.

The account book (1755–1813) of the constables and surveyors of the highways has much more detail thanks to its itemized disbursements and receipts. Many intriguing items are mentioned, if only very briefly, such as payments for conveying prisoners, examinations of paupers, attending 'statties' (hiring fairs), repairing roads, maintaining watercourses, and much else besides. Historians of agriculture may also find useful the fact that these accounts mention sub-officers, including a 'neatherd' (common cattle herdsman), a pinder (who impounded stray livestock) and a mole-catcher, as well as scores of individual bounty payments for catching foxes (1s. each), crows (2d. each) and sparrows (2d. per half dozen). The other type of payment that occurs extremely frequently relates to beggars, vagrants and other poor travellers. These can be found on almost every page. Occasionally the accounts offer a bit of detail such as the terrible case of May Wright in November 1807. She was 'a woman found almost sta[r]ved in Grantham Lane', whom the constable attempted to revive with 'gin and ale' and accommodated for five days. Her condition was so terrible that the blanket he gave her 'was obliged to be burnt and her other things washing and cleaning' (p. 184). Mentions of other poor travellers are much less detailed, but there are a remarkable number of payments to poor men, women, children, soldiers, sailors and even 'turkey slaves'. It would be possible to follow the example of David Hitchcock's work on Grandborough in Warwickshire in *Rural History* 23 (2012) and quantify the large numbers of mobile poor people who received help from the Buckminster constables in this period.

Taken as a whole, this edition presents a wealth of material that might be useful to historians interested in local social and economic life. The earlier Town Book is more limited in its potential uses, but the volume of accounts covering the later eighteenth century is rich in detail. It will be especially valuable because, as Fox notes in the introduction, the work of constables and

surveyors of the highways is under-researched when compared to overseers of the poor and churchwardens.

BRODIE WADDELL
Birkbeck, University of London

MADGE DRESSER and ANDREW HANN (eds),
Slavery and the British country house (Historic
England, 2013). 196 pp. £50.

South Carolina indigo planter Peter Gaillard saw his fortunes revive thanks to the cotton boom ... a crop so profitable that ... in 1803 [he] constructed a new mansion on this property ... Fortified by their wealth, confident of their slave-aided ability to squeeze ever more cotton from the land, American cotton planters came to dominate British markets by 1802.

This passage comes not from *Slavery and the British country house* but from Sven Beckert's *Empire of cotton* (2014). This probably appears a strange way to begin a review about British country houses, but being an American I unavoidably see the world from an American perspective. Please indulge me a little.

My work examines plantation museums in the United States, and during my fieldwork in South Carolina I was struck by planters' attempts to recreate Britain in the American South. Photographs of their homes could be placed in *Slavery and the British country house* without anyone being the wiser. On deeper thought this makes sense: these planters were Englishmen and the sons and grandsons of Englishmen who came to the Americas seeking their fortune. And as Beckert's passage alludes, there were Englishmen on the other side of the Atlantic making their fortune from raw materials from the Americas, materials gotten through enslaved Black labour.

Slavery and the British country house deals with material culture, here in the form of mansions on the British side of the Atlantic. The editors of this volume state that it seeks to trace and interrogate the links 'between the wealth derived from slavery and the British country house' and the 'implications such links have for the way ... [these] properties are represented to the public today'. The volume largely succeeds. Traces of the enslaved are made visible through the use of the Slave Compensation database (Nicholas Draper), spatial analysis (Madge Dresser), personal histories (Jane Longmore), archaeology (Roger H. Leech), archives (Simon D. Smith), forensic accounting (Nuala Zahedieh), and landscape aesthetics (Victoria Perry).

I found the chapters enlightening. Of particular interest was Sheryllynne Haggerty and Susanne Seymour's chapter on 'Property, Power and Authority', in which they describe how property, power, and

authority were lost on Grenada during Fedon's slave rebellion (1795–96). The rebellion resulted in the burning of a hundred plantations, the death of approximately one quarter of the island's enslaved population and the execution of 41 white British subjects by the insurgents. Slave rebellions were common in the Americas, but, with the exception of the Haitian Rebellion they tend to be underexamined.

I also found intriguing, for a completely different reason, Laurence Brown's chapter on Marble Hill and Northington Grange. It is principally the story of the owner of Marble Hill, George II's mistress Henrietta Howard. While a fine piece of academic research, it reads a bit like a soap opera or telenovela. I do not say this to belittle: I would have liked to have learned more about the personal lives of the owners of these estates.

One chapter that does offer a more personal view is Natalie Zacek's. Her chapter addresses Dodington House, but I would argue that the chapter concerns someone who rarely resided there: Christopher Codrington. Codrington was an American in the continental sense: he was born in Barbados in 1668, the son of the captain-general who at the time was one of the wealthiest sugar cane plantation owners on the island. He attended Oxford and was elected a fellow of All Souls College, and was described by his peers as being a scholar and a gentleman 'worthy of the highest respect', a description today not usually associated with slave owners.

Two of the best chapters are Caroline Bressey's on Kenwood House and Osborne House and Cliff Pereira's on the London Borough of Bexley. What I enjoyed most about Bressey's chapter was the depth she went into reanimating – that is, bringing back into existence – the people of colour who resided at Kenwood and Osborne. Here we learn about Dido Elizabeth Bell, Abdul Karim, Maharajah Duleep Singh, and Victoria Randle, who were not enslaved people but rather, in varying senses, dark-skinned English aristocrats. Their early presence in Britain, along with that of many other unnamed people of colour, calls into question the very whiteness of the nation. Pereira's chapter is the one in the book most concerned with how these 'properties are represented to the public today'. His chapter examines how Bexley's communities – particularly its minority communities – engage with heritage sites in the borough, tracing how places that were perceived as 'white only' spaces have been transformed into spaces for everyone.

I was intrigued and edified by this volume. If I have a criticism, it is that I would have liked to have learned more about the people, especially the people of colour, who both resided in and made these homes possible.

PERRY CARTER
Texas Tech University

LUCINDA LAMBTON, *Palaces for pigs: Animal architecture and other beastly buildings* (English Heritage, 2011). 256 pp, 150+ illus. £25.

The charmingly titled *Palaces for pigs* is a revised and expanded version of Lambton's earlier *Beastly buildings* (1985), a book that somehow escaped review in this journal. This updated edition of the earlier National Trust-published volume aims to bring Lambton's lively accounts of a diverse range of beastly buildings to a new readership. This is in many ways very timely: interest in animal histories and animal geographies is burgeoning, as the growing number of volumes in Reaktion's *Animal* series and recent books by Hannah Velton (*Beastly London*), Peter Atkins (*Animal cities*) and Arthur MacGregor (*Animal encounters*) all attest.

As Lambton argues in the opening pages, the British population's enthusiasm for and love of animals over more than seven centuries has resulted in the construction of 'an array of animal buildings which are second to none in the world' (p. 12). Over the course of the book, we encounter not only stables, cow houses, pigsties and hunting lodges, but also fishing temples, a monkey pagoda, a gothic duck house, a castle for goats and elaborate memorials dedicated to horses, a ship's cat and lots of dogs (including Lambton's own). Given the respective publishers of the two editions the book necessarily focuses for the most part on buildings in the care of national heritage organizations including the National Trust and English Heritage. Hence the beastly buildings featured are mostly in England, predominately rural in setting and many of them were originally part of the country estates of the landed classes, though they are none the less fascinating for that.

While the introductory chapter briefly sets the scene, the remaining chapters cover four major themes: stables and sporting buildings; animals for the plate; menageries; and animal memorials. Each consists of a fairly brief overview of each type of animal architecture, followed by animated vignettes of extant examples, many of them open to the public for at least some of each year. Much of the book is thus effectively a gazetteer. Amongst the more intriguing examples to feature are the third duke of Marlborough's fishing temple at Bray, decorated with Andien de Clermont's paintings of monkeys angling, shooting and riding in boats and Elizabeth, duchess of Rutland's kennels at Belvoir Castle.

As one would expect from an English Heritage/Historic England volume, the book is lavishly illustrated with full and half page colour plates of the various buildings discussed. There is much here to engage rural and agricultural historians and country house

visitors alike, even if for the academic reader there are necessarily also points of expansion and clarification which one feels might have profited the book. Thus, for example, Lambton tells an uncomplicated story of growing 'enlightenment' about animal cruelty which would have benefited from a more nuanced telling. Greater thought too could have been directed to the question of why these buildings were built as they were: Lambton assumes it was for the love of the animals housed there, and doesn't seem to recognize that the buildings were caught up in improving ideologies and thereby intended to articulate politics and power, taste and intellect, not just to provide fitting homes for various animal 'friends'. Careful editing of the text to remove some of the quirkier and sometimes repetitive turns of phrases and the surprisingly large number of exclamation marks would also have been beneficial. Both undoubtedly stem from Lambton's obvious love of animals and her great passion for architecture, the 'two whoppingly powerful forces' (p. 12) which animate this quirky book. While it lacks the nuance and theoretical underpinnings of much recent work on the theme of more-than-human histories, this is still much to enjoy in this volume. Even the most experienced heritage tourists or historians of the aristocracy will surely find something new to explore here! And I for one will be adding a handful of these buildings to my country house bucket list! (Unnecessary, tongue-in-cheek exclamation marks entirely intended.)

BRIONY MCDONAGH

University of Hull

MARK JOHNSTON, *Trees in towns and cities: A history of British urban arboriculture* (Windgather Press, 2015). 256 pp., £39.95.

This book was conceived originally to help students of arboriculture and urban forestry to understand more about the history of British urban trees. It provides an enthusiastic and entertaining history of the subject by one of the leading modern British and international urban arboriculturists arguing persuasively that tree professionals and communities must understand more about the role of trees in the formation of urban landscapes to understand the reasons for their characteristics and make informed decisions concerning future planning and management. The book is organized around a series of thematic chapters which broadly follow a chronological pattern and utilize material drawn from across more than a thousand years of history. The relationship between forestry and urban arboriculture, and between town and countryside, is well delineated whilst examples draw as much from the activities of 'working people' as from the gardens and

estates of the rich and powerful. Of course, it greatly helps that the author has had a distinguished career as an arboriculturist, practitioner of urban forestry and tutor, was the first British individual to be honoured with the Award of Merit by the International Society of Arboriculture, and has therefore helped to make the history that he has written about. Having worked as a local government tree officer, a consultant and a government adviser, and helped to create and teach the first British Master's qualification in urban forestry at Myerscough College in Lancashire, Johnston is able to supply insights concerning the history of the subject unavailable to most others. An entertaining and talented public speaker, something of the excitement of Johnston's lectures and conversation is captured by the book too.

Trees in towns and cities investigates the history of British urban trees from Roman antiquity to the present although most of the book concentrates on the early modern period to the present. The first chapter examines the rise of professional forestry including arboricultural education and training, exploring the development of arboriculture as a profession and emphasizing the interface between European, North American and British practices. This section introduces some of the major developments in urban forestry, particularly over the past three centuries, such as the creation and impact of formal arboricultural qualifications and the publication of the first textbooks on the subject. It is followed by an analysis of the governance of urban trees which explains how local government and national government bodies came to assume direction and control over urban forestry, including the provision of legislation to protect trees.

Various kinds of threats to urban trees loom large in the third chapter including the impact of smoke, the provision of utilities, building and construction, urban density, pests and diseases such as deadly fungal and insect infestations. The ways in which public parks and other green spaces helped to introduce so many urban trees between the eighteenth and early twenty-first centuries is explained in the fourth chapter, including the great Victorian public parks and more specialist public urban arboretums with their significant, and sometimes systematic, labelled tree collections. Private gardens are also rightly seen as having been major repositories and nurturers of urban trees from the great wooded green spaces of large villas and mansions to smaller suburban gardens. Other significant tree-laden urban green spaces also receive some treatment in the book including cemeteries, botanical gardens and golf courses, whilst twentieth-century developments such as the roof garden are noted.

One of the most fascinating chapters covers the subject of street trees which tended to be frowned upon at first but brought rich greenery to everyday mundanity and were systematically planted from the later Victorian and Edwardian periods onwards as municipal authorities and parks departments assumed control of the process. Beginning tentatively, the planters of street trees had to face difficulties including dust pollution, constrained space, traffic and the provision of utilities, as well as their poor knowledge. However, a range of techniques were developed to counter these problems, such as adapting the methods of forestry, selecting the most hardy types, developing the use of equipment such as tree guards, and using municipal nurseries to promote large-scale trees production and inculcation of knowledge. A final chapter on visions of urban green considers the role of trees in specially planned industrial towns and villages, resort centres, and the garden cities and new towns of the twentieth century. As Johnston demonstrates, although he did not write much about them, trees were central to Ebenezer Howard's vision and also to Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin's plans for garden cities and suburbs such as Letchworth and Wythenshawe with their provision of green spaces, avenues and US-style planted parkways whose attractions have increased as their trees have matured. As Johnston ably shows, these innovations were hastened and supported by the development of urban arboriculture as a profession with its own training and qualifications, forms of equipment and the growing protection provided by national legislation and local government regulations.

The book is illustrated with some shrewdly selected illustrations which take advantage of the author's professional knowledge and experience. The picture of litter and tin cans carelessly crammed into a wire tree guard beside a tender street sapling from the 1970s (p. 83), bricked up tree cavity (p. 95), fungi-sprouting abandoned tree stump (p. 58) or the protruding shafts of savagely pruned roadside planes in Hampstead each say more than a thousand words could. With decades of experience and an immersion in the history of the subject, Johnston has provided much more than a history of urban arboriculture. *Trees in town and cities* is a general history of urban forestry and arboriculture in which these are not considered in isolation but placed into their social, political and economic contexts. The book provides a fascinating tour of an apparently specialized subject yet one that touches upon the lives of every urban citizen or visitor who enjoys the plantations of gardens, cemeteries or golf courses, takes grateful shelter under the cool shade of a majestic street plane on a hot day or finds solace in

a sea of summer green within a great Victorian park. This thought-provoking study by an enthusiastic and experienced urban forester will long remain an authoritative introduction to a fascinating subject.

PAUL ELLIOTT
University of Derby

SEÁN BEATTIE, *Donegal in transition: the impact of the Congested Districts Board* (Irish Academic Press, 2013). 298 pp., 15 illus. €21.95.

Donegal in transition is a study of the Congested Districts Board's activities in the county of Donegal in the north west of Ireland. The book comprises ten chapters, each of which gives some context and a description of CDB policies and activities in relation to industry, fisheries, agriculture and parish committees. Beattie's main argument is that historians heretofore have underestimated the impact of the CDB on Irish life, in particular life in Donegal. This study presents the extent of CDB's activities and details the minutiae of various schemes and start-ups promoted by the board.

For those unfamiliar with Irish governmental bodies, the CDB was a regional development board active over the period 1891 to 1923. From 1891 to 1909 it had a very specific frame of reference: it would deal with 'congested districts', defined as counties or parts of counties where more than 20 per cent of the population of the county lived in electoral divisions where the total rateable valuation per capita was less than £1 10s (*First CDB report*). The geographic scope and scale of the CDB was expanded in 1909 so that the area under the board's remit increased from 3.5 million acres to 4 million acres, the population increased from 0.5 million to 0.6 million and the rateable valuation of lands under the CDB remit rose from £0.5m to £1.79m (*Nineteenth CDB report*).

Curiously, for a book solely about the CDB in Donegal, a sizeable share of the county was not under the remit of the CDB from 1891 to 1909: it was only after 1909 that the entire county was included within the CDB's remit (p. 3). This disparity is never addressed, nor has the comparison of districts in and out of the CDB remit been contemplated. Another clear omission is the lack of engagement with the definition of 'congestion' and its specific application to Donegal: other areas of the island had similar levels of congestion in terms of having per capita valuations below the £1 10s threshold but were excluded from the remit of the CDB. The conventional criticism of the CDB is that it was too underfunded to have any meaningful effect: essentially, it subsidized uneconomic industries and when the subsidies were removed these

industries floundered. This book does little to counter these arguments, but instead highlights the grants that were provided by the CDB, equating this to success. Throughout the book the reader is repeatedly reminded of how Lee's *Modernisation of Ireland* (1989), Ferriter's *The transformation of Ireland* (2005) and Breathnach's *The Congested Districts Board of Ireland* (2005) argue that the CDB had limited impact, and we are simply told that the author disagrees with this interpretation with little subsequent argument or disputing of the facts provided.

This study could have been much improved by adopting a more comparative approach to the topic. An obvious issue that is never addressed is why Donegal was chosen as a location of study. Was this where the CDB was most successful and had its greatest impact? A second, related point is that the CDB operated in regions of several western counties of Ireland. What was the experience like in the different counties? Did the CDB adopt a uniform one-size-fits-all approach or were policies tailored towards specific contexts? Allusions are made to other counties but these are never pursued to their logical conclusion, nor is there much in the way of comparison with wider experiences in the rest of Ireland or indeed with the British Isles more generally. Finally, the study needed a clearer way to assess how the CDB made an 'impact' and to more clearly disassociate this from other factors. For example, some of the important investments discussed in this work (drainage and light railways) occurred before the CDB was formed (p. 22), so it would be difficult to disentangle the effects of both the capital improvements and CDB policies.

A concluding, but no less crucial, point is that this study confuses national and local perspectives throughout. We are told that Ireland was poor (p. 23: 'the high level of economic growth in Scotland, however, stood in stark contrast to the decline in the strength of the Irish economy at the end of the nineteenth century, thanks to the presence of coal and ore in the former and over-taxation in the latter'), but this perspective ignores the industrialization of the north of the island and is illustrative of a lack of engagement with the wider literature. Recent advances in the understanding of Irish economic growth suggest that Ireland (as a whole) experienced convergence on British income levels over the second half of the nineteenth century (see, for example, Geary and Stark's 2002 contribution in the *Economic Journal*), and that this convergence was not confined to the north (on which see Kennedy, Giblin and McHugh, *Economic development of Ireland*). Another example of this lack of clarity appears on p. 119, where we are told that Donegal had the largest

number of holdings under a £4 valuation in Ulster and that the ratio of 'farm workers to 100 farmers' fell from 111 to 104 between 1901 and 1911. In the subsequent paragraph we are told that farm output continued to increase, from £27m in 1850 to £50 by 1914. The latter figures, which are derived from Turner's *After the famine*, refer to the island of Ireland and not to Donegal; this is a deceptive error and overall more care needed to be taken when switching between local and national contexts.

Beattie's work certainly has merits in terms of the level of detail presented on local events, but overall it is an unfocused study, at times plagued with repetition and irrelevant material. One obvious example comes from chapter 5, where the reader is informed about fish curing in Donegal in 'ancient times' (this phrase is used frequently), and in the next sentence the discussion inexplicably moves to mackerel curing in Japan, then back to Donegal without expanding on this Japanese comparison (p. 58). This is but one example of scattered narrative in the book, which was, unfortunately, overly distracting. Thus while this book presents occasional snippets of thoughtful analysis, overall it is a lost opportunity. If the author had been more attentive to both the finer details and the broader context, the book would surely have made a more valuable contribution.

EOIN MCLAUGHLIN
University of St Andrews

SUSANNA WADE MARTINS, *The conservation movement in Norfolk: A history* (Boydell Press, 2015). 187 pp., 55 illus. £19.99.

Susanna Wade Martins' study offers a valuable account of a county conservation movement. Conservation in Norfolk, as elsewhere, responded to wider social and environmental changes, but the county was notable for institutional innovations such as the establishment of the first county nature trust, the Norfolk Naturalists Trust, founded in 1926. Wade Martins documents the key organizations and individuals fostering a conservationist outlook, whether in terms of nature, amenity, archaeology or the built environment, setting the county story within a broader narrative of changing social attitudes and policy priorities. It is good to have a work covering conservation in the county as a whole, to set alongside accounts concentrating on specific regions such as the Broads, as in Tom Williamson's *The Norfolk Broads* (1997) or my own *In the nature of landscape: cultural geography on the Norfolk Broads* (2014), where many of the key figures in Wade Martins' story also appear. The fine illustrations throughout make *The conservation movement in Norfolk* an attractive book for a general and academic readership.

Five chapters of varied length tell a largely chronological story. The first chapter shows the conservation movement emerging in the nineteenth century through bodies such as the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society (established 1846) and the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society (1869). Botany, ornithology and antiquarianism shape new forms of county appreciation, with middle-class interest prompted in part by touristic encounters with county environments in key areas such as the coast and Broads. The second chapter traces the relationship between organizations working at county level and the beginnings of national legislation on nature protection and historic monuments, Wade Martins moving her account between the local and national scales. Chapter 3 considers the interwar period, where Norfolk was notable for the emergence of conservation bodies set up to purchase and manage land, the Norfolk Naturalists Trust and the Norfolk Archaeological Trust (established 1923) working alongside the existing county scientific societies, with some overlap of personnel, for example in the key figure of naturalist Sydney Long. The Norfolk operations of national organizations such as the National Trust, the Council for the Preservation of Rural England and the state's Office of Works are also traced. The fourth chapter gives a briefer account of the immediate post-war years, with the expansion of conservation landholdings and the implementation of national planning legislation concerning nature and historic buildings. Wade Martins presents the post-war decades as marking a shift from a concern for the preservation of specific sites to the conservation of the wider environment, and her final chapter follows this through to the present day. Here agriculture becomes a key theme, with stories of conflict and compromise over newly diagnosed effects of intensive farming on county nature and archaeology. Wade Martins includes a detailed discussion of the key 1980s battle over the prospective deep drainage of the Halvergate Marshes, which produced the compromise of Environmentally Sensitive Area schemes.

With the exception of some discussion of the conservation of the built environment in urban centres such as King's Lynn and Norwich, this is a predominantly rural story in terms of the objects given conservation value. However it is also an urban story in that the institutions shaping conservation often had a city base, with urban residents as key activists. Norwich is the key centre here, with the city museum playing an important role from its early nineteenth-century incarnations through its establishment as the Castle Museum in the 1890s, still a popular and significant county institution. The museum has served as meeting

point, intellectual hub and site of display, notably in the Norfolk Room, where dioramas of county habitats have been shown since the 1930s. Wade Martins might perhaps have developed further the relationship of city and country in shaping the conservation movement, and indeed reflected on how conservation has itself been important in shaping versions of county identity. County identity can be a highly contested field, and conservation bodies, given their county organizational remit, often find themselves engaged in (and indeed have defined themselves through) such contest.

There are a few minor errors of detail, for example Marion Shoard's *The theft of the countryside* was published in 1980 rather than 1971, Anthony rather than his son John Buxton gave Horsey Mere to the National Trust (but there are a lot of Buxtons in the Norfolk story), the Green Party won 15 per cent of the vote in 1989 at a European rather than a general election, and John Betjeman, while he did write much in praise of Norfolk churches, could only have written from beyond his grave in 2001. This is however a valuable and beautifully illustrated guide to a significant county conservation movement, and deserves a wide readership within and beyond Norfolk.

DAVID MATLESS
University of Nottingham

ANDREW CONNELL, *Appleby Gypsy Horse Fair: Mythology, origin, evolution and evaluation* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Extra Series, XLIV, 2015). xii + 103 pp., 21 illus., 1 map, £12.

I am not sure what I expected from this book but, be assured, it came as a surprise. This is not so much history as an excellent example of investigative journalism. Andrew Connell was a teacher of History at Appleby Grammar School but it was subsequent to that, as he became involved in local politics, that he started to look more closely at the Fair and finished up researching its history. It may be said that, the more he looked, the less certain were his findings – but, that is not to say he failed to find a story.

The first five pages are taken up by telling us what we think we know and broadly, the rest of the book dismantles our ideas before handing us a fresh and more nuanced narrative. The chapter describing the fair's early history is followed some general comparisons with the great fairs such as those at Horncastle in Lincolnshire and Stourbridge in Cambridgeshire. Connell then gets into gear to discuss the Fair's evolution since the eighteenth century. Much of this is painstakingly built up from reports in local newspapers dating as far back as they go (c.1812) together with

excellent use of the records of (the former) Appleby Borough, North Westmorland Rural District and County of Westmorland.

Appleby Horse Fair is in a continuous state of flux and (as historians we know this) the current situation is largely regarded as 'the way it has always been'. In reality, even the date has moved. Traditionally, the Fair started on the second Wednesday in June but, in this century it has migrated so that, in 2013 the fair 'began on the preceding Thursday ... and by Monday 10 June, two days before its putative climax, it was effectively over'.

Then there follows a series of chapters which lay out the story in exemplary style as 'Mythology: the Phantom Charter' leads into 'The Origins of Appleby Fair', 'Evolution: the Horse Fair' and 'Evolution: the Gypsy/Traveller Fair'. These short and effective narratives (all either six or eight pages in length) bring us to 1939, after which a number of things changed. Two factors were possibly of most significance in terms of the Fair: the slow replacement of working horses by motorized vehicles and the rapid imposition of limitations on movement triggered by security concerns during wartime.

From 1945 there seems to have been a lot of infighting, with some members of local society finding good reasons to abolish the Fair whilst others found equally good reasons to support its continuance. It is interesting to note that the split was not along simple social lines for there seems to have been a tradition of support by the Lowther family with an earlier earl of Lonsdale attending and buying 'the best dog they had shown him' (though we might note that the Fair was not being held on his land, but on that owned by the descendants of Lady Anne Clifford.). One factor in the Fair's continuance is that people just arrived, and in doing so created practical problems relating to the caravans, the horses or motor vehicles that drew them, the basic needs of people and livestock together with the various kinds of waste they generated.

Chapters 12 and 13 address 'The Late Twentieth-Century Media Fair' and 'Managing the Modern Fair', giving discussions of aspects of contemporary society which are clearly going to have a continuing impact upon who attends the Fair and what their expectations might be. The book finishes with four short (two-page) appendices that present us with an interesting summary of the evidence for 'St Lawrence's Fair' as published from about 1750 together with the voices of three individuals. The first was a child in Appleby in the 1930s and gives insight into the post-1939 changes whilst another gives a gypsy/traveller perspective. The middle narrative in the sequence takes the form of a

poem, written in 1945, and which brought back to the reviewer the charms of the books of her childhood written by 'Romany' (George Bramwell Evens) and 'Nomad' (Norman F. Ellison).

This is a good book and particularly relevant to those with an interest in fairs or livestock trading. It is an exemplar for those who are trying to research and write up a complex topic.

JENNIFER S. HOLT
Haslingden

IAN D. ROTHERHAM, *The rise and fall of countryside management. A historical account* (Routledge: Abingdon, 2015). 352 + xx pp. £85.

In 1970 the land around Elvaston Castle in Derbyshire became the first estate in England to open as a Country Park. Yet, for more than a decade now, its future has been in doubt, as the cash-strapped County Council explores options for its sale to a private buyer, whilst the Friends of Elvaston Castle campaign to keep it open to the public, and search for the funding necessary to restore both house and grounds. The uncertainty surrounding Elvaston's survival as a public amenity illustrates some of the travails identified in Ian Rotherham's book, addressing a neglected topic in the history of the modern countryside.

Country Parks were one element in the new era of 'countryside management' ushered in by the creation of Countryside Commissions for England and Wales and for Scotland in 1968. That very notion of 'countryside management' was a novelty: Rotherham cites an official definition of it as 'the process by which objectives of conservation, recreation and access are secured for public benefit in the management of both public and privately-owned land' (p. 27). It assumed that public funding should support the provision of access to open spaces, often on the urban fringe, and take responsibility for both maintaining and restoring landscapes, cleaning up contaminated and post-industrial land (including dealing with derelict structures left over from the Second World War, which Rotherham notes would now be valued as being of archaeological interest). Countryside rangers engaged in education work and helped the public to take advantage of outdoor activities. With official encouragement, a new profession developed during the 1970s and 1980s – that of countryside manager.

Rotherham's story is about what these professionals achieved, and what he believes is now under threat in an era of cuts and reassessments of the role of public bodies and funding. Between 2004 and 2014 membership of the Countryside Management Association fell by 36 per cent. A large part of the countryside manager's

role was always about finding numbers of people to do the work on the ground: recruiting and managing volunteers, and deploying labour from employment schemes like the youth opportunity project. Now the emphasis has swung more firmly towards the voluntary sector, whilst employment opportunities for wardens and rangers are increasingly likely to arise in private tourist attractions and landscapes managed by charities. Rotherham points out that these charities have less obvious accountability to the communities within which they operate and may not address the same range of priorities that featured in management plans developed under council auspices. He also sees young people's fascination with the virtual world and 'passive experience' as a major challenge to any public commitment to maintaining countryside recreation. But he argues that countryside management can continue to make a strong case for its existence, contributing to the control of invasive species, ensuring sustainability, supporting tourism, addressing social problems and enhancing health and well-being.

The book is shaped by the author's active involvement in the processes he describes, while the region in which he is based furnishes many of the practical examples of countryside management in action, drawn from South Yorkshire and the East Midlands, and notably exploring case studies of the country parks and nature reserves around Sheffield. Its central sources are surveys conducted by the author and his students into local authority provision and the management of particular areas of the country. But despite frequent reference to case studies, it is disappointing that so little detail is given to flesh these out, with the emphasis throughout on quantitative rather than qualitative assessments. The result is a rather dry account, establishing the parameters of the topic but without much broader historical contextualization, other than a whistle-stop overview of the history of rural recreation and access. A number of black-and-white photographs are included, but with little direct link to the text. Tables provide data on activities, staffing and regional variation, and set out the stages by which government continued to revise its approach to how the countryside should be managed, as the Countryside Commission morphed into an Agency, later to be repackaged – following Welsh and Scottish devolution – as Natural England. In essence this furnishes the main theme of the book: tracking the mechanisms by which the state has taken responsibility for managing landscapes, and the future for that provision of access and amenity as those arrangements have been revised, outsourced, and placed in the hands of the Big Society.

The book reads rather like a report, with many subheadings, setting out the parameters of the topic and providing extracts from sources, including prospectus descriptions for various degree courses in countryside management. Yet Rotherham seems to have intended a more argumentative intervention: a comment, and a warning, on the impact of austerity in putting a legacy at risk. His book celebrates a profession that has only really existed since the 1970s and never accounted for much in terms of the numbers of people employed, yet which made (he argues) a significant intervention and became 'a beacon' in the field internationally (p. 330). The history of the late twentieth-century countryside of recreation, country parks, nature reserves and the urban fringe, is only now beginning to be written, and the story of the countryside managers clearly deserves further exploration within that research.

C. V. J. GRIFFITHS
Cardiff University

SANDIP HAZAREESINGH and HARRO MAAT (eds.), *Local subversions of colonial cultures: Commodities and anti-commodities in global history* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). xi + 213 pp. Hardcover £58, eBook £45.99.

Opening the *Journal of Global History* special issue on Commodities of Empire in 2009, Hazareesingh and Curry-Machado declared, 'Commodities are back in the news' (p. 1). From the 1990s onwards, studies of 'world-changing' commodities, particularly those that are plant-based, have proliferated, their socio-economic and environmental histories often linked to the imperial endeavours of the European nations. The Commodities of Empire research network, of which the editors Hazareesingh and Maat are active members, has built up an impressive online resource (www.commodityhistories.org), illustrated research stories and working papers together emphasizing that, 'Historically, commodities had multiple social lives, partaking both in imperial endeavours and in local resistance to them' (Hazareesingh and Curry-Machado in the *Journal of Global History* 4 (2009), p.2).

Part of the Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies series, this edited collection further explores those 'multiple social lives' by documenting local responses to colonial pressure to produce commodities. The concept of the 'anti-commodity' has its origins in a paper by anthropologist Paul Richards and colleagues presented to a workshop of the Commodities of Empire network (subsequently published in that project's already mentioned working paper series and a version of which appears as chapter 1 of this volume). The concept was further explored within the Commodities

and Anticommodities collaborative research project (2009–13), and the nine substantive chapters in this book are based on papers delivered at a 2012 project workshop. The 'anti-commodity' is defined, 'as an enduring form of production and action in opposition either to actual commodities and their existing functions, or to wider social processes of commodification, rather than simply a momentary form of protest or reaction' (p. 6). The relationship between 'commodity' and 'anti-commodity' can be and is often complementary and mutually dependent. Chapters thus deal with the familiar and popular plant-based commodities of rice (the subject of three chapters), cotton (two chapters), tobacco and sugar, but in unfamiliar and non-traditional ways, and some in new geographical settings. The plantation crops are joined by contributions on transport infrastructure (David Hyde's chapter on 'East African Railways and Harbours') and organic 'waste' (Lauren Minsky's chapter manure in the Punjab), the collection thus addressing a full commodity lifecycle. At a practical level each chapter has a helpful and comprehensive notes section detailing supporting literature and archival materials for what are inherently complicated histories.

Importantly, as Maat has argued elsewhere, 'Anti-commodity thus refers to production processes in the shadow of commodity production and for those reasons these processes rarely have a prominent place in official records and statistics' (in Francesca Bray *et al.* (eds), *Rice: Global networks and new histories* (2015), p. 337). The book thus outlines what might be done to bring these processes into view, demonstrating how the stories can be told and highlighting the available research materials available. It will appeal particularly to those working on agrarian history in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean but the legacy of much commodity policy as it affected both peoples and environments means that much of the research also has contemporary relevance.

As the editors themselves acknowledge, the chapter authors apply the 'anti-commodity' term in a variety of ways, even when exploring the same crop: Richards sees red and white rice in Sierra Leone as contrasting commodities of the slave trade and emancipation respectively; Maat considers the competing commodities of upland and lowland rice in the Netherlands Indies; and Gilbert deals with the Swahili coast as a place where rice has never been treated as a commodity, and instead is consumed because of its links to identity. Although this approach serves to emphasize the importance of context, the danger is that it leaves the reader without a clear sense of how the term 'anti-commodity' might be most usefully applied.

Research and experiment emerges as an important theme in a number of the chapters that explore government sponsored 'improvement'; the dynamism of seed technology; the complexity of varieties, and genetics and hybrids (something I certainly found difficult to get to grips with in my own work on cinchona). Specifically, Sinha-Kerkhoff provides insight into the tobacco research of the Pusa Institute, Eastern India, where Albert Howard's recognition of the connections between healthy soil and healthy crops, livestock and populations later helped to establish him as a pioneer of the organic farming movement. Hazareesingh's case study of cotton in Dharwar, Western India also emphasizes recognition of indigenous methods of cultivation and climate knowledge. Though all are social histories, environment and ecology also loom large, demonstrating the 'intimate entanglements' that exist 'between the natural and human worlds' (p. 5), with the importance of very particular geographies and local stories highlighted. Given my current research interests in the weather, I particularly enjoyed Hazareesingh's section on unseasonable seasons and 'wind blight'.

Maravanyika's chapter uncovers the role of traditional religion and religious leaders in shaping response to colonial policy on the cultivation of cotton in Gokwe, north-west Zimbabwe, a story again with a legacy that

remains evident today. Minsky's exploration of the productive value of organic waste in South Asia is one that makes an important contribution to contemporary studies of sanitation. In Hyde's account of the East African Railways and Harbours, 1945–60, labour power becomes the anti-commodity. There is a link here to Curry-Machado's chapter through the differential rates, and the methods and users of railways and roads in the very particular geography of sugar-cane cultivation in the Remedios region of Cuba.

As 'the success of these ventures still depended on knowledge of, as well as attitudes towards, the encountered local cultural and natural worlds' (p. 2), misunderstandings of both people and environments resulted in histories that are full of constant change, modification, and of ever shifting categories. Binaries and opposites are prominent, but not static, and it is interesting to read about how two (or more) very similar products come to be assigned very different values (not just economic) on the basis of consumer taste, or connections with local identity. For me, colour also popped out as a cross-cutting theme that might be further explored: red and white rice, yellow and black tobacco, red and black soils.

LUCY VEALE
University of Nottingham