

Book Reviews

MARTIN BELL, *Excavations at Bishopstone. Sussex Archaeological Collections*, Vol. 115, 1977. xii + 299 pp.

Excavation of the site of Rookery Hill, overlooking Bishopstone, has demonstrated a remarkable sequence of human settlement and agriculture over 3500 years, from a Neolithic farm to a fifth-century Saxon village. The publication has already acquired a reputation as a model excavation report, and this is not only because it is a meticulous, detailed and lucid presentation of evidence thoroughly recorded in the field and carefully interpreted. Over the past two decades an increasing range of specialist techniques has been applied to the analysis of archaeological evidence, notably those relating to the study of past environments and landscapes. These, in turn, have encouraged excavators to look for, and naturally therefore to discover, types of evidence which were always there but were previously neglected. In that respect the report has fulfilled parental expectations, as a child of its time.

Early in the third millennium BC a Neolithic farming settlement was established on the hill-top. Study of the land molluscs found in associated layers showed that this was still partially wooded, though the lower slopes were fully cleared. These creatures are very particular about their habitat, and they also showed that a field lynchet, presumably the result of earlier cultivation (attested on the site by carbonized seeds of 6-row barley, emmer wheat and common weeds of arable land) had become turfed over by the end of the Neolithic period. Few such Neolithic settlements have been excavated; this site helps us to understand a pattern of settlement which otherwise is mainly to be inferred from surface scatters of flint and pottery.

After an apparent hiatus in the Bronze Age, there was an Iron Age enclosure containing granaries and associated with a field system. One of the field lynchets produced evidence for cross-ploughing, a practice asserted more often than attested for this period. Cultivation, predominantly of spelt, appears to have been virtually uninterrupted; there were also abundant bones of most domesticated animals, as well as fowl, hunted animals and marine molluscs. A 'complex and integrated' economy is thus suggested.

The Roman picture is much the same, but the Saxon village shows a surprising discontinuity from that pattern within a short space of time. The part excavated includes six halls, austere called 'large rectangular buildings', and eighteen other structures, laid out in an orderly way over both earlier

enclosures and their adjoining fields. Archaeologically speaking, pagan Saxons died more ostentatiously than they lived: their known cemeteries are numerous, but excavated examples of their villages are rare. At Bishopstone there are both, a conjunction rarer still: the cemetery, downhill, was excavated previously and separately, but the evidence from it is summarized here. The fields near the village appear at this time to have been given over to pasture, but the environmental evidence is less abundant and so less conclusive. How far the abandonment of the site was connected with the establishment of the present village of Bishopstone is also obscure, since the archaeological and documentary sources do not overlap; but Rookery Hill became grazing land, and so remained until this century.

The site reflects changing patterns of agricultural practice and land use over a very long period of time. The report documents this process in as full and clear manner as present archaeological techniques can achieve.

T F C BLAGG

ROGER MERCER (ed), *Farming Practice in British Prehistory*. Edinburgh UP, 1981. 245 pp. Illus, maps, plans. £9.50.

In 1946 E Cecil Curwen published a handsome little book on *Plough and Pasture*, probably inspired by a book of his friend, Gudmund Hatt (*Landbrug i Danmarks Oldtid*, 1937), and in 1953 they produced a joint publication of this name with the subtitle: *The Early History of Farming* (H Schuman, New York) which covered the whole world. None of the two books last mentioned, however, treated animal husbandry in the same way as the technique of agriculture.

Since then much has happened to archaeology, and it is not too soon for an overall discussion to appear. In the introduction Dr Mercer presents a brief review of evidence for changing farming practice in the British Isles over four millennia, intended to produce a backcloth against which the more specific interdisciplinary contributions can be seen. To this is added a table of radiocarbon dates. His text is clear and full of new information without being too much influenced by speculations in the New Archaeology fashion. It is followed by a very short bird's eye view of British farming today by M J Nash.

'Part One: The Land and Crops', is opened by Peter Fowler with a special introduction called 'Wildscape to Landscape', in which he treats field

structures and boundaries as well as enclosures, illustrated with sketch maps and air photographs. Hardly any other country has been so extensively photographed from the air in order to reveal the ancient landscapes. But the reviewer would have liked to see detailed mappings and investigations on the ground with at least 5 m contours. And instead of a black line indicating the courses and configuration of balks and lynchets one would like to see how these features reflect the landscape in detail. This cannot be developed in a scale of 1:10,000 as in Fig 4, showing a system of Celtic Fields along the river Piddle in Dorset. G Hatt and I measured in a scale of 1:1000, Viggo Nielson made vertical photographs of each 2 m square of the excavated area drawn in a scale of 1:10 (*Tools and Tillage*, vol 1, 1970, pp 151-65), and the strips of Borup, Zealand, were measured in a scale of 1:250. The pioneering work was done in England, but the Dutch and German surveyors did not improve on it, so as a result of M Müller-Wille, in comparing British-Dutch-German evidence with the Danish, reduced the Danish maps into the same scale, transforming the variably hatched configurations of balks into dull black lines.

This means that the map materials available for Peter Fowler's conclusions are less sensitive than was desirable. His comparison between the enclosures of recent times and apparently enclosed areas of prehistoric age should therefore not be taken too seriously. But his infield-outfield hypothesis seems to be a sound starting point, as well as his suggestion that stores of grain needed protection and therefore reflected trends in the social system.

S P Halliday, P J Hill and J B Stevenson have written a short chapter on the 'Early Agriculture of Scotland', broadly on the same lines. As usual Sian Rees is cautious not to limit the use of an agricultural tool to one separate function, and she stresses the urgent need for more experiments. The chapter written by Peter Rowley-Convey on slashing and burning in the temperate European Neolithics argues against concepts which are no longer held by the specialists. Dr J Iversen's interpretation of distinct layers of charcoal in bogs as a proof of initial clearings of woods before the first 'Landnam' was inspired by earlier authors (the Finnish A W Liljenstrand, the Swedish E O Arenander), expanded into a general explanation by G Hatt. But based on his pioneering excavations in the Swiss bog at Weyer, J Troels-Smith considers that agriculture started in the late Mesolithic as a very intensive cultivation of small plots manured by cattle-dung from the sheds where domestic animals were foddered with twigs and leaves, etc. The present reviewer has suggested that women were the first agriculturalists, while the men continued to hunt, fish and trap species of the wild fauna. Already the

Draved experiment proved that people of the Neolithic would take one or two harvests after the clearing of virgin woods; the reason for the extensive clearings demonstrated by Iversen was rather to provide open grazing areas for herds of browsing cattle than for perpetual cultivation of those areas. We agree with Dr Rowley-Convey in his arguments against a general practice of slash-and-burn agriculture in the Scandinavian fashion in the British Isles, and in his paper of 1955 in *Kuml* the reviewer did not generalize the use of fire in such a restricted way. But fire is the best manner of getting rid of the debris after the trees have been felled, and this explains its general use.

The figures of crop yields produced by Peter Reynolds on the Butser experiment farm are most surprising. Over an eight-year period the seed/yield ratio for spelt wheat was between 1:12 and 1:40, and for emmer wheat between 1:7 and 1:59, produced without any periods of fallow and without any form of added nutrient of any kind. The average yield was 1.85 tonnes per hectare. However, it must be taken into consideration that the pH reaction of the soil was as high as 7.2, and Dr Reynolds himself would like these figures to be compared with others from experiments on poorer soils. But he has proved that experiments carried out in an extremely controlled scientific way can prepare a reasonably firm ground for calculations of population numbers under different conditions, such as Dr Mercer demonstrates in his Appendix.

Experimental archaeology is in fashion and should be supported in Britain where a most prominent scholar is in charge of it, and it will be interesting to compare the results produced here with those of similar experiments which have long been in process near Cologne and in the Aisne valley in France. A group of scholars concerned with experimenting in this way met in Paris in March 1982, and will meet again in Cologne in 1983. They will probably form an organization for more regular discussions and future planning. The embryonic work started by the present reviewer in the late 1930s is now ready to bear fruit. But comparisons with modern ard-types like the Spanish 'el cambelo' must be taken with reservations, and the interrupted nature of fossil ard-marks is often due to investigations made on too small a scale.

Gordon Hillmann's chapter on 'Reconstructing Crop Husbandry Practices from Charred Remains of Crops' is a masterpiece of analysis, based upon an ethnographic model from Eastern Turkey where emmer wheat and einkorn are endemic. Two other important papers are presented in Part Two by A J Legge on 'Aspects of Cattle Husbandry', and M J Ryder on 'Livestock Products: Skins and Fleeces'. Legge's idea that cattle was not domesticated in order

to produce meat but for milk production is consistent with Troels-Smith's findings from Weyer in Switzerland. For their use as draught-animals there are earlier documentations in south-eastern Europe than in the Middle East. Michael Ryder is a paramount expert on sheep and its domestication, and his chapter should be read together with his article in *Antiquity*, March 1982: 'Sheep — Hilzheim 45 years on'.

The last chapter by Dr Alexander Fenton treats different early manuring techniques, presenting a great variety of ways of producing and augmenting the necessary amount of manure, mostly based on his own studies in Scotland. One might comment on his suggestion that byre-drains were not common until medieval times, that drains built of coppled stones were usual in early Iron Age houses at Esbjerg in West Jutland, and some drains built of wooden planks were found at Elizenhof farther south near Tønning, and that composting, in fact, has been mentioned by Roman authors.

Farming Practice in British Prehistory is an important book, packed with new information and discussions as well as speculation about what living reality the facts might indicate in prehistoric times. It is a useful challenge to prehistorians as well as to agricultural historians, paleobotanists, zoologists and to all scholars with an open eye for matters outside their own speciality.

AXEL STEENSBERG

G E M DE STE CROIX, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*. Duckworth, 1981. xi + 732 pp. £38. I learned more about the ancient world from this book than from any single work that I have read since A H M Jones published his *Later Roman Empire* in 1964. De Ste Croix means by the 'Ancient Greek World' the whole area where Greek was spoken from about 700 BC to the expansion of the Arabs in the seventh-century AD. Thus, he begins with the Aegean world but in the later centuries deals with the whole of the eastern half of the Roman Empire: indeed much of what he says applies to the Roman Empire as a whole. It is an astonishing range. His knowledge of the sources and of the modern literature for this vast period of history is extraordinary. He writes as a Marxist, a somewhat individual Marxist, who does not shrink from criticizing other Marxist scholars, including even Marx himself. This gives him in many ways a new, stimulating, challenging way of looking at the ancient world. He raises questions which are often not raised in the conventional histories. Here is one example: the

Greeks worked out some most remarkable systems of political democracy, which often protected the poor against the exploitation and oppression of the rich. What became of the democracy? Why did it not last indefinitely? The author gives a far better answer than you will find elsewhere of the long and shameful history of how the Roman governing class, which always hated democracy, in alliance with the native Greek property-owners, managed to wipe out the last remnants of the democracy of Pericles and other great Greeks. But it was not easy to achieve, and it was not until the third-century AD that the task was complete.

Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in the land, the great source of wealth, the only source of great wealth, in the ancient world. In the period of the late Roman Empire (say AD 300 onwards) some of the western senators owned estates measuring several thousand square miles. They were now perhaps five times richer on average than the senators of the first century. These landowners exploited the mass of the people to a degree that ultimately caused their own society to disintegrate. The argument, very briefly, is that soon after the beginning of the Christian era the great wars of expansion and the abundant supply of cheap slaves (war-prisoners, etc) came to an end. Slaves had to be induced to breed in large quantities. But this lowers the rate at which they can be exploited, for at any rate the females will have part of their time diverted from their normal work. The inevitable result is that the landowners, if they are to prevent their standard of living from falling, must intensify the exploitation of the poorer free population, who now have no democracy to help them. The government admitted many scores of thousands of barbarians into the Empire. These provided both recruits for the army and an adult workforce, the cost of producing which had not fallen on the Greco-Roman economy. But they were only a short-term and local remedy, and caused the army to be 'barbarized'. There followed defection of oppressed Romans to the barbarians, peasant revolts, indifference to barbarian successes, and so on. It is against this background that the author produces by far the best explanation of the decline and fall of the ancient world.

The book is packed with stimulating discussions, e.g. why did Christianity so signally fail to produce any important change for the better in Greco-Roman society?

A criticism: the book is written for (among others) 'the general reader'. Many general readers who would be glad to know its contents will find it hard going. I hope that author and publisher will lose no time in producing a somewhat shorter and simpler version.

E A THOMPSON

R A DODGSHON and R A BUTLIN (eds), *An Historical Geography of England and Wales*. Academic Press, 1978. xx + 450 pp. 53 figures. £14.50 hardback; £6.80 paperback.

Writing the historical geography of any substantial area poses a basic problem of organization. Should the material be arranged spatially, with a chapter on each major region; historically, period by period, or topic by topic, charting changes in agriculture, industry, population and so on? Each method has been used; each has its advantages and its weaknesses. The decision which to use becomes of even greater significance when, as in this case, the study is the work of several different hands.

An Historical Geography of England and Wales adopts a compromise approach. The first six chapters follow a chronological organization up to 1500. B K Roberts covers 'Perspectives on Prehistory', focusing on the evidence available for this period, and the problems of dating and interpretation. I Hodder examines 'The Human Geography of Roman Britain', applying some of geography's more recent quantitative and theoretical ideas, such as Thiessen polygons and network analysis. G R J Jones looks at the various movements and interactions of 'Celts, Saxons and Scandinavians', from the end of the Roman period to the Norman invasion. As may be expected, place-name evidence is widely used, and there is a good deal of emphasis on social organization. The period of 'The Early Middle Ages, 1066-1350', is dealt with by R A Dodgshon, while the other co-editor, R A Butlin, takes on 'The Late Middle Ages, c 1350-1500'. These two chapters follow similar and fairly traditional lines, looking at population change, rural economies, agricultural development, towns, trade and industry.

The next part of the book deals with the period 1500-1730, but subdivides it into three major topics. J A Yelling considers 'Agriculture', emphasizing enclosure and production; J Langton 'Industry and Towns', especially those key industries, textiles and coal; and R M Smith 'Population and its Geography in England', examining the use of aggregate analysis of parish registers.

In the last, and largest, section of the book, the period 1730-1900 is divided into six chapters, again on a topical basis. 'Agriculture' in this section is undertaken by J R Walton: a study of the Agricultural Revolution. Industry is considered important enough to warrant two chapters: E Pawson looks at 'The Framework of Industrial Change', what was happening during the Industrial Revolution and what was causing it, in terms of the traditional concerns of demand and supply, while D Gregory presents 'The Process of Industrial Change'; an examination of the broader issues of innovation, labour-management relations, competition, and the

class struggle. R Lawton writes on 'Population and Society', using the much fuller demographic data of this period to analyse national trends and spatial changes, including the great growth of urban centres. This last is further developed by H Carter in 'Towns and Urban Systems', looking first at systems of cities, then at urban form. Finally, A Moyes discusses 'Transport', the eras of turnpike, canal and rail and the effect of each on the national space-economy.

Overall, this organization of material works well enough. The topical arrangement of the later chapters can obscure important interactions — as in the artificial separation of industry, transport, and urban growth — but at least it allows each author to develop his theme without too narrow a time-constraint, as well as permitting topical specialists (more common in historical geography than period specialists) to concentrate on their own principal areas of research. There can always be arguments about the dividing dates used between periods, but those used here seem logical and, in any case, are not allowed to become straitjackets. The exclusion of Scotland is understandable for the earlier periods, but becomes increasingly hard to justify as industry and transport develop on a national scale in the nineteenth century. The inclusion of Wales is rather erratic; some authors virtually ignore it.

However, the value of any book lies in more than just its organization. Do the individual contributors do a good job? Does the book achieve its aim, whatever it is? What is the market for the book?

The various individual chapters show a considerable variation in both approach and content. This is deliberate: the editors explain that they 'have not tried to impose a formal structure or format' (p vii). Thus Roberts concentrates very heavily on the evidence, with no attempt to build up any kind of picture of the prehistorical period, while Jones is at more pains to present an overall view, with much less consideration of problems of interpretation and theory. Thus Langton provides a clear and well-illustrated survey of industry from 1500 to 1730, while one does not have to be sceptical about Marxist interpretations of history to find Gregory's chapter on later industrial processes hard to hack one's way through. In fact, this book is not a balanced survey of English historical geography, but a collection of 14 essays, the only apparent editorial control being the selection and allocation of periods and topics. The editors talk (pp vii-viii) of a shift in the seventies to a 'more interpretative approach to the past', and of 'the urgent need for a textbook which takes stock of what has been achieved so far'. Contributors were asked to 'highlight the areas . . . which have responded most to the challenge of the "new" geography'. Some, like Hodder, have taken up this assignment enthusiastically.

cally; others have been rather more descriptive in approach. The emphasis on current innovative research also explains why nearly half the book is concerned with the period from 1730 onwards.

It follows that anyone looking for a comprehensive account of what is known of past geographies would be better off with the (much more expensive) Darby volume, *A New Historical Geography of England*. Darby is much longer, chronologically organized, better-illustrated, and more concerned with the current state of knowledge than with the latest experiments in research. (Irritatingly, neither book has a bibliography: Darby relies on footnotes, Dodgshon and Butlin on chapter-end notes.) Those who want theories rather than facts, to be stimulated more than informed, will prefer this book. It is more exciting to read, likely to provoke more argument, and much more likely to spark interest in historical geographical research. The use of nineteenth-century local newspaper advertisements to plot adoption curves for sheep and farm machinery, the mapping of cropmarks from aerial photographs, are for many more interesting than the usual maps of agricultural production or of two- and three-field systems. Dodgshon and Butlin should be thought of as a collection of research essays arranged to cover the main periods of English history. Some essays will delight, some will bore, but in all it is a book worth having.

ROBERT S DILLEY

J A RAFTIS (ed), *Pathways to Medieval Peasants*. Papers in Medieval Studies, 2; Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 1981. 358 pp. Maps, plans. \$21.

This is a collection of thirteen papers ranging in subject-matter from ecology to parish folklore. There is also a considerable variation in quality. The group of three essays on the parish is particularly thin, and a presentation of a fictional peasant at the fair of St Ives is hardly better. There is, however, a group of interesting and solidly based articles which draw on substantial research.

J Muendel's study of the distribution of mills in the fifteenth-century Florentine countryside is the least satisfactory of this better group. It is, nevertheless, an interesting survey, based mainly on a register of the collection of a mill tax. By the middle of the century there were 711 grain mills (45 combined with a fulling mill) and 15 separate fulling mills distributed over the *contado*. The facts are interesting, though the analysis is minimal. The author says the figures show a picture of economic and social life hitherto unperceived, but fails to elaborate.

Judith M Bennett bases a paper on marriage on the Ramsey Abbey *Liber Gersumarum* (1398–1458). She

insists, successfully, that many women were paying their own merchets — 33 per cent of the total — and suggests that they may have been wage-earners in their twenties. Other facts about this group of merchet payments support the original contention: they tended to be lower in value and required pledges. There are many other points of interest concerning other merchet payers (future husbands, fathers) and their status (insiders, outsiders, free, or villen). Some payers were not even the woman's relatives. The author does not make the suggestion — may they have been moneylenders?

A paper on debt litigation, by Elaine Clark, is also valuable factually and analytically. It is based on the court rolls of Writtle, Essex, between 1382 and 1490. Unlike most manorial court records, full details of debt or detinue are given, arising from deferred payment for goods, credit advanced by buyers, hire of labour and equipment, land leases, and so on. Some 85 per cent of nearly 900 cases could be followed through to their conclusion. But this is not merely an apparently highly monetized economy. Lending and borrowing expressed a complicated network of inter-household relationships, where debtors were also borrowers and vice versa, though on the whole the credit balance was in favour of the bigger cultivators. Also, as one would expect in Essex, a high proportion of people involved in these credit transactions were craftsmen.

This is a useful collection. Even some of the less well-thought-out contributions have something in them. One might mention a critique of Le Roy Ladurie's use of sources for *Montaillou* and of his penchant for Cathars (the author is a Dominican); or a rambling collection of data by J Mundy on town and country in the thirteenth-century Toulousain. And J G Hurst contributes a useful article summarizing archaeological research on English deserted medieval villages.

R H HILTON

JOHN WELLER, *History of the Farmstead*. Faber and Faber, 1982. 248 pp. illus. £5.95; EURWYN WILLIAM, *Traditional Farm Buildings in North-East Wales 1550–1900*. National Museum of Wales, Welsh Folk Museum, 1982. 334 pp. illus. No price stated.

These two very different volumes are the latest in the steady flow of recent published material on the once neglected subject of farm buildings. No doubt many more are still to come as further awareness and appreciation continue to throw light upon new areas worthy of study. Indeed, Fenton and Walker's *The Rural Architecture of Scotland* (John Donald, 1981) was a detailed introduction, based both on documentary as well as field-work sources, with the explicit

objective of stimulating others to take up the work of recording now while the buildings still survive to be studied. Not a little of the renewed interest in farm buildings has sprung from a growing realization of the extent of what has already been lost.

History of the Farmstead bears the subsidiary heading, *The Development of Energy Sources* to signal Mr Weller's intention of illustrating a direct relationship between available power and the consequent form and layout of buildings. In fact, the two principal chapters that treat of this theme are sandwiched between sections on layout and construction materials. If not directly on the point, these do at least suggest the breadth of other influences that have affected the character of farm buildings over the centuries.

The analysis of energy application distinguishes between natural, muscular and indirect sources of power. So, in terms of buildings, a hot house is an example of the first, a threshing floor of the second, and a broiler house, heated by butane gas, of the third. In essence the scheme does work but the historical perception, running from the beginnings of civilization, is so condensed that there is nothing here that has not already been said in other generally available works. The text is agreeably and fully amplified by illustrations but, nevertheless, by skating through history at such speed, conditions are ripe for the breathtaking phrase: 'In Agriculture, the wheel certainly provoked a fundamental change. The introduction of the plough was probably of equal importance and Jethro Tull's seed drill of 1701 marked another vital change in agricultural practice.'

The real value of this work is the way in which twentieth-century farm practice, up to present-day computerization, is slotted into the overall historical view. Here Mr Weller uses his expertise as agricultural architect and author to demonstrate the effects of widespread electrification of steadings in the 1950s, the progression towards high technology and the prospects for the further development of intermediate technologies on the farm. By placing linear layouts, silos, prefabricated structures and other contemporary aspects into the widest evolutionary context, *History of the Farmstead* is nothing if not refreshing.

In complete contrast, *Traditional Farm Buildings in North East Wales 1550-1900* is a work composed not of broad sweeping strokes but of precise and densely packed detail supplemented when necessary by informed speculation. It represents in published form the fruits of a research project undertaken by Dr Wiliam, Keeper of Buildings at the Welsh Folk Museum, over a period of five years from the mid-1970s and subsequently offered as a doctoral thesis.

Associated as it is with the Manchester University

School of Architecture, it thereby follows the pattern of regional study established by Dr J E C Peters and his important *The Development of Farm Buildings in Western Lowland Staffordshire up to 1880* (1969). References to the work of Peters appear frequently in the text, often using his research findings as a basis for contrasting the Welsh results. There is a deliberate impression, therefore, that these are comparison studies to which more could be added in the future to provide further comparisons with other regions of the country.

North-eastern Wales is a topographically diverse area encompassing separate agricultural regions with their own distinct characteristics in farm building. Seven geographical areas were identified by Dr Wiliam within the region and form the base framework into which the statistical data is set. A 10 per cent sample of surviving farms built before 1900 was studied and a clear explanation is given of how that sample, although random, yet included a compensatory element to allow for variations in the pattern of distribution. The 363 selected farms were then visited and their features converted into a numerical format for recording on cards of the Peters and Brunskill type.

Dr Wiliam does not say how long was spent at each farm or how many, if any, were visited more than once. From his own account, however, it would appear that during the course of 7 field sessions up to 10 farms were visited every day. For the purpose of making a full record of each farm, both on paper and on film, this from experience seems a meagre allocation. Rather, the method is for the accumulation of data to be subjected to statistical analysis later so that the identification of common characteristics leading to regional and sub-regional trends becomes possible. The individual farm, with its own unique history and development as a unit, is of less importance compared to its score on a checklist of structural features.

The results of the survey are presented in tabulated form and distributed throughout the sections. Siting, layout and materials of construction are followed by chapters on the buildings themselves grouped in order of function, with barns, stables and cattle accommodation receiving the most attention. Dwelling houses were not included in the project 'influenced as they were by different factors altogether'. An exposition of the documentary evidence introduces each section and extensive chapter notes supplement a useful bibliography at the back of the book. The 18 pages of drawings, however, suffer from being divorced from the main text and the photographs, while useful, should surely be more numerous in a work of this depth.

As a research report this is a valuable work of reference. Nevertheless it must be said that the sheer

mass of detail, both exhaustive and exhausting, makes this a very difficult book to absorb. The extent to which it is read will suffer accordingly. A re-working of the thesis into a less dense, and more digestible form for publication with more expansive use of illustrations would have widened its influence. Perhaps this will yet occur.

ROY BRIGDEN

MARGARET H B SANDERSON, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century*. Edinburgh, John Donald, 1982. 6 Maps. ix + 286 pp. £15.

Much of Scotland's agrarian history, at least of the periods before the eighteenth century, has been based on second-hand opinions, derived mainly from the improvers of that century, men who had very much a case to prove. But of recent years the picture has been slowly filled in by patient work with contemporary documents and the old excuse of lack of sources is beginning to look thin. In particular, we have had Ian Whyte's book on the seventeenth century and now comes another, in this case on the sixteenth century, by Margaret H B Sanderson. The result is the illumination of one aspect of rural life in that century, although the light is not as widely spread as the title of the work implies.

The aspect that is fully examined is that of the tenure of land by the working farmers. This topic, as much as any, has been at the mercy of the retrospective judgement of eighteenth-century writers. Most independent farmers in Scotland were, so it was thought, tenants, generally on very insecure, year-to-year, tenures. Dr Sanderson challenges this view, at least as applied to the sixteenth century. Firstly, leases were more common than had been thought; secondly, the feuing movement is decisively shown to have given many small men the protection of firm tenure; and thirdly, and most unexpectedly, she argues that there did exist in Scotland forms of copyhold tenure which could be defended in the courts. All this is persuasively argued from the detailed and patient scrutiny of estate records, particularly of ecclesiastical origin. Even this gives a sufficiently wide view of the Scottish rural scene to make a cogent case for some revision of accepted views on an important topic.

Other aspects of rural society are approached much more tentatively and with less certainty of touch. There is mention of those below the tenant level, the cottars and servants, but estate documents seldom give much indication of how such people lived and it is perhaps to be expected that no full picture of the agrarian structure can be drawn. Dr Sanderson makes a good deal of the inheritance of holdings and wealth from father to son, or at least within families, but little can be proved about the

possibilities of the landless rising into the tenant class or perhaps of existing tenants losing place within it. It might have been expected, however, particularly if we remember Ian Whyte's work, that more might have been gathered from the estate records about agricultural methods, about field arrangements, and about crops, than is shown in this work. But again it may be the failure of sources that is responsible for the gap. The chapter on social life does suggest some of the dynamic forces affecting development when it picks up the theme of inheritance to show how accumulation from generation to generation could affect social grouping. For the rest, however, social life is viewed through the rather desultory listing of household details.

This is an important work, then, which has not quite the width implied in the title.

MALCOLM GRAY

PETER CLARK (ed), *Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England*. Leicester UP, 1981. xiii + 258 pp. £14.

During the past ten years English towns in the early modern period have attracted much attention from historians. Worcester, York, Coventry and Manchester have been studied in monographs; many articles dealing with individual towns or with urban themes have appeared in volumes of essays and in learned journals. Peter Clark has edited two collections of essays and (with Paul Slack) written a survey of English urban history between 1500 and 1700. In this volume he takes his entrepreneurial work a stage further by editing four studies derived from doctoral theses of middle-rank provincial towns at various periods between 1580 and 1800.

In his introduction Clark contributes an able survey of the social and economic development of county towns between 1500 and 1800. He contrasts the harsh and recurrent economic and social difficulties faced by many towns before 1640 with the more prosperous era enjoyed by numerous towns between the Restoration and 1800. He draws together skilfully much recent published and unpublished research, including his own on Kentish towns and on Gloucester.

The case study of Warwick 1580-90 shows the seriousness of the problem of urban poverty towards the end of the sixteenth century by using census data and poor rate material for the 1580s. The population had been growing rapidly earlier in the century and the local economy had developed only sluggishly. Beier shows how charity such as funeral doles and poor relief tried to cope with the problem. In his essay on seventeenth-century Ipswich Michael Reed discusses the occupational structure and distribution of wealth by analysing the numerous surviving probate inventories. The corporation is shown to

have provided a framework for some aspects of the town's economy, but the effectiveness of its regulations was declining. The article on Winchester by Adrienne Rosen deals with most aspects of the society, economy and politics of the town between 1580 and 1700, in part contrasting the weakening effect of the decline of the cloth industry in the early seventeenth century with the growth of the town as a service centre for Hampshire between 1660 and 1700. While in many ways the characteristics and pattern of development of these three medium-sized towns were to be found in other urban centres, Bath (the subject of the fourth study) was exceptional: in the words of Sylvia McIntyre, 'the small borough of the 1660s blossomed into the pleasure capital of Georgian England, rivalling London in its attractions for the well-born and the wealthy: the population increased over tenfold by 1801, while the old city was cased in a shell of new development'. The work of the Corporation in this property development receives particular attention in the essay.

Readers of this journal might wish for more discussion of the links between these towns and their rural hinterland, but all those interested in urban history will find the essays wide-ranging in scope and of a high standard.

C W CHALKLIN

ALICE CLARK, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*. xlii + 328 pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982. £4.50.

A notable feature of academic research during the past decade has been the quite dramatic surge of interest in the history of women. Partly this can be linked to the development of social history which extended the field of historical enquiry beyond those narrow confines of (male dominated) activities, including law, government, diplomacy and trade. But it was also related to the rise of feminism in the 1970s. Historians quite rightly questioned the almost total neglect of women in explanations of the past, and a plethora of articles and monographs subsequently appeared attempting to fill the void. Despite its apparent novelty, however, the desire to understand women's place in history is not unprecedented, and this reprint of Alice Clark's classic work is a salutary reminder of that fact. Published in 1919, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* was to a large degree inspired by strands of then current feminist thinking. This focused upon the economic subordination of women and sought to explain it in historical terms. Feminists such as Olive Shreiner, for example, contrasted the fuller, more productive role of women in pre-industrial times with their narrow, blunted lives later, and indeed this is the theme which provides the overall conceptual

framework of Clark's work. Her conviction, expressed repeatedly, is that the cause of the tragic decline of women's productive capacity and self esteem was in large measure due to capitalism and the advance of industrialization. For these robbed her of former domestic functions including the preparation of food, beverages and cloth, the provision of instruction and health care, and that of being an equal partner in the running of her husband's business.

The value of Alice Clark's book however, does not merely lie in its interest as a milestone in the study of women. It is also a richly documented account of what women from the whole range of social classes actually did. Sources include diaries, letters, household and workhouse accounts, contemporary printed literature, quarter session records and records of court leets. In her chapter on 'Capitalists' she describes the remarkably efficient management of estates in the early seventeenth century by upper-class women when husbands were absent, and she provides examples of women of various backgrounds who ran such businesses as textiles, trade, coal mining or insurance single-handed. But from the Restoration the assumption of responsibility by upper class women was in decline as the capitalistic organization of industry, and greater wealth, encouraged the adoption of passive, decorative roles. Similarly in her chapter on 'Agriculture', Alice Clark contrasts in a graphic way the huge variety of tasks routinely performed by vigorous and resourceful farmers' wives in and around the home with the degradation of those women forced to seek an inadequate and uncertain wage outside. Much attention is paid to the misery suffered by women due to undernourishment and the difficulty of finding housing of any kind at a time when parochial regulations conspired to maintain their dependency. Other chapters explore in similar vein the changing roles of women in textiles, crafts and trades, and the professions.

Alice Clark's study is very much in the tradition of other early twentieth-century writers who, like the Hammonds, were struck by inequality and suffering around them and expressed their outrage through an impassioned historical interpretation. These can appear emotional and unbalanced to present-day historians who are more used to the detailed clinical approach based upon theoretical models and statistical jugglings. Certainly Alice Clark's largely descriptive account does lack a coherent explanatory analysis of female oppression, and there is some ambiguity and inconsistency in it. The portrayal of pre-industrial working life is idealized, and some might quibble with her choice of the seventeenth century as the critical watershed. But her energy and conviction have given this work qualities which make it lively, provocative reading. The book's

value is also greatly enhanced by the lucid, critical introduction by Mirander Chayter and Jane Lewis, who set the whole work beautifully in context and offer their own view of its strengths and weaknesses.

RAINE MORGAN

J V BECKETT, *Coal and Tobacco: The Lowthers and the Economic Development of West Cumberland 1660-1760*. Cambridge, CUP, 1981. xiii + 279 pp. £19.50.

Sir John Lowther between 1663 and 1706, and his bachelor son Sir James between 1706 and 1755, dominated West Cumberland as improving land-owners and successively they sat almost continuously as MPs for a period of over eighty years. Yet their activities in agriculture were of no great importance, despite the fact that they had stewards who carried great responsibility very successfully.

The fact was that their great landed asset was in the coal they owned in their existing estates near Whitehaven and in others they progressively acquired. Essentially connected to the expansion of mining was the development of the port of Whitehaven, which rose under their promoting efforts from an inconsiderable place to one which had a period when it was fairly significant in general trade. Its main importance throughout was of course as an exporter of coal, for Whitehaven's existence depended on its sale of coal to Ireland, principally Dublin, where population rose from 60,000 to 200,000 over the eighteenth century.

Apart from the acquisition of collieries Sir James Lowther encouraged the improvement of technology and communications. Specially built cartways were improved to become wagonways like those of the North-east, Sir James was one of the first to make highly successful use of the Newcomen engine, and the Spedding family, who were his stewards, were good technologists as well as businessmen; this was important when Lowther spent much of the year in London, even though his energies there were largely devoted to the promotion of the coal trades. Carlisle Spedding was killed in an explosion in 1755, a sad irony because he had devoted much time to improved ventilation and had invented the 'flint and steel' mill to supply light while reducing danger. Under his direction a large colliery was built which mined far out under the sea bed.

The shipping aspect of the coal trade is well dealt

with, and there is an account of the development of the tobacco trade, which particularly through re-exports to France and Holland seemed to be making a major trading port of Whitehaven in the 1730s and '40s. Despite the title, however, tobacco occupies only a short section of the book and Whitehaven's strong decline in favour of Glasgow is not fully accounted for.

Sir James Lowther and others tried to make Whitehaven and the neighbourhood a centre of coal consumption by local industry, and Beckett's account of these episodes and their only limited success is very good, and his quite sparing use of contemporary quotations is telling. The importance of the American trade because of its ability to take a wide range of common manufactures is well brought out, and there is some most interesting detail on attempts to mount iron manufactures which must modify current thinking about the industry. The salt industry fluctuated, but after decline in the 1720s picked up modestly in the 1730s; attempts to introduce copper smelting met with no serious result and ambitious attempts to make glass in the 1730s died out early in the 1740s. Modest success was achieved with rope making and sugar boiling, and much more substantial progress with ship building.

Sir James Lowther's intervention in the complexities of local politics in order to develop the port of Whitehaven are well dealt with as are his failure to control the emergence of Workington and Maryport to an equal extent. In the case of Whitehaven the Lowthers exercised on the whole a favourable patriarchal influence, and this led to its growth in an unusually well planned and orderly fashion. Apart from his considerable investments in Cumberland, Lowther was deeply involved in the London money market, and just before his death his income was around £25,000 a year, of which rents yielded about £4000, collieries £9000, and mainly financial investments £12,500.

Dr Beckett has added notably to the number of good regional studies of economic development, and of landowner entrepreneurship, and he has tapped a major source of documents to great effect, making important discoveries and modifying old views. What emerges most powerfully is the difficulty of replacing a regional coal exporting economy by a regional coal consuming industrial economy without the right opportunities to expand hinterland population and particularly communications, especially inland navigation. Sir James Lowther was not able to do for West Cumberland what John Mackay with more precarious finance was able to do for St Helens, and Beckett's book and Langton's on the South-west Lancashire coalfield give rise to unusually fruitful comparisons.

J R HARRIS

J M GOLDSTROM and L A CLARKSON (eds), *Irish Population, Economy, and Society. Essays in Honour of the late K H Connell*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981. x + 322 pp. £17.50.

From the point of view of the demographic historian it has always been a tragedy that Irish population history is so poorly documented: the Irish experience has been extremely instructive in the European context, but, even with the aid of the recent methodological advances, it has scarcely been possible to answer confidently any of the demographer's basic questions. Yet, more than thirty years ago, Kenneth Connell put the Irish case in the forefront of demographic historiography in a major book that immediately became a classic. He followed up this achievement with a group of highly original studies in related aspects of Irish social history. His premature death in 1973 robbed Irish history of one of its acutest and most original minds.

In other countries the recent advances in demographic history have been based almost entirely on the data derived from parish registers and it has been the virtual complete absence of this class of document that has prevented Irish historians from delineating the course of their country's demographic development with any precision. Connell's interpretation of 1950, of considerable influence upon demographic historiography in the 1950s well beyond the shores of Ireland, began to be challenged in the 1960s but it is a testimony to the thoroughness of his argument that 31 years after the publication of *The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845* his hypotheses are still being scrutinized in this memorial symposium with the utmost respect and care. The first of the four sections into which this collection is divided is appropriately devoted entirely to Irish demography and diet, the latter aspect being, of course, central to Connell's view of Irish demographic history. The essays by Clarkson, Lee and Cullen all have a direct bearing on his work, but, while they offer suggestions for the modification of some of his original estimates of population totals at various dates, they differ quite widely between themselves as to the extent of these corrections. Thus, while Lee proposes some quite substantial upward revisions of the totals of population derived from the censuses of 1821, 1831 and 1841, the tendency of which must be to accelerate the rate of growth before 1821, Clarkson, presumably writing simultaneously and without the advantage of a preview of this persuasive work, implies slower growth rates for this period. Similarly, Cullen, who had earlier committed himself to a rate of growth in the seventeenth century, remarkably fast in the context of contemporary European rates, sets a total of population for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries substantially higher than does Clarkson, who focuses,

accordingly, on faster growth throughout most of the eighteenth century. These quite significant differences of opinion reflect both the paucity of reliable source material and the consequent difficulty of advancing materially beyond Connell's starting point of 1750. The demographic section is completed by the essays of Eversley, comparing the demography of Irish Quakers of the period 1650 to 1850 as revealed by reconstitution studies with that of a larger sample of English Quakers; and an informative investigation by Margaret Crawford of the role of maize in Irish diet, which leads to some important revisions of generalizations popularized by Cecil Woodham-Smith's account of the Famine.

Connell's later broadening of interest to wider areas of Irish social history is reflected in the remaining sections of this memorial volume. The three essays in the section on 'rural economy and society' are all important and will be of interest to readers of this *Review*. Roebuck reveals a chronic history of landlord indebtedness in studies of the estates of the Earls and Marquesses of Donnegall and others in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Goldstrom emphasizes the continuity of Irish agricultural development in the immediate pre- and post-Famine periods, seeing the Famine as 'an accelerator rather than an initiator of change'. Finally, in a study which juxtaposes developments rather than demonstrates beyond doubt the causal links between them, Kennedy assesses the role of the railways in the increasing regional specialization of Irish agriculture in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Lack of space forbids detailed reference to each of the remaining six essays in this volume. Suffice it to say that, unusually for a symposium of this nature, all are important and make a significant contribution to Irish social and economic history. Of particular interest are Brenda Collins's study of the agricultural and domestic industrial background of Irish emigrants to Dundee and Paisley in Scotland in the early mid-nineteenth century, and Ehrlich's re-appraisal of Sir Horace Plunket's contribution to the co-operative movement among Irish dairy farmers in the period before 1920.

Kenneth Connell is much honoured by this volume. Its consistently high level of scholarship is a real tribute to the standards he inspired in Irish social historiography in general, and in the Department of Economic and Social History at the Queen's University of Belfast in particular.

M W FLINN

ERIC RICHARDS, *A History of the Highland Clearances, Agrarian Transformation and the Eviction 1746-1886*, Croom Helm, 1982. 532 pp. £12.95.

The place of the Highland clearances in the popular historical consciousness of Scotland is central: the amount of serious academic scholarship devoted to their study by professional historians has hitherto been remarkably little. That is not to deny that there have been excellent books on Highland economic and social history of the period, but in each of them the clearances have either been enacted mainly offstage (as in Malcolm Gray's and James Hunter's classic studies), or examined in depth but as local phenomena (as in the books by Phillip Gaskell and Robin Adam, and in Richards' earlier volume on the Sutherland fortune). With this splendid study Professor Richards fully redresses the balance in a comprehensive and masterly work that must surely stand as the authoritative book on the clearances for all time. The one major criticism must be of the publisher, who has chosen a typeface indistinguishable from that of an ordinary single-space typewriter photographed down; in a very short book this cost-saving device can perhaps be tolerated, as it can in a circulated conference paper, but in a book of over 500 pages the strain on the reader becomes awful.

Richards' approach to the problem is in three parts. First, he considers the clearances as one among many examples in economic history of abrupt agrarian transformations, analogous to the various waves of enclosure in England and to the shifts into and out of sheep farming in Spain. Next, he outlines the crisis in the Highland economy of the late eighteenth century and shows how, whether or not sheep had come to save landowners from bankruptcy, the peasant economy in its existing form was certainly doomed. His analysis here gives no support to Hunter's implicit position that virtually the entire Highland problem was caused by the selfish interference of the lairds in a natural economy, attributing, rather, proper weight to the inexorable growth of population and the pressure of external forces on a fragile society. He also demonstrates the element of wishful thinking in those who believed that the new sheep farming could somehow have been undertaken by the crofters, perhaps in a form of co-operatives: the initial capital costs alone were enormous — the two farmers who pioneered sheep farming in Sutherland spent £20,000 on stock to inhabit their new leases, a sum vastly beyond any local capacities.

In the third part (half the book) he narrows the focus to a close and extremely comprehensive study of the incidences of clearance. It is this which has the greatest originality, though the other sections provide a context without which the evictions would

appear meaningless. In brief, his message is that no power on earth could have prevented, in the nineteenth century, a crisis of poverty, famine and emigration: but, equally, the landowners as a class (and with some exceptions) behaved in a way that can only be described as appallingly inhumane. Some, like the Sutherlands, were well-meaning in intention towards estate reorganization but dreadfully ham-fisted in execution, spending over £200,000 on the estate between 1802 and 1817, much of it on such things as harbours, roads and inns, but still failing utterly to provide a viable economy for more than a tiny proportion of the evicted. Others, like the Macdonnells, were not even well meaning, being satisfied with simple callous eviction. *Arrivistes* were no worse than long-established chiefs. The most lurid tales in folk tradition — of eviction by firing the cottage, emigrants carried hand-cuffed to the ships, deaths of the elderly evicted from hypothermia — almost all on close inspection turn out to be at least partially verified in the contemporary record.

If there is any heroic element in the story, it must be the press, whose reportage in the middle decades of the nineteenth century appears to have been the main element in shaming the landlords into better behaviour. Just why the Highland landowners should have behaved so badly is a difficult problem. A Scottish land law which gave no protection to the tenant is part of the answer, especially when combined with a tradition of absolutism among the old chiefs in determining the fortunes of their dependents. The vast cultural gulf between the crofter and the laird, so infinitely greater by 1800 than that between, say, a Norfolk or a Lothian farmer and his landlord, is another factor. An aspect of this which Professor Richards perhaps does not sufficiently acknowledge is the quite exceptional (and to the outside world inexplicable) determination of the Highlander to stay in the Highlands. Whereas most peoples subjected to half this pressure would have pulled up their roots of their own accord and made for the New World or the towns, the crofters dug their heels in to stay even in the face of outright starvation, so that often only the most extreme and brutal pressure could dislodge them. Given the remoteness of the Highlands, and the fact that sometimes factors held multiple office such as being also inspectors of the poor and sheriffs' officers, it was easy to be brutal.

The virtues of this book cannot readily be sung in a short review, but it is remarkable for its fairmindedness, its scrupulous sifting of the evidence, its sympathy both for the sufferings of the evicted and for the real dilemmas of their social superiors. It beats no partisan drum and pulls no punches. Professor Richards promises a second volume, 'concerned with the contemporary and

historical efforts to understand the clearances, and an analysis of the varied consequences of the great agrarian transformation of the region'. It will be most welcome.

(The works referred to are M Gray, *The Highland Economy 1750-1850*, Edinburgh, 1957; J Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community*, Edinburgh, 1976; P Gaskell, *Morvern Transformed*, Cambridge, 1968; R J Adam (ed), *Papers on the Sutherland Estate Management*, Scottish History Society, 2 vols, Edinburgh, 1972; E Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth*, London, 1973.)

T C SMOUT

E J T COLLINS, *A History of the Orsett Estate, 1743-1914*. Thurrock Museums Department Publication No 2, 1978. 98 pp. 24 illus. £1.60.

This unpretentious little paper-backed volume presents us with a delightful cameo of a corner of south Essex, taking in the Ockendon and Thurrock regions as well as the original Orsett estate, situated just north of Tilbury. The author was himself raised in this region where his father once 'worked on a farm at Socketts Heath, walking three miles each day from his home at Gray's, starting at six o'clock in the morning and working till dusk, all for six shillings a week' (p 5). But Dr Collins' sentimental attachment to the area surveyed here has in no way impaired his usual high standards of scholarship.

Because of its close proximity to London, south Essex was a region in which the land market was kept active throughout the eighteenth century by purchases (and sales) of land made by London merchants and professional men. The average size of their estates was small, however. 'Of the various lawyers and merchants who settled in Thurrock between 1680 and 1740, only four appear to have owned estates of more than 1000 acres, or subsequently to have created them' (p 9). This pattern of landownership indeed typified the whole of Essex until the end of the nineteenth century. In 1883 there was only one estate of over 10,000 acres within the county. Another interesting feature of eighteenth-century landownership was the way in which London merchants and lawyers remained active in trade or the professions, keeping their small landed estates secondary to their business interests, especially before 1750. Indeed many voluntarily dropped out of the landed classes and opted for a more or less complete return to trade or the professions, even after 1750 when the incentives to set up as a country gentleman became more compelling. 'Many owners of between 500 and 1,000 acres, who arrived after 1680, disappeared between 1770 and 1782' (p 11).

The next section of the book deals with the rise of the Orsett estate to the position of fourth largest in Essex by 1873, when it covered 8500 acres. The lands passed from the Baker to the Wingfield family in 1827, and from them to the Whitmores in 1884. By this time the estate was heavily encumbered with debt, due mainly to the extravagance of Digby Wingfield, who died in that year. Thanks to the heroic efforts of Francis Whitmore, however, retrenchment was achieved and the estate survived into the twentieth century, although reduced in size.

The final section of the book deals with local farming practices from 1750 to 1914, but the patterns of change here were typical of the whole of Essex, and Dr Collins is at his best in his analysis and explanation of these changes. A full supporting bibliography and 24 well chosen photographs complete the book.

ROSS WORDIE

CHRIS FISHER, *Custom, Work and Market Capitalism: The Forest of Dean Colliers, 1788-1888*, Croom Helm, 1981. 203 pp. £12.95.

The Forest of Dean has long been regarded as something of a world apart, and while Mr Fisher's book confirms much of this distinctiveness, it also focuses on the involvement of the Forest in larger processes of change, notably the expansion of market capitalism. Social relations in the eighteenth-century Forest are rather patchily documented, but what evidence there is suggests a minimal presence of established authority and a high degree of plebeian independence. The Forest was laxly administered by royal officials, and the Crown's rights were not rigorously enforced. Customary rights, in contrast — the rights of those living in or on the verges of the Forest to use the land's resources for diverse productive purposes (digging coal, pasturing, various lesser perquisites) — were deeply rooted, widely supported, and, in the absence of serious claims to the contrary, assumed by the forest-dwellers to be their inalienable heritage. From the end of the eighteenth century, however, these customary rights and practices were increasingly being challenged — challenged by a royal authority that was determined to impose much more exclusive notions of private property on the Forest as a whole, with the intention of achieving a more effective commercial exploitation of the Forest's resources. These objectives were pursued, intermittently, throughout the nineteenth century, and much of the book chronicles the strategy and tactics of crown

officials, and of a handful of large local propertied interests (especially colliery proprietors), to alter the laws and the social relations of the Forest in a manner conducive to unconstrained capitalist development.

Perhaps the most interesting material in this study concerns the collective resistance of the Forest's labouring people and native inhabitants to changes imposed from outside. Before Victoria's reign popular action centred on the defence of custom and customary freedoms, by free miners and commoners, and their opposition to private and marketable rights to property. (As in most other places, this smallholders' culture was actively in retreat, and, with the expansion of the Forest's mining industry, conventional capitalist social relations, including the creation of a large class of wage-dependent labourers, many of whom were 'foreigners', increasingly became the norm.) These smallholders' protests centred on a re-assertion of traditional rights, a defence of parochial interests, and a commitment to retain some degree of independent control over the conditions of their own productive labour. By the second half of the nineteenth century, however, this attachment to custom was largely submerged by new structural realities. The Forest had become a minor centre of intensive coal and iron extraction, and with the rapid growth of its industrial population (the total population of the Forest grew from 4073 in 1811 to 20,555 in 1871), the history of the inhabitants can be increasingly situated within the mainstream of Victorian capitalism: the national fluctuations in the coal trade, the rise of trade unionism, the peculiarities and social implications of the butty system (which Fisher well describes), and the competing, and often contradictory, ideals and outlooks within later nineteenth-century working class culture (such as class collaboration versus class hostility). There is much detail here that can be incorporated into a more general labour history, as the forest-dwellers' experiences lost much of their distinctiveness. But not all peculiarities were extinguished. Struggles between Crown officials and some of the foresters were renewed during the two decades from the late 1860s, and disputes over common rights and access to forest land were pursued with vigour. The Forest of Dean continued to be a place where a certain old-fashioned language of liberty — a different sort of liberty from that of the marketplace — was often heard. As one of the spokesmen for the labouring people insisted, as late as 1883, 'I believe in the sacred principle, that God gave the earth to the human race for an eternal inheritance, not to be taken away by man-made laws'; and he appealed, in the name of a higher justice, and in the tradition of a popular assertiveness which stretched back for centuries, against those 'men who would attempt to rob us of our God-given

natural rights'. Even at this late date, then, the ancient moral economy was not quite dead.

ROBERT W MALCOLMSON

ELEANOR and REX C RUSSELL, *Landscape Changes in South Humberside: the Enclosures of Thirty-seven Parishes*. Humberside Leisure Services, Central Library, Hull, 1982. 159 pp. £6.

Rex Russell's enormous contribution to enclosure studies has popularly taken the form of intimate dissections of individual enclosures. These have usually appeared as pamphlets, often the results of a WEA or comparable adult education class or project. They were compiled by adult education for adult education, as exercises in historical process and methodology as well as the histories of particular enclosures. Some of us have wished for a number of these studies to be brought together in one volume. This wish has been granted in this collaborative work with Eleanor Russell. The enclosures of 37 parishes, some previously published, are brought together in this volume on North Humberside. Some of the detail of the earlier pamphlets is lost, but there is still enough in terms of landownership and the cost of enclosure, and the immaculate maps which we have come to expect from Rex Russell, to please academic and amateur historian alike, and in today's market at a reasonable price as well. The sponsors of the book, Humberside Leisure Services, indicate as the intended market, the local historian, the WEA and evening class, and perhaps the school project as well, and it is in this light that the book must be reviewed.

The 37 parish studies are prefaced by a series of chapters on: the variety of open-field villages; the broadest changes brought about by enclosure; the commissioners and their surveyors; and the cost of enclosure. It must be said however, and without carping academic criticism, that some of these early chapters are inadequate, even for the most elementary evening class. They are brief in the extreme, the commissioners occupying less than a page and a half, and with a desperately thin bibliography. It is one thing to simplify the reading but those who have taught in adult education will testify that no group worth its salt is without inquiring minds, a need to root out further literature, and a desire to see some of the important academic debates set out on paper. Where the individual enclosures are described in some detail some of these issues are raised. In particular there is a lengthy chapter devoted to the proceedings of the Ulceby enclosure of 1824-33. It was one of the costliest enclosures for which local details survive, and at £4.31 per acre was considerably more costly than many contemporary enclosures nationwide.

The bulk of the book is taken up by recounting the enclosures of 37 parishes. Each parish study is a distillation of the parish before enclosure; a résumé of the provisions of the Act and Award; summary of the lands allotted; and the costs where the documentation survives. Most of the studies are illustrated by two maps each, the first showing the open-fields and the second the replanned parish in enclosures with the superimposition of allotment sizes and allottees' names. One of the fascinations of this section is the variety of field numbers in the open-fields belying the notion of orderliness of two- and three-field systems prevalent in many textbooks. Here in a small area of North Lincolnshire was a landscape of great variety in field numbers and names, and in pre-enclosure incursions into the open-fields. The charm of the open-fields was their variety and this book certainly brings this out.

The book is completed by two appendices. The first summarizes the number of allottees at each of 29 of the enclosures, separating those allotted less than five acres from those allotted more than 100 acres. It is left as a summary table, and it is therefore up to the reader to make of it what he will. The enclosures ranged from 1766 (earliest Act) to 1840 (latest Award), and with the aid of a pocket calculator show that 37.4 per cent of all allottees were allotted less than five acres and 12.4 per cent more than 100 acres. Such was the inequitable distribution of land in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the 37.4 per cent received a combined *maximum* of 2175 acres while the 12.4 per cent received a combined *minimum* of 14,400 acres. The more inquiring reader will look back over the parish summaries and construct more diverse landownership distributions. The second appendix is a summary for 23 parishes of the transfer of land in lieu of great tithes. For example, Lord Yarborough was in receipt of 1559 acres from four enclosures, which was 18.3 per cent of all the land allotted to great tithes.

Locked up in the parish studies there is a great deal of detail, some of it economic in character but most of it social. The opportunity is there for the more inquiring reader to investigate some of the more important social issues concerned with parliamentary enclosure. We must thank the Russells for this gift, distilling as it does so many otherwise lengthy documents.

MICHAEL TURNER

HUGH ROBERTS, *Downhearth to Bar Grate*. Wiltshire Folk Life Soc, 1981. Illus. 88 pp.

Before the twentieth century the kitchen fireplace occupied a central role in the lives of most people. It provided the principal means for cooking, and for the half of the year when night is longer than day the

fire was sometimes the only source of light. Surprisingly though, little has been written on the uses of the hearth, and the changes which occurred over time. A vital factor affecting fireplaces was the type of fuel used; wood was burned on the open hearth but the adoption of coal saw the fire enclosed by a grate to improve its combustion. This transition, from downhearth to grate, provides both the title and main theme to Mr Robert's book.

Concentrating mainly on the period up to 1800, Mr Roberts covers the whole range of hearth equipment, and shows how the change to coal not only caused the introduction of grates but changed the nature of many of the cooking utensils. As the author says, 'many ingenious methods were developed to overcome the restrictions of having to cook on an open fire at hearth level'. With the advent of the grate, however, the cooking was raised to the top of the grate. The skillet, for example, which stood in the embers of a downhearth fire, lost its legs and became a saucepan, sitting on the hob or trivet attached to the grate. Skillets, trivets, kettles and pans, and all the paraphernalia associated with hearth cooking are described in this book and featured in ninety illustrations. The range covered is comprehensive, and for the collector, primarily concerned with the identification of hearth equipment, this book will be of undoubted value.

For the serious student however, Mr Roberts has little new to say. The text lacks weight. Much of the information is apparently derivative and according to the bibliography is largely drawn from antique collecting books, many of which are poorly researched. The result is that their errors are perpetuated while none of the new evidence which has come to light as a result of probate inventory analysis has been included. Extracts from a number of inventories, and an eighteenth-century recipe are added in an appendix, but otherwise primary evidence such as this is notably lacking from the main text.

Had there been greater recourse to contemporary evidence some of the worst factual errors might have been avoided. Many of the dates Mr Roberts hazards for the introduction and adoption of various pieces of equipment are misleading. A typical example is the date given for the introduction of reflector ovens. The author puts this at the late eighteenth century, whereas inventories and patent specifications clearly show they were in common use much earlier. Another inaccuracy, which has more bearing on the book as a whole, is the naive distinction made between 'bar grates' and 'kitchen ranges', and the claim that the latter were 'said to have been invented in 1780'. This arbitrary break is used by the author as the close to his history, allowing him to avoid what he describes as the 'multitudinous, complex and ingenious kitchen accessories which were to flood

the Victorian market'. It would have been more fruitful to have recognized the kitchen range as an inevitable and gradual development of the eighteenth-century grate. Mr Roberts could then have usefully concluded with the development of nineteenth-century cooking equipment instead of finishing with an irrelevant section on accessoreis which includes a wooden mouse trap.

It is commendable that the proceeds of this book are being devoted to the Wiltshire Folk Life Society to assist in their work at the Great Barn, Avebury, but the serious reader would be better directed to the *Kitchen Catalogue* by Peter Brears which appears in the bibliography.

DAVID J EVELEIGH

W A SEYMOUR (ed), *A History of The Ordnance Survey*. Dawson, 1980. xvi + 394 pp. 27 plates. £35.

This is not, at first glance, a very appealing book. It is large (295 × 210 mm) with a sober cover; the few illustrations are gathered at the end of the book. The preface is discouraging: one reads of three successive editors, of major last-minute changes in presentation, even of a change of publishers as neither HMSO nor the OS itself felt capable of taking it on. At that point there is some temptation to send the book back, and let some other reviewer suffer — which would have been a mistake. Behind that forbidding exterior lurks a fascinating story: *A History of the Ordnance Survey* would have earned the cliché 'a book I couldn't put down', except that it is too heavy to hold up.

The content is too detailed — a quarter of a million words, with twelve principal contributors — to summarize at any length. Several themes run through the book. Often dominant is the uneasy relationship between the military background of the Survey and its civilian responsibilities, reflected in the problems of fitting second officers and permanent civilian employees into its staff. Another recurrent theme is the character of each successive Superintendent (later Director), whose power over the nature and direction of the Survey was considerable. One senior officer, apparently unjustly passed over as Superintendent in 1847, came into conflict with the man appointed and is last heard of in Enniskillen, 'the remotest survey office in the British Isles'.

Scattered throughout the book are discussions of the more technical aspects of the Survey: the geodetic work, especially triangulation; the topographical survey; and the design and printing of maps. Some of the most interesting material is in these sections, including the long struggle to measure a baseline to the desired degree of accuracy: starting with wooden boards (which expanded when wet), through steel

chains (whose links wore) to invar tape and modern geodimeters and tellurometers. These last have greatly speeded up distance measurement, without making it more accurate: comparison of the invar-measured OS baselines with the light-operated geodimeter led to a reassessment; not of the baseline, but of the speed of light. (This was after the failure of the first British experiment with the geodimeter, in Caithness. Apparently no-one realized that in northern Scotland in June it never gets dark enough for a flash of light to be seen.)

Other themes recur from time to time: the marketing of the maps (sales to the public were actually banned in 1811–16, presumably from fear of giving vital information to the French); the role of the Survey in war; and the problems of place-name orthography (greatest in Wales, Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland; though it was in England that one zealous surveyor, gathering farm names, 'caused great alarm and he was pursued by some special constables to a public house').

This is a fine and fascinating book. It is purely a record: no attempt is made to anticipate future developments, in policy or in technology (there is nothing on satellite imagery, and little on computer mapping). It reads well: not at all like the compilation of many hands, much juggled around. This suggests first-class editing. One major complaint: there are far too few illustrations. So much depends on appreciating changes in map style and design, yet there are only 16 plates of maps and plans. Moreover, since much is made of personalities, portraits of the various Superintendents and Directors would have helped. Surely more use could have been made of in-text, lower-quality, illustrations; saving the expensive plates for coloured maps. Mention of expense raises a final complaint: the price of the book is incomprehensibly high. Presumably the publishers have written off the private buyer. That is a pity: anyone with a feeling for maps is strongly urged to go to the nearest library and read this book.

ROBERT S DILLEY

W M MATHEW, *The House of Gibbs and the Peruvian Guano Monopoly*. Royal Historical Society Studies in History Series, No 25, 1981. xiii + 281 pp. £18.25.

The English firm of Antony Gibbs & Sons held a monopoly of the trade in Peruvian guano for two decades from 1842 until 1861. Guano — the dried dung from seabirds collected from the Lobos islands off the coast of Peru — was one of the earliest purchased inputs used in nineteenth-century agriculture. Gibbs obtained this profitable monopoly

through contracts with the Peruvian government, which allowed them to supply the British market and a large part of Continental Europe for much of this time. The majority of their sales were made in Britain, and between 1849 and 1856 they sold 931,898 tons in Britain and 362,080 tons in their European territory. The predominance of the British market is accounted for by the fact that guano, along with other purchased inputs, was associated with intensive agriculture. The firm found the majority of their European sales were in northern Europe where intensive farming also predominated. In 1859 the vast expanse to the east of the Rhine took less than 50,000 tons.

The author is concerned with all aspects of the firm's trade and considers the question of trading monopolies, the sometimes difficult relations between the firm and government of Peru, as well as the problems of marketing. Although guano was only one item in a range of purchased agricultural inputs, it is important because it was the first imported one to make a serious impression on the hitherto largely closed system in Britain. In the 1840s and 1850s contemporaries believed it would have a permanent and important place in British agriculture. Farmers' anxiety over its unacceptably high price at times encouraged experiments to find the cheaper substitutes which were eventually adopted. Indeed, this anxiety over cost was so great that in 1851-52 the agricultural lobby urged the government to seize the Lobos islands to secure cheap supplies for ever. Fortunately these pleas were ignored.

This is a well-researched and interesting monograph that makes full use of the firm's archives in addition to British and South American sources. Not all of what it contains will be of direct interest to agricultural historians, although its strength is that it sets one aspect of nineteenth-century farming within a wider political and international context. The book also gives some discussion to the whole matter of purchased inputs against the general background of contemporary British agriculture.

RICHARD PERREN

JEAN STOVIN (ed), *Journals of a Methodist Farmer 1871-1875*, Croom Helm, 1982. Foreword + 251 pp. £12.95.

Cornelius Stovin (1830-1921), the writer of the journals, was a substantial tenant-farmer cultivating almost 600 acres of land, devoted to mixed farming, in the Lincolnshire wolds. He was an enthusiastic advocate of modern agricultural methods, particularly regarding the adoption of new machinery, but the

real interest of his life was his religious faith. He was an active Methodist local preacher, and there are many entries in his diary similar to that for 27 July 1872: 'I preach as a rule fortnightly. I have experienced some glorious times in the pulpit.' He also spent a good deal of money in helping to build and support nearby chapels, often to the irritation of his wife when the family's own economic circumstances began to deteriorate in the later 1870s. Sometimes the twin preoccupations with Methodism and farming lead to rather incongruous entries in the journal, with lofty religious sentiments immediately followed by prosaic comments on the daily round.

Nevertheless, once one has grown accustomed to this mixture of the religious and the profane, the journals provide many interesting insights into the attitudes, agricultural preoccupations, and marketing arrangements of one substantial mid-Victorian farmer. Like many of his fellows, Stovin did not take kindly to his workers' support for trade unionism in the early 1870s. Where possible he sought to substitute machines for men, noting on 16 March 1875: 'The strike sharpened my wits to invent some method of sowing with less labour and now one man performs the work of three.' He also shared the dislike of many tenants for the game preserving interests of his landlord, sourly commenting: 'If our wold farms are to be over-run with game, we may put up our shutters and emigrate. The advance of labour . . . and rents, and a more extravagant [*sic*] expenditure on our family and household life will not admit of an increase of game.'

The journals end before the true onset of agricultural depression, but by 1875 Stovin was already becoming apprehensive about his financial position. At the same time, the journal entries give credence to the complaints of contemporaries about the growing pretentiousness of farmers, for not only did he persuade his landlord to enlarge and improve his house (for which he agreed to pay a higher rent), but there are entries concerning the additional furnishings and fittings he purchased, such as the 'Italian marble vase and fountain' and the 'old painting' upon which he expended three sovereigns. Like many large farmers in the 'affluent' mid-Victorian years he devoted a good deal of time to attending markets and fairs, assessing prices and comparing yields. The work of running the farm was delegated to his foreman — unwisely as it turned out. There are also many references to the state of his own health and that of his family; he seems to have been something of a hypochondriac.

With his strong religious beliefs and his general interest in literary matters, Stovin does not conform to the conventional picture of a Victorian farmer. One would have liked further details in the

Introduction (written by his granddaughter, Jean Stovin) on how his neighbours and his landlord saw him, and how he performed as a member of the Louth Union Board of Guardians. The minute books of the Board or the columns of the local newspaper might have thrown light on this. Similarly, we are told that he played a part in opposing the agricultural labourers' trade union movement during the 1874 Eastern Counties Lockout, but few details are given. Here, too, the local newspapers might have helped.

But these are minor criticisms, and overall the Stovin journals provide a fascinating account of farming life on the eve of the 'great depression'. Miss Stovin has done agricultural historians a considerable service in making them available to a wide audience.

PAMELA HORN

JOHN HEATH (ed), *Diaries of Henry Hill of Slackfields Farm 1872-1896*. University of Nottingham, Centre for Local History, Record series 4, 1982. Illus, maps. £3.75.

John Heath has rendered a service by his faithful transcription of these diaries. Their author, Henry Hill, farmed in a part of the country — mid-Derbyshire — that has enjoyed little historical attention and one which over a period we associate with depression and agrarian change. So often diaries are a distracting mishmash of information, but here we have a single-minded devotion to farming matters, a terse but factual record of daily events. Sadly, only eight of the twenty or so annual diaries which only recently came to light have been included, the editor selecting one at two- or three-yearly intervals. But the information they contain is consistent and wide-ranging, and often of a type not contained in other primary sources. A weather summary usually precedes the daily list of farm tasks; precise payments for fertilizers and feedstuffs are regularly recorded, and more occasionally we are told of new equipment acquired, yields of various crops, and payments for labour.

Perhaps the most vivid impression conveyed by the diaries is of the unremitting toil of transporting manure — from town or colliery to yard, and from yard to field; a quite extraordinary tonnage was carted, stored, mixed, carted again, heaped, spread,

and ploughed in. The symbiotic relationship between agriculture and industry is another aspect that comes across strongly in daily entries. As well as milk and vegetables supplied to urban markets, Hill's men cart hay to colliery ponies and return with manure, gas lime and basic slag for the fields, coals for the threshing machine, engine ashes for yard, roadways and footpaths, and brewers' grains for stock. We are also reminded of the mixture of old and new in farming: a 'badging' hook and reaper, the dibble and seed drill, the threshing machine and flail are all used concurrently. And there is some borrowing of new equipment which, if common elsewhere, must imply higher levels of innovation among farmers than has been interpreted from farm sale notices alone. Difficulties in finding labour are clearly evidenced in trips to hirings as far afield as Bedford, Nottingham, Loughborough, and Chesterfield. But of the 'depression' there is little sign from a preliminary reading. Production of vegetables and crucially important liquid milk seems to have protected this farm, as others in the area (see Report of the Judges on the Derby prize farm competition, *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, 2nd ser, v 17 (1881) p 457), from the worst effects of imported food supplies.

Although these diaries contain more information than most there are still large gaps. We have details of expenditure but no precise evidence on income except in so far as can be estimated from tax returns of 1878. Crop production is the focus of many entries, but of the livestock side we are told little, apart from the heavy outlay on feedstuffs, and there is no indication of the total labour force. It is unfortunate that the editor did not include acreages with his scale map from the tithe award of farm and fields. Once this information has been obtained, however, it should be possible to calculate seeding rates, manuring rates and some yields from Hill's harvest notes. There also appears to be sufficient detail for the trend in inputs, such as purchased fertilizers and feedstuffs to be estimated. Certainly the diaries are worthy of a close scrutiny. Apart from giving fascinating insight into the laborious routine of late nineteenth-century farming they could also provide a useful supplementary source for any regional study of mid-Derbyshire agriculture.

RAINE MORGAN

Shorter Notices

J MCDONNELL, *Inland Fisheries in Medieval Yorkshire 1066-1300*. University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Borthwick Papers No 60, 1981, 42 pp. £1.

Mr McDonnell has produced a worthwhile account of what, at first sight, seems to be unpromising and fragmentary material. It is always good to see neglected corners examined, their contents inspected, and misconceptions put right. Perhaps Mr McDonnell will be encouraged to proceed farther and tell us something more of the technology involved and the personalities he has unearthed — William, the king's fisherman, sounds far too interesting a character to be confined within a couple of pages. We may suspect, too, that Mr McDonnell is well placed to produce a study of diet in general; it would be a worthy flowering of this short introduction.

ANDREW JONES

W L HARRIS, *Filton, Gloucestershire*. Published by the author, 42 Gloucester Road North, Filton Park, Bristol, 1981. 310 pp, 63 illustrations, £8.50 + £1.10 p & p.

Filton is a small parish four miles north of Bristol on the main road to Gloucester, and is now part of the new county of Avon. Until the end of the nineteenth century the population barely exceeded 300, but since then Filton has been transformed into a leading centre of aircraft production and engineering. The British Colonial Aeroplane Company's works were founded at Filton as early as 1910, and among the many aircraft produced there have been the 'Blenheim', 'Beaufort', 'Britannia', 'Brabazon' and 'Concorde'. The local history is an example of individual research and publishing initiative by the author who was for many years headmaster of a local school, and his work is naturally intended mainly for a local readership. The main interest for other readers is in the use which has been made of the hitherto unpublished papers of the Quaker family of Gayner, especially the farming diaries and account books of William Gayner (1754-1830). William Gayner was a working farmer who rented a farm of about 100 acres from 1787 and another of 59 acres from 1792. His very full diaries and other papers give a good picture of his mixed farming economy as well as of his own life and personality. He was clearly a man of wide interests and friendships among the Quaker community of the area. He was concerned about education, and involved in the founding of a Quaker school; his numerous purchases of books included anti-slavery tracts, Paine's *Rights of Man*, and

religious works, and he regularly bought newspapers and almanacs. He made occasional visits to London and to Quaker friends and relatives in other parts of the country. His farming was naturally much influenced by the proximity of Bristol, and his carts went almost daily to Bristol with farm produce, butter and cheese, cider, hay, straw, corn, beans, potatoes, cabbages and turnips, returning laden with dung and refuse from the town stables and slaughter houses. Cattle, sheep and pigs were fattened for the Bristol market; sheep were purchased from Herefordshire, Wiltshire and the Cotswolds, and the breeds included Rylands, Mendips, Cotswolds and Dorsets. Oxen were used for cultivating the heavy clay soil on the farm, and the accounts show the daily work done and payments made to carters, labourers, servants, dairymaids and others. William Gayner, like many of his Quaker friends in the Bristol region, had an astute business sense and ran a very profitable enterprise, although it is not possible from the figures given to calculate his income or expenditure, nor to see how his profits were affected after 1815; clearly he was an unusual and dynamic farmer and it would be interesting to know more about his career.

J H BETTEY

DAVID RHIND and RAY HUDSON, *Land Use*. Methuen, 1980. xv + 272 pp. Maps, diagrams and tables. £4.95.

Rhind and Hudson take a very non-traditional look at land use. There is little on the usual concerns of agricultural typology and field identification of crops. Rather, the authors take the lines (a) that in today's (developed) world, urban land use is at least as important as rural; (b) that remote sensing and computer analysis are the tools of the future; and (c) that more concern needs to be shown for explanatory and predictive models, in place of simple description. The emphasis on the modern world (especially the urban world), and on the gathering of up-to-the-minute data, means that the book is of limited appeal to agricultural historians (though Domesday Book is mentioned). However, those with wider interests will find *Land Use* well written, copiously illustrated, and containing a number of intriguing techniques and challenging concepts.

ROBERT S DILLEY

R DOUGLAS HURT, *American Farm Tools from Hand Power to Steam Power*. Sunflower University Press, 1531 Yuma (Box 1009), Manhattan, Kansas 66502, USA. 120 pp. \$9.95 paper, hardback \$20 post paid.

In England as elsewhere in Europe the development of farm machinery was a slow process accumulating during centuries. In the USA it was a concentrated development because the settlement of the farm lands there was brief and speedy lasting only a few centuries, at least so far as the white-skinned farmers were concerned. There were many other very simple types of farming worked out and not very rapidly developed, from that of the Mandan indians of the Missouri to the Arapahoes of Texas and their prehistoric ancestors of the mountain caves: but the white man came and with him his different kind of approach. The European possessed an inventive mind, and the results are amply and fully described in Douglas Hurt's book.

In Europe development took place throughout the slow passage of the centuries: in America it went on more rapidly during what was no more than the speedy turnover of decades. It is with the rapid changes in the tools, implements and finally machines that were made in so brief a space of time that Dr Hurt deals with in this remarkably precise description of so extensive a subject. The plan of the book is well conceived, and deals with the cultivation of crops that were not then, and indeed are not

even today generally cultivated in Europe (with the exception of maize). R Douglas Hurt has studied and described the fundamental development of food production in all its mechanical elements from ox plough to steam cultivation. This is a book that adds to knowledge, and is so profusely illustrated that a knowledge of reading to cope with the letterpress is hardly necessary.

G E FUSSELL

GÁBOR ERÖDY (ed), *Demographie, Bevölkerungs- und Agrarstatistik*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1982. 129 pp. \$12.

This volume contains six lectures given at the first meeting of the Hungarian-Austrian Commission of Historians, held at Budapest, September 1978. Two of these deal with recent agricultural history. Roman Sandgruber, from the Austrian group, spoke of the difficulties of Austrian agriculture from the eighteenth century till 1920, *vis-à-vis* Hungarian agriculture, and the resultant tensions and adjustments within the Austro-Hungarian economy. Julianna Puskás deals with the trends and increase in Hungarian agriculture (1869-1913), and provides abundant graphs and statistics. Much of the increase in production came from productive tiny farms rather than from great estates.

D J DAVIS