

Book Reviews

W. E. MINCHINTON (ed.), *Essays in Agrarian History*. David and Charles for the British Agricultural History Society, 1968. 2 vols., 264, 316 pp. 63s. each.

It is an interesting phenomenon that while an ever diminishing proportion of the world's population gets its living from agriculture, interest in the history of agriculture has grown remarkably in the past decades. The Second World War was a turning point; since 1945 all over the world, but particularly in the well-developed industrial countries, studies of agricultural history have multiplied, and this increase in research continues undiminished to this day.

Interest in agricultural history is the result of many factors. In Europe, particularly, there were tremendous difficulties in securing food supplies during the Second World War, and in the post-war years, and these difficulties, continuing for long years, turned the attention of the entire population to this basic issue of existence. The war and with it the difficulties of food supply belong to the past, but the interest has continued to grow nevertheless. This is a phenomenon of great importance, for we meet generally similar symptoms in the U.S.A., in the United Kingdom, in Germany, France, Poland, in the U.S.S.R., as well as in Japan and Australia. Research on agricultural history is increasing everywhere; its independent organizations are being established all over the world.

The conditions, in which independent organizations for research in agricultural history developed, ripened in the 'fifties. In the Netherlands a special institute was established in 1950, and in Denmark in 1952 a similar working centre was set up. The British Agricultural History Society was founded in 1953 and started a periodical at the same time. In the same year in Western Germany, the *Gesellschaft für Agrargeschichte* was established with similar aims, and this society also publishes a periodical. Journals or yearbooks on agricultural history were published in the second half of the 'fifties in Hungary, Poland, and the U.S.S.R., and in the early 'sixties in Italy and Belgium.

The framework of systematic research had been built. However, all this had been preceded by the foundation of a Japanese society of agricultural history in 1948. Now an international bibliography of agricultural history is being published in Budapest, signifying that agricultural historiography is not developing in an isolated way in each country, but is emerging on a world-wide scale.

This development reflects the concern of historians with problems concerning the world-wide crisis of food production. The larger part of the world copes today with the menace of such a famine, on a scale unparalleled in the history of mankind so far. And this menace calls attention automatically to agriculture everywhere, and has given a strong impetus to world-wide research in agricultural history during the last decades.

It goes without saying that this fundamental problem is treated everywhere in a different way. Research work in each country has its own characteristic individuality. It also cannot be doubted that the crisis of historiography, which developed especially after the First World War, and which gave rise, in logical consequence, to the study of economic history, has similarly contributed to the flourishing condition of research on agricultural history. However, this is not the whole story as can be seen from the fact that the majority of newly established institutions and periodicals on agricultural history are linked in some way with the agricultural sciences, either as branches of academies of agriculture, or by issuing their periodical publications under the wing of agricultural institutes.

Accordingly, the development of research on agricultural history in Great Britain after 1945 is not a merely local phenomenon, though it is indisputable that Great Britain plays a leading role in the international literature. What distinguishes English research favourably from the others is the fact that it is well balanced. It has already been remarked that, within the overall development, research in each country is determined by specific characteristics, that is

to say interest in each country is centred on different subjects. This is understandable too. In Latin America the main interest is focused first and foremost on the social aspects of the distribution of land, while in the Netherlands it is centred on the evolution of production and changes in yields—to mention the most extreme examples. Of course researchers tend to consider questions of the immediate past and future, and their questions determine the answers. But apart from these extreme examples, the polarization of interest shows up in less pronounced ways. In central and east European countries the basic concern of agrarian historians is to answer questions on agricultural society, while in western Europe and in America they are concerned with questions of production. Though many other factors, such as the nature of the sources and the tradition of historical writing play a part in the selection of subjects for study, the fundamental determining factor is the agrarian evolution of the country itself. This is the most influential factor in shaping research and specifying problems.

Among all international research, the British contribution in a certain sense holds a central place. It attracts the limelight and is in many ways exemplary both in its methods and in its themes. It is not easy to see the reason for this at present, but it is clear that its well-balanced character is its most decisive and active force. This quality is strengthened by the tremendous richness of its historical sources which the Continent cannot match. But the most important reason of all lies in the fact that fundamental questions concerning British agrarian society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not—thanks to the revolution having been completed earlier—so acutely urgent, and have not received such exclusive attention as they have in almost all other countries of Europe, and particularly in eastern Europe. In these territories radical land reforms, and the necessity for a redistribution of land had provoked battles for decades, in many places for centuries, and in these struggles, research on agricultural history was primarily concentrated on the study of landownership. In Britain there was no necessity for this, so that

when, in the last third of the nineteenth century, in the wake of the agrarian crisis, the first great era of research on agricultural history began, a number of different questions—agricultural production, prices, wages, the situation of the different social classes, and so on—all attracted interest in the same proportion; all claimed to share in the limelight. Thus the research which developed then was, from the very beginning, much more balanced, and has been concerned with more varied aspects of agrarian life than on the Continent, where different tendencies have governed research.

The manifold themes of English research on agricultural history are well displayed in the two volumes which prompt the foregoing short review. These studies, published in two volumes by the British Agricultural History Society, to which already the epithet “classical” may be given, incorporate all those characteristics which distinguish British from continental and American work. What are those characteristics? First of all, a very strong feeling for the main questions of economic life. This feeling is also strengthened by a training in economics, in the agricultural sciences, and, at a relatively early stage in the development of research, in the use of statistical methods. Articles by the great men of the nineteenth century, such as Thorold Rogers, are not included in these volumes, but two studies which appeared at the beginning of this century, by R. J. Thompson and A. Wilson Fox, are admirable examples of the early use of statistical techniques. We should also note a fact, which has a fundamental bearing on the character of research, namely, that the relatively early use of these methods—also demonstrated in the more recent studies of M. K. Bennett and W. G. Hoskins using very early documents—was made possible because interest in such subjects was already very strong in the nineteenth century. The collection of statistical data was attempted at an early stage, and this made precise comparative analysis possible, as well as making statistical methods acceptable in historical research. The statistics of economic life were systematically kept in sight by the government, and this evidence was early used in research.

In these volumes nearly all aspects of British research on agriculture are represented by at least one study. The adjective 'agrarian' summarizes correctly the wide scope of the work, which extends from questions of productivity to the very complex phenomenon of social organization. This is evidently not accidental, for the British Agricultural History Society identifies itself with all manifestations of agrarian history in the same way as other similar European societies and institutions. They do not restrict themselves to the history of production alone, but are interested in agrarian society and the mutual influence of production and society. This correct conception can be inferred from the themes of the published studies.

It is, moreover, praiseworthy that the essays give a picture of nearly the entire history of agrarian evolution over time. True, the historian's work seems to close with the First World War, but economists and statisticians deal with problems of the period that has elapsed since then. And knowing the deep roots of British historical research, and how firmly embedded they are in the realities of life, it is certain that sooner or later professional historians will take up the history of the past fifty years too.

Every volume of essays is liable to be criticized for the principles on which its selection is based. In this case, too, one could grasp such an opportunity since, within the limitations of two volumes all articles of value could not be included. But instead let us turn our attention to a more important problem. As we read in the preface the selection of the essays was decided democratically. They reflect, in fact, as they ought to reflect, the majority views of learned scholars. This entitles us to examine what place the AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW takes in the organization of research. From the studies published, one is driven to the conclusion that this journal is ever faster forming its own framework and has become in recent years the leading organ of research, establishing its place against its great rival, the *Economic History Review*. This fact is very welcome as every new periodical has to fight against the official resistance which is presented by the existence of already established and well-edited journals.

In this respect, however, the AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW has made great progress, becoming the principal periodical of the profession, and, if there is anything to criticize in the editing of these volumes, it is the fact that this development of the REVIEW is not reflected in the selection of the essays. However, the Editor should not be blamed for this, as there is hope that these volumes will be followed by others, and these obviously will reflect the development of the AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW. Until that time comes, we may regard these volumes as the salute of the British Agricultural History Society to the ideas of its forebears and its colleagues, and as the claim of those scholars to relive and cultivate traditions, without which no scholarly society can expect its activity to be judged of permanent value.

PETER GUNST

H. P. R. FINBERG and V. H. T. SKIPP, *Local History—Objective and Pursuit*. David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1967. 132 pp. 21s. Of the many books on local history now available, few can contain so much as this, so clearly set out, in so small a compass. It contains three already published pieces by Professor Finberg with three new essays, one by the Professor and two by Mr Skipp. Every one of them is packed with information basic to the understanding of, and initial steps in, local history. Especially valuable is the re-issue of Finberg's *Introductory Lecture*—his real inaugural defining a policy for the subject, which has since become 'classical'—given in 1952 when he was made Reader in English Local History at Leicester University, and now in a shape more easily handled. With some astringent humour Finberg describes how he came to give virtually two inaugurals, a humour which is carried into his *How Not to Write Local History*. Whatever may have been intended in this last, it has become an indispensable early warning system to enthusiasts (and others) who will find plenty to amuse and so offset any damping effects.

To anyone uncertain as to what is meant by the 'Leicester School'—and the term is thrown about a good deal in these days—this slim volume will be a godsend. But to most readers of this journal the work of Professor

Finberg will be well known: that of Mr Skipp is less likely to be so familiar. Mr Skipp's two contributions on local history as a co-operative study in adult classes and in schools, though cast in a different mould, are well fitted to stand alongside those of his experienced collaborator. Each essay, sticking strictly to the relevant, deals in streamline fashion with what work can be (and has been) done, how it can be introduced and pursued, and what is involved in co-ordination, leadership, and energy. There is no attempt to minimize the work involved in such programmes for the teacher and those with a little experience will recognize a well-worn teaching pattern—initial hard work often involving considerable sacrifice, followed by growing realization of its enormous value in achieving freshness of approach and in opening up lines where students can make a genuine contribution of their own. As time goes on the teacher's load is lessened and his sense of mastery increased. Streamlining has not allowed the author to dilate on this, and this is unfortunate as the prospects when starting a local history course can appear very daunting indeed. But the work done by the 'Discovering Sheldon' group—self-effacingly related—stands monumentally as a magnificent achievement *which can be and is being done elsewhere*. Professor Finberg compares it with five years' work of a professional researcher but done by the group in three.

The conclusion that the extra-mural class is an ideal medium for group work in local history is clearly borne out today by experience all over the country, and many students and teachers alike will be interested in comparing their classes with those of Mr Skipp, conducted in the Birmingham conurbation. It is good to remember that though the open fields may have become bricks and mortar now, they have left their mark and indeed may revert to their original use again; as happened within the fifth-century walls of Constantinople. In schools local history—attractive as it proves—is a harder matter altogether, and teachers may well recognize some of their own blasted hopes in Mr Skipp's last essay: but there is wise and unspectacular counsel for such. How marvelous it would be if all our children were, in

the early stages, grounded in their history in this meaningful way! Down to earth as this little book is from start to finish, it keeps on stimulating such hopes—and of course fears; it should be a 'set book' for everyone at all interested, not just 'recommended reading'.

P. D. WHITTING

W. G. HOSKINS, *Fieldwork in Local History*.

Faber and Faber, 1967. 192 pp. 25s.

Nine years ago, *Local History in England* included two chapters on fieldwork. The present volume widens and extends this subject close to Professor Hoskins's heart. It contains little that is new to those acquainted with its author's other publications, but the main beneficiaries will be the large number of dedicated amateur local historians throughout the country, especially perhaps, societies and adult education classes where the study of local history flourishes.

The aim of the book is to teach us to become visually literate by asking the right questions about the landscape and buildings around us. But far from there being any opposition between fieldwork and documentary evidence, local history is a dialogue—or 'marriage' (p. 94)—between the two: 'documents—fieldwork—back to the documents—fieldwork again' is a fruitful line of inquiry (p. 125). Throughout, suggestions for fieldwork are combined with advice on the use of documentary sources. There is no bibliography, but useful books and articles are given full reference in the text and indexed under author and title.

Professor Hoskins says he has tried to think of every kind of fieldwork (except industrial archaeology) which the local historian is likely to engage in (p. 11), and indeed he has largely succeeded. Eleven chapters cover a wide range of topics, from Anglo-Saxon landscapes to nineteenth-century urban housing, with an equal variety of documentary sources from Old English charters to Minutes of Street Committees. Practical advice alternates with illustrative examples of the author's methods at work, discovering Domesday villein farms in Devon, solving problems of place-names and topography on part of the Norfolk coast, and in a charming 'Farewell to Fieldwork' eluci-

dating the history of such different villages as Maxey (Northants.) and Heptonstall (Yorks. West Riding). To many these will be the best sections of the book. Most interesting of all, perhaps, is the author's development of his belief in the continuity of Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England, certainly in fertile regions. The value of fieldwork in this important subject is beyond doubt.

No serious criticisms are provoked. Maps would have clarified the 'Two Tours' of parts of Norfolk and Somerset (chapter 10)—an odd omission for one so 'map-conscious'. The value of aerial photographs deserves emphasis; and advice on mapping ridge and furrow (where aerial photography combines with work on the ground) would have been welcome. Finally, to many local historians the layout and pattern of the open fields, in the absence of enclosure or earlier maps, frequently remain the most important single problem to be solved by fieldwork methods, and on this subject the book says little.

Professor Hoskins has the rare ability to write professionally yet in a style attractive to the lay reader. Scholarly insight is linked with a vivid presentation which compels attention, and his enthusiasm is infectious. He has produced another book which will be on the shelves of every local historian.

IAN KERSHAW

LESLIE SYMONS, *Agricultural Geography*. Bell, 1967. x+284 pp. 30s.

This is a concise and straightforward introduction to the geography of farming systems. Part I discusses in general terms the respective contributions of climate, relief, soil, and man in shaping agricultural economies. Part II illustrates these general principles with examples of regional types, including mixed crop and livestock farming in Britain and New Zealand, rubber growing on plantations and on subsistence farms in Malaya, and collective and state farming in the Soviet Union. The author deliberately excludes from his purview hunting and collecting economies, and, by somewhat specious reasoning, forest economies. Part III describes methods of analysing and defining agricultural regions.

JOAN THIRSK

ERIC JOHN, *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies*. Leicester University Press, 1966. xii+304 pp. 42s.

In this collection of essays Mr John develops some of the themes first presented in his *Land Tenure* in 1960. The second half of his new book discusses aspects of the tenth-century monastic reformation in England, and most of this though valuable need not detain us here. The opening chapters however deal with some of the basic problems of landownership in the formative period of English history, and no student of early agrarian development can afford to ignore them. His approach is original and provocative, employing techniques in utilizing charter material which owe nothing to his predecessors, and which are backed up by discriminating use of a wide range of primary and secondary sources, many of them continental. "It is difficult," he says, "in writing this kind of history to avoid the minute exegesis of textual points, which makes ungrateful reading," and he proceeds unrelentingly to illustrate this with page after page of concentrated and controversial debate on such topics as the role of the *ceorl* in the *fyrð*, exemption from the king's *feorm*, and the precise meaning of such charter terms as *primicherius*, *ager*, and *facultas*. All this must not be allowed to distract us from the significance of his conclusions.

Much of what Mr John has to teach us is not so much about new ideas as new interpretations of old ones. Rejecting the 'Germanic' folk-migration thesis on the nature of folkland, advanced by Vinogradoff and modified successively by Maitland and Stenton, Mr John reaches back to the writings of Fustel de Coulanges for the germ of a concept which he nurtures carefully and persuasively (in his chapter on "Folkland Reconsidered") into an original, polished, and entirely convincing alternative. The word "folc" has more than one definition, and Mr John adopts the restricted, military sense of the term; for him 'folc' is a synonym for 'fyrð'. Folkland is now seen as the stock of land out of which the king endowed his warriors—not permanently, but by loans which reverted to the crown on the death of the tenant. Moreover, these war-

riors formed a small aristocratic *élite*; the bulk of the population comprised landless *ceorls* who were little more than slaves, whether Briton or Saxon, in the early stages of the settlement. (By "king" of course Mr John means in this context not the *brytenwealda* but the heads of the royal tribal dynasties, often loosely called the Heptarchy.) Bookland had a later origin; it was introduced some time after the conversion to meet the need of the Church for a stable endowment. Later—a century later—the concept of book-right was utilized for the establishment of hereditary lay tenures.

All this, of course, carries with it wider implications, some of which are discussed in Mr John's following chapter, on "Feudalism." He is not so naïve as to claim that the origins of English feudalism have been pushed back to the time of the Heptarchy; nevertheless, a hierarchical society in which land was held by military service could adjust itself to the concept of knights and castles, fiefs and quotas without that radical upheaval which older writers always maintained was the outcome of these Norman innovations. Here Mr John aligns himself with the best of modern scholarship: Cam and Hurnard on franchises, Aston and Finberg on manorialism, Jolliffe and Lenard on agrarian customs. Dolley on the coinage, Barlow on the Church, and Hollister on military organization, all have shown that the Conqueror found in England a far more integrated and sophisticated system of government than he left behind in Normandy. If English feudalism was a Norman edifice, it rested on the large and stable foundation of Anglo-Saxon law and administration, both centrally and in all the local units from the shire right down to the manor.

Inevitably in a book of this range and penetration, there are issues which call for debate. The chapter on the refoundation of Ely Abbey, for example, abounds in controversial statements. Mr John commences with CS 1266, a charter claiming to be dated 970, which he describes as being "mainly concerned to add certain privileges . . . to the original endowment." These privileges are "the foundation of the great medieval liberty of the church of Ely." Mr John contrives to discuss the validity and

implications of this charter (and *inter alia* the implications for agrarian history are of great importance) without direct reference to the well-known earlier discussions by Miss N. Hurnard (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LXIV, pp. 292–317) and Prof. E. Miller (*The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 25–35); nevertheless after careful comparison one feels that Mr John makes his case; he says "it is not impossible that Ely enjoyed a considerable franchise from the first," a conclusion quite different from that reached by Professor Miller, who doubts if Ely's privileges were more than fiscal before the time of the Confessor. On other points dealt with in this chapter, Mr John's opinions are more vulnerable. He claims that in 970 the five and a half hundreds of Wicklow lay in Essex rather than East Anglia. But it was within the territory of these hundreds that the East Anglian kings had held court (at Rendlesham) and commemorated their ancestors (at Sutton Hoo), and in Domesday they are surveyed under East Anglia; so if we follow Mr John they lay in East Anglia in 870, in Essex in 970, and in East Anglia again in 1070, which is all very confusing. Still more so is Mr John's casual claim that "in Ethelred II's reign Essex included Buckingham and Oxford." This really will not do.

A point of detail may be mentioned here. On p. 49 Mr John lists genuine charters of the "*Flebilia fortiter*" group issued in the year 931 and subsequently. He should have included CS 676, a perfectly reliable Abingdon text which has suffered in transmission. The scribe of the Abingdon cartulary has misread OE "thorn" sign as "B," and "Bulthesworthe," the estate conveyed, is really Tilsworth in Bedfordshire, as can be proved by the OE boundary. In the dating clause, "*idus vii*," nonsensical as it stands, is a misreading of "*idus iul*" and the charter is dated, therefore, Friday, 15 July 931; the corrected date is confirmed by the age of the moon, given as 28 days in the charter. Finally, a similar misreading occurs with the hidage, given as "vi" in the rubric to the cartulary version of the charter; Domesday shows that it should have been read as "iii."

This example serves to illustrate the enormous amount of detailed criticism remaining to

be done on the Anglo-Saxon land charters. Mr John's book is a fundamental contribution to this obscure but vital field of study. It is crammed full of original ideas, and it is perhaps as well that one cannot swallow all of them, for there remains a solid bulk of rich and acceptable fare, sufficient to give us all severe indigestion for many years to come.

CYRIL HART

E. SEARLE and B. ROSS (eds.), *Accounts of the Cellarers of Battle Abbey, 1275-1513*. Sydney University Press, 1967. 199 pp. 40s.

Battle Abbey must be one of the very best documented of medieval English abbeys. Cartularies, obedientiary rolls, rolls of the beadles collecting rents and other dues, of the treasurer who handled the bulk of the funds and distributed them to the cellarer and other officials, rentals, hallmoot rolls, custumals, and court rolls all survive, as well as many charters and the most valuable *Chronicle of Battle*. The decision then to calendar a selection of the cellarer's rolls may arouse some question. They are not perhaps the most useful for any examination of the domestic arrangements of the abbey, nor for the systematic study of the estate management of the abbey's property. It is in fact difficult to do anything systematic from the selection offered here, as the introduction written by Mrs Searle clearly shows; a great deal of her material comes from other Battle Abbey sources. But the book has its uses, if only to throw light on some of the more routine activities of monk and peasant farmer in the later Middle Ages. It is most pleasing to know that two major undertakings are soon to appear—a complete list of Battle Abbey muniments and a larger work on Battle Abbey by Mrs Searle which, if her introduction is anything to go by, will be a study worth waiting for.

The introduction deals first with the office of cellarer in medieval Benedictine monasteries, both in its ideal and practice. At Battle, the cellarer was not separately endowed; most of his funds came from the treasurer. He was, however, responsible for the management of the abbey's demesne and for the provision of "bread and ale" (or wine, which seems to have

been consumed in typical medieval style, by the gallon) to the house. Mrs Searle is most interested in monastic household management. Only two obedientiaries were endowed at Battle, the sacrist and the almoner, both of them late. Nor did the decentralization, apparent in other houses, affect Battle in the fifteenth century; indeed there are signs of growing centralization, for the cellarer, at least, lost some of his powers and responsibilities.

The introduction is followed by selected accounts, calendared with liberal sprinklings of untranslated (and often untranslatable) Latin of dog and other variety. In the middle there are comparative figures from all the annual accounts from 1385 to 1413, but the value of these complicated tables may well be questioned, especially as the artificial nature of many of the entries is not discussed. The calendar is followed by a list of cellarers at Battle, a glossary, bibliography, and indexes of persons and places, and of subjects. There is however no map, which makes it very difficult to trace the estates.

One hopes to find, but rarely does, some light thrown on the controversial aspects of late medieval economic history. What of the pressure of the money economy on the monastic estates at the beginning of the fourteenth century? There is no evidence here. It is very difficult, although possible, to find comparative prices throughout the period. The editors assume the usual recession in the fifteenth century but there are no signs of it here. There are signs of other things, however—the increasing practice of leasing out the demesne, the growing commutation of services with carting as the last to go, and above all the refusal of the tenants to perform services, none of which some historians can reconcile with an era of general poverty. There is a further interesting trend, the replacement of the monastic treasurer by a lay steward, and, in fact, the increasing powers put into his hands in the fifteenth century. Secularization is visible once more in the affairs of Battle Abbey.

Agricultural historians will find the stock accounts which appear from 1408 the most valuable part of these records. The whole of the

year's produce of pigs was apparently consumed in the abbey; the sowing ratios of grain, especially oats, to the acre is given, but yields rarely appear. Apparently rather more than a third of the corn was reserved for seed. Other morsels appear—lime burning, buying and planting out leek plants, some interesting building descriptions, the regular renewal of mill spindles, sometimes twice a year, a harrow with "teeth," or the passing comment in one account for "mending the shocking roads." Here is a quarry of information about medieval social life, but the quarrying may be difficult.

ALAN ROGERS

ERIC KERRIDGE, *The Agricultural Revolution*.

Allen and Unwin, 1967. iv+428 pp. Map. 84s.

Dr Kerridge's book deals in different ways with two distinct but interrelated matters: the nature of farming methods and the development of new techniques between the middle sixteenth century and the early eighteenth century; and secondly, the importance of these new techniques in relation to the broad development of English agriculture since the Middle Ages. The first subject, treated in great and scholarly detail, fills most of the book; the second, treated mainly in summary generalization, takes up part of the introductory chapter and the conclusion. There is an enormous mass of references to documentary sources and contemporary works, and a glossary, a large (but curiously selective) bibliography, and a list of sources which, together with appendices and indices, occupy 80 pages.

Dr Kerridge's study of farming methods begins in earnest with an extended survey of the 41 'farming countries' or regions into which he divides England and Wales. The exposition of the farming of these regions is severely limited to matters of farming practices, techniques, rotations, livestock, and land-use. There is not the rounded examination of the whole rural economy which Joan Thirsk undertook in her comparable section in Volume IV of *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*. Dr Kerridge is more concerned with pointing out the differences of detail between the farming of one region and that of another than with

noting and bringing together broad similarities. He is not concerned with secular or short-term variations in prices and farm profits, and he has little interest in the institutional framework of estates, manors, tenures, statutes, inheritance customs, and local rules within which farming operated. There is no parallel here to Joan Thirsk's illuminating discussion of the effects of the physical environment on the nature and institutions of rural society and the important distinction she draws between the rural society and farming structure of lowland mixed farming areas and those of the upland and wooded regions.

The remaining chapters are largely taken up with a detailed consideration of six main innovations of the period: the system of alternating land between crop cycles of from two to six or seven years and long pasture leys lasting up to 20 years, a system termed by Dr Kerridge "up-and-down husbandry;" the introduction of water-meadows; the use of new fodder crops and grasses; marshland drainage; the application of marl and lime; and improvements in breeds of livestock.

Of these, the most important was evidently up-and-down husbandry, which when substituted for permanent grass or permanent tillage, or for the temporary shifting cultivation of poor soils, offered the advantages of a reduced cost of corn cultivation, heavier stocking of the land, and the creation of an improved soil structure. It had, says Dr Kerridge, a great effect on output of both crops and beasts: on average the ratio of harvest to seed was doubled, and the yield of grass nutrients quadrupled. Referring to the seed-harvest ratio of wheat, Dr Kerridge states: "where up-and-down husbandry was introduced, increases were redoubled. Inferior practices in the seventeenth century gave increases twice as great as the medieval standard of excellence, and the best, increases four times as great as the best medieval ones" (p. 331). It would appear that in addition to his own 'agricultural revolution', therefore, Dr Kerridge has discovered an earlier revolution in corn yields between the Middle Ages and the seventeenth century.

The progress of up-and-down husbandry was also remarkable: "In the early sixteenth

century, up-and-down husbandry was confined to the north-west and to a few farms elsewhere. It expanded and spread rapidly after 1560 and fastest between about 1590 and 1660, by which time it had conquered production and ousted the system of permanency from half the farmland" (p. 194). Here readers may think that Dr Kerridge strains the evidence to prove the widespread adoption of up-and-down husbandry. For example, William Marshall, whom he regards as the eighteenth-century authority on the system, and on whom he leans considerably, states that it was a "singular" practice of the west midlands district, and implies that it was not in fact commonly found in other suitable areas.

Not only permanent grass in closes but also permanent tillage in common fields were converted to up-and-down land, with the effect of doubling the total product of the soil. The existence of 'leys' in common fields before enclosure, Dr Kerridge holds, was evidence of a laying down of parts of the fields to permanent grass, not of convertible husbandry. Such leys were seldom ploughed up, and he maintains that there was no system of convertible husbandry in common fields before about 1690. What you did have in the common fields was a free choice of crops within the limitations of an inflexible field-course. The introduction of clovers in the late seventeenth century was the first sign of the appearance of ley farming or convertible husbandry in common fields, while the growing of turnips in the early eighteenth century led to more flexible management and new field-courses. By 1720, Dr Kerridge contends, the new crops of turnips, rape, potatoes, sainfoin, and clovers "had spread everywhere and percolated far down, but it was only between then and about 1760 that the innovations were virtually completed on the most backward farms" (p. 294).

Displaying a fine, if unwonted, chauvinism, Dr Kerridge holds that the new crops and the other improvements came very largely from domestic sources. The influence of the Dutch and others in the development of convertible husbandry has been exaggerated: it was limited to the provision of some early supplies of seeds of clover, sainfoin, and lucerne. Home-grown

clover seeds "were available in ample quantities . . . , virtually every agriculturally valuable grass . . . was indigenous. Nearly all the cole and root crops were likewise native to England. . . ." Even the employment of Dutch drainers "was due less to their engineering than their financial ability. English engineers had more experience and expertness in fen drainage. . . Floating was an English innovation and the up-and-down husbandries of the plain countries were uninfluenced by Continental ideas. England seems to have borrowed precious little" (p. 327-8).

On the development of the new crops, water-meadows, and livestock improvements, Dr Kerridge is valuably informative. He goes to great pains to date their introduction and their spreading to wider areas, examines their advantages and limitations, and is illuminating on the practical difficulties of converting permanent tillage and grass to convertible husbandry. (These difficulties, it might be thought, appear so formidable as to suggest that there were indeed good reasons for farmers' conservatism.) In all this, Dr Kerridge displays a vast, wide-ranging knowledge of the sources, and a deep and intimate understanding of the complexities of agricultural processes.

When we turn to the question of the general importance of the new techniques, however, he is less convincing. Dr Kerridge is determined to belittle the post-1750 developments, and this draws him into both an exaggeration of the seventeenth-century changes and an absurd discounting of the enclosures, stock-breeding, machinery, drainage, new fertilizers, and feedingstuffs of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

His argument, in the extreme form in which it is put, involves the creation of two myths: that there still exists a school of thought that places all the important changes in the century after 1750 and ignores earlier developments, and that his own evidence shows that by 1750 there was little or no room for further major improvement "for the simple reason that all opportunities for such had previously been exhausted" (p. 338).

The basic importance of convertible husbandry and the value of the new fodder crops

and grasses introduced in the seventeenth century have of course been recognized and discussed by a number of scholars. Much land, it is well understood, was already enclosed or farmed in severalty before the period of parliamentary enclosure. But if enclosure, and the more efficient farming which enclosures helped to make possible, were of such little consequence after 1750, it is surely difficult to explain why they attracted so much landlords' and farmers' capital and why they proved so profitable? It is true that enclosure often led to little or no change in cultivation and field-courses (but economized in time and labour), that parliamentary enclosures re-allotted some land enclosed earlier, and that waste land was sometimes subject to temporary cultivation before enclosure—but all this does not mean, as Dr Kerridge avers, that because the results of enclosure were various, and are not susceptible to accurate measurement, they are unimportant. It would be equally unsound, and equally easy, to make precisely the same observation about up-and-down husbandry. Pipe-drainage, as Dr Kerridge says, affected only a part of the farmland; the same is of course true of the seventeenth-century water-meadows. He appears, too, to be a little overstating the matter when he says that the improvement of implements after 1750 was "inconsiderable and inconclusive," and the developments in stock-breeding, "over-rated" (p. 39); while it has surely been long and widely recognized that on some soils the continuance of bare fallows was necessary and advantageous.

These brief remarks perhaps serve to indicate the artificial nature of the '1750-1850 case' that Dr Kerridge erects as an Aunt Sally. To his own case that all the main achievements of the agricultural revolution fell before 1720, and most of them before 1673, many objections might be made. As a case, it is not very much helped by the argument about the relative achievements of agricultural change before and after 1750 in feeding the population from home produced supplies: this is not merely because of Dr Kerridge's elementary confusion over the difference between absolute and proportionate population increases, but also because of the

doubtful and complex nature of the problems involved in making comparisons in standards of diet over so long a period, and in assessing the effects of the much-increased urbanization of the population, with its greatly expanded and diversified demand for imported food-stuffs and agricultural raw materials—on all of which Dr Kerridge is not very convincing.

Even in his period, as later, by no means all the food supplies or agricultural raw materials were produced solely in England and Wales, of course; and if most of the technical advances were achieved before 1673, and were so productive, it is difficult to understand the existence of severe dearths, generally high grain prices, and government alarm about food supplies in the 1620's, 1630's, and 1640's, especially as Dr Kerridge confusingly attributes both the short-term fall in corn prices of 1617-20 and "the general and great prosperity reflected in rising prices, profits, wages and rents after the mid-1560's" to "the fruits of agricultural innovation" (p. 344). Indeed, the great secular price rise of the century after 1560 would hardly seem to be the best evidence for the success of Dr Kerridge's agricultural revolution.

Nor is Dr Kerridge's case helped by ignoring the important changes in the legal and institutional framework of agriculture, the decline of old forms of tenure, the development of the mortgage, the growth of larger and more compact farms, and improved estate management—to mention only a few of the relevant advances. There is also a remarkable failure to recognize that, in addition to the innovations he discusses, simple expansion of the cultivated acreage played a large part in the increased food supplies of the 1540-1700 period, although to Dr Kerridge the expansion of the cultivated acreage after 1750 gives away the supposed case for an agricultural revolution then!

These curiosities and aberrations apart, Dr Kerridge has written an important book, indeed an invaluable one for the study of farming techniques and agricultural progress in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From it we can learn a great deal about farming methods, if not much about rural society (here Joan

Thirsk's pages in *The Agrarian History* provide the necessary corrective). Not everyone will agree with Dr Kerridge on every technical point of farming practices, and this is understandable when these are matters of complexity and geographical diversity (and when the matter is confused by the introduction of a novel and eccentric terminology). Very few will agree with him on the overriding importance he ascribes to the innovations that are so ably described, and this again is only to be expected when his argument is couched in such extreme terms. It seems in Dr Kerridge's nature to prefer controversial assertion to balanced discussion: a pity, for with sounder judgement this could have been a truly great and brilliant book.

G. E. MINGAY

JOHN WEBB (ed.), *Poor Relief in Elizabethan Ipswich*. Suffolk Records Society, vol. ix, 1966. Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office, County Hall, Ipswich, 1967. 168 pp. illus. 30s.

The records of poor relief in Elizabethan Ipswich are unusually good and Mr Webb has provided an illuminating selection in this volume. The municipal authorities at Ipswich co-ordinated private and public charities and maintained two institutions for indoor relief, the Tooley Foundation (almshouses), and a municipal poor house, Christ's Hospital. The administration and accounts of these two institutions are well illustrated by selected documents, while the system of outdoor relief for the able-bodied poor is explained by specimen weekly payments and poor-rate assessments. The latter provide a directory of the wealthier inhabitants in 1574. Perhaps the most interesting document in the volume is a detailed census of the poor in 1597 which describes the occupation, age, and needs of the head of each family as well as those of his wife and children.

Mr Webb confines his introduction and editorial comments to explanation, which is admirably done, and promises a more detailed analysis in a later volume. This should be interesting, but it would have been helpful if the documents selected here could have been related more fully to the history of Ipswich—and particularly if the numbers of the poor could

have been compared with population estimates. Nevertheless, this is a valuable collection of documents which shows how Elizabethan poor relief really worked.

M. A. HAVINDEN

E. L. JONES (ed.), *Agriculture and Economic Growth in England, 1650-1815*. Debates in Economic History. University Paperbacks. Methuen, 1967. x+196 pp. 15s.

This book is oddly described as a University Paperback Original, for it consists of seven reprinted papers; only the introduction by the editor is original work. The reprints are Lord Ernle's general discussion on obstacles to progress, originally printed in 1925; Havinden on agricultural progress in open-field Oxfordshire (1961); Mathias on agriculture and the brewing and distilling industries in the eighteenth century (1952); Chambers on enclosure and the supply of labour in the industrial revolution (1953); Martin on the cost of Parliamentary enclosure in Warwickshire (1964); E. L. Jones on agricultural change in England from 1660 to 1750 (1965); and A. H. John on agricultural productivity and economic growth in England from 1700 to 1760 (1967).

It is useful to have these papers reprinted in a handy and very cheap edition. Dr Jones's introduction is a valuable summary of current thought on the very considerable technical improvements of the seventeenth century which culminated in the later extinction of the open fields under Parliamentary enclosure; he has added a brief bibliography of recent books and articles on the agricultural history of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

E. H. WHETHAM

GERTRUD SCHRÖDER-LEMBKE (ed.), *Martin Grosser, Anleitung zu der Landwirtschaft; Abraham von Thumbshirn, Oeconomia: Zwei frühe deutsche Landwirtschaftsschriften*. Gustav Fischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1965. 110 pp. DM 34.

It is a pleasure to welcome the republication of two of the oldest agricultural treatises in German literature. Conrad Heresbach wrote an earlier tract in Latin (*De Re Rustica*, 1570), but

Thumbshirn and Grosser were the first authors of works in the German language. Grosser is the more sympathetic writer and the more interesting to students of peasant agriculture. He was familiar, as a theologian, with the classical literature on farming, but recognized its irrelevance in his native countryside of Lower Silesia. Instead, he studied the farming ways of his parishioners—he was also interested in their weather lore and dialects, though promised accounts of these did not materialize—and in 1585 was prevailed upon by his landlord and patron to write an account of local agriculture. With refreshing humility and respect for the experience of the peasantry, he expressed no desire to change their ways, only to record. He observed differences between the rich and poor farmers: the Jews of Cracow fattened their geese in winter on mashes of barley and wheatmeal; the poor used millet, an inferior food for this purpose. Yet millet, he explains elsewhere, yielded better than any other grain in the right places, and fetched as high a price as wheat at the market. There are other instructive comments on the choice of grains: winter barley varieties were available, but since they did not yield much more than spring barley they were not often used; spring wheat, however, was favoured by peasants around Strehlen and Neisse because it ripened quicker than other varieties and gave them more time to bring in their other harvests, though yields were not high; spring rye produced a better meal than winter rye.

Thumbshirn's treatise is written in the more generalized manner of a landlord accustomed to command his servants, but without any close interest in idiosyncrasies of farming practice. He was a landowner in Saxony and steward to the Kurfürst August von Sachsen, who carried out a survey of his master's estate in 1571, and later wrote this textbook for other stewards. It circulated widely in manuscript, and was much plagiarized, but was not published until 1616, 23 years after his death. In the light of recent work on the value of fishponds (see this REVIEW, vol. 16, pt 2, pp. 161-3) it is worth noting that Thumbshirn recommended fishponds among the fields, not only for their fish which were then so expensive, he

said, but also for their mud for fertilizing the fields.

JOAN THIRSK

HANS-HEINRICH MÜLLER, *Märkische Landwirtschaft vor den Agrarreformen von 1807. Entwicklungstendenzen des Ackerbaues in der zweiten Hälfte des 18 Jahrhunderts*. Veröffentlichungen des Bezirksheimatmuseums Potsdam, Heft 13, 1967, 232 pp. illus. 6.50 MDM.

This book deals with agriculture in the Mark Brandenburg during the fifty years preceding the agricultural reforms of 1807. This part of Prussia includes the Kurmark, centred on Berlin, the Altmark, west of the Elbe, and the Neu-mark, east of the Oder. Even when it is allowed that some change came earlier it is usually said that these legal reforms initiated agricultural progress. Here however is proof, in quantitative detail, of the remarkable progress achieved between 1750 and 1800.

Change came through the work of those who leased the great estates of the nobility and the king, often "*wagemutige Profiteure*," who had grown wealthy during the wars, and of the peasants who provided feudal labour on the estates and who, where their own farms were favourably enough located, made changes particularly on the small plots near their homes and became commercial farmers. It is important to realize that these parts of Prussia were not those where feudal burdens on the peasants were heaviest. Many of these changes ran parallel, but not necessarily in phase, with those well known in Great Britain, particularly as some of them were achieved by such Englishmen as Brown, who introduced the "englische Wirtschaft" as an administrator on Count Kameke's estates. These improvements included the use of the English plough, the separation of demesne land from the common strips, and the consolidation of other farms, the introduction of leguminous leys and roots, the diminution of the fallow, the increase of pasture on once casually cultivated outfields, manuring, marling, and draining of intensively cultivated infields, etc. Feudal dues were rapidly commuted while the number of day labourers increased. Rural life became polar-

ized between the large and medium-scale commercial farmers and the labouring proletariat. By the time of the formal changes of 1807 these processes had gone very far, though their exact extent would require more research to evaluate precisely.

This book was published in Eastern Germany from the local history museum at Potsdam. Accordingly the changes are discussed against a background of Marxist theory, both of the original Marx-Engels theory and more recent interpretations. Marx, in fact, was born only ten years after the official reforms. The author maintains that the more traditional economic historians, and many Marxists also, have tended to post-date agricultural change.

The author bases his work upon detailed archival research and cites evidence from sources surprisingly like those we possess in England. Perhaps his attempt to characterize the physical and agricultural landscape is better performed by the geographer, A. Krenzlin, in *Dorf, Feld, und Wirtschaft im Gebiet der grossen Täler und Platten östlich der Elbe* (1952), for it requires more space and maps than are provided here. It is in fact essential to realize that this is a land of barren sands, variable moraines, and marsh (some drained). Thus as the land differs from Great Britain so many of our reforms were not directly of benefit. What, for instance, would be the advantage of ploughing sands 10 inches deep? The physical worthlessness of much of this area and its gentle charm, and much of the spirit of the great estates, is more attractively put in T. Fontane's classic, *Wanderungen durch den Mark Brandenburg*. Nevertheless the very clear and detailed account of agricultural customs, tools, seeds, and crop yields, and agricultural serfdom is tersely authentic, the result of direct study and observation. The thirty illustrations are well to the point but, as this is an inexpensive book, rather grey. The bibliography of over 300 items is useful, containing a list not only of sources in the archives, but also of early scientific agricultural treatises, the memoirs of landowners and early agricultural scientists, and more recent books from Eastern Germany probably little known in western Europe. A long appendix of great interest contains agricultural

statistics, conversion tables for old local measures, inventories of peasant possessions, data on crop yields, taxation, and population structure. This authoritative and tolerant book is well suited to a useful conversation between historians in both parts of Europe, but equally well serves its local purpose of providing an account of the great changes that preceded those of the present day.

D. J. DAVIS

J. K. S. ST JOSEPH (ed.), *The Uses of Air Photography: Nature and Man in a New Perspective*. John Baker Publishers Ltd, 1966. 166 pp. 65s.

This handsome volume is sponsored by the Cambridge Committee for Aerial Photography. The editor secured the services of a dozen specialists, ranging alphabetically from Lord Esher to W. W. Williams, each of whom contributed a chapter. Air photography was first applied to archaeology as recently as 1906, i.e. within the memory of thousands of scholars still living, and has clearly given historians in general and archaeologists in particular a new and fruitful means of interpreting the past. For agricultural historians, and particularly those obsessed by field systems, its importance is obvious, and Professor David Knowles's short but masterly chapter (pp. 126-38) on "Air photography and history" underlines this with the help of some outstandingly magnificent photographs. Special mention should be made of the 1591 map (Plate 62) of Padbury West Field, in Buckinghamshire, contrasted with the oblique low-level aerial photograph of the same area taken in the early part of the reign of the second Elizabeth (Plate 63), and of the traces of the deserted medieval village at Newbold Grounds, Catesby, Northamptonshire. Other chapters of interest to agricultural historians are those on "Air photographs and the geographer" (J. A. Steers), "Air photography and the scientific study of soils" (R. M. S. Perrin), "Air photography in plant ecology" (C. D. Pigott), and "Applications of air photography to problems of plant disease" (J. Rishbeth). Although this volume will probably not tell the expert much that he did not know before, it will be valuable for acquainting the

local historian with the possibilities of a comparatively new type of evidence.

W. H. CHALONER

JOHN ROACH (ed.), *A Bibliography of Modern History*. Cambridge University Press, 1968. xxiv+388 pp. 30s.

To call this unsystematic and eccentric volume, designed to supplement the *New Cambridge Modern History*, a bibliography of modern history is almost to empty the English language of meaning. A detailed analysis is supererogatory but a few general points can be made. Apart from the misguided decision to limit the lists of books for individual sections to something like thirty titles, editorial supervision was

minimal. Published in 1968 there is no systematic *terminus ad quem* but, according to the editor, "most of the contributions go down to approximately 1961." There is no author index and the subject index clearly reveals that the *New Cambridge Modern History* is dominated by a concern with foreign relations. In particular the coverage of agrarian history is too slight to make this volume worth consulting for this purpose. It is sad to have to review a bibliography so harshly but this slight volume cannot possibly stand on its own, as the preface suggests, as "a useful tool for research and teaching."

W. E. MINCHINTON

Shorter Notices

H. P. R. FINBERG, *Tavistock Abbey. A Study in the Social and Economic History of Devon*. Reprinted by David and Charles, 1969. viii+320 pp. 63s.

A number of memorable studies of ecclesiastical estates appeared between the 1930's and the 1950's which gave us a much clearer notion than ever before both of the common economic and social trends influencing the policy of the great estates in the Middle Ages and the infinite diversity of local agricultural practice. Professor Finberg's work on Tavistock Abbey, whose lands lay mainly in west Devon, was one of these. It sharpened interest in many aspects of Devon agrarian history and continues to do so. Its reprinting—this time by David and Charles—is greatly to be welcomed. Only small corrections have been made to the text.

H. C. DARBY, *The Draining of the Fens*. Second edition reprinted, Cambridge University Press, 1968. xx+314 pp. 65s.

The reprinting of this work, first published in 1940, makes a classic study of fenland history available once more. Professor Darby's new preface revises one or two statements in the last

chapter relating to drainage developments since 1940, but the rest of the text remains the same. Research since the book first appeared has enabled us to appreciate more sympathetically than did Professor Darby the economy of the fens before drainage, and it is a pity that this work is not referred to in the new preface, which offered a chance to bring the bibliography up to date. But it remains a valuable study of drainage history, written mainly from the drainers' point of view.

WILLIAM MARSHALL, *The Review and Abstract of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture*. Reprinted by David and Charles, 1968. 5 vols. 95s. each vol.

The publishers David and Charles are making a noble contribution to the library of reprints of works on agriculture. They are now issuing one of the most prized works of the early nineteenth century, William Marshall's summaries of the county reports to the Board of Agriculture. Marshall grouped the counties into five regions or departments, and the whole set therefore runs to five volumes. William Marshall is generally regarded as a more sensi-

tive and thoughtful commentator than Arthur Young, and these summaries reveal his powers of searching criticism at their best, though he did not always escape niggling comment. Beginning with a frank and often scathing appraisal of each surveyor's qualifications to write on the agriculture of his chosen county, he went on to reorganize and abbreviate their reports under systematic headings, giving the original author's remarks in quotation commas, then adding observations of his own, and occasionally seizing an opportunity to draw out some generalizations based on the wider agricultural literature and his own personal experience. Thus each volume contains the substance of many county reports together with the comments of another well-informed contemporary. This photographic reprint reproduces the smudgy effect of the original pages, but it is a very welcome reprint nevertheless.

JAMES CAIRD, *English Agriculture in 1850-51*.

Second edition with a new introduction by G. E. Mingay. Frank Cass, 1968. xxviii+548 pp. £6 6s.

James Caird's survey of English agriculture in the middle of the nineteenth century has always been regarded as a valuable intermediate survey between the Board of Agriculture's reports at the beginning and those contained in Rider Haggard's *Rural England* and the Parliamentary inquiries into the Great Depression at the end. Writing at the beginning of a new era of free trade, and as an enthusiastic free trader, Caird surveyed the opportunities that lay ahead in an optimistic vein. In every district that he visited he pointed the way, seeing the best chances for pasture farmers, but noting in every arable region ways by which farmers there could also expand their profits by greater efficiency and higher production. This policy was, of course, only open to farmers with capital, and Caird did not explain how the small man was to find it; but his account is the best description of the meaning and methods of high farming that we have. This edition is made more valuable by a new introduction by Professor Mingay, giving details of Caird's career, summarizing and criticizing his main argu-

ments, and giving references to the most relevant articles that have appeared in recent years.

J. B. HARLEY (ed.), *The First Edition of the One Inch Ordnance Survey. A Reprint covering England and Wales in 97 sheets*. Sheets 75: Bridgwater; 83: Tiverton; 97: Plymouth; 91: Exeter and Dartmouth; 90: Tavistock; 82: Bideford, 1969. David and Charles. 15s. per sheet.

All local historians will welcome the splendid enterprise of David and Charles in reprinting this first edition of the Ordnance Survey map on the one-inch scale. They are an invaluable historical record. The series, which will be completed in ninety-seven sheets, began publication in February this year with six sheets which cover the whole of Devon and small parts of Cornwall and Somerset. The rest will be published in batches of six at six-weekly intervals during the next two years. The map covers contain some brief general notes by Dr J. B. Harley on the various printings and revisions of the first edition, together with more specific information relating to each county. A fuller account of the original undertaking will be given in a pamphlet by Dr Harley to follow later. Private buyers are offered a concessionary price of £55 for the whole series if paid for in advance. The maps can be bought folded or flat.

C. L. MOWAT (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History. Vol. XII. The Shifting Balance of World Forces, 1898-1945*. Cambridge University Press, 1968. xxviii+846 pp. £3.

This is the second edition of the volume which originally appeared in 1960. It was then entitled *The Era of Violence*. A longer view of the same period, however, has persuaded the new editor that a more hopeful theme is the interdependence of the continents, bound together by common problems and aspirations and sharing the common use of scientific discoveries; and so the title has been changed. But if, as the editor believes, one of the vital international problems is the population explosion, then the heaviest responsibility for solving it rests with

the farmer, and agriculture deserves a place in this survey. In fact, there is next to nothing on the subject.

Northamptonshire Past and Present, vol. IV, no. 3, 1968-9. Northamptonshire Record Society, 1968. 60 pp. 3s. incl. postage.

This issue of *Northamptonshire Past and Present* contains a number of articles of interest to agricultural historians. Pamela Horn writes on 'Nineteenth-Century Farm Workers in Naseby', a village in which, in the incumbent's words in 1878, "the bitter prejudice of dissent united with [agricultural] unionism." She draws together a number of references especially associating the mud-wall or cob construction of cottages in Northamptonshire with open parishes, since this method of construction was the cheapest possible. J. W. Anscomb describes an eighteenth-century enclosure in the cloth-making village of West Haddon, in the course of which an advertisement appeared, ostensibly inviting attendance at a football play, which was in fact an invitation to join in a riot against the enclosure. J. M. Steane gives local examples of poor relief from Rothwell documents, 1750-1840; and Miss Joan Wake writes a personal reminiscence of Sir Frank Stenton.

Etudes Rurales, nos. 27, 28, 29 (July-Sept. 1967; Oct.-Dec. 1967; Jan.-March 1968). Readers interested in the agrarian history of France will find these three issues of *Etudes Rurales* of considerable value as a guide to current literature and research. No. 27 publicizes the *Rural Atlas of France*. Under the direction of Henri Mendras it is planned as a sociological survey of France between 1954 and 1962, to be presented in the form of maps showing total population, birth and death rates, the rate of migration, the distribution of different age groups, of occupations, of large and small farms, of agricultural equipment, agricultural credit, religious denominations, and political parties, the size of families, and patterns of primary education and litigation. No. 28 contains an extremely useful list covering the whole of France, except Paris (which was dealt with in no. 19, 1966) of institutions engaged in research on French rural society. Under each institution

is listed the scope of its research, work in progress, atlases in preparation for each region, and recently completed theses and memoirs. No. 29 contains a bibliography of articles on rural society that have appeared between January and June 1967. Some are summarized in a short sentence or two.

HUGH PRINCE, *Parks in England*. Pinhorns, 1967. 56 pp. 12s. 6d.

Mr Prince's article in the *Amateur Historian* (vol. III, no. 8) has now been expanded into an attractive illustrated booklet, dealing with the great age of formal park-making in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A very useful appendix lists and maps the parks improved by Charles Bridgeman, William Kent, Lancelot Brown, Richard Woods, and Humphry Repton.

Local Population Studies, Magazine and Newsletter, no. 1, autumn 1968. Nottingham University Department of Adult Education. 56 pp. Annual subscription 7s. 6d. Single copies 5s. 6d.

This new publication has been set up to maintain contact between all workers, amateur and professional, in the field of population studies. The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure will report on its results in it, but articles and letters are invited from local historians so that the journal may become a genuine forum for discussion. It will appear twice yearly. The first number includes an article on 'Population and agrarian change in an eighteenth-century Shropshire parish' by R. E. Jones, and a list of recent publications and local research in progress. Subscriptions should be sent to Mrs A. Boden, Tawney House, Matlock, Derbyshire.

Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei, 1967-8, Budapest, 1968, 292 pp.

The latest collection of articles published by the Hungarian Agricultural Museum (which also publishes the *International Bibliography of Articles on Agrarian History*) contains an interesting contribution by István N. Kiss on the export of wine from the estates of the nobility in Upper Hungary to Poland in the

seventeenth century. Much more is known of Hungarian cattle exports than of other farm products. Yet according to the customs records for 1610 and 1611 the annual export of wine from Upper Hungary amounted to 30,000 casks, roughly the equivalent in value of 75,000–80,000 fat cattle. This volume also includes an article on types of Hungarian wooden ploughs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

SVEND GISSEL, *Landgilde og Udsæd på Sjælland i de Store Mageskifters Tidsalder. Retrospektive Studier i Landbo- og bebyggelsehistorie*. Landbohistorisk Selskab, Copenhagen, 1968. 444 pp.

This is a study of manorial rents and crops in Zealand in the sixteenth century, based especially on the Landbook or survey of Zealand of 1567, and on documents relating to the great land exchanges. The author shows that the assessment of rents was not as completely irrational as agricultural historians used to think, but carefully related to the use of land, i.e. rent was calculated according to the crops sown. A short English summary unfortunately leaves out the detailed information on cropping which the English reader would most like to see.

GERTRUD HELLING, 'Berechnung eines Index der Agrarproduktion in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pt 4, 1965, pp. 125–51; 'Zur Entwicklung der Produktivität in der deutschen Landwirtschaft im 19. Jahrhundert', *ibid.*, pt 1, 1966, pp. 129–41; 'Berechnung vergleichbarer Indizes der Agrarproduktion entwickelter kapitalistischen Länder im 19. Jahrhundert', *ibid.*, pt 1, 1968, pp. 183–238; pt 3, 1968, pp. 277–337.

In four recent articles Dr Gertrud Helling has attempted to calculate an index of agricultural production for Germany in the nineteenth century and then to compare it with the evidence from France, America, and Great Britain. These articles deserve to be brought to the attention of British agricultural historians.

No official statistics on agricultural production were collected in Germany until 1878.

Hence the construction of an index presents great difficulties, which are made worse by the division of Germany into many small states. Nevertheless, scattered data are brought together to make an index of arable production, 1800–1900, and another of animal production, which are then combined in an index of both sectors of agriculture. This suggests that total agricultural production increased over the century three to three and a half times (from index no. 100 to 364 reckoned by current grain prices, or 328 reckoned by fixed prices). The increase was much greater in the first half of the century than in the second and is not explained away by the deficiencies of the evidence. Although the level of production was unduly depressed by the Napoleonic War, great improvements in agricultural technique were readily visible in the 1840's.

In the second article, Dr Helling compares this result with the evidence of industrial productivity. Agricultural performance shows up well when account is taken of the changing size of the labour force in the two sectors of the economy. Population rose by 230 per cent in the nineteenth century, but whereas the number of workers in industry rose, that in agriculture fell substantially. Yet output per hectare doubled at the very least, labour productivity in cereals trebled, and in agriculture as a whole, it rose 2.6 times.

In the third article Dr Helling compares these results with those for France and the U.S.A. The sources are discussed and indices compiled on a uniform basis. French agricultural production appears to have increased two and a half times (compared with three and a half times in Germany), a surprising result which Dr Helling attributes partly to the more advanced state of development of France in 1800 compared with Germany, partly to the difficulties in which the French peasantry found themselves after the Revolution, endowed with land but burdened with rents, dues, and taxes which hampered their efforts to increase production. The problem of interpreting the statistics looms large at this point but is not pursued. The increase in American production was so spectacular (rising from 100 in 1800–10 to 1,220 in 1896–1900) that it could not

fail to exert a tremendous impact on European economies. On the other hand, productivity per worker was lowest in America and highest in France. In all three countries, it is noticeable that production increased much more rapidly in the first half of the century than in the second and that sharp fluctuations separated each five-year period.

In the fourth article Dr Helling examines British agricultural production, and compares her results with those for France and Germany. Britain showed greater success in increasing her production of arable crops in the first half of the century but fell back more dramatically than the others in the second half. However, stock production in the U.K. increased through-

out the century, faster than in France, though not as fast as in Germany. Measured against the increase of population and the size of the labour force in farming, agricultural production in Great Britain, alone of all three countries, failed to match the rate of population increase. Production did not overtake population growth until 1841-5, kept pace with it till 1856-60, but fell increasingly behind from 1861 to the end of the century. By 1896 production had risen 2.4 times but the population had risen 3.2 times. Nevertheless, productivity per worker increased almost without interruption from 1841 onwards and at a much faster rate than in other countries from the 70's onwards.

A Note on the Origins of the 'Broiler' Industry

By W. H. CHALONER

IN view of the continuing controversy about the raising of chickens in broiler houses, it is interesting to note that this 'industry' is not a particularly recent development. As far back as 1903 Chapman and Hall published, as vol. vi of 'The Woman's Library', a book entitled *The Lighter Branches of Agriculture* by Edith Bradley, warden of Lady Warwick College, Studley Castle, Warwickshire, and Bertha La Motte, with an introduction by the Countess of Warwick. After noting that the impetus to introduce "new appliances of every description both elaborate and simple . . . likely to revolutionize the poultry industry" had come from the U.S.A., and particularly from the Anglo-American Poultry Company and the Cyphers Incubator Company, the authors went on (pp. 199-200) to describe the Cyphers Duck and Broiler Plant at Wayland, near Buffalo, N.Y. They had to explain that 'broilers' was the American name for "young birds from five to six weeks old, which are 'picked up',

plucked, and trussed, split open and broiled like a mackerel. They are very delicious if nicely cooked and served hot, as they possess much more flavour than the mature chicken." From the catalogue of the Cyphers Incubator Company they quoted a description of the Wayland plant: "It consists of a 300-foot brooding house of the latest pattern, heated by hot water and regulated by a Cyphers electric regulator . . . during the past four years thousands of pounds of green ducks, broilers, and roasters have been produced and sold." From the photographs accompanying the text (pp. 201, 203) it would appear that a certain amount of 'free range' was provided. The authors commented: "Of course this is all carried on, on a truly American or 'mammoth' scale, which is quite beyond the scope of ordinary people, as an immense capital is necessarily required." It would be interesting to know when the first British broiler plant was established.

Notes and Comments

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The annual conference of the Society was held at the University of Lancaster from Monday, 14 April, to Wednesday, 16 April 1969. An opening reception, provided by the University of Lancaster, was followed by a dinner at which the Society's guests were Professors P. A. Reynolds, A. H. Woolrych, and H. J. Perkins.

Papers were read by Professor F. M. L. Thompson on 'The role of the surveyor in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agriculture'; by Professor G. E. Mingay on 'The survival of the small farmer'; and by Professor J. Oliver on 'Climate and agricultural history, with respect to variations in time, space, and farming systems'. Dr J. D. Marshall's paper, 'Some Lakeland agricultural history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', provided a background to an excursion to Lake Windermere, Town End, a yeoman's house at Troutbeck, and John Wilkinson's land reclamation near the Cartmel coast.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Society's seventeenth AGM was held at the University of Lancaster on 15 April 1969 with Professor W. E. Minchinton, who had been re-elected chairman by the Executive Committee, in the chair. Mr G. E. Fussell, Mr C. A. Jewell, and Mr M. A. Havinden were re-elected President, Treasurer, and Secretary respectively. Professor H. P. R. Finberg, Mr G. Houston, Mr Harwood Long, and Dr W. J. Rowe were elected to the Executive Committee.

In presenting the report of the Executive Committee, Professor Minchinton noted that membership had risen from 672 to 683 and hoped that members would not slacken their efforts to increase numbers still further. The 1970 conference will be held from Monday, 6 April, to Wednesday, 8 April, in the West Midlands, while a joint conference with Dutch agricultural historians at Wageningen is proposed for April 1971.

The British Academy was thanked for its

further grant of £200 towards the publications of the Society.

The Treasurer reported that the Society's financial position was sound and the accounts were adopted.

BANKER'S ORDERS

The Treasurer would like to stress that payment of subscriptions by Banker's Order is a great convenience, both to members and to the Society, and hopes that all members who do not yet subscribe by this means will be persuaded of the advantages it offers since it saves members from having to send cheques and the Society the expense of sending out requests and reminders.

EXPORT OF HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS

It was reported that Mr J. Edwards, Reading University Archivist, had represented the Society at a meeting to consider the draft of the proposed Bill to control the export of historical manuscripts.

INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

The University of Reading, which has for a long time acted as a focus of interest in agricultural history on account of its Museum of English Rural Life, has now set up an Institute of Agricultural History. Its staff all hold existing full-time appointments in the university and consist of three associate directors, C. A. Jewell (Keeper of the Museum), E. J. T. Collins (bibliography), and E. L. Jones (research), with some bibliographical and secretarial help. The functions of the Institute are to promote teaching and research in agricultural history within the University of Reading and to offer facilities and bibliographical assistance to other *bona fide* scholars.

Reading is ideally situated for this enterprise. The main library of Reading University is strong in agricultural and agricultural history works, including the older printed works and pamphlets. Special collections include the Overstone Library of which the nucleus originally belonged to the nineteenth-century politi-

cal economist, J. R. McCulloch. Situated within the main library is the university archive, which has a large and comprehensively catalogued collection of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and early twentieth-century farm records. These come mainly, but not solely, from southern and eastern England. In addition to original sets of farm accounts relating to over 700 farms, copies of which have been offered to the relevant county archives, there are microfilm copies of outstanding records from other repositories, making the collection in total the biggest single body of historical farm account material in Britain. There are also collections of estate records, the papers of firms of country solicitors, the correspondence of leading agriculturists and ancillary documents. The Museum of English Rural Life, moreover, contains a big selection of material artefacts, a large body of illustrative material, and its own specialist library of books and pamphlets on rural history. Finally, Reading is fairly close to a ring of other institutions with libraries (often containing special historical collections) of interest to agricultural historians. Some of these are constituent parts of, or attached to, Reading University. They include the National Institute for Research in Dairying nearby at Shinfield, the Grasslands Research Institute at Hurley, the National College of Food Technology at Weybridge, the ICI research station at Jealott's Hill, and the Curtis Agricultural Museum at Alton. The College of Estate Management has become part of the university and will shortly be moving to Reading. Also within reach west of London are such bodies as the Milk Marketing Board at Thames Ditton and the Meteorological Office at Bracknell.

On the bibliographical side the Institute is attempting to build up an abstracting service covering publications on British agricultural history from 1967, and is starting to work back through articles in the major journals. Ultimately it is hoped to develop an information retrieval system from which subject-classified lists of references and sets of abstracts can be made available to inquirers. Beyond this, the intention is to publish as occasional papers selected and annotated bibliographies on special subjects, mainly prepared by interested

members of the academic staff at Reading. Although a lack of funds at the present moment hampers expansion, it is hoped that this enterprise will flourish.

THE FARMER'S JOURNAL AND MANUFACTURER'S AND TRADER'S REGISTER, 1807-09

The Brynmor Jones Library at Hull University has recently acquired volumes 1 and 2 of *The Farmer's Journal, and Manufacturer's and Trader's Register*. These two volumes contain the Saturday edition of this journal from no. 1 (Saturday, 25 April 1807) to no. 104 (Saturday, 15 April 1809). The title of the journal was changed to *Evans and Ruffy's Farmer's Journal and Manufacturer's and Trader's Register* with volume 3 (no. 105, 22 April 1809), and further changed with volume 4 (no. 205, 23 March 1811) to *Evans and Ruffy's Journal and Agricultural Advertiser*.

It appears from the *British Union Catalogue of Periodicals* and the *Union List of Serials* that no other library, either in Britain or North America, has a complete holding of these two volumes: the British Museum holdings begin with vol. 3, 1809; Rothamsted Experimental Station and the Walter Frank Perkins Agricultural Library at Southampton University have only later volumes; and the Ministry of Agriculture Library and the Agricultural Research Council have no holdings.

THE MUSEUM OF FARMING LIFE AT AUCHINDRAIN, ARGYLL

A Museum of Farming Life has been set up at Auchindrain, between Inverary and Lochgilphead, which is a unique project for preserving a record of past life in the Highlands of Scotland. The site is the last multiple-tenancy farm in mainland Argyll, from which the last tenant moved out as recently as 1963. The buildings were then in a relatively good state of preservation and a Trust was formed in 1964, representing the Argyll Trustees, Argyll County Council, the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Glasgow Museum and Art Galleries, and the Natural History and Antiquarian Society of Mid Argyll, to restore the

place and gather together household goods, tools, toys, and other material with which to furnish the buildings as they looked in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The museum has received generous assistance from the Carnegie U.K. Trust, the Highlands and Islands Development Board, and the Argyll County Council, and it is now a going concern. A society has been formed of the Friends of Auchindrain to offer support, advice, and help in acquiring and arranging museum materials. The minimum subscription is one guinea. Information and membership forms may be obtained from Miss Elizabeth Meldrum, Secretary, Friends of Auchindrain Society, 2 The University, Glasgow, W.2.

THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH CLIMATE

A Group for the Study of the History of the British Climate has been formed, which meets twice a year in Oxford. Anyone who is interested in receiving the literature circulated by this group and in attending its meetings should write to Trevor Aston, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. At the last meeting a detailed discussion took place on the period 1300-45, which included the evaluation of tree-ring evidence. The next meeting is planned for January 1970 and will discuss methods and evidence used by climatologists in the study of present and future weather.

TOOLS AND TILLAGE

The first issue of a new journal, *Tools and Tillage*, has just appeared. It is edited jointly by Axel Steensberg, Grith Lerche, and Alexander Fenton, in English and German, and its aim

is to provide a forum for the discussion, by scholars in several disciplines, of field systems, and the methods and implements of cultivation as they have appeared and changed through the ages in all parts of the world. This deliberately specialist journal will appeal to all who take a serious interest in agrarian history. Volume 1 contains a system for classifying pre-industrial implements of cultivation by Frantisek Sach of Czechoslovakia, a study of harvesting with sickles in Iran by Grith Lerche of Denmark, notes on an international bibliography of plough literature by Ulrich Bentzien of Rostock, and fresh information, including radio-carbon dates, on a number of wooden ploughing implements from peat bogs. There are also notes, and reviews of relevant books.

Subscriptions should be placed with the publishers, G. E. C. Gad, 32 Vimmelskaftet, DK-1161 Copenhagen K, Denmark. The cost is \$3 U.S. (approx. 25s. 6d.).

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT FOR RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

The REVIEW receives the regular newsletter sent out by the secretariat from Denmark (address: Brede Allé, 2800 Lyngby). The latest contains a report of a long trip by Axel Steensberg and the secretary to study collections of agricultural implements at Canberra, take part in an international congress in Japan, and examine prehistoric implements at Aleppo. It also includes the latest accessions to the library. The Editor will gladly lend this literature to any interested member of the B.A.H.S.