

Book Reviews

BARBARA BENDER, *Farming in Prehistory: From Hunter-Gatherer to Food-Producer*. John Baker, 1975. xi + 268 pp., 5 plates, 36 figs. £5.50.

This is a courageous attempt to bring together the considerable amount of work on this subject in recent years. One assumes that the author is an archaeologist, and that the book is written for undergraduates in prehistory, because the research worker will soon wish to desert this introductory treatment for the original and more specialized accounts. The illustration of the ears of a cereal crop on the cover accords with my impression that there is more about plants than animals.

The domestication of plants and animals provides a major theme, and as an illustration of the *naïveté* with which this subject has been regarded by archaeologists a remark by the author in the preface might be quoted—that she thought the book would take 18 months to write, but it took five years to complete. The end product is a good synthesis of world-wide evidence.

Domestication is very much a biological problem, and the lack of appreciation of this fact leads archaeologists into errors and irrelevant considerations. The statement in the second sentence on page 1, that domestication created new species, is one such error. Geneticists have long shown that domestication did not create any new inheritance—it merely allowed a greater range of variation to survive.

The author devotes twenty pages to a theoretical consideration of domestication, and largely ignores the genetic literature on the subject. Possibly the most important factor in domestication, the ecological relationship between man and animals, is dismissed in a few words because it is incompatible with economic considerations. The most likely explanation of domestication is that it was a very gradual ecological process, and that the economics of the situation came later (as repeatedly stated by such authors as C. A. Reed). This accords with the religious evidence quoted by Barbara Bender.

In chapter 3, 'The Recognition of Domestication', the author is on safer ground, but recent evidence from chromosome numbers, that the author could not be expected to know, has come down firmly in favour of the Mouflon, and not the Urial, as the ancestor of domestic sheep. Two sentences are devoted to the fleece, and although only one paper of mine on the subject is listed in the bibliography, this is not referred to in the author index, and so is apparently not quoted in the text. In discussing carcass weight, only one reference is used, and instead of making sweeping statements about milk yield and the consumption of blood,

quantitative evidence could have been given from modern anthropological literature.

The author continues with a chapter on climatic change in which Meso-America and Peru are included, and another one on the distribution of potential domesticates in the old world; those of Central and South America are covered in an appendix.

It is excellent that Barbara Bender does not perpetuate Payne's erroneous statement that sheep and goats formed an interbreeding population as late as the Palaeolithic period. She quotes Curtin's evidence from blood types opposing this view, but has apparently missed my own paper on the subject in the same volume (*Antiquity*, XLV, p. 220, 1971).

The book then ends with chapters detailing archaeological evidence from South-West Asia, and Meso-America and Peru. This last chapter is a very commendable feature of the book since few syntheses covering this area are available. There is also an appendix covering Africa, India, China, and South-East Asia.

M. L. RYDER

E. S. HIGGS (ed.), *Palaeoeconomy*. Cambridge: C.U.P., 1975. ix + 244 pp. Maps. Illus. £8.50.

This second volume of papers in economic prehistory by members and associates of the British Academy Major Research Project in the Early History of Agriculture has a different title but follows the same pattern as the first.

It is accordingly just as difficult to review, and poses the question: "when does a volume of papers become a periodical?"—because by publishing its own work in this way the group could be accused of avoiding the rigours of refereeing that is usual with publication in academic journals. One advantage of these volumes over a journal, however, is the provision of a subject index and a name index, and there is an introduction by the editor and M. R. Jarman.

Although this volume is somewhat longer than the first, there are only six instead of eight papers. There are, however, two appendices and a glossary of terms—is this partly in answer to the request in my review of the first volume? The papers are lengthy and detailed, and seem likely to have run into difficulties had the authors sought publication elsewhere.

In the first paper on palaeoeconomy, E. S. Higgs and M. R. Jarman discuss the changing attitudes of archaeologists and the increasing use of science. As one who has always regarded archaeology as a science, I was particularly impressed with their last paragraph which concludes with: "It is only by bridging the gap at a theoretical level that a worth-

while discipline centred on man can be built, or that the sciences can make a major contribution to it. This demands the acceptance by archaeologists of the relevance of science theory to archaeological problems, and the acceptance by scientists that archaeology can contribute worthwhile objectives in which they can participate more fully than by the refinement of existing techniques."

P. F. Wilkinson adds more on the musk ox with a discussion on the relevance of its exploitation to the study of prehistoric animal economies. This is one example of the way in which archaeologists are more and more using long-established biological techniques, but at the same time full use of anthropology is made in his detailed consideration of the interpretation of archaeological data.

Then follows an account by D. A. Sturdy of some reindeer economies in prehistoric Europe in which he concluded that herd following was probably universal among groups mainly dependent on this species. Since sites were frequently located on natural routes, or on the edges of a grazing area, the author also concluded that the animals could be observed and exploited with the minimum of disturbance.

R. W. Dennell and D. Webley in a study of prehistoric settlement and land use in southern Bulgaria consider that in Neolithic and Bronze Age times the settlements there were so close together that they could be regarded as parts of an integrated and interdependent system of considerable economic strength.

In a similar survey of central Italy G. W. W. Barker demonstrates marked regional differences which indicate that the findings from a single site cannot be taken as representative of an entire area. He also shows that a changed economy can no longer be thought of as necessarily associated with a complete change of culture and the influx of new people. Of particular interest to the reviewer is the hint that transhumance of flocks to lowland winter pastures might have occurred as early as the Neolithic period.

The concluding paper by M. R. Jarman and D. Webley covers settlement and land use in Capitanata, Italy, in which it is shown that the appearance of cereal-dependent economies with the Neolithic era caused a movement of settlements from the hills to the plain. A later hiatus in their development they consider as being due to climatic deterioration.

In a volume placing emphasis on land use and territory it is useful to have appendices, A on site catchment analysis, and B on related territories and alluvial settlements. Appendix C gives a full list of other publications of the group since its inception.

On the whole this volume is more mature than the first, and there is less of the euphoria about the

discovery of scientific method which is now well established.

M. L. RYDER

R. PUJOL and R. LAURANS (eds.), *L'Homme et L'Animal: Proceedings of the First Conference of Ethnozoology*. Paris, Inst. Int. d'Ethnoscience, 1975. 644 pp. £9.

This collection of papers in French (with summaries in English) covers the entire spectrum of relationships between man and animals from primitive hunting to the modern concern about the conservation of declining breeds of livestock.

The first section contains eleven papers under the heading ethnoecology, going back to the relationships that must have existed between man and animals before domestication, and using as evidence present-day associations between man and animals in Asia, Europe, Africa, and South America.

The next section has seven papers on symbiotic and hunting relationships, again taking evidence from primitive African and South American tribes. Then follows a miscellaneous collection of ten papers concerned with the role of animals in ritual and magic, and the utilization of insects (e.g. the honey-bee). Also in this section is an account of the goose-raising of Poitou for feathers which are plucked twice a year.

The next fifteen papers cover the place of animals in language and thought, including such aspects as local names and classifications, symbolism, taboos, and the psychology of man-animal relationships. Of particular interest to readers of this journal are papers on the horse and the water-buffalo.

The final third of the book will be of most interest to agricultural historians, this subject being termed "ethnozootechnie" in France where the emphasis is rightly on technological change rather than on economics as in Britain. Following an introduction by R. Laurans on the contribution of ethnozootechnie to ethnoscience, there is a paper surveying the domestic animals of France during the Neolithic period.

The second paper of this section discusses the evidence of horses in ancient Nubia. The next paper describes the domestication of the guinea-fowl, and provides evidence for its keeping in Greece at least as early as the domestic fowl. There then follows an account of the recent experimental domestication of large ungulates such as the gazelle in south and east Africa, and in the same category there is a short paper on the domestication of the white rat and the hamster.

The subject then changes to the linguistics associated with husbandry. An informant's account of a mountain pastoral economy is used to illustrate the techniques of transcription, data analysis, and translation, and two more papers give the results of a

study of a rural community in France, and the mountain way of life of the Pasiegos, presumably of the Pyrenees. The final paper of this section describes a new method of synchronizing the analysis of physical and oral expression by the use of photography at the same time as speech recording.

Details are given of the training and harnessing of oxen in Ethiopia, and the method by which a female camel is made to adopt a young orphan. Attempts made to preserve the "Nooitgedacht" horse of South Africa, a type introduced in the seventeenth century, are described. The husbandry and usage of the horse by the Moussey tribe of Chad and Cameroon are detailed. Then follows a paper on pig husbandry in medieval France and another on the pig in modern China.

The next seven papers are about sheep in France: the unique husbandry on the island of Ushant; the integration of agriculture and animal husbandry in the Toulourenc valley (Vaucluse); sheep-raising on the Blandas Causse (Gard), and four papers on the seasonal transhumance of sheep between summer mountain and winter lowland pastures, over one million sheep still being involved in these movements.

The final paper makes the case for the preservation of declining breeds of livestock in France, not only for historical study but also to maintain adequate genetic variation for future selective breeding. The book has an index by animal species, and another by places, and the French can be congratulated not only on the detailed recording of the husbandry of their own country but also on the excellent synthesis of many diverse ethnographical instances of the association of man with animals throughout the world.

M. L. RYDER

J. G. EVANS, SUSAN LIMBREY, and HENRY CLEERE (eds.), *The Effect of Man on the Landscape: The Highland Zone*. The Council for British Archaeology, Research Report no. II, 1975. viii + 129 pp. 62 figs, 14 tables, 8 plates. £7.50.

In 1974, the Council for British Archaeology held a conference at Lancaster University on the theme of man's impact on the landscape of highland Britain. The proceedings of the conference have now been published as the C.B.A.'s research report no. II. Archaeology is of course notoriously catholic in its breadth of interests. The contents of this report are no exception. As well as various types of archaeologists, its contributors include pedologists, paleobotanists, zoologists, and geographers. Their common theme is man's interaction with the landscape. The meaning attached to the term landscape is worth mentioning because it is not always used in the same sense as a Hoskins might use it, with a heavy emphasis on the pattern of man's activities.

A number of contributions treat it simply as another term for the physical environment. However, even those in which man finds a place only as a possible and not a certain cause of environmental change do not lack interest for the agricultural historian.

The report begins with a somewhat eclectic but enjoyable essay by Professor Estyn Evans. After some penetrating observations on the validity of the highland zone concept as originally conceived by Halford Mackinder and Sir Cyril Fox, Professor Evans stresses that hallowed quality of the region, its high degree of cultural continuity from early times. His skilful and, at times, anecdotal blend of archaeology and folklife provides a forceful demonstration of his point. Given the trend of recent work though, one wonders whether a more qualified statement of this view rather than a bold reaffirmation would have been more appropriate. By giving such emphasis to the archaic and stable characteristics of culture in the highland zone, we sometimes stand in danger of overlooking the changes which nevertheless have occurred.

Following Professor Evans's introductory overview is a paper dealing with the effect of upland climate on prehistoric man's choice of habitat. Its author, Mr J. A. Taylor, has set himself no mean task. He responds to the challenge of the problem by catering for all needs, suggesting that one must have had a "veritable mosaic of climatic habitats," whose sheer variety was extended further by "short term periodicities." His paper underlines a point which is not overemphasized elsewhere, that quite apart from any variations brought about by man's treatment of the environment, highland Britain is naturally an area of sharp local contrasts which make the task of generalization both difficult and hazardous. Amongst the most technical papers in the report are three on soils. A general paper by Dr D. F. Ball looks at soil degradation in upland areas and man's role in this process. Another by Mr J. C. C. Romans and Mr L. Robertson approaches the same problem by analysing soil profiles at select prehistoric sites in Scotland (mostly of Bronze and Iron Age dates), and commenting on the evidence which they provide for the onset and progress of podzolization, a specific form of soil degradation. A broadly similar approach is taken by Dr R. F. Smith in his study of soil profile development under the Iron Age and Romano-British field systems of the Yorkshire Pennines.

Readers of the *Review* will probably find the papers on man's early relationship with deer and *Bos primigenius* particularly valuable. The former is covered in papers by Dr R. E. Chaplin and Dr P. Mellars. Both make extensive use of modern work on herd behaviour and stocking levels. Although both are instructive, that by Mellars possibly makes

the more imaginative use of data, arguing in detail how Mesolithic man may have manipulated stock movements and local densities by the controlled use of fire. His paper illustrates the trend amongst archaeologists towards seeing the Mesolithic as a period of protopastoralism, a period when man learned to exercise an unobtrusive influence if not a direct control over such animals. Complementing the contributions by Chaplin and Mellars is a provocative essay by Mrs P. Evans on the link between *Bos primigenius*, or the wild auroch, and late Mesolithic settlement in the highland zone. She argues that the late Mesolithic witnessed a "shift in emphasis between animal imposed and human selected habitats," the former becoming more important. It is her view that the widespread use of coastal occupation sites during this period was linked to local concentrations of *Bos primigenius* whose traditional grazing grounds were slowly being whittled away by a rising sea-level.

In a paper that might have been better placed earlier in the book, Dr I. Simmons examines the total structure of natural eco-systems and man's influence upon them. Given this wider perspective, one of his main conclusions is worth repeating. It is that "the main feed back loop from man to environment was probably fire." His paper is followed by four concerned with man's impact on vegetation. Those by Professor A. G. Smith on Ulster and Dr W. Pennington on the Lake District have much in common. Both explore the problems of the elm decline during the early Neolithic, and the general decline in tree cover which followed soon after. Dr Pennington is especially good on this latter problem, spelling out for us the different stages and side-effects of environmental degradation in the highland zone: deforestation and soil erosion, then podzolization, gleying, and water-logging, ending eventually with peat formation. Professor Smith favours climate as the basic cause of these changes, with man as an accelerating agent. Dr Pennington is also impressed by the role of climate as the primary cause, but still prefers to give early man a determinant role. She hypothesizes a "situation of ecological tension in which human activities led to the crossing of threshold values." Of great interest is a paper by Dr J. E. Turner on her work at Bloak and Kennox Mosses in Ayrshire. It represents a fine example of how three-dimensional pollen diagrams can be used to disentangle local and regional phases of forest clearance. The final paper in this group demonstrates the value of land snails as an indicator of former vegetation change.

The remaining papers in the report focus more directly on prehistoric man and his settlement. They include a sobering reminder of the inadequacies of distribution maps, and a short note on the value of air photographs. In a paper that poses problems,

Dr W. H. Manning suggests that Roman military units in Wales and the north of England must have been maintained by locally grown grain rather than by regional imports. In an equally suggestive contribution, Professor L. Alcock compares early manuscript evidence for animal husbandry with bone counts based on refuse tips at such sites as Dinas Powys in order to show that interpretations of the latter's meaning are not always convincing. In a brief rejoinder, though, Dr R. E. Chaplin points out that the number of bones analysed at Dinas Powys would not in any case be considered sufficient by modern standards of analysis. A paper by Miss F. Lynch then considers whether prehistoric man had a strong aesthetic sense of landscape. Did he locate his settlements with an eye for a fine view? Were some of his henge monuments deliberately sited to exploit a fine horizon or to heighten the dramatic content of a particular vista?

Altogether, this report will prove a valuable source of ideas and evidence. The only major criticism one might make concerns the overall balance of contributions. Over half of them see the problem from the standpoint of the natural scientist, looking to explain why a certain type of environmental change had taken place. In seeking to make their point, some make very specific assumptions about the nature and chronology of man's interference with upland eco-systems. In view of this, one would have welcomed a more explicit and substantive review of the archaeological evidence for man's economic activities in the highland zone. One suspects the lack of such discussion reflects the lack of sufficient research on this aspect. Hopefully, this book will encourage such work. It certainly sets a fine standard of argument and presentation for it. Its numerous diagrams are well drawn and clearly reproduced. Although a little expensive at £7.50 for a paperback, it undoubtedly forms a worthwhile addition to the literature.

R. A. DODGSHON

CYRIL HART. *The Hidation of Northamptonshire*. Leicester U.P., Department of English Local History Occasional Papers, second series, VI, 1974. 67 pp. £1.20.

Dr Hart continues his county-by-county studies of the units on which taxation was rated and raised in the late Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and on into the eleventh and twelfth centuries. His chief concern here is the changing assessment in hides of Cambridgeshire, and his chief sources are the late eleventh-century Domesday Book and its more detailed county companion known as the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*.

In tackling these early units Dr Hart encounters two long-standing problems in Domesday interpretation: the hide and the ploughland, and their re-

spective functions. He brings out the important point that during the very year of the Domesday survey reassessment was taking place: in Cambridgeshire "six of the sixteen hundreds in the shire succeeded in obtaining a substantial reduction," and the equally important point that this reduction was "only a temporary affair." But interesting as is his suggestion that heavy clay soils and resulting agricultural difficulties may be responsible for the location of reduction, it is unlikely that it is some localized calamity that is responsible. A widespread but temporary reduction also obtained elsewhere in England, most notably in the south-eastern counties. Diagnosis of the Cambridgeshire situation shows the historical importance of the subject as well as its complexity. Whether a temporary reduction already conducted seems to dissociate Domesday from a fiscal function, or whether such a reduction seems to make the Domesday inquiry more immediately functional, it must be taken into any consideration of the purposes of that inquiry. As Dr Hart insists, the hide and its yields were still of intense interest in 1085-6.

The ploughland (often expressed *terra est x carucis*), which Dr Hart calls with reason "perhaps the most difficult and controversial topic" in current Domesday studies, may be potentially of the most interest to agricultural historians. It may, or may not, represent the land under arable, potential arable, or agricultural land generally, at 1066, 1086, or some other date. With examples of duodecimal units, Dr Hart upholds the view that the ploughland represents an imposed assessment of some kind rather than agricultural reality; and he supplies helpful tables of the relation between hides and ploughlands. But his revolutionary dating of ploughlands to an assessment by the Danes in 877 is not supported by evidence other than that of their duodecimal groupings. Misgivings continue as this early dating has led Dr Hart in similar work on Huntingdonshire to conclude that ploughlands being "usually equal to the number of ploughs employed on each estate at the time of Domesday, there was no great advance in the exploitation of arable land between the period of the Danish settlement and the Norman Conquest" (*Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.*, LXI, 1968, p. 56). But the question why the working ploughs and possible working ploughs on Cambridgeshire estates in 1086 add up neatly to the ploughland figure of suggested 877 date is not asked in the work under review. The close correspondence between the two sets of figures provokes a more contemporary definition for the ploughland, especially as its details are usually in the present tense, whereas even data for 1066 are in the past tense. But the problems of ploughland and hide will be solved and their full meaning developed only when more work and more tables such as

those provided abundantly in text and appendix by Dr Hart for Cambridgeshire make a secure basis for a general theory.

SALLY P. J. HARVEY

CHRISTIAN PFISTER. *Agrarkonjunktur und Witterungsverlauf in westlichen Schweizer Mittelland 1755-1797. Ein Beitrag zur Umwelt- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Geographica Bernensia, Reihe G, Heft 2, Geographisches Institut der Universität Bern, 1975. 229 pp., 28 tables, 20 figs., 1 map, English and French summaries. 48 Fr.

In this well-written treatise, almost excessively rich in fascinating ancillary detail, Dr Pfister provides a public account of the research, which he presented for his doctorate under Professor B. Messerli at Bern, upon the relationship from 1755 to 1797 between the weather and the yield and prices of grain in the canton of Bern and its vicinity. He claims to be working within the Annales school of "total history", but he takes his cue from W. G. Hoskins's view that harvest yields have a great bearing on history.

Pfister was studying a period when, in Switzerland, the "economic patriots" had set up a society and were seeking a deep understanding, divorced from peasant superstition and based on observation and science, of the relationships between crops, the weather, prices, and other variables, such as demographic change, and the improvement of agricultural methods. He is therefore dealing with a period when information on meteorology, crop yields, and prices was coming under direct and critical scrutiny. This enables him to produce a work—to borrow from the title of his dissertation—of "historical ecology".

Locally, up to six stations using uniform instruments and units were observing the weather, and the minister, Johann Jakob Sprüngli, made 4,000 observations in phenology. The weather, at the time, was rather more continental than that of today, and certain cold winters and wet summers were more severe than any in this century. Thus there were crucial moments when yields might be catastrophically affected.

Production, however, requires much more difficult investigations. It can only indirectly be reached by means of tithe yields: tithes were here a tenth or an eleventh, did not apply to all, and came to diverse beneficiaries, not ecclesiastical. Still these yields can be estimated fairly safely. It was a period of change in agricultural methods, and a period of reclamation. These yields show a fairly continuous increase, but there are annual variations. The residual differences between the presumed yield taken from the continuous curve of the trend and the actual annual yield show a very tight correlation with the weather,

and particularly with those parts of the weather pattern which affect grain crops (here usually *dinkel*).

Similarly the links between prices and yields are very close, taking fully into consideration the lags and adjustments that occur. Pfister also notes the extent to which trade could buffer price change, but notes that there were many bad years when potatoes would have yielded well (they were tithed in money) and would have saved the situation. Moreover, grain reserves, rather small in quantity—perhaps one-seventh of annual needs—and rotated often in an eighteen-year cycle, must have had their effect. He is less concerned with animal and other harvests: but by no means neglects their significance.

There is perhaps a slight tendency for a geographer to look for explanations in the natural world. Pfister is, however, as much a local patriot, an economic historian, a man sympathetic to agricultural anxieties and trends, as a pure geographer. He is well aware of thought in Germany, France, and Britain, and of the several other Swiss investigations in this field. He is, for instance, concerned with the problem of the interaction between population numbers and agricultural change. His evidence agrees with such writers as Tooke and Newmarch (1838), who were much concerned with natural causes, rather than with the wide and spacious views of Abel (1966), who looked to monetary and other economic reasons for price fluctuations.

His conclusion (p. 196) runs as follows: "A comparison of the price residuals and tithe residuals (i.e. the differences between actual tithes and prices and those that the upward trend of both would suggest) shows that the market price in the harvest year to a large extent, but not exclusively, depended upon the size of the grain harvest. In addition to the store of grain kept by the authorities, and imports in crisis years, potato yields played an important role. If these, after long summer spells of drought or heavy rains, were low, the main source of food for a wide range of consumers became scarce, and this drove up the prices of grain. On the other hand good potato harvests restricted the rise in price of grains when the harvest failed." And on p. 190 he says, "The environmental factor appears to have influenced economic prices and population changes in earlier centuries in a much more powerful degree than has been assumed up to now."

To reach these conclusions Pfister had the assistance of a computer to do his sums and correlations. They have assisted him in his tedious calculations—though he appends the actual data for others, if they wish, to scan by eye—but this is a thoroughly humane account which should appeal to a wide variety of readers.

D. J. DAVIS

GÜNTHER FRANZ. *Geschichte des deutschen Bauernstandes vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. 2nd edn. Deutsche Agrargeschichte, vol. iv. Stuttgart: Ulmer Verlag, 1976. 301 pp, 22 figs., 16 illus., 4 tables, bibliographies. DM. 88.

This volume, the fourth of five on the history of German agriculture, has a rather curious role. Vol. i, by Jahnkuhn, deals with prehistory and the period up to the Völkerwanderung, while vol. v, by Haushofer, deals with the age of technology: the nineteenth century onwards. But there are three volumes dealing with agriculture from the Frankish period to the nineteenth century: W. Abel writes on agricultural methods, F. Lütge on the constitutional history of agriculture, while this volume deals with the peasant class or community. All are compressed, well organized, and written by leading authorities, and inevitably overlap. Certainly one must read all three and build up a synthesis for oneself. Only by reading all three can one judge whether this subdivision of labour is the best one could conceive. Yet, how otherwise could the mature work of these three supreme authorities have been brought together?

As one reads this rich and rewarding volume one wonders what is its real focus. The author assures us that initially the peasant did not make history: he was too much at the bottom of the human system; but surely he was so basic to this system as to be its key figure, for until recently it required at least four peasants to maintain one townsman. Yet he remained anonymous, and what sights we have of him, either idealizing him or traducing him, are extremely few until very recent times. Franz attempts, at all periods, to understand these taciturn peasants. He is, of course, the leading authority on the sixteenth-century peasant risings, and in the classic chapter on this period he clearly reveals the weaknesses and strengths of the group. The somewhat less tightly written chapter by Peter Blicke, on the achievement, in certain areas and times, of local peasant representation in political affairs, is original, and reveals the peasant group in action but rarely the individual. Franz seems progressively less interested in the peasant in his weakness during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: but he works out the contrasts between western and eastern Germany. The passages which reveal the peasant as a minority within the village for many centuries are acute. The work ends oddly, as the author realizes, somewhere round the end of the Napoleonic era, and in a weak postscript, by way of recompense, he outlines changes up to the present, reminding us that the family farmers of today resemble closely the traditional peasant.

This volume is very compactly written, full of mature wise sayings, everywhere referring in footnotes to helpful sources, and several times on every

page to the source volumes collected by the author himself, *Quellen zur Geschichte des deutschen Bauernstandes*, vol. I, 1966, vol. II, 1963, containing both sources and translations. The bibliography cites writings up to 1975, both leading texts and detailed references. It is strange that Franz cites so little work by historical geographers, excepting only Krenzlín and Grees, for they have provided as great a contribution to agricultural history as in Britain, some of it particularly original and local. While this volume deals often with relatively local matters it rarely reaches down to the individual village or farm. This is perhaps a defect in German agricultural history. There is little reference to work on agricultural history in other countries, while the sharp views of writers in the D.D.R. are little heeded, for this is not a work of controversy or discussion. On the other hand, this volume deals with German-speaking peasants wherever they are found, as on the Volga, in the Banat, in Pennsylvania, Austria, or Switzerland.

This volume and the others in the series reveal that a large proportion of the most talented German historians have engaged in agricultural history from well within last century, through the period of the Weimar Republic, working quietly during the Hitler regime—though some spurious work was done then—constantly keeping the peasant within focus. A great deal of this work is crystallized in this series, and especially in this volume, written in a dignified and sober prose. The manner of writing is pure, with no strained subtleties, resisting psychologizing and loose sophistry. It is a well-made book. The illustrations are far from hackneyed, though not exciting. The figures are mainly maps, rather too small, and a detailed one on page 223 has no key. The author does not refer to these maps, and does not seem comfortable with them.

These three volumes dealing with the same period are worth reading in any sequence as they both supplement and revise one another. One would have preferred this particular volume to have been longer, to have been freer to digress, to have had space to paint individuals and groups, to quote the telling anecdote, to contend with those who hold different views.

D. J. DAVIS

WILLIAM N. PARKER and ERIC L. JONES (eds.), *European Peasants and their Markets: Essays in Agrarian Economic History*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton U.P., viii + 366 pp, 1976. £10.40.

This symposium consists of eight essays by various hands, and two discussions of a more general kind contributed by the editors. The first two essays, by Richard C. Hoffmann and Donald N. McCloskey respectively, consider the medieval origins of common fields, and their persistence in England. A

second essay by Professor McCloskey is concerned with enclosure, and is accompanied by a paper on 'Enclosure and Depopulation: A Marxian Analysis', by Jon S. Cohen and Martin K. Weitzman. There follows four case-studies: Franklin F. Mendels writes on agriculture and peasant industry in eighteenth-century Flanders, and Jan de Vries on peasant demand patterns and economic development in Friesland, 1550-1750; the final essays relate to the nineteenth century, that by Robert A. Dickler concerning organization and productivity change in eastern Prussia, while George W. Grantham writes on scale and organization in French farming between 1840 and 1880.

The more general character of the first four essays and their particular relevance to problems of British agrarian history will constitute, no doubt, the main attraction of the volume for readers of this journal. The opening essay on the origins of the common fields is perhaps the most truly "European" of the book, in breadth of both content and sources. The author elaborates on the view, argued by Joan Thirsk in her well-known article in *Past & Present* (vol. xxix, 1964), that the common-field system should be seen as the culmination of a lengthy process of gradual development. Mr Hoffmann cites a great range of continental evidence to indicate that common fields appeared as the logical result of pressures created by population increase in circumstances of limited resources of land and technology, eventually obliging peasants, originally individualistic in character, to co-operate in the formation of a communal system. The paper is particularly valuable for its evidence on the early stages of this process.

The first of Professor McCloskey's articles, on the persistence of common fields, is set mainly in an English framework, and argues his now well-known view that the centuries-long duration of the common-field system can be satisfactorily explained only by reference to the security it provided against the risks inherent in farming. He suggests that these risks were greater in clayland areas than in districts of lighter soils, and that this may explain why in England common fields survived mainly on the midland plain, and disappeared early, if they ever existed, elsewhere. The early part of his paper offers a penetrating assessment of what constituted the real drawbacks of common-field farming, and argues that the serious character of these drawbacks necessitated the existence of some powerful counter-balance inducing farmers to persevere with the system.

It may be considered a weakness of both these essays that they devote very little consideration to the appearance of alternative systems of farming, and to the causes of the early disappearance of common fields in areas where they were established at

one time. Professor McCloskey's "insurance" argument does not cope adequately with the fact that even on the midland plain, where, he thinks, common fields had most justification, enclosures early existed alongside them, nor with the difficulty that for many cultivators of common-field strips the arable was of quite secondary consideration, their livelihood depending very largely on their herds and flocks. Indeed, the variety of geographical and market influences, even within an area so limited as the English Midlands, must make the formulation of generalizations about farmers' motives extremely difficult and hazardous.

Professor McCloskey's second contribution, on the economics of enclosure, is again primarily based on English evidence. He explains the upsurge of enclosure in the period of the classical agriculture revolution as a consequence of "the power of markets to erode inefficient arrangements," and of the possibilities for resorting to improved legal methods for carrying out the change. A masterly survey of the existing literature is directed to analysing in economic terms the costs involved in enclosure and the benefits it conferred, as measured by the expansion of output reflected in rent increases. A weakness here, no doubt attributable to the limitations of space, is that certain kinds of enclosures are largely ignored, particularly those concerned solely or mainly with the cultivation of wastes, exploitation of minerals, and development of towns.

Of the short paper on enclosures and depopulation by Messrs Cohen and Weitzman it seems necessary to remark only that the argument is so divorced from the complexities of reality as to be irrelevant to those of us who are concerned with history.

Each of the case-studies has much of interest. Mr Mendels's paper on Flanders discusses the relationships which pertained between the growth of the linen industry as a rural by-employment, the increase of population, fragmentation of farms, and changes in farm production and techniques. Jan de Vries's study of peasant demand patterns in the Dutch province of Friesland indicates that, in this district at least, peasant acquisitiveness leaned more towards the rebuilding of farmhouses, and possession of dairy equipment, furniture, and articles of silver than the traditional purchase of land. The study by Mr Dickler of the East Elbian region of Prussia elaborates on the consequences of the increased profits to be obtained from grain production, and the subsequent reforms of 1807-21, for the development of improved farming on the enlarged estates of big landowners to the detriment of the peasants. By contrast, Mr Grantham's discussion concerns the extension of peasant farming in the France of 1840-80. His argument emphasizes the growing prosperity of peasant cultivators and

the attraction to them of the security offered by possession of land, while the resultant decline in the availability of peasant labour for large farms was unfavourable to their growth.

Taken in the round, the eight essays well illustrate the range of new approaches which the present generation of American economic historians are bringing to the study of agrarian history. The results may vary greatly in quality and value, but at their best the resources of analysis, argument, and documentation deployed in these studies set standards which challenge the very best of traditional scholarship.

G. E. MINGAY

W. G. HOSKINS. *The Age of Plunder. The England of Henry VIII, 1500-1547*. Longman, 1976. xviii + 262 pp. Maps. Figs. £5.95 hardback, £3.50 paperback.

With this long-awaited book Professor Hoskins makes a major contribution to the economic and social history of the early sixteenth century, which as he says has been strangely neglected in favour of the fashionable "century" 1540-1640. He redresses the balance with a detailed analysis of the records of the time, and particularly of the great series of tax assessments of the 1520's, with which he provides the most detailed picture yet drawn of the economic geography of England in the reign of Henry VIII. He speculates that his choice of title may cause surprise in view of the fact that all periods of English history could be regarded as ages of plunder from some points of view; but defends his choice on the grounds that Henry VIII's attack on the properties of the Church (episcopal as well as monastic) was a particularly thorough and ruthless pillage, only to be compared with the Norman conquest. It represented the largest transference of landownership since 1086; and he cites the telling passage from the 1895 edition of Sir Henry Spelman's *History of Sacrilege* (originally written in 1632), that of the 570 peers existing in 1895, no fewer than 470 were "more or less implicated in Sacrilege"—that is, they retained some parts of former Church lands in their estates. Professor Hoskins believes that the great redistribution of lands between 1530 and c. 1560 laid the basis for the pattern of landownership and sociopolitical power which lasted into the twentieth century.

From the point of view of the farmer, faced with demands for a rent increase, it made little difference whether his "plunderer" was clerical or lay; but Professor Hoskins laments the futility of Henry VIII's wasted opportunity: by seizing the lands of the Church he doubled his revenues, yet hardly any of this vast sum was invested productively. It was all wasted on futile wars and needlessly grandiose palaces—like Nonesuch, so absurdly elaborate that

it was never even finished. To cap this waste Henry VIII, who had inherited a fortune from his father, left his successor an empty treasury and a mountain of debts.

The first half of the book deals with the economy, social structure, and agrarian organization of England, while the latter part covers urban life, the plunder of the Church, industry, and trade. In a telling chapter called "The Shearers and the Shorn" the great inequality in the distribution of wealth is emphasized. Landownership was highly concentrated in rural areas. In Rutland in 1522 4 per cent of the landowners owned 43 per cent of the land. In the cities an urban patriciate also dominated. In Coventry 80 per cent of the population was assessed at under £5, and the top 5 per cent of the population owned about three-quarters of the personal wealth. In London 535 people paid £202,446 (80.9 per cent) out of an estimated total tax for the city of £250,000. By contrast the poor were already very numerous. "The social structure rested upon a vast base of people who owned little or nothing more than what they stood up in, who rented their houses and cottages from others, who had no reserves to fall back on in a bad year, and who therefore formed a potentially explosive foundation of which any Tudor government was continually aware. They stood, as Tawney said, up to their necks in water; the slightest ripple could have drowned them, and often did."

Although any writer aiming at full coverage must devote more space to urban life, trade, industry, public finance, and other non-rural topics than he does to agriculture, Professor Hoskins stresses repeatedly that he is dealing with an overwhelmingly rural economy. Nine out of ten people lived and worked in the countryside, and most of those who lived in the small towns which were typical of the period—London with its population of 60,000 was exceptional—were concerned with country affairs: marketing food, spinning and weaving wool, dressing leather, and providing services for the rural population. Urban life as we know it today hardly existed. Despite the preponderating importance of agriculture in the economy the sources for its history in this period are not abundant. There are hardly any parish registers to help with estimating the population (though from the tax returns the author suggests it may have been as low as 2.36 million in England in the 1520's). Probate inventories, manorial surveys, estate maps, stewards' accounts, etc. are few and far between as compared with later periods. Inevitably prominence is given to those aspects which emerged in legal records (about whose "pathological" nature as evidence the author makes some sensible comments). Conflict between landowner and tenant, enclosure, engrossing, and rural depopulation were the controversial topics of

the age. They are discussed in a balanced way, and while attention is drawn to the vast number of stable and contented villages which never appear in the records, it is also pointed out that Professor Gay's attempt to dismiss the Tudor enclosures as "hysterical exaggeration" is wide of the mark. Gay based his charge on the fact that less than 2 per cent of the whole area of England was enclosed in the Tudor period; but Hoskins points out that generalized acreage is not the real criterion. The problem was highly localized, and in the affected midland counties it was much more serious. For instances in Leicestershire, 140 out of some 370 villages and hamlets were affected wholly or in part between 1485 and 1607. This was over one-third, and makes the contemporary uproar much more understandable.

However, despite such localized changes, the main characteristic of farming was its stability and continuity. Most production was still for subsistence, and a good deal of exchange was still done by barter. Yet there are occasional glimpses of large-scale commercial operations, especially in connection with the victualling of London. That sheep outnumbered men is familiar knowledge, but the extent of specialization in cattle fattening is perhaps less well known. "Hundreds of miles of English coastland, chiefly on the eastern side from south Yorkshire around to Romney Marsh in Kent, were already rich fattening pastures by Henry VIII's time. Cattle were driven scores of miles, even hundreds of miles at times, in order to reach these marshland pastures. Thus the grain shortage of 1528 was attributed locally to the great numbers of Welsh cattle that were fattening on the Romney marshes to the detriment of arable cultivation." Professor Hoskins also makes good use of his earlier study of harvest fluctuations to emphasize the intense importance of the bread grains in an economy where there was hardly any possibility of supplementing a poor harvest by imports.

On other sectors of the economy there are plenty of the author's familiar trenchant comments. On the gentry: "the traditional picture of the English village ruled over by a resident squire is one of the most persistent of historical myths. Suffolk, for example, had about forty-eight resident squires in the 1520's, in some 500 parishes—about one parish in ten." On the overestimation of London's importance in English history he quotes with approval Bishop Creighton's remark that "English history is at the bottom a provincial history," and notes that even including its suburb of Southwark, London's population was not above 80,000—a mere 3 per cent of the whole population. London's role in stimulating commercial farming, industry, and trade has been much exaggerated and "we must continually cut London down to size in the Tudor economy as

a whole." Similar exaggerated influences are the size of the woollen industry, the importance of foreign trade, and the alleged dreadful condition of the roads. Though few people could match Bishop Redman of Exeter's feat of averaging sixty miles a day when riding to London in the 1490's, surviving records (especially those of the Southampton tolls) indicate that the roads "teemed with traffic, more so in some regions than others; though in the depth of winter they subsided into a muddy quiet for weeks on end, a not unwelcome calm when the vast majority of people lived in a rhythm dictated by the seasons."

This is a provocative and stimulating book, packed with new statistical information, but saved from indigestibility by well-chosen and unusual examples drawn from the author's vast knowledge of local history. There is some repetition in places which could be removed from the second edition, but it will be many years before this book is replaced as a standard work on its subject.

MICHAEL HAVINDEN

T. S. WILLAN, *The Inland Trade: Studies in English Internal Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Manchester U.P., 1976. 154 pp. Map. £5.95.

Professor Willan has enjoyed the distinction throughout his career of being the reluctant monopolist of this field of study. While not himself confined to studies in English trade, few have followed him into this important area, and the present volume forms a useful adjunct to his seminal work on river navigation and coastal shipping. That it does not live up to its title fully can be forgiven, for here is a collection of essays on varied aspects of an unjustly neglected field.

The first of the five essays is the most general and familiar. It surveys road, river, and coasting as modes of transport in the later sixteenth century, showing the real significance of road transport, and examining, more briefly, carriage of goods by river and sea. All will be grateful for this new survey, though it is to be hoped that it provokes new researches, especially into the transport history of the first half of the century.

The other four studies look at Elizabethan retail trade, at provincial shops in the seventeenth century, and at two groups of wholesalers, in London and in Rochdale. Transport and the links of producer and consumer are the heroes of these histories. Willan's essays are useful, and important in proving, albeit on a rather narrow basis, the wide and complex nature of domestic trades in early modern England. In demonstrating the fairly widespread distribution of shops, including food retailers, he has revised current orthodoxy dramatically. His two studies of wholesaling complete the

book. Both show the basic practices in domestic trade, principally in textiles, and point clearly to the importance of credit, of agencies, and to the subtlety of the network.

Inevitably this is a patchy book. The transport study represents the judicious conclusions of a lifetime's work in the field, and is essential reading for all students of the sixteenth century. The other chapters, largely micro-studies of the domestic trades, are rather signposts for future research, but are valuable interim statements which must revise our views of the period. The results are not conclusive, and no one can regard Willan's comments as the final word, but they demand our attention. Among those who must consider his meaning carefully are agrarian historians, who, on page 52, are summoned out of their "ivory shippens" and into wider economic history.

J. A. CHARTRES

A. J. LITTLE, *Deceleration in the Eighteenth-Century British Economy*. Croom Helm, 1976. 111 pp. £5.95.

Dr Little is an economist of the University of Queensland and was formerly at Nottingham University. Here he advances a three-phase model of British economic history during the period 1660-1780. There were strong forces encouraging economic progress in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and a renewal of vigorous expansion after about 1750. In practice he is concerned mainly with the intermediate phase, broadly the second quarter of the eighteenth century, which is variously described as a deceleration, a check, a pause, and at best a period of retarded economic advance. This hypothesis is by no means novel, having been advanced with more or less conviction in the works of Chambers (to whose ability to kindle interest and enthusiasm for the subject among his colleagues this book bears witness), Deane and Cole, and Wilson. Whilst Dr Little offers no new evidence, his purpose is to bring together, review, and strengthen that case.

On the side of commerce and industry much of the empirical evidence accords quite well with this view, for example with the manufacture of textiles in general and woollens in particular, pottery, iron, paper, and building construction. It is perhaps less decisive with respect to the case of coal, tin, and copper production, and metal wares, where we find the author inferring a lack of progress from the fact that "Court and Hamilton report no significant changes during the second quarter of the eighteenth century." As a general rule, Little concurs with Mathias that any increases in the output of manufactured goods which merely took the form of larger output produced within a traditional framework, without signs of capital deepening or changing pro-

duction functions, had but slight long-run significance. Doubt is cast on the reliability of the statistics of turnpike and river improvement Acts as a measure of the buoyancy of internal commerce, and the low interest rates to which Ashton attached such importance are here regarded as indicating a reluctance to borrow.

The two most powerful influences identified as inimical to economic progress are those of very direct interest to readers of this journal. As far as can be discerned on the basis of existing population studies (chiefly those of Chambers, Eversley, and Tranter), the period from c. 1720 to the mid-1740's was a time of recurrent demographic reversals with important implications for the growth of the market. Agricultural prices were set on a long-run downward trend from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, and were particularly low in the 1730's and 1740's. It is concluded that low profitability must have seriously reduced the incentive to undertake enclosure and long-term improvement in the agrarian sector taken as a whole. Moreover, the implications of reductions in the cost of subsistence for increasing the consumption of manufactured goods have been exaggerated; there was probably a high income elasticity of demand for food and drink, and a marked leisure preference, while the tax system of Walpole's day bore heavily on popular consumer goods.

It will be apparent that this interpretation is at variance with the views advanced in recent years by Jones and John, and will appeal to those who, like Little, find it difficult to see why agriculture should have been vigorously progressive under both the stick of low prices (before 1750) and the carrot of increases thereafter. It is not in the nature of a work of this kind to resolve such issues conclusively. As the author very candidly admits, his study is based almost exclusively on reappraisal of secondary sources, and hence "will be viewed as unsuitable by those who believe that history can only be written by those who at least sometimes bury themselves in museums and archives." Nevertheless, it is a very useful survey which should serve to focus further attention on an under-researched theme. Unfortunately it is singularly expensive in relation to its length.

W. A. ARMSTRONG

BÉLA KÖPECZI and ÉVA H. BALÁZS (eds.), *Paysannerie française, paysannerie hongroise, XVI^e-XX^e siècles*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1973. 319 pp. £4.60.

In 1972 French and Hungarian historians held a meeting at Budapest to acquaint each other with research in progress in their respective countries concerning the peasantry and agrarian developments between 1500 and 1950. This volume re-

prints the papers delivered at that meeting. They offer invaluable short summaries on key questions of current interest, together with bibliographies that draw attention to the most recent published work. Their subject-matter ranges widely. For example, Z. P. Pach traces the changing relationship between labour services and wage labour on Hungarian estates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as demesnes were enlarged. He shows how in the fifteenth century labour services commuted for money went to pay wage labourers, whereas gradually after 1570 (when inflation was eroding the value of rents and money payments) landlords returned to the old system of labour services. Imre Wellmann analyses the differing structures of agrarian communities under Turkish domination and under Austro-Hungarian lordship in eighteenth-century Hungary, underlining their tendency to move towards uniformity after the Turks were overthrown. G. Benda estimates cereal production and the proportions devoted to consumption and export in the period 1770-1870; helpful maps elucidate his argument. I. Katona discusses the role of seasonal labour in Hungary, 1848-1945, and P. Gunst, M. Somlyai, and L. Komló describe the twentieth-century transformation of Hungarian agriculture.

The French contributions include one essay by Le Roy Ladurie describing recent French work on demography, agricultural productivity, and inheritance customs in the early modern period. Research on population has revealed the increase that took place between 1450 and c. 1580 in many parts of France (around Paris, in Languedoc, the Loire region, and Normandy, for example), followed by a period of stability until c. 1720. The increase is explained by the low age of marriage (twenty-one years instead of twenty-five or twenty-six) rather than by any change in the interval between births or in mortality rates. Jean Bérenger's essay on the peasantry in the seventeenth century is of special interest, partly because of its telling quotations from contemporary accounts of peasant diet and clothing, but also because of its tabulation of annual grain prices in Toulouse and Paris, and its clear summary of France's farming regions. Among other things, we see the brandy-drinking habits that were developing in northern Europe traced back to an agricultural region which was transformed by this new market. Jean Meyer, writing on the wars of the League and their impact on the peasantry, discusses the seventeenth-century literature of France on new crops as well as the significance of the crops themselves (e.g. rice, oranges, lemons, woad, potatoes, mulberries, cider-apples). Robert Mandrou surveys work recently completed on peasant culture and the role of religion in stabilizing communities. He cites a particularly thorough study

of a village in the Sologne in the nineteenth century which exemplifies this, as well as work on the ecclesiastical records of the diocese of Vence (as yet, apparently, unpublished).

The volume is a rich source of comparisons in European peasant history. The reader cannot but be struck by the unity of eastern and western Europe, in trade, and in the dissemination of agricultural techniques, and by the marked similarities in the evolution of peasant societies, wherever they followed similar systems of farming, and experienced similar pressures from their landlords.

JOAN THIRSK

PETER ROEBUCK (ed.), *Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence, 1726-43*. Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series, vol. CXXXVI (for 1974), 1976. 172 pp. Plate. Map. £5 to non-members.

The estate correspondence in this well-edited volume is that of Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham Hall in the East Riding, a leading member of the Catholic landed gentry in Yorkshire, and Dom John Bede Potts, O.S.B., Sir Marmaduke's chaplain and, from 1726, the supervisor of his estate and business affairs. In 1730 Sir Marmaduke left Everingham for a continental tour and returned only after Potts's death in 1743.

Sir Marmaduke had inherited his mismanaged and debt-ridden estates in 1705, but by great care and personal supervision had revitalized them in a decade. He never married, and lived a fairly restricted life among his well-to-do co-religionists, and there is little doubt that at heart he was a Jacobite. Apparently he went to the continent for reasons of health but just why he remained there for thirteen years is by no means clear.

In his absence Potts had full responsibility for estate affairs, a responsibility he repeatedly alleged he was unqualified to carry out, and he constantly sought direction from the absent owner and frequently begged him to return. The letters tell us of the daily concerns and problems in the management of a medium-sized Yorkshire estate, and give us the frequently long-delayed instructions and advice from the owner. The contents are not in themselves unique—leasing, rent collections, arrears, plantations, breeding, rebuilding, and the like—but they illustrate well the values of tenants, Mr Potts, and Sir Marmaduke.

The editor has provided an excellent introduction which explains the history of the estates, their location and extent, and the roles of the individuals who appear in the correspondence. The end notes make clear obscure points in the correspondence, and a glossary is provided which is helpful. The index to the small volume is unusually complete, and those using it will be grateful.

RAY A. KELCH

BLANCHE HENREY, *British Botanical and Horticultural Literature before 1800*. O.U.P., 1975. 3 vols.: 290, 748, and 142 pp. £70.

These are three sumptuous volumes, printed on the highest quality paper, and superbly illustrated with frontispieces and plant illustrations, many in colour, drawn from the books listed in the bibliography. In the cold economic climate of 1977 such a work seems to belong to a past age. Yet it is a cheering act of courage, as well as of piety, for it was the Oxford University Press which in its earliest days published, in 1672, 1680, and 1699, the three great volumes of Robert Morison, Professor of Botany at Oxford, *Plantarum Umbelliferarum Distributio Nova* and *Plantarum Historiae Universalis Oxoniensis, Pars Secunda, et Pars Tertia*. (Part I was never published.)

This work, on which Miss Henrey has spent many years of research, comprises the most complete list yet of botanical and horticultural works published before 1800. But it is much more than a list. It is a veritable treasure house of information, collecting together facts already uncovered by others, but published in many scattered places, supplemented by many original discoveries of Miss Henrey's own. She has located fresh copies of scarce works, and tentatively identified anonymous authors; she has distinguished original woodcut illustrations from those that passed from one printer to another to illustrate different books; she has examined many different editions of the same works and noted their textual revisions. There cannot be a single reader who will not learn something new from this work, while some, like the present reviewer, will be launched on unexpected new paths of inquiry and discovery.

Horticultural literature is generously interpreted to include works on flowers, vegetables, fruit and timber trees, and altogether 1,500 works are listed. The bibliography is divided chronologically into two parts. The first fills volume I, runs to nearly 300 pages, and covers all publications of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Several chapters, divided by subject and date, discuss each book individually, and offer a miscellany of information on their content, on the lives of their authors, on illustrations and their sources. A complete bibliography then lists all works, alphabetically by author, also supplying locations in libraries in Britain and the United States, Paris, and Montreal. Volume II, nearly 750 pages long, deals with all publications in the eighteenth century, amounting to 600 items. Because horticulture was greatly expanding in scope at this period the literature is subdivided into more headings, and separate chapters discuss works on such topics as plant physiology and anatomy, local and national floras, garden design, books by women authors (since it was in the eighteenth

century that women began to show a noticeably bookish interest in botany), botanical drawing books, and publications of seedsmen and nurserymen. The illustrations reach their full splendour in this volume, and it is easy to see why they began to be copied on textiles and porcelain.

The most cursory reader will be struck by the remarkable international fraternity of scholars and kinsmen who launched the study of plants in western Europe. England's pioneers owed everything to the stimulus from correspondents abroad, especially in Germany, Holland, and France. When William Stallenge published in 1609 his treatise on mulberry trees and silkworms, for example, the three woodcut illustrations in his work had been made by a Bruges artist who died in Florence, and had already appeared in Nicholas Geffe's translation of a French work on the same subject by Olivier de Serres. The first published work in this country to contain a section on plants was dated c. 1520, and was the thirteenth-century work of a Franciscan friar in Paris issued by the press of Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's business successor. Its publication was inspired by several European models, of which the first was German, printed in Mainz in 1485. Many herbals followed quickly thereafter, notably Richard Banckes's *Herball*, first issued in 1525, which passed through twenty new editions before 1562. English interest in the planting and grafting of trees spread rapidly with the publication by Leonard Mascall of an English translation of a French work on the subject in 1569. Seven more editions of this translation appeared before 1600, followed by five more between 1640 and 1656. Such bibliographical evidence is an important clue to the way curiosity, knowledge, and enthusiasm for experiments spread. Many of the books were written in English and they found eager readers, not all of whom bought their copies: many borrowed and copied passages into their own commonplace books.

By the later sixteenth century gardeners practising horticultural skills did not want for patronage: the Crown, the nobility, and the gentry spared no expense on their gardens, and respected their gardeners as craftsmen of high status. Such men were confirmed internationalists. They moved across Europe collecting plants, and serving new masters. The most remarkable French family were the Mollets, of whom father and three sons all worked in royal gardens. André, for example, learned his skills in France, then served in turn Charles I of England, the Prince of Orange, and the Queen of Sweden. He returned to England in the 1650's, and in the 1660's became Charles II's gardener. His handiwork is traced in similar garden designs at Fredensborg in Denmark, Drottningholm Castle in Stockholm, in St James's Park, and at Hampton Court.

A distinctive feature of the English publications was their early use of the English language in place of Latin, and their propagandist enthusiasm to enlist the interest of peasantry and poor in the growing of vegetables and medicinal plants. What local and personal circumstances, one wonders, explain the publication in 1599, two years after a disastrous run of four bad harvests, of a work on kitchen gardens by Richard Gardiner, dyer and burgess of Shrewsbury, in which he reprimanded the English for importing so many carrots and not growing enough "for the help and comfort of poor people"? Fifty years later Ralph Austen writing on fruit trees advocated small cheap handbooks of gardening "for mean husbandmen to buy," and as Miss Henrey points out, many of them *were* handy pocket books that cost little. Nicholas Culpeper wrote his herbals, strongly disapproving of expensive foreign drugs from the East Indies that removed poor men's consumption "out of their bodies into their purses." Instead he advocated cheap and wholesome medicines that could be grown in gardens. His readers plainly saw the sense of this argument, for editions of his *English Physitian* between 1652 and 1800 occupy eleven columns of Miss Henrey's text. By the 1670's the Englishman's love of flower gardens was not confined to wealthy men: Worledge in 1677 wrote of ordinary townsmen's boxes and pots of plants, and of the southern English cottager's delight in his flower garden.

An excellent example of an informed, experienced author, writing with the avowed intention of reaching the common man and preaching the improvement of woodlands, is R.C., author of *An Old Thrift Newly Revived* (1612). He was remarkably sympathetic to the point of view of poor peasants, who feared the worst whenever a surveyor came into view. His work in dialogue form was ingratiating and readily intelligible to all, and his pages of instruction on how to measure standing timber were intended to be perfectly comprehensible to intelligent, literate woodwards. Miss Henrey's tentative identification of the author, R.C., with Rocke Church can be confirmed. *An Old Thrift* reveals first-hand knowledge of the condition of the royal forests and of the financial problems that obliged James I to consider improvement and disafforestation. Not only was Rocke Church a surveyor of royal forests to James I, but, more decisively, the arguments in the book are the same as those advanced in an official report of the same year by Rocke Church, Anthony Dyot, and Thos. Lascelles, at the completion of their survey of the King's forests. The report is in Additional MS. 38444 in the British Museum, and was reprinted in Joan Thirsk and J. P. Cooper, *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 116-20. Moreover, this report, almost certainly, reveals the identity of the

mysterious A.D. of the Inner Temple, who, in one copy of *An Old Thrift* (now in Harvard University), added an address to the friendly reader. Surely A.D. was Anthony Dyot?

Suggestive geographical patterns also emerge from Miss Henrey's bibliographical evidence to explain the spread of horticultural interest. The first main centres of scholars and nurserymen, working in close collaboration with one another, were London and Oxford, and later Cambridge. But an influential few seem to have congregated in the Banbury area distributed between Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, and another group in Worcestershire. John Lord Somers of Evesham received the dedication of John Evelyn's work on salads (1699); John Rea, author and owner of the largest collection of tulips in England, lived at Kinlet near Bewdley; while his son-in-law, Samuel Gilbert, also a horticultural writer, dedicated his book to the Bishop of Worcester, "the greatest florist" among pillars of the Church, whose palace garden was a showplace for auriculas. An Irish contingent of fruit-growers and fruiterers appeared surprisingly early, beginning with Richard Harris, Henry VIII's gardener in charge of his cherry orchard at Teynham in Kent. The connection was upheld by Irish apprentices to London fruiterers in the middle sixteenth century (discovered by Dr Ramsay in his recent work on London apprenticeships), and continued into the seventeenth century with the anonymous (but Irish) author of *The Fruiterer's Secrets*, writing a well-informed work on the gathering, packing, carrying, and storing of fruit, published in 1604. An early Irish speciality in fruit production and marketing seems to be uncovered here that calls for further explanation. Not until the 1680's had the horticultural message spread to Scotland, where a physic garden was set up in Edinburgh in 1681, and a book on its plants appeared in 1683.

A few slips have crept into the text which need correction. The author N.F. on page 157 appears as N.(F.) in the footnote. *Sallers* on page 243 should read *Sallets*. John Houghton's remarks on hops (1694-5) did not follow a few years after 1524 and 1574. But the last word on this work should be one of deep gratitude from agricultural historians for this invaluable work of reference, which they may consult in specialist libraries. They will not be able to afford it on their own shelves.

JOAN THIRSK

R. J. COLYER, *The Welsh Cattle Drovers*. Cardiff, Univ. Wales Press, 1976. 155 pp. 11 maps, 9 plates. £5.

The export of Welsh store cattle throughout the nineteenth century—obligatory because of unfavourable climatic and soil conditions—meant that the cattle drovers played a vital role in Welsh econ-

omic and social life until, and even after, the coming of the railways. As well as being the most recent on the subject, Dr Colyer's book is the most comprehensive and thoroughly researched. In particular, the author has assiduously accumulated a wealth of oral evidence which adds colour and variety to his theme, and, furthermore, he has unearthed much valuable material from English record offices concerning the activities of Welsh drovers in the English markets.

The opening account of farming conditions and cattle-production is rightly included as necessary background and is competently handled. However, his graph of store-cattle prices on page 9 shows a surprisingly upward tendency for 1839. Much evidence points to the opposite being the case. Also, his emphasis on the lack of security of tenure in accounting for tenants' failure to improve ignores a number of awkward facts as, for example, the equally pronounced failure of small freeholders to improve—farmers not concerned about tenant right. Dr Colyer's knowledge of animal husbandry is put to excellent use, though it is unfortunate that he neglects to emphasize the well-publicized campaign from the late 'sixties for improving the native Blacks. The central discussion which follows on the mechanics and economics of the droving trade is a substantial contribution. From the author's analysis of the accounts of the Cardiganshire droving family, the Jonathans of Dihewid, we gain a detailed picture of the business activities and profit margins of a large-scale dealer from the 1830's to the 1880's. However, Dr Colyer's work is in many ways an expansion of J. Llefelys Davies's admirable analysis in 1934 of the same accounts in the little-known journal *Aberystwyth Studies*. The discussion on the impact of railways on marketing costs is valuable, but the author should have stressed the vital fact that railways did not effect any basic change in the traditional system of raising stores, as happened in many areas of England and Scotland. The final two chapters dealing with drovers' routes are fascinating even if they cater somewhat for the local and antiquarian interest.

The book is attractively produced with a generous helping of maps and excellent photographs. The University of Wales Press is to be congratulated upon producing this work at such a modest price.

DAVID W. HOWELL

G. E. MINGAY, *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class*. Longman, 1976. xii + 216 pp. £6.50.

Professor Mingay's volume is the second in the series *Themes in British Social History*, and provides a long-needed, up-to-date, and comprehensive study of the gentry and its role in the economic and social life of England.

There is no historical doubt that an identifiable class of landowners developed in the late medieval period which is termed the gentry. Professor Mingay begins his excellent survey of the development of the class by attempting to define it. His definition is largely descriptive: common interests in land-ownership, similar education and culture, marriage and kinship ties, and similar life styles. Yet it is very difficult to distinguish it or to set it apart from the larger landed aristocracy in any meaningful way, for he states (p. 188) that in most matters "the greatest of dukes and the most modest of country gentlemen generally thought and spoke in almost identical terms." It is difficult also to think of them as a "ruling class" separate from this same group who made basic decisions and who set the tone in this "Age of Aristocracy".

Yet "the landed gentlemen" of England, planted between the great lords at the top and the yeomen farmer, owner-occupiers below, owned approximately 50 per cent of the land. The central core of this volume is composed of three chapters which cover the rise and decline of the gentry, their estates, and their role in rural society. In 'The Closing Phase' he considers the gentry in the light of the industrialization and democratization of Britain in the nineteenth century and the peaceful passing of landed power.

Within each chapter Professor Mingay treats specific subject areas: 'The Country House', 'The Predominance of Agriculture', 'The Gentry as Farmers', 'The Growth of the Landlord-Tenant System', and so forth, which might have made his presentation disjointed and episodic but it does not, for each section dovetails well and provides a balanced, understandable, and, on the whole, convincing picture of this class. That a prodigious amount of work has gone into the research, organization, and writing of this small volume is evidenced by the use of not only major works in economic and social history but also a wide array of manuscript material, monographs, journal articles, theses, and local and family histories, all of which gives a poignancy and immediacy to the problems, opportunities, and concerns of this class. He helps thereby to make readily available the results of recent work of many investigators into specific areas of local or regional development. On the other hand, the reader would have been better served if the publisher had added, following the notes, a full bibliography, and if larger type had been used in printing the volume. The culprit here is no doubt the economics of publishing, not Professor Mingay.

In chapter 3 Professor Mingay discusses, among other subjects, 'The Great Debate: The Rise of the Gentry', presenting the arguments of Tawney, Trevor-Roper, Stone, and others in a clear and concise manner, and he provides conclusions of his

own. One of the difficulties of this debate is the assumption that it is possible to identify the groups under discussion when in fact they were not fixed units within the gentry. He points out here and in further comments on landownership the grave dangers of oversimplification of these complex changes, and makes a good point that the arguments in this matter overlook the essential stability and conservatism of landed society and the reality of the existence of a "country community", which was essentially local.

Yet this essentially local, rural society was not isolated for it provided wider connections with politics, commerce, trade and industry, education, the law, and the clergy through its younger sons, and, of course, through its daughters. Professor Mingay writes on these complex matters of landed economics, social role, political influence, values in religion, philanthropy, sports, and the like with charm, ease, and at times even humour. He has provided a survey which will be valuable to scholar and student alike.

RAY A. KELCH

A. FENTON, *Scottish Country Life*. Edinburgh, John Donald, 1976. ix + 255 pp. Illus. £6.50.

Mr Fenton is one of the few authorities on the history in Scotland of what one might call "rural technology"—the form and relationship of techniques, tools, utensils, and materials. In this welcome book he turns from detailed examination of individual aspects to provide what can fairly be described as the first systematic history of rural technology in Scotland. The result is not merely a catalogue of artefacts; nor is it the general social history that the title suggests. The author is concerned throughout to examine change in all aspects of material culture, and the relationships—often complex and quite subtle—between developing technology, economy, and society.

Pride of place in the text goes to the processes of food production. An introductory chapter is followed by five more on cultivation techniques, and two on livestock and dairy produce. Thereafter single chapters describe foods, farm buildings, fuel, transport, and the community. Coverage is geographically rather uneven; Orkney and Shetland together receive more attention (in terms of direct index entries) than all the counties of western Scotland south of the Clyde. There is also a predictable emphasis on the last two hundred years, the period best covered by the printed sources on which Mr Fenton draws heavily.

The author seems to have tried to keep both the general and the academic reader in mind, but the general reader will find a certain amount of basic knowledge expected of him, and the academic may feel that Mr Fenton bypasses certain controversial

issues. The text is digestible, and is supported by a large number of diagrams and photographs; some of these are excellent. There are extensive notes as well as a bibliography and index, but the omission of a glossary of technical and dialect terms reduces the book's value for reference.

Some deficiencies must be pointed out. Moving rapidly between the general and the particular, Mr Fenton does not always make it clear which period or part of Scotland is being discussed; sometimes the reader is left uncertain whether a technique was widely used, or was described by contemporaries simply as a curiosity. We learn little of crafts which for long remained integral to country life in some areas—weaving and dyeing, tanning and leatherwork, timber working. There is little on household furnishing and utensils; rather surprisingly, Mr Fenton allocates the topic of pre-improvement building style, surely one of the more important within his purview, a quite inadequate amount of space.

Scottish Country Life is a careful, uncontroversial, rather unexciting book; there are parts—the discussion of runrig being one—where the author paints too clear a picture by disregarding current academic debate. None the less the book goes some way towards filling a significant gap, and there are sections—particularly that on harvesting techniques—where Mr Fenton conveys admirably the intimate association of technology, economy, and society. It is a pity that he makes so little use of the vast amount of germane manuscript evidence in the Scottish Record Office and elsewhere; until these resources are fully utilized we shall remain without a definitive work on Scottish rural technology.

JAMES M. LINDSAY

ERIC J. EVANS, *The Contentious Tithe: The Tithe Problem and English Agriculture, 1750-1850*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976. xiv + 185 pp. £4.75.

This is the first volume to appear in a new series of studies in economic history, edited by Professor F. M. L. Thompson. The book originated as a Ph.D. thesis, written under the supervision of Mr E. P. Thompson, and perhaps one may still detect his influence in this ultimate product, with its emphasis on the friction and hostility which tithe created in the rural community. The book, however, is much broader than a mere catalogue of tedious disputes. The opening chapter discusses the economic and social status of the eighteenth-century clergy, and the final one briefly surveys the period between commutation following the Act of 1836 and exoneration under the Act of 1936. There is an enlightening examination of the nature of the tithe problem, and a useful summary of the evidence relating to commutation of tithe under private en-

closure Acts—a neglected but important aspect of the parliamentary enclosure movement.

The nature and consequences of tithe is one of the little-examined aspects of English farming in the period of the classic agricultural revolution. How far were contemporaries like Young justified in condemning tithe as a tax upon improvement? To what extent did it prevail in its most inconvenient and damaging form, in kind, rather than as a money composition? That it was a fertile source of dispute the author leaves us in no doubt, but on other questions the evidence is less clear. He concludes that where the soils were poor and collection was made in kind, tithe could constitute a serious obstacle in the way of more productive farming. But how far it was collected in kind and how far in cash is uncertain, and the author himself seems a little confused on the question. Nevertheless, Mr Evans has put historians in his debt by his extended and wide-ranging discussion, the only up-to-date study of the subject that we have. His book will be essential reading for all those interested in the interconnected problems of agricultural production and social relations in the countryside. It is a useful volume with which to launch the new series, though one must feel some doubt whether it does not fall more properly within the realms of social, rather than economic, history.

G. E. MINGAY

GEORGE ORDISH, *The Constant Pest: A Short History of Pests and their Control*. Peter Davies, 1976. 240 pp., 13 plates, 9 figs. £6.50.

Teachers of agricultural botany have long been grateful to E. C. Large for supplying compelling bedside reading to their students in *The Advance of the Fungi*. Here to complement the mycology is a rather briefer companion volume, primarily for the entomologist. Into this slim volume are packed facts culled from two thousand years of writings on man's struggle with the smaller organisms, and generously supplemented with diverting personal experiences taken from the author's long and full life in the field of applied entomology. Pliny, we are told "constantly studied and wrote books, even dictating notes to his secretary whilst in his bath"—and such is the enthusiastic flow of documented detail, which exudes like honeydew from every page of this book, that one suspects Mr Ordish keeps a tape recorder in his bathroom.

To the lay reader the book is full of unexpected revelations of which perhaps the most surprising is the account of the action of ecclesiastical courts in the Middle Ages in the trial and excommunication of pests. This was clearly a logical method of dealing with evil things, and, as the author shows, might actually have appeared to be efficacious. The last case, it seems, was recorded in Denmark as recently

as 1830. The Church seems to have been helpful for many centuries, for c. A.D. 800 an ambassador from Spain was sent to Rome seeking protection against a plague of rabbits. In more recent times we are reminded that the failure of the Germans to use DDT was a major cause of their defeat in 1945, for the Royal Army Medical Corps reckoned that "for every infected British Soldier there were 8,000 lousy Germans."

With such a wealth of historical detail it may perhaps seem unkind to quibble at the title, which is not strictly accurate, and at times even seems to confuse the author. On the second page "pest" is taken "to mean all those troubles that attack our crops and domestic animals leading to a reduction of the portion available for man," which the author agrees might sometimes include elephants, and later, "man who is one of the worst pests plants have!" But referring to "blight" in the eighteenth century he writes: "This term was probably used very loosely, meaning any trouble caused to a plant, much as today we usually take the word 'pest' to mean *the whole range of setbacks to which crops are subject*" (my italics). This could be held to include the thousand and one permutations of soil and meteorological factors which can limit plant growth. References to domestic animals are few, and it might therefore have been more informative to the modern scientific reader to change the sub-title to *A Short History of Plant Pathology*—with a note referring the reader to the subject-matter covered by *The Plant Pathologists' Handbook*, compiled by the Commonwealth Mycological Institute in 1968.

The difficulty of choice of word for "pest" must be acknowledged, for in 1846 Alfred Smee was attributing potato blight to an aphid, contrary to the theory of the Rev. M. J. Berkeley, who considered it (correctly) to be due to a fungus, but such organisms, as the author is well aware, are rarely "constant." In biology, change is the sole constant and this is shown to be evident in the use of hydrocyanic gas to treat orange groves in California in 1886 when "... the inevitable happened—a race of insects resistant to the gas had started to arise." Insects, bacteria, fungi, viruses are all characterized by genetic change. However, a chronicler spanning the centuries may perhaps be forgiven for concluding that in spite of *tout ça change*, the pests and diseases remain firmly entrenched as very much *la même chose* to the farmer.

It is indeed surprising to discover how slowly the mind of man develops. Thus recent suggestions of a link between the eating of blighted potatoes and spina bifida were in one sense anticipated by the action of M. Bonjean of Chambéry who, in 1845, to prove the harmless nature of blighted tubers ate 4 kg daily and drank daily 8 oz. of water in which

these were boiled. Boussingault, c. 1834, and Lawes and Gilbert in 1843 are often hailed as the pioneers of field experiments: it is therefore salutary to be reminded that Tillet laid out field trials to study the cause and cure of bunt in wheat in the middle of the eighteenth century. These experiments, conducted under the aegis of Louis XV, showed some remarkable similarities in layout to the factorial design established by Fisher in the 1920's.

A strong case is made for devoting more time and money to research into biological control methods and less on pesticide research. The reasons given for this view are not bedevilled by ideological considerations: the alternatives to using pesticides would be better and cheaper. It is as simple as that! More specifically the author envisages breeding projects designed to facilitate the biological control of pests and diseases. Bees, silkworms, and fighting crickets have already been bred and selected by man for his betterment. These point the way to new fields of endeavour.

The author's dry asides and manifest sense of humour add piquancy to his story. This is to be read by all concerned with crop production.

I. W. SELMAN

JOHN STEVENSON and ROLAND QUINAULT (eds.), *Popular Protest and Public Order*. Allen & Unwin, 1975. 242 pp. £5.25.

This rather unusual little volume includes in addition to the editors' introduction six essays: on food riots 1792–1818, Highland discontent 1790–1860, the General Strike (or Plug Plot) of 1842, riots and public order in the Black Country 1835–60, the Warwickshire county magistracy c. 1830–70, and popular protest on Red Clydeside 1915–19. Whether these disparate topics, periods, and areas add up to a meaningful and valuable whole is a question which must be left to the judgement of those better qualified than this reviewer. Only two of the essays have much relevance for agrarian historians, and it is these which are considered here.

John Stevenson's study of food riots in England between 1792 and 1818 deals with a subject already explored by previous writers, notably George Rudé and Edward Thompson. Mr Stevenson's fresh approach is largely concerned with geography and timing. He finds that before 1800–1 disturbances over food tended to occur at centres of communications, such as coastal ports, canal and river ports, and towns serving as supply centres for major cities; subsequently, however, the location of riots shifted more towards the manufacturing towns of the Midlands and north. On the timing of disturbances he shows that the influential period seems to have been, not that of highest absolute prices, but when the rate of increase in prices was greatest. In general, two factors, communications and the occupational

composition of the local population, were crucial in determining which places saw disturbances. Neither broad economic factors, such as harvest failure, nor social considerations relating to Edward Thompson's "moral economy" of the crowd go far towards explaining why some places were persistently the scene of rioting, and others were not. The particular local reaction was the result of a complex interaction of factors involving the operation of the food market and the presence or absence of large numbers of the vulnerable, such as manufacturing workers.

Eric Richards's 'Patterns of Highland Discontent 1790-1860' constitutes a further extension of his valuable studies of the Sutherland estate. To that extent it covers what is now familiar ground, and perhaps does not take us very much further. The record shows, he argues, that resistance to the evictions, though "fragile and sporadic," led to alarm and excessive reaction on the part of the forces of order; in fact, the early spontaneous defiance melted away before the challenge of the military. The Highlanders lacked leaders, and did not resort to the kind of harassment and guerrilla warfare for which their home terrain would have been ideal. In part this quiescence sprang from the "fatalistic passivity" preached by the ministers of religion, in part from the lack of political focus, the failure to attack effectively the moral and legal basis of landlordism; indeed, the Highlanders' reaction was backward-looking and offered no alternative to landlords' policies. A curious feature of the resistance was the prominent role assumed by women in barring the way to agents and officers, often taking the worst hurts while the menfolk stayed in the background. In the end the Highlanders' sullen hostility to the policy of clearances proved a fatal blow to landlords' ambitious schemes for relocation of population in new occupations. The very act of clearance meant, as James Loch noted, that once uprooted the Highlanders preferred to make new homes thousands of miles away across the Atlantic rather than accept those provided by their persecutors less than thirty miles away.

G. E. MINGAY

KENNETH HUDSON, *The Bath & West*. Bradford-on-Avon, Moonraker Press, 1976. xiii + 251 pp. Illus. £10.50.

This bicentenary history of the Bath & West Society follows Mr Hudson's earlier general survey of agricultural societies published in 1972 as *Patriotism with Profit*. Originally intended for the "Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures and Commerce," it was the agricultural activities which came to be the chief concern of the Society, although its Arts and Manufactures Committee continued in existence until 1901. The influence of the Bath & West extended over much of southern England,

especially by means of the annual shows, which were held on a peripatetic basis from 1852 until the establishment of a permanent showground at Shepton Mallet in 1965.

Mr Hudson traces the progress of the Society and shows how the Bath & West has endured a number of vicissitudes. After the initial enthusiasm, the affairs of the Society were at a low ebb in the early nineteenth century until revived by Thomas Dyke Acland in the 1850's. The Society was at its strongest from then until 1914 when it appealed to a wider public through the medium of the shows, especially those organized by Thomas F. Plowman, secretary from 1882 until 1919. Since then, the Society has experienced fluctuating fortunes, but has taken renewed heart since the establishment of the permanent showground; the most recent period of the Society's history is, however, dealt with extremely briefly.

At the start of each chapter there is a short outline of the main events that affected agriculture during the period to be considered, but Mr Hudson is essentially concerned with the history of the Society as an institution, and there is little attempt to gauge its overall impact in the process of agricultural change. There is extensive quotation from the publications of the Society—the early *Letters and Papers* and the *Journal* which was published between 1853 and 1940—and this, as Mr Hudson suggests in the preface, helps to convey some of the flavour of the Society's affairs, but the repeated lists of regulations, financial details, and similar material become tedious.

In general, this is an attractive and well-produced book which is full of interest. Especially pleasing are some of the photographs, which portray the spirit and character of the Victorian shows. The value of the book to the agricultural historian is limited, however, by the lack of overall analysis and assessment of the work and influence of the Bath & West.

NICHOLAS GODDARD

RAYMOND E. DUMETT and LAWRENCE BRAINARD (eds.), *Problems of Rural Development. Case Studies and Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives*. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975. xiii + 148 pp. 68 Guilders. This interesting and useful book focuses on urgent problems of rural development in the world's poorer countries by utilizing the approaches of economists, historians, sociologists, and political scientists. They were brought together by multi-disciplinary seminars held at Purdue University between 1971 and 1974. Although pursuing different aspects of the problem in a varying range of countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the authors' contributions are informed by a similar conviction of the usefulness of a multi-disciplinary approach to the complex problems associated with

the improvement of traditional farming systems. They are also, perhaps naturally, united in a belief that agriculture lies at the heart of the development problem, and that little progress will be made until it is accorded a higher priority. More unusually the book lays great stress on the importance of the small farmer within existing systems, and argues that too much emphasis in the past has been directed to ways of eliminating or bypassing him; whereas the real problem is to find ways of helping him to raise his productivity.

The editors stress that agricultural improvement is a slow, involved process which cannot be achieved by a few quick measures—whether they be land reform, enclosure, state farms or the new seeds and fertilizers of the so-called “green revolution”. This theme is further reinforced by Gordon Mingay’s opening chapter on the significance of the English agricultural revolution, where he stresses that, although the process may have appeared dramatically rapid in contrast with other countries, its roots in fact went back to the sixteenth century. It was the culmination of a long period of gestation—not a sudden spurt.

In mounting the argument for placing more emphasis on the role of the small farmer in development programmes the authors are concerned to stress, in their different ways, certain salient characteristics of small farmers, which they feel have been neglected in the past. Perhaps the most important points which they emphasize are the economic rationality of small farmers, their willingness and ability to respond to market stimuli when allowed to do so; the importance of sustaining the earnings of the small farmer to ensure a reasonably even distribution of income (important in creating markets for new industries), and in preventing migration to towns and resultant unemployment; and the crucial significance of understanding the socio-political conditions necessary for small farmers to be able to adopt new innovations.

The evidence for the economic rationality of small farmers is most clearly shown in Victor Uchendu’s study of farming systems in Ghana, Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania, where he stressed the way in which farmers spontaneously took up new crops when the economic and social conditions were right (cocoa in the forests of Ghana, and tea and coffee in the Kisii district of eastern Kenya). Sara Berry, in her study of the spread of cocoa farming in south-western Nigeria, also illustrates this point by showing how Yoruba farmers migrated into virgin forest areas to grow cocoa from the 1920’s onwards, in a fashion similar to that revealed by Polly Hill in her celebrated study of Ghanaian cocoa-farming migrants.

The need for a development strategy based on small farmers is also emphasized by Uchendu and

several other authors. Don Kanel, in a study of farmers’ reactions to innovations, based on Denmark in the late nineteenth century, and Pakistan and Central America recently, showed that while new innovations in butter-making had been widely diffused amongst Danish farmers, there was a tendency for the “green revolution” to be adopted mainly by the wealthier farmers in the other two areas, with a resultant increase in poverty and migration amongst the rest of the rural population. Eugene Havens, studying the adoption of new varieties of high-yielding coffee bushes in Colombia in the 1960’s, reports a similar danger. The tendency for innovations to be concentrated in the hands of socially and politically dominant rural groups is also noted by Richard N. Blue and Yashwant N. Junghare in their study of the introduction of high-yielding wheat in an irrigated region of Rajasthan in north-west India. The wheat is dependent on a diammonium phosphate fertilizer for its success, which is in short supply. Despite government attempts to ration it, certain farmers obtained extra supplies, either through the black market or by their ability to manipulate local co-operative societies. As a result many farmer were unable to adopt the improved variety through shortages of the fertilizer. More generally, John W. Mellor stresses the need to adopt strategies which not only support small farmers but also create employment both within agriculture (through more labour-intensive crops like vegetables and fruit) as well as within manufacturing industry (to save imports).

Finally, nearly all the authors lay stress on the importance of socio-political and cultural aspects, as well as economic, especially if small farmers are to be at the centre of the development effort. Havens, Kanel, and Uchendu in particular point to the importance of maintaining a supporting network of service institutions to sustain small farms; such organizations as credit and marketing co-operatives, extension services, adequate roads, and schools,—and not least, the ability to exercise some control over the political process. Where this is lacking technology may be monopolized by élite groups, or farmers may be taxed to support unproductive new industries, as happens in many African countries. Finally, in a perceptive study of the role of a traditional religion (Islam) in Bornu in north-eastern Nigeria, Ronald Cohen shows that religion may not be the blockage to development which is often believed. A religion may be very widely practised as a means of social identification and reinforcement within a community, without necessarily being a strong force in relation to people’s economic or technical decisions.

In conclusion, no summary review can do justice to the wealth of detailed argument and example contained in this stimulating book, which it is to

be hoped will be widely read by those engaged in development planning.

MICHAEL HAVINDEN

VIVIAN WISER (ed.), *Two Centuries of American Agriculture*. Washington, D.C., Agricultural History Society, 1976. 315 pp.

The articles in this volume were presented at a symposium held in April 1975 at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. There are in all twenty-three articles and comments, together with an introduction by the editor, Vivian Wiser, who usefully summarizes the contents of the contributions.

It is always invidious to pick out individual pieces for detailed consideration when all of the articles contain points of interest and importance, and equally it is impossible to do even rough justice to the collected expertise of so many distinguished scholars within the space of a few hundred words. However, some idea of the scope of the volume may be conveyed by the brief references which follow. In general, it may be said, the particular value of this two-century survey lies not so much in the originality and research which characterize the papers, but in the bringing together in a coherent manner diverse materials which are scattered through many scores of monographs, and basing upon them considered and authoritative judgements.

After a discussion by Thomas R. Wessel of the role of Indians' agricultural production in the course of white settlement, John T. Schlebecker examines in interesting detail the impact of wartime conditions of labour supply and military demands upon markets and farm production in the North between 1774 and 1777. Particularly valuable for its statistics is the consideration by Theodore Saloutos of the contribution made by immigrants to American agriculture. The various national groups showed marked tendencies to concentrate in particular regions, and they made a distinctive contribution to farming techniques and specialization, as well as to life styles. Allan Bogue makes a characteristically valuable contribution, again buttressed by statistics, in surveying the specialist studies made of the development of farm credit in the period from the early nineteenth century to the 1940's. Credit was extended by a variety of local lenders and by institutions such as loan companies and life-insurance companies, and also considered are the effects of federal intervention in this field in the decades after 1916. The paper by William Parker is also characteristic, painted boldly with broad strokes on a canvas of intercontinental dimensions. His theme is the factors influencing the growth of farming productivity in America and the parallels which may be drawn between this development and the main phases of progress which marked the industrial revolution in Europe.

The wide-ranging character of the symposium was enhanced by two papers from our own Andrew Jewell and George Fussell. Andrew Jewell considers such points of contact as the impact in Britain of American farm exports, the American reapers, the enterprise of the American agricultural engineering industry, and the exchange of information on the making of cheeses, to the advantage in this case of both countries. George Fussell's brief account of the role of the English countrywoman is well complemented by three American contributions. Mary Hargreaves discusses the reminiscences of women who came to live on the northern plains, Minnie Miller Brown describes the more arduous and varied part played by the black woman on farms, both before abolition and since, while Gladys L. Baker describes the rise of women in the U.S. Department of Agriculture from humble packers of seeds to positions involving important responsibilities in the scientific, educational, and other branches of the department's activities.

Two sweeping "overviews" of key subjects are provided by Paul Gates and Harry D. Fornari. The first surveys a familiar territory of land policy, bringing out the problems which arose from the conflict of interests between the East and the West. Grain exports is the topic of a second broad survey which ranges from the early years of the nineteenth century to the modern era of surpluses and aid programmes, and includes the growth since the Second World War of exports of rice and soya beans. Yet another familiar topic is the pioneer farmer and his remarkable powers of adaptation to changing conditions of settlement, in forest, prairie, plain, and desert, a story expertly recounted by Gilbert C. Fite. Don F. Hadwiger raises a number of interesting questions in his stimulating discussion of 'Farmers in Politics'. He asks, for example, why farmers, a majority in the nation, resorted to the tactics of a minority, why they ignored inequalities in their own ranks while attacking the lesser inequalities which existed between themselves and other interests, and why poor farmers and farm-workers failed to organize on their own behalf.

The concluding papers are concerned with aspects of the advance of farm technology. Paul E. Waggoner surveys the growth of the agencies which have undertaken the important role of fostering agricultural research and education, while Knowles A. Ryerson deals with the American farmer's debt to the introduction of plants from abroad. Changes in the breeding and feeding of livestock is the story taken up by T. C. Byerley, and Hiram M. Drache examines the revolution in farm size which has occurred, is continuing, and is likely to continue in the future: the farms of the year 2000, he predicts, will be far larger than is conceivable today. Lastly, Don Paarlberg indulges in some gazing in

the crystal ball, and plots the future course over the next two hundred years. Impressive technological advances and a return to country living are among the changes he foresees. On balance, he says, the outlook is optimistic. None of us here, unfortunately, will be able to tell that tale.

G. E. MINGAY

ANTHONY M. FULLER and JULIUS A. MAGE (eds.), *Part-Time Farming: Problem or Resource in Rural Development*. Proceedings of the First Rural Geography Symposium, University of Guelph, 18-20 June 1975. Department of Geography, University of Guelph, 1976. vi + 291 pp. Illus. £6.

Reviewing such conference proceedings is always difficult; with papers from different countries, with papers from enthusiasts, and papers from those needing money for the journey, with critiques and transcripts of discussions and panel talks. The book inevitably lacks coherence, as the papers are printed as presented, with no editorial linkage. Otherwise, the major limitation is the overwhelming concentration on the Canadian view of part-time farming. Over 70 per cent of the papers (in length) are on Canadian—mostly Ontario—issues, and recorded discussion rarely departs from this theme. The rest of the papers are on Europe, and there are brief statements from an international panel (Britain, Italy, Sweden, U.S.A.). There is nothing on Asia, Africa, or Latin America.

The papers were arranged, according to the organizers, to "identify who are the part-time farmers . . . Assess whether part-time farming represents a problem or a resource . . . Identify the relationship between newcomers to agriculture and part-time farming . . . Identify some policy implications." Each of these topics is touched on, but the approach is highly fragmented, and the papers are very variable in quality. J. Mage tries to develop 'A Typology of Part-Time Farming', but his arguments are lost in his almost unreadable English. A. Fuller, on 'The Problems of Part-Time Farming Conceptualized', is little better. Indeed, the greatest problem of part-time farming seems to be the inability of those writing about it to express simple concepts simply, coupled with an obsession with complex statistical manipulations of often rather trivial data.

There are some honourable exceptions. M. Troughton writes clearly and well of hobby farming around London (the Ontario one, of course), as does G. Hutchinson in describing how Guelph's extension programme is 'Educating the Novice Farmer'. One positive achievement of the symposium was the attendance of a large number of government researchers and policy-makers: among them R. Crown of Agriculture Canada, who provocatively

suggests that perhaps "once we cease thinking of part-time farming as an 'issue', what we identify now as problems with it will, in fact, simply go away."

The papers on European topics are mostly short and/or superficial. In one longer and more thoughtful contribution A. Cavazzini takes a socio-political look at part-time farming in central Italy; but the paper seems out of context with the rest of the symposium, which just went on discussing the problems of Ontario. The statements of the international panel are too short to be useful, though the closing nine-page résumé by D. Christodoulou of F.A.O. is perhaps the highlight of the book.

For those who want to keep in touch with part-time agricultural studies in Ontario, and who are prepared to wade through much turgid prose and dizzily rotating factor analyses, this book might be worth while. Those hoping for a general overview of the subject, with an examination of part-time farming in developed and underdeveloped countries, with consideration of the varied roles of social, political, and land-tenure systems, will be disappointed.

ROBERT S. DILLEY

C. DUNCAN RICE, *The Rise and Fall of Black Slavery*.

Macmillan, 1975. xiii + 427 pp., 23 plates. £10. This is a welcome and much-needed book. It seeks to offer an overview of the rise and fall of Negro slavery from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The book was born "in a fit of intellectual arrogance," after the author, while attempting to give a course of lectures on 'Slavery and Anti-Slavery Movements', found there existed no introductory book to his broadly conceived subject. His aim, he tells us, is to present "a short introduction to the whole history of black slavery and anti-slavery in the Americas and Europe" (p. xi). His intended audience is the general reader, and his viewpoint appears to be that of an Anglo-Saxon with special reference to his Scottish and American academic affiliations.

Rice's is indeed an exciting subject, to which a host of scholars has significantly contributed in recent years. This host includes Charles Boxer, Philip Curtin, David Brion Davis, Eugene Genovese, Roger Anstey, Aileen Kraditor, and Carl Degler. The specialist may lament that Rice has neglected the work of Johannes Postma on the Dutch slave trade, of W. R. Higgins on the South Carolina trade, of Richard B. Sheridan on the Caribbean trade, as well as others. Moreover, the ongoing debate among historians on the subject of slavery and anti-slavery has produced a number of important books since Rice completed this work.

Recent scholarship has exploded a number of myths about the slave trade, slavery, and anti-

slavery. Professor Rice is familiar with most of this scholarship. Philip Curtin has revised downwards the estimate of the number of slaves transported across the Atlantic from fifteen to just under ten million (though Rice keeps putting the figure at eight). Carl Degler and others have destroyed the interpretation put forward by Frank Tannenbaum that Catholic America, through Church and Crown, protected the slave far better than Protestant America. Developing the new view, Rice suggests that comparing slave societies by function (e.g. sugar cultivation) and demography is more revealing than by religious or national differences. In all instances the power of the master over the slave was "complete and absolute," and in this view, "black slavery in the Americas can be seen as a single institution" (p. 100).

The black scholar Eric Williams, in *Capitalism and Slavery*, has argued that the slave trade and plantation slavery provided the profits for the industrialization of Europe, and that Europeans turned abolitionist when free-trade interests in England and soil exhaustion in some of the older Caribbean islands made abolition of the trade expedient. Reviewing the controversy, Rice declares that the profits of slavery were woefully inadequate to finance the industrial revolution, that there is no demonstrable connection between the parliamentary vote on abolition and the interests cited by Williams. To all this he appends his own research showing "that after emancipation the British abolitionists fought a desperate rearguard action *against* free trade in sugar, since this would give a new impetus to slavery in Cuba and Brazil" (p. 223). Humanitarianism figured importantly in bringing to an end the British slave trade.

A final theme is the significance of abolitionist thought; and borrowing heavily from David Brian Davis, Rice asserts that this thought represented a profound intellectual change, which went along with economic change. The interplay of the two is fundamental to the understanding of abolition. He concludes that what was new in modern history was not slavery, not even black slavery, but the idea of abolition. With this idea, the abolitionists "presided over the greatest turning-point in the history of human society" (p. 400).

In addition to some omissions in research there are some surprising slips in scholarship, but on balance C. Duncan Rice has offered a sound, well-written book which should please the general reader.

JAMES A. RAWLEY

BRIAN DAVEY, *The Economic Development of India: A Marxist Analysis*. Nottingham, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation for Spokesman Books, 1975. 232 pp. £6.25.

The main argument of this book may be sum-

marized as follows. It is the capitalist mode of production which has accounted for the extraordinary break in the history of mankind. However, despite its success in the advanced capitalist countries of today, capitalism failed to develop the productive forces in "Third World" countries like India. There are historical reasons for this. Pre-British Indian society lacked the dynamic element which might have led to the development of productive forces and of capitalism. Social relations, in which caste played a key role, were based on dependence, and both the ruling class and existing forms of capital extracted the social surplus in a parasitical fashion from the direct producers. Under the British, India was integrated into the world capitalist economy but imperialism took away resources that could have sustained India's development, and the colonial state neglected to provide the necessary overheads for competitive industrialization. Since 1947 the Indian State, which is based on a coalition of social classes, has been too weak to make decisive developmental efforts where these contradict the interests of any members of the coalition. India has therefore remained in a subordinate position in the world capitalist economy, and this cannot in turn be dealt with except by revolutionary changes within Indian society. The overall trend in India is to increasing inequality with a low rate of overall economic growth. This will force the impoverished masses into rebellion, in which the peasants will be led by the proletariat, since the bourgeoisie will obviously not expropriate themselves in order to play the leading role in liberating the peasantry.

The methodology underlying this argument is that of the Marxist method of social analysis, but it is not based to a great extent on Marx's writings, for Davey rightly believes that although Marx had some important insights his sources for analysing Indian society were inadequate and sometimes incorrect. In fact, the author quotes Trotsky as often as Marx and more often than Lenin.

The first half of the book is devoted to historical background and includes a brief discussion of British efforts to develop agriculture and of changes in the pattern of agrarian relations under British rule. This part of the book, which shows how capitalism developed alongside the pre-capitalist mode of production, is clearly argued, but does not say anything new. It is based on a good, but by no means exhaustive, range of secondary works. In the second half, Davey launches a powerful critique of the failure of the post-independence Government of India to carry through a thorough-going reform of Indian society. To blame are the propertied classes within India, who control the government, and "imperialist" countries whose policies are designed to retain India within the ambit of the world capitalist economy. A chapter on 'Agriculture and

Rural Society' summarizes reasons for the lack of real development in the countryside, principally the failure of land-reform legislation and the consequent persistence of gross inequalities in rural society, and the ability of the better-off peasants and the landowners to corner the benefits of the "green revolution" for themselves. Again, none of this is new, but the author's purpose is not to provide new facts, rather to fit the known facts into an ideological framework which leads to, and justifies, an inevitable conclusion—an end to private property in the means of production.

At this point, the author leaves economic analysis for political advocacy and the book ends with a brief sketch of a strategy for South Asian revolution. Since the book was written, events in India seem to

have set back the chances of such a revolution when Mrs Gandhi, backed by the capitalists and bureaucrats, set about repressing the proletariat which, according to Davey, will be in the vanguard of the movement to liberate the peasants. She did this with the support of the Communist Party of India which, as Davey himself points out (p. 165), on the orders of Moscow helped the Congress to contain incipient peasant revolt on the morrow of independence. Perhaps Davey has been misled by his determinist view that history is the product of impersonal forces (e.g. pp. 36, 181) rather than of the actions of men—and women. He has written an interesting book, but one which is a "tract for the times" rather than a conventional economic history.

PETER HARNETTY

Shorter Notices

AXEL STEENBERG, *The Common Fields of Culture*.

Copenhagen, 1976. 110 pp. 54.80 Danish kr.

Published to mark the occasion of Axel Steensberg's seventieth birthday, this volume contains a bibliography of his numerous published works on such wide-ranging subjects as agriculture, archaeology, crafts and domestic industries, harvest, ploughs, rural customs and culture, and other related topics. Also included are English translations of two of his more than 300 printed works: 'The Concept of Culture', and 'Caritas Romana, or the Story of the Imprisoned Cimon and his Self-Sacrificing Daughter'. Copies of the book may be obtained from the Nationalmuseets forlag, Raadvad, DK-2800 Lyngby, Denmark.

TADEUSZ LEWICKI, *West African Food in the Middle Ages*. C.U.P., 1974. xv + 262 pp. Map. £8.

This is a most valuable translation into English of a work first published in Polish in 1963. Professor Lewicki is an Arabist of international fame, who has made a detailed study of the works of Arab travellers and geographers relating to West Africa, from the tenth century to the early sixteenth. The works, in fact, are valuable for even earlier periods because they include material from ancient manuscripts now lost, dating back to the eighth century. Although some of these works have been translated into English or French in the past, they have never previously been examined systematically by an expert Arabic scholar from the point of view of economic and social history. Professor Lewicki deals with the principal cereals, meats, fish, fats, beverages, and spices consumed in West Africa before

the Far Eastern and American trades, begun by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, revolutionized the food economy of West Africa. Modern staples like maize, cassava, groundnuts, and cocoa are all of American origin. Lewicki's book is the most thorough account yet published of the diet of West Africa in medieval times, and also includes some interesting information about menus, methods of cooking, and ways of storing and preserving food. Our understanding of the agricultural and social life of an important African region in pre-colonial times is greatly enhanced by this book.

MICHAEL HAVINDEN

ELIZABETHAN CRITTALL (ed.), *The Victoria History of Wiltshire, Vol. X*. O.U.P. for University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1975. xix + 347 pp. Illus. £27.

Volume x of the *Wiltshire V.C.H.* (the eleventh volume to be published) deals with Swanborough hundred and the borough of Devizes. Situated in the centre of the county, Swanborough hundred includes the western end of the Vale of Pewsey, and on the north ascends the south-facing escarpment of Marlborough Down, and on the south the north-facing escarpment of Salisbury Plain. The majority of the parishes are of the long and narrow spring-line type, with the settlements situated on the porous greensand or valley gravels of the Avon valley, and their lands stretching over clearly defined belts of meadow and arable to the rough grazing on the chalk down or plain. Devizes is not an integral part of the hundred, which boasts no market town, though Market Lavington, which had a

population in excess of 1,500 in the mid-nineteenth century, was once a place of some importance until its foundry was closed and its malt industry declined.

The main market centres for the hundred were at Devizes and Pewsey. Devizes, which takes up ninety pages of the volume, developed a textile industry in the Middle Ages, but by 1828 all the clothiers had departed. Glove-making and leather declined too, but brewing and malting grew in importance from the mid-sixteenth century. Agricultural engineering added to the town's prosperity in the nineteenth century, together with dairy and bacon companies and brick and tile works. Long important for its livestock fairs, the town developed as a centre of commerce, and had a population in the later nineteenth century of some 6,500.

This volume fully lives up to the standards of scholarship and production traditionally associated with the *V.C.H.* But, as ever, its parochial framework makes it a cumbersome tool for the agricultural historian, and the index is far from helpful to him.

K. J. ALLISON (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of York: East Riding III*, O.U.P. for Institute of Historical Research, 1976. xvi + 220 pp. Illus. Maps. £27.

This volume deals with Ouse and Derwent wapentake (a uniform district bounded by two great rivers), and the western half of the Wilton Beacon division of Harthill wapentake, which appears to have been added so as to make the volume of standard size. Here, agriculture has always been the chief occupation, and there is much that will interest readers who have the patience to piece together the information contained within the usual rigid divisions.

Much of the land lies at about 25 feet above sea-level, and large tracts are lower still. The district was well wooded, with extensive wastes, and a considerable part lay within a royal forest until 1234. Medieval reclamation is one theme worth exploring in detail. Another is the pre-parliamentary enclosure of open fields and common pastures, and the development of convertible husbandry. The limitations of the *V.C.H.* approach are sadly evident here. The detailed replies of the farmers of Ouse and Derwent wapentake to the Georgical committee (printed in R. V. Lennard, 'English Agriculture Under Charles II', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, iv, 1932, pp. 23-45) are ignored because they are not on a parish basis, and they did not appear in the section dealing with the agriculture of the county as a whole, as that was published twenty years before the returns came to light. One wonders how many other records, less well known, are discarded in this way because they do not fit into the format? The *V.C.H.*

cannot even be regarded as a comprehensive work of reference.

On a brighter note, there is a short account on page 9 of home-grown chicory in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Dunnington was known as "the English chicory-growing metropolis." The information contained within the volume has been assembled with great care and scholarship.

DAVID HEY

AVROM SALTMAN (ed.), *The Cartulary of the Wakebridge Chantry at Crich*, Derbys. Arch. Soc. Record Series VI (for 1971), 1976. 202 pp. No price stated.

While agricultural historians will not rush to buy this book, anyone interested in medieval ecclesiastical history will find that the Derbyshire Archaeological Society has done them a considerable service in publishing this cartulary. The editor's introduction provides a useful guide to the intricacies of chantry foundation in the fourteenth century; William of Wakebridge, the founder, emerges as a man of no little persistence and circumspection. Editor, proof-readers, and printers have combined to produce an unflawed and well-indexed volume, but the absence of a map is sorely felt. The confused and confusing topography around Crich needs one here. While it would be a great pity for local record societies to move away from publishing specialist texts, it is a pity that this volume has little to offer Derbyshire people. Perhaps some future publications of the society will seek to meet the needs of specialist and non-specialist alike. This cartulary is very much for the former.

ANDREW JONES

R. H. HILTON (ed.), *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval English Social History*. C.U.P. 1976. 330 pp. £5.

This volume collects together fifteen papers which appeared in *Past and Present* between 1958 and 1973. They include a number of the most significant contributions to medieval studies made in the past twenty years: the Thirsk-Titow controversy over common fields, P. D. A. Harvey on the inflation of 1180-1220, Ian Kershaw on the agrarian crisis of 1315-22, and Sally Harvey on the knight and knight's fee; there are, too, Professor Hilton's discussion of freedom and villeinage, Christopher Dyer on the question of income redistribution in the fifteenth century, and Barbara Harris's account of landlords and tenants on the Buckingham estates; there follows a *mélange* of articles on Robin Hood, from Messrs Hilton, Holt, and Keen, and the selection concludes with Margaret Aston's paper on lollardy and sedition 1381-1431. Professor Hilton contributes an introduction which succeeds in

elucidating the links between the various essays. Specialists in medieval studies who need to refer to these important papers, or refer their students to them, will find this a highly useful collection.

RICHARD POTTS (ed.), *A Calendar of Cornish Glebe Terriers, 1673-1735*. Devon and Cornwall Record Society, n.s., XIX, 1974. xxxiv + 210 pp. £3.

Details of the glebe lands and agricultural tithes in Cornwall given in this work are of considerable value to agricultural historians. Only a few parishes of the county are missing, notably a group in the vicinity of Falmouth, but for many there are entries for the years 1679-80 and 1726-7. The editor's comprehensive and thoughtful analytical introduction is supplemented by Veronica M. Chesher's succinct account of the variety of parsonage houses occupied by Cornish clergy in late Stuart and early Hanoverian times. The terriers' enumeration of stables shows that most incumbents kept a horse for transport, but cart or wain or coach-houses were scarcely known; mention of dairies, however, within or alongside parsonages may not have indicated cow-keeping, for tithe details recorded a complexity of levies upon dairy produce. The parson's pig, the theft of which was the theme of a west-country ballad, was wellnigh ubiquitous, judging from the pig-sties listed in nearly every terrier. The tithe details show a process of monetary commutation getting under way, though much was still paid in kind, and along with cases of much local accommodation between clergy and parishioners, there were instances of bitter friction and disputes as well. Fairly frequent listing of malt- and brew-houses, and occasionally of hop-gardens, reinforces theories of local self-sufficiency and self-help in providing the necessities and comforts of life in these days. These details, of course, are of great interest to local historians, and their accumulation enables a wider regional study to be made. From St Neot emerges a matter of rather more than local or county interest for, in 1680, Thomas Philp recorded that the vicarage had been savagely plundered during the Civil War, but neither he nor his churchwardens felt called upon to mention that the medieval stained-glass windows of the church had escaped scot free from the attention of Cromwellian iconoclasts.

JOHN ROWE

E. M. YATES, *Buriton and its People*. Petersfield Papers no. 2, Petersfield Historical Society, 1975. 48 pp. £1.

C. D. ROGERS, *The Lancashire Population Crisis of 1623*. Manchester University Extra-Mural Department, 1975. 34 pp. 60p.

Although necessarily brief in compass, both booklets are excellent examples of the improving stan-

dard of local history in this country in recent years. Dr Yates offers a concise history of a Hampshire parish, concentrating on the turnover of population by migration and changes in the pattern of settlement. A wide range of sources is used to trace the steps by which a peasant structure gave way to the classic landlord-tenant-labourer system, and in recent years to an influx of professional persons and retired officers who have turned the labourers' cottages and the poor-house into desirable residences. The general issues of rural social change are never lost sight of, and the author's interests are far from being narrowly parochial.

The same is true of the W.E.A. group at Bolton, led by Mr Rogers. Although Lancashire is already known to have experienced signs of a population crisis in 1623, members of the class have worked through over fifty parish registers for the period, and conclude that the primary cause was almost certainly famine which carried mortality to over twice its normal level and sharply reduced marriages and conceptions. This accords with the arguments propounded for Cumberland and Westmorland by Laslett (*The World We Have Lost*, pp. 119-22) and Appleby (*Econ. Hist. Rev.*, xxvi, 3, 1973), and is a matter of some significance for agrarian as well as demographic historians, since in the present state of knowledge this seems to have been the last occasion when mortality rates in this country can be shown to have been unequivocally and systematically raised by direct starvation.

W. A. ARMSTRONG

W. J. KEITH, *The Rural Tradition*. Hassocks, Sussex, Harvester Press, 1975. xi + 310 pp. £7.50. Professor W. J. Keith has already put agricultural historians in his debt with his study of Richard Jefferies. Here he widens his approach by taking a critical look at a long series of non-fiction writers who concerned themselves with the English countryside of their day. His subjects stretch from Izaak Walton and Gilbert White down to Edward Thomas, Henry Williamson, and H. J. Massingham, and include along the way Cobbett, Mary Russell Mitford, George Borrow, Jefferies, George Sturt, and W. H. Hudson.

The author's aim is to "clear the ground" towards the task of tracing the continuities existing between the various writers, examining the critical problems inherent in their writing, and testing the "cogency of thinking in terms of a possible 'rural tradition'." He makes the point that the nineteenth century, which saw the decline of the English countryside, was also the great age of nature writing, and that the countryside came to be cherished only when it was sorely threatened, and cherished most by those who threatened it—townsmen. For it was mainly townsmen who provided the market which

These writers tapped. Rural writers, it is true, showed a tendency to hark back to some mythical golden age, a concept of which historians are justifiably sceptical. But the author argues that the writers were in fact realists: they wrote about the countryside they knew and the pictures which they drew were based on the facts—at least as they saw them.

Professor Keith's chapters on the individual writers will be enlightening and stimulating to those of us who are familiar only with the best-known of the works discussed, and who have still to make a first acquaintance with the many others. The material on the authors' careers and attitudes is valuable in itself, and indeed is essential for relating their writings to the history of the period. And for those for whom the literature is well-trodden ground, the author's insight and viewpoints will be refreshing. And, for additional measure, a concluding chapter considers briefly, but illuminatingly some further contributions to the literature, notably those of Flora Thompson, A. G. Street, George Ewart Evans, and Ronald Blythe. Indeed, all of us interested in the development of the modern countryside will find this a thoughtful and thought-provoking volume.

Agriculture in Essex c. 1840-1900 in Documents, Maps, Prints and Pictures, compiled by R. G. E.

Wood, Essex County Council, Chelmsford (Essex Record Office Publ. no. 67), 1975. 40 illus. £1.20. This useful publication (no. 7 in the Seax series of teaching portfolios) consists of forty illustrated sheets reproducing pages of documents, maps, and pictures of farming life in Essex, mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century. An accompanying leaflet provides an introductory commentary, index, and bibliography, and the whole is contained in a plastic portfolio. Each sheet has some explanatory notes on the reverse.

Most of the items come from originals in the Essex Record Office, and together they form a valuable tool for local history classes interested in the sources of the period. The illustrations are arranged to form a series of topics, which include farming routine and machinery, agricultural improvement, the contemporary concern for the labourer, and the Great Depression. Some of the more interesting reproductions concern a landowner's comments on Corn Law Repeal, the prizes offered in 1847 by a local agricultural society, an illustration of J. J. Mechi's farm at Tiptree Hall, portraits of a farm labourer (1888), a notice confirming the labourer's right to vote as he pleased (1885), newspaper evidence of the effects of the Depression, and a dairy class at the Countess of Warwick's "Secondary and Agricultural School" at Dunmow, 1901.

This is a varied and valuable compendium for school and adult use which will undoubtedly help to bring the subject to life in the classroom.

ERNEST C. PULBROOK, *English Country Life and Work: An Account of some Past Aspects and Present Features*. Wakefield, EP Publ., 1976. ix + 243 pp. Illus. £5.50.

This little-known work was first published in 1922 by Batsford, and is now republished with the many very interesting and unusual photographs of the original. At this point of time the text is the more interesting for its period character, and for the wide-ranging information it provides of the survival of ancient country crafts and customs into the early decades of the present century. The author concentrated on the countryman and his round of work and leisure, and he succeeded in bringing out the great variety of life on field, hill, common, moor, woodland, and waterside, as well as gatherings for sport, worship, and country festivals.

Both the attractively written text and the fascinating illustrations bring alive a countryside which has now, more than fifty years after the book was written, largely disappeared—one still dominated by traditional ways of doing things. The work is a valuable record, impressionistic and unstatistical as it is, of a vanished way of life, and the publishers are to be congratulated on their imagination in making this reprint available.

I. H. ADAMS, *Agrarian Landscape Terms: A Glossary for Historical Geography*. Inst. Brit. Geog. Special Publication no. 9, 1976. xii + 314 oo. £4.60.

The title of this glossary is excessively modest. The body of the work defines and describes a great number of terms which range far beyond the bounds of what is usually thought of as historical geography. As the author states, "the widest interpretation was taken of the range of terms to be included . . . the farming community and its methods of cultivation are as important to the historical geographer as the physical patterns of landscape." The consequence of this breadth of approach is the production of a volume which is as invaluable for the historian as the geographer. The glossary is divided into sections which include such topics as tenures, houses and outbuildings, the open fields, grazing lands, forests, rural industry, boundaries, crops, animals and implements, cultivation, and the farming community. Among the tenures we have explanations of such arcane terms as bookland, byholt, conacre, old barton, cow's grass, cullery, drengage, folkland, gwely, kindly tenant, soiled land, steelbow contract, venville, and waterkyle; and in the section dealing with cultivation we have no fewer than twenty-six terms used to describe various kinds of fallows.

References are given to books and articles in a bibliography extending to over 70 pages, and there is a comprehensive index. One cannot but admire the energy and care which Ian Adams has expended on the accumulation of this storehouse of information. It should find a place on the shelf of every researcher into the agrarian scene: we are much in his debt.

WAYNE D. RASMUSSEN (ed.), *Agriculture in the United States: A Documentary History*. New York, Random House, 1975. Vol. I, xxii + 912 pp.; vol. II, ix + 1,078 pp.; vol. III, viii + 923 pp.; vol. IV, vii + 739 pp.

So well-worn a cliché as "mine of information" seems more than a little inadequate to describe a great work of reference, though this work is truly a mine in which scholars will delve deep, long, and profitably. Wayne Rasmussen, of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service, and doyen of American agricultural historians, has put scholars enormously in his debt by his labours on this impressive compilation.

The collection is grouped chronologically by periods and themes, and includes legislation and official reports, as well as excerpts from learned discussions, travel accounts, diaries, farm manuals, letters, and newspaper articles and advertisements. The volumes range from the colonial period (with an element of European background contributed by Messrs Tusser and Tull), through the age of rapid technological development and growth of commercial farming in the nineteenth century, down to the New Deal and post-Second World War developments. The first American document is taken from John Smith's 1616 *Description of Virginia*, and the last is from a paper on the structure of agriculture delivered as recently as 1973. On the way we have in addition to the staple subjects such diverse topics as Indian farming, the silk industry in Georgia, food supplies during the Revolutionary War, invention of the cotton gin, soldiers' land bounties, imports of Hereford cattle, Hussey's reaper, agricultural colleges, Abraham Lincoln on agriculture, Brigham Young on manufactures, Texas cattle fever, milk supply of cities, wine-making in California, farm wages in Illinois, the boll-weevil, rural electrification, the reindeer industry in Alaska, management of Indian lands, Negroes and the post-Second World War farm programmes, hybrid corn, the broiler industry, dry-land farming, and the contribution of women to co-operation. There is much, much more, but perhaps this random selection of a few items will succeed in conveying the extraordinary richness of the whole.

Dr Rasmussen's major goal, as he states in his preface, is to illustrate the changes which have taken place in American farming. Not only has he done that admirably, but he has also given scholars an

indispensable tool for teaching and research. It is a collection which should be in every library that concerns itself with American history.

AVROM SALTMAN, ed., *The Kniveton Leiger*.

H.M.S.O. 1977. xxxiv + 316 pp. Map. £25. This volume appears as No. 24 in the Joint Publication Series of the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts, and forms No. 7 in the Record Series of the Derbyshire Archaeological Society. The leiger or cartulary of the Kniveton family of Bradley in Derbyshire is a rare early fourteenth-century example of its kind. It documents the rise to local eminence of an obscure Danelaw family in the thirteenth century.

GLANMOR WILLIAMS, *The General and Common Sort of People, 1540-1640*. University of Exeter, 1977. 32 pp. 50p.

The title of this memorial lecture is taken from George Owen, the antiquary of Tudor Pembrokeshire. For the benefit of the amateur historian, Professor Williams considers recent work on this period, with its emphasis on the need to study the whole structure of society, and its concentration upon regional and local history. After considering which social groups made up the general and common sort, what sort of sources provide information about them, and what questions might profitably be asked of these sources, the author stresses the value and interest of this approach, and urges an appreciation of the deep-seated attachment people had to their own community.

DAVID HEY

C. P. HALL and J. R. RAVENSDALE (eds.), *The West Fields of Cambridge*. Cambridge Antiquarian Records Society, III, 1976. xi + 168 pp. 6 maps.

The main part of this volume is an edition, with the contractions that have caused much confusion duly extended, of a terrier of the Cambridge West Fields drawn up originally in the period 1352-65. It is, of course, a famous document. Seeböhm studied it in the 1880's, and found in it "almost every one of the features" of the open-field system; and in the 1890's Maitland thought if "the most elaborate thing of its kind that I have ever seen", from which someone with "time to spare and taste for the Chinese puzzle" might map these fields in detail. The editors have at long last put this document into print; they have mapped the fields, or at least their basic components; and their introduction provides a context making the laconic entries of the terrier meaningful. They deal in particular with its description of the land parcelled into sections and gores, strips and doles, furlongs and closes, fields and seasons, to say nothing of the balks, large and small,

which the Orwins strangely thought were seldom mentioned. They further seek to reconstruct the way in which the West Fields were made, and how they had reached the stage of evolution depicted in the terrier, and to these investigations they add a study of the history of landownership and tithes-ownership in them. They properly warn us that these are town, and not village, fields, and for that fact allowance must be made; but this hardly detracts from the importance of this Cambridge survey for the history of English open fields. We can only be grateful that it is at long last generally available in a scholarly edition.

EDWARD MILLER

SANDRA RABAN, *The Estates of Thorney and Crowland: a study in medieval monastic land tenure*. University of Cambridge, Department of Land Economy, Occasional Paper No. 7, 1977. 106 pp., £1.80.

This small book sets out to discuss mainly the acquisition of the estates of two of the middle-sized Fenland monasteries. The different policies of endowment, the relatively poor level of further gifts, the "disendowment" consequent upon the Conquest (10 per cent at Thorney, 20 per cent at Crowland), and subsequent benefactions and purchases are treated at length; the section on improvements is relatively weaker, and there is nothing on estate management such as Dr Page explored in her earlier volume on *The Estates of Crowland Abbey* (1934). It is a useful book, one which shows that small books can still be produced both pleasantly and cheaply; it is obtainable from the Department at 19 Silver Street, Cambridge.

ALAN ROGERS

GRANT LONGMAN, *A Corner of England's Garden. An Agrarian History of South West Hertfordshire, 1600-1850*. The Author, 48 Duncan Way, Bushey, Herts., 1977. 2 vols., iv + 96 pp., 75 pp., plates, maps. £4.50.

Mr Longman's useful and readable short study is a reworking of his M.Sc.Econ. thesis and is designed "for both the general reader and the specialist." The division between the two kinds of reader is effectively established by confining the actual text to the first volume and by devoting the second to a lengthy collection of documentary appendices and to tables concerned with crop and livestock distribution, acreages, and population and taxation returns. The book is well produced and agreeably illustrated with nostalgic nineteenth-century photographs and prints (including one of O'Connorville, the Chartist land colony at Rickmansworth). Since the attempt is made to survey two and a half centuries of agrarian history the coverage at times is unavoidably sketchy. But Mr Longman succeeds in bringing out

the changing patterns of the farming systems in his region, and is particularly good on the diffusion of agricultural innovations. The book is clearly based on painstaking research and utilizes a vast assortment of inventories, rent rolls, account books, tithe maps, hearth and land tax returns, and enclosure awards. Its strength derives from the author's intimate familiarity with the farms, families, and buildings of his locality. Its weaknesses are simply the reverse side of the coin of parish-pump history. Comparisons with other parts of the country are largely absent, the effects of the growing demands of the metropolitan market are inadequately assessed, and just occasionally the moralist and the romantic in the author take over from the historian.

R. C. RICHARDSON

P. D. A. HARVEY (ed.), *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, circa 1200-1359*. H.M.S.O. for Oxfordshire Record Society and Historical Manuscripts Commission, Joint Publications Series No. 23, 1976. xviii + 839 pp. 2 plates. £25.

Some ten years ago Mr Harvey published an excellent study of the economy and organization of the Oxfordshire manor of Cuxham, and the volume now under review is the collection of documents on which that study was based and forms a natural sequel to it. After having worked my way through it, my reaction to this new offering was one of envy and admiration; envy because very few scholars can ever hope to have so much of their basic material published so handsomely, and admiration for the tremendous amount of painstaking effort which clearly went into its preparation.

It must be emphasized from the start that this is not just another collection of manorial documents. I know of no other publication which brings together in one volume such a comprehensive and varied range of manorial, and associated, documents illustrative of the workings of the medieval manor. The bulk of the documents naturally consists of account rolls and court rolls but there are also examples of charters, surveys, tax assessments, indentures of stock and utensils, lists of debtors, and many others. A particularly useful feature is the inclusion of examples of manorial accounts at various stages of their preparation. I should not be at all surprised if this book became the basic textual compendium for all students of manorial history, and both the editor and the joint sponsors of the project must be warmly congratulated on their achievement.

The price, £25, is unfortunate but, at least this once, fully justified by the obvious typographical difficulties involved in producing a most meticulous scholarly edition of varied and often complex texts.

It could no doubt be argued that too much editorial care has been lavished on documents which, after all, have little claim to any special linguistic or literary merit, but personally I have never been inclined to regard perfection as a fault. There are also additional bonuses in the form of tabulations of manorial statistics and a very useful glossary of unusual words or spellings.

J. TITOW

EDWARD L. and FREDERICK H. SCHAPSMEIER,
Encyclopaedia of American Agricultural History.
Westport Publications, 1976. xii + 467 pp.
\$25.

The extraordinary industry of the Schapsmeier brothers has produced in this *Encyclopaedia* a tool which will be of immense usefulness for students of American agricultural history. Indeed it will be valuable also for those interested in present-day farm matters for the entries include many subjects relating to the 1970's as well as earlier periods. The treatment is comprehensive and detailed, within the limitations imposed by a single substantial volume. A random selection of entries which may give some idea of the coverage ranges from the *Agricultural Adjustment Acts*, *Andy Adams* (the cowboy writer), *barbed wire* and *claims committees*, all the way to *xerga* (a sheepskin used in the Southwest as a saddle blanket), the *Yazoo land fraud* of 1795, and *zanjero* (a Southwestern term for a digger of irrigation ditches). The novice in the field who is puzzled by such terms as *grits*, *hoosier*, *Natchez trace*, *podunk*, *prairie turnips*, and *rednecks* will do well to consult this new reference work.

Typical entries include not only explanatory details, dates, and other factual information but also lists of authors' works and references to sources of further information. Included among the entries are political figures and organizations, Indian leaders, and western writers and historians, including those practising their craft at the present. Special indexes provide under a variety of headings lists of persons and subjects for which there are entries. There are fifty-five of these special indexes listing entries under such headings as *Agencies and Commissions*, *Agricultural Education*, and *Agricultural Historians* down to *Transportation*, *Utopian Societies*, and *Writers*. Could one really ask for more?

G. E. MINGAY

J. A. PERKINS, *Sheep Farming in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Lincolnshire*. Society of Lincolnshire History and Archaeology Occasional Papers for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 4, ed. R. W. Ambler, Sleaford, 1977. 58 pp. 14 illustrations. £1.40.

After about 1720 a long, slow decline in the fortunes of specialist graziers in Lincolnshire was reversed

only briefly during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and for a short spell in the post-war years. J. A. Perkins traces the process and places it firmly within its agricultural, industrial, and social context in a paper which is surely a model of its kind. The place of the grazier in the rural economy of the early eighteenth century is described, and then the trends of wool and mutton prices, and the producers' responses to them are examined in detail. Encouragement for wool export, restrictions of imports, social pressures like the Stuff Ball, the attempt to create a local woollen manufacturing industry and to alter marketing methods to help the specialist grazier were all in vain. Only when he gave place to the mixed farmer raising Improved Lincolns for their mutton and wool was the place of sheep farming assured on a new, more modest, but competitive scale. Once the painful change had been made, Improved Lincolns were to win for their breeders and their county international repute in the late nineteenth century.

The creation and the diffusion of the Improved Lincolns, and their relationship with the New Leicesters from Bakewell's establishment at Dishley, are shown to be the work of a relatively small group of breeders from the Cliff farms north of Lincoln and from the Wolds. Benjamin Codd of Glentworth, Samuel Slater of North Carlton, John Dudding of Barton, and Philip Skipworth of Aylesby were some of the pioneers. Responding to new economic trends, they and their kind were to integrate sheep farming with arable farming on the uplands of Lincolnshire as an element in a successful mixed farming economy based on turnip feeding. If this meant decline and stagnation for the lowland parishes where the specialist breeders of the Old Lincoln long woolled sheep had once reigned supreme, it meant by the 1850's success and prosperity for the light soils of the uplands, where the new Lincoln breed was believed to have "no equal as a rent paying animal". It was hardy and easy to handle, and its spread to other parts of the British Isles, to Europe, South America, Australia, and New Zealand was the result of its combination of good quality mutton and wool in sufficient quantity to ensure good returns which helped to stabilize farm incomes in periods of short-term price fluctuations.

This paper is a most thorough and detailed addition not only to the history of a famous breed but also to our understanding of the links between sheep rearing and arable farming in a leading agricultural region during a period of fundamental change. Finally, in these days of pinched presentations it is a pleasure to commend the high quality of the finish of this article, at £1.40 excellent value in every way.

T. W. BEASTALL