

Book Reviews

SUSAN ALLING GREGG, *Foragers and Farmers*. Univ of Chicago P, 1989. xx + 275 pp. £7.95 (pbk); £19.95 (hbk).

Clearly written in an attractive style this book is an important contribution to the fast moving debate that surrounds our concept of the nature of the first farming establishment in temperate Europe. Dr Gregg calls it a 'pot-boiler' in American usage and this must be translated to prevent anyone mistakenly reading these two words in their English sense. It is a deliberately provocative thesis presenting a theoretical and methodological basis from which to gauge the relationships between hunter gatherers (foragers) and farmers at the time of the early development of farming in Europe. Refreshingly (for it is too rare an attribute) the theoretical model is firmly rooted in the archaeology of a specific prehistoric European environment – the Alpine foreland (from the Jura into Upper Austria) during the sixth-fourth millennia BC. Much of the evidence she adduces is from fairly recent fieldwork as yet unpublished.

Dr Gregg commences with a consideration of the social organization critical to a food-producing economy concluding that provision for resource management to allow an appropriate balance between production and consumption is the critical factor, with a range of more or less mobile cultivation patterns emerging with a more or less considerable impact upon local foraging communities. She goes on to suggest that both competitive and complementary relationships can arise between the two communities in these circumstances. These relationships are not simple and can alternate to form complex interactions. There follows detailed consideration of the nature, potential and the stress factors present within early neolithic crop and livestock husbandry. In these chapters resides a mass of interesting statistics illustrating the enormous potential of early neolithic farming economy. This reviewer, who has always found 'minimalist' views of prehistoric husbandry depressing in their ethnocentric patronization, finds these chapters refreshing – he would nevertheless have liked to see them related more explicitly to the archaeological data – something that can now be done. Nevertheless these chapters provide a quarry of material for those concerned with the quantitative interpretation of the archaeological data relating to early farming communities.

Dr Gregg moves thence to the core of her thesis, the formulation and testing of a computer-based simulation exercise aimed at the creation of a 'best

fit' picture taking into account the available archaeological data and the input and output requirements of the various components of the agricultural system.

It remains then to set against this model the exploitation of wild resources within the same landscape. The fascinating picture of mutuality developed with farming surpluses coinciding with hunting dearths is of considerable interest. Co-existence of mesolithic populations with neolithic *should* have occurred. Archaeology is still sadly left with the tricky proposition of proving that it did.

This book has made a lot of elbow room for us to consider the problem of mesolithic/neolithic transition in Europe. Every archaeologist interested in this problem (or in similar problems elsewhere) ought to read it.

R J MERCER

DAVID ARNOLD, *Famine: Social Crisis and Historical Change*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1988, x + 154 pp. £7.95 (pbk); £25 (hbk).

There is one basic feature of life which is common to classes, races and religions, and in having such universal applicability also wields immense power – and that is food. Famines are about food shortages, but therein lies a far too simplistic definition. What David Arnold does in this very readable book is to measure in physical and social terms the extremes of food shortages across space and through time, in order to come to an understanding of the impact of famines on societies through the ages. Loose language underscores the true magnitude of human crises, but conversely precise definitions elude us. As a compromise I like Arnold's simile, 'If hunger can be likened to disease, famine constitutes its epidemic rather than endemic state'. (p 7) In addition, famines could be both events and structures, that is they could be natural disasters but they could also be part of the structure of society or a stage in the development of society, not simply related to under-development *per se*, but a construct of political, social and economic corruption. To this extent famines might be seen not only as blips on the graph of life but also as integral to the generalized trends of those graphs – less as phenomena or event and more as structure. In addition, as well as being events and parts of structures, famines could also influence structures and cause or contribute to the breakdown of otherwise normal social, economic and political order.

What Arnold's wide-ranging spatial and temporal study does – and it is one of a series of texts designed

to illuminate the past for non-specialists and hopefully non-history social scientists – is make us appreciate the frequency, size, causes of and responses to these events, and the societal structures of which they form a part. The discussion topics range from simple Malthusian causal explanations to more complex ones such as Amartya Sen's provocative causal theory of inequity of distribution overriding mere underproduction. There is an exposition of famine in peasant societies and of the supposed superiority of capitalist transformations breaking the shackles of subsistence. We arrive eventually not so much at a conclusion but rather at a sting in the tail. The effect of European colonialism on, broadly, the resource base of the colonial world we may see as a contributory factor to famines through colonial policies of taxation and general exploitation, with its legacy of an endemic geography of famines. In the decades before 1914 life was seen as a game of survival with Malthusian and Darwinian principles in play of the superior adaptation by Europeans over hunger and want. Famine in a sense became an export commodity establishing the superiority of the white man, and even legitimizing it as a truth. And even the twentieth century 'Relief Agency' reaction to famines, in some minds at least, is another opportunity to indicate the superiority of, broadly speaking, Western democracy. Famine has become a word of everyday life in contemporary society. Sub-Saharan Africa with its Live Aid, Sport Aid, Conscious Aid public spirit of the late 1980s is seen as much as an indictment of modern society – the have/have not world – as the product of natural catastrophe. As historians we tend to take famine too much for granted as just another parameter in explanations of the past, or conversely as the all important parameter in a few well chosen famine biographies. This book should encourage us to think more carefully about what we are saying.

MICHAEL TURNER

PETER GARNSEY, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis*, CUP, 1988 xix + 303 pp, 2 maps; 8 tables and 2 figures. £25.00.

In 328–7 BC (as Garnsey argues in this new study) Cyrene in North Africa, according to a famous inscription, sent large quantities of grain to no fewer than forty-one states in Greece and the islands of the Aegean. Of these Athens on its own received enough grain to feed some 30,000 people for one year. Unless the distribution of the recipients merely reflects diplomatic ties with Cyrene, a crop failure seems to have spread in a broad band across Greece from the north-west to the south-east. This may

have been an exceptional situation and Cyrene's help was on such an impressive scale that memory of it was still retained there over four hundred years later. However, clear evidence that crop failure or breakdown in regular supply was an ever-present danger comes from the multitude of inscriptions, of all periods and from all over the Greek and Roman world, in which both private individuals and public officials are honoured for actions to relieve food shortages in their own cities. It is extraordinary that this central issue has not received a full discussion before now, particularly if the recent study by Foxhall and Forbes (*Chiron*, 12, 1982, 41ff) is correct to suggest that the ancient evidence points to grain contributing up to seventy-five per cent of the calories in the ancient diet (a figure which is higher than in most Third World countries). There have, of course, been the classic studies of cereals in antiquity by Jardé and Jasny, to which should be added now the pioneering palaeoethnobotanical work of Gordon Hillman and G E M Jones (see most conveniently W Van Zeist and W A Casparie eds. *Plants and Ancient Man, Studies in Palaeoethnobotany*, Rotterdam/Boston, 1984, 1ff. and 43ff.). M S Spurr, *Arable Cultivation in Roman Italy c.200BC–c.AD100*, (1986) has argued plausibly for the continued importance of cereal cultivation in Italy in the late Republic, despite the emphasis on cash crops in our sources, and has pointed to the use of 'inferior' cereals, such as millet, for human consumption. The supply problems of the city of Rome have received detailed analysis by Geoffrey Rickman in his *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*, (Oxford, 1980). But Garnsey is the first to draw all these strands together into a systematic model.

The first half of the book is a diagnostic discussion of the incidence and causes of food crises and of the survival strategies which people could adopt. Garnsey starts by making a fundamental distinction between shortage and famine. Modern data from the Mediterranean region suggest a fairly high probability of crop failure in any one year, but a low frequency of successive harvest failures. This phenomenon reflects the high inter-annual variability of the Mediterranean climate. Furthermore, because the considerable regional diversity of the climate evoked a great variety of local economic responses, the chances of a uniform region-wide failure of crops was lessened. Therefore, local food shortages were likely to be a constant problem; but large-scale famines were rare. Garnsey does well to recognize that food crises afflicted rural areas as much as the urban communities. In some ways the population of the countryside was likely to suffer earlier and worse than their fellows in the cities. A characteristic feature of narratives of famines in antiquity was the influx of starving villagers into the cities. The urban

population was closer to those in authority and more able to take concerted action to demand food. As the cities only survived by exploiting the labour and produce of the peasantry, in any crisis the demands from the city were likely to impose hardship on the country-dwellers. One of the best chapters in this book details the strategies which the peasants could adopt in the face of recurring shortages. Garnsey uses the familiar model of the risk-averse peasant, which undoubtedly can be applied very widely to the rural populations of antiquity. But in consequence he may have underestimated the extent to which the existence of markets can modify a peasant's behaviour. Peasants are frequently willing to grow products for the market, even though this makes them less self-sufficient and more vulnerable in times of shortage. Nevertheless, Garnsey's chapter is to be recommended as the best modern introduction to the peasant economy of the classical world.

Large communities, such as Athens and Rome, could not feed their populations from the produce of their hinterland. Yet, although in some cities it was a recognized obligation on the state and on its officials to ensure regular supplies, much still rested on the philanthropic behaviour and patronage of the élite. Not even in Rome, with its unparalleled requirements, was the machinery ever sophisticated. The emperor Claudius, for example, in the face of a crisis, could do little more than to offer incentives to shipowners to persuade them to make their ships available to help the corn-supply. Garnsey has also picked up perceptively a feature which distinguished the aristocracy of Rome from other urban élites. In most cities help with the food-supply in times of crisis was provided primarily by the actions of individual members of the ruling class, who expected recognition for their actions. In Rome, however, the collective ideology of the senatorial class was hostile to acts of large-scale public patronage by individual members, because such actions were seen as attempts to curry popular favour and to build up a pre-eminent personal position in the state.

In the second half of this book Garnsey makes a detailed study of the reaction to food crises in Athens and in Rome, the states for which we have most information. His discussions are full of ideas and at many points have a bearing on the wider history of these two communities. For Attica he suggests a total for the population which is higher than has often been accepted; but at the same time he claims tentatively that the productive capacity of Attica was greater also. In a normal year Athens may never have had to find grain from outside Attica for more than half its resident population. I am less persuaded by Garnsey's idea that food crises were rarer in Athens in the fifth century than in the fourth. It

may simply be that the nature of our surviving evidence is better for the fourth century, when the food supply was a favourite topic of the orators.

The chapters on Rome cover more familiar territory and rather too frequently become something of a list. Garnsey is right to play down to an extent the oppressiveness of the burden which the demands for corn for Rome imposed on the provinces of the empire. It is also interesting to note that the city of Rome by no means absorbed every year all the grain destined for it; the Roman state had an important as redistribution of the surplus.

This book confirms Garnsey as one of the best ancient historians at work today. His use of comparative data and his readiness to construct models has not inspired in him, as it has in some, a contempt for the literary and epigraphic evidence. The book not only establishes the framework for all future discussions of this topic, but also is an excellent introduction to the social and economic history of the classical world. Written with clarity, and with all original sources in translation, it deserves an audience far wider than just ancient historians.

JEREMY PATERSON

ALEXANDER FENTON and JANKEN MYRDAL (eds), *Food and Drink and Travelling Accessories: Essays in Honour of Gösta Berg*, John Donald Publishers Ltd, Edinburgh, 1988, ix + 202 pp. Illus. £12.50. This volume in honour of the doyen of Swedish ethnologists deals mainly with one of Gösta Berg's many research interests and contains thirteen essays on the material culture and ecology of food in various parts of Europe.

Food vessels are generally used either as storage containers or as cooking utensils, and the examples discussed in this volume belong to the former category. Hugh Cheape studies the milk-carrying cragans of the Hebrides and the ornamental Barvas ware tea-sets produced as souvenirs. Alexander Fenton discusses the use of the terms 'pig' and 'mug' in Scotland and the problems of relating the names to the actual artefacts. Eszter Kisbán's essay describing the way in which bread bowls were used in Hungary for holding the dough before it was placed in the oven admirably illustrates the advantage ethnologists have over archaeologists simply because they are (or were) able to observe how artefacts were actually used. Likewise Fél and Hofer show the value of field interviews in discovering not only how iron pots were used but also how many were needed for different purposes. Another leading Hungarian ethnologist, Iván Balassa, traces the development of Tokay wine production since the sixteenth century.

Dairying may be regarded as a separate category, the churn being virtually an implement to process raw material. Janken Myrdal's essay is a comprehensive study of the plunger churn in Eurasia, and Arnold Niederer discusses the wooden milk vessels of the Swiss Alps. Nils-Arvid Bringcuss relates the use of wooden firkins in Sweden for packing butter to the rise of creamery production, and provides a case history of stave manufacture.

The contributions by Holger Rasmussen on egg-collecting and Grith Lerche on woodcock and royal game, in the best tradition of the *festschrift*, relate directly to contributions made by Berg in this field by supplying evidence from Denmark. This is true also of Nils Stora's study of methods of fish preservation. The last two essays, however, dealing with luxury travel accessories acquired by the National Museums of Scotland, despite their historical importance, relate less closely to the other contributions in this useful congratulatory volume.

TREFOR M OWEN

RICHARD HOLT, *The Mills of Medieval England*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988. x + 202 pp. £27.50.

Medieval technology is at long last beginning to receive the serious historical attention which it deserves. Now hot on the heels of Dr Langdon's *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation* (see this *Review* 36, part I, 1988, pp 87-98), and coming from the same Birmingham stable, is Dr Holt's scholarly and well-written study of medieval mills and milling. Drawing upon an impressive array of primary and secondary sources Dr Holt traces the history of milling from Anglo-Saxon times down to the end of the Middle Ages, dealing along the way with such topics as the origins of the watermill, the invention and diffusion of the windmill, the role of landlords in mill investment, the extent to which milling was a seigneurial monopoly, the profits of milling, the millers (whose treatment will be of special interest to Chaucerian scholars), mill technology, the application of mechanical power to industrial processes (which historians are shown to have exaggerated), and the changing numbers of mills. Along the way Dr Holt debunks some of the more exaggerated claims that have been made for technological advance and lays to rest several long-cherished historical beliefs, such as the notion that the distribution of Domesday water mills reflects an earlier pattern of innovation and diffusion, or the idea that mills were predominantly a means by which lords expropriated surplus production from their tenants to themselves (since this fails to take account of the substantial number of independent peasant mills). Among the more interesting and important conclusions to emerge is the evidence of

a doubling of mill numbers during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries along with signs that over the same period the mean capacity of individual mills may have increased. The windmill also emerges as an unequivocally medieval invention, and possibly – if Dr Holt's case is accepted – English to boot, appearing first *circa* 1180 and diffusing rapidly during the first half of the thirteenth century in those parts of the country which were deficient in water power, notably the eastern counties. Since windmills were expensive to construct they were from the outset the product of seigneurial investment, thus demonstrating the readiness of lords to both innovate and invest when there was the lure of substantial profits.

The Mills of Medieval England does not claim to be definitive: firm foundations are laid but there is much that further research can tell us. The thorny question of the contribution of milling to economic growth is raised but not answered, and there is no discussion of the spatial organization of milling. The book gives the impression that most grain was milled and consumed locally, but what of the considerable trade in grain? Presumably such grain was milled at the place of destination rather than of origin, in which case a study of urban milling would clearly repay attention, especially as it would further help to redress the impression of seigneurial domination afforded by the countryside. More also needs to be known about developments during the later Middle Ages, when there was a substantial decline in mill numbers, for it was precisely at this time of labour shortage that such a labour-saving device should have come into its own. Clearly, what was important was not so much the absolute number of mills as their *per capita* provision.

This book is therefore to be welcomed and the ESRC and Leverhulme Trust are to be applauded for funding the research project upon which it is based. It is one of a number of recent works which is helping to build a clearer and more informed understanding of this formative and often misrepresented period.

BRUCE M S CAMPBELL

R H C DAVIS, *The Medieval Warhorse*, Thames and Hudson, 1989. 144 pp, 50 plates. £14.95.

Professor Davis offers a stimulating, if very brief, introduction to a subject which deserves more attention from historians than it has hitherto received. As he so rightly says 'the business of acquiring and producing warhorses was a major industry in the Middle Ages'. A good horse might cost several times the annual income of a knight, stud farms were a major investment, and, by the thirteenth century at least, high-quality horses were a not insignificant commodity in European trade. The

French crown imported perhaps 2500 horses a year from Italy in the mid-1290s at the height of Philip IV's war with England. The strengths of this book are the author's ability to relate horsebreeding to methods of warfare and training, and to equine biology. He provides also a short but illuminating discussion of early veterinary tracts about horses, and a very useful glossary of equine terms found in medieval sources. But as a historical treatment this book is really too brief to be more than an introduction. Even on England, which looms large in the author's study and to which a separate chapter is devoted, the sources are not exploited anywhere near enough. The analysis is thus impressionistic, and anyone looking here for, let us say, estimates of total royal expenditure on horsebreeding at any particular moment will be disappointed. Italy and Spain, the sources of high-quality imported horses for Northern Europe in the later Middle Ages, receive even more cursory treatment. For example, while some attention is devoted to the *equitta* accounts of the English kings, no use had been made of the published reconstructions of the registers of the Angevin kings of Naples, though their dominions included one of the main breeding areas for superior horses. Professor Davis is also surprisingly naïve in his use of visual evidence. This is therefore a readable introduction to a neglected subject, but no more than that. One hopes that it may inspire one of its readers to provide the really thorough treatment which that subject deserves.

G A LOUD

IAN ARCHER, CAROLINE BARRON and VANESSA HARDING,
Hugh Alley's Caveat. The Markets of London in 1598, London Topographical Society, Publication No 137. 1988. viii + 105 pp. Illus. No price stated.

Hugh Alley was a professional informer; thus a member of one of Tudor London's most unpopular social groups. Yet in the absence of effective official law enforcement, men like Alley performed a useful and necessary function, and continued to enjoy the protection and patronage of government despite a constant litany of complaints at their alleged abuses. In 1598, after a decade of pursuing London's powerful brewers, Alley turned his attention to the markets, a byzantine system of regulation showing signs of increasing strain under the pressure of rapid population growth and steady urban encroachment. The market system in operation in the 1590s was essentially that developed during the medieval period, designed to separate different types of traders into different markets and limit trading to certain well-defined areas of the city. The problem was that the essential principle on which the system operated,

that the producer should market his own produce without the intervention of middlemen, had become increasingly impracticable as the growth of the city took producers further and further away from the consumer. By the late sixteenth century expanding trading hours and increasingly diverse markets had all but swamped the traditional system of regulation. The document reproduced here, Alley's *Caveat*, was conceived as part of a plan to establish himself as enforcer of the City's market regulations. It contains no specific proposals: the value for historians lies rather in the series of illustrations of London markets and officials with which Alley illuminated his call for reform. But it may be assumed that Alley made other proposals, since in 1599 he received the coveted appointment to oversee the markets, an office he performed until the City abruptly terminated the system of overseers in 1602.

This attractive volume has a double value. Much of it is given over to a photographic reproduction of the original document, a record which although of varying quality as graphic art, does provide a valuable and sometimes unique representation of some of the City's physical features. The illustrations are elucidated in a careful and detailed commentary, which complements and expands upon the general remarks on the London market system in an excellent introduction. Here it is made clear why regulation of the markets was a cause of such concern to the City authorities; and why, despite their best efforts to maintain the traditional practices, street-traders, hucksters and more ambitious middlemen continued to proliferate. Thus in the hands of these three expert editors, Alley's *Caveat* becomes something more than a pleasing curiosity: rather, it takes its place as part of a widespread agitation for reform in the tense and difficult conditions of the last decade of the sixteenth century. Yet in so far as the measures proposed were essentially dedicated to propping up a regulatory system which had become increasingly impractical, schemes such as Alley's, however ingenious, could not in the long run solve the problems of an expanding market. Alley's scheme was destined to go the way of much other free enterprise economic regulation as the age of the projector came to its untidy end.

ANDREW PETTEGREE

MICHAEL ASTON (ed), *Aspects of the Medieval Landscape of Somerset. Contributions to the landscape history of the county*. Somerset County Council, Bridgewater, 1988. 136 pp; 44 illus. and 34 maps. £5.95. In this attractively produced and beautifully illustrated book Michael Aston has brought together eight authorities (including himself) to produce a most informative and valuable re-interpretation of

recent work on the evolution of the Somerset landscape in the medieval period. The seven chapters in the book had their origin in papers given at a conference held in 1983, and the editor has not attempted to reconcile some of the differences of interpretation which occur because, as he explains in his preface, some of the issues are still controversial, and healthy debate is to be encouraged, particularly about the early medieval landscape. When historians are dependent on incomplete archaeological survivals, a scatter of land charters (some of which may be forgeries), monastic chronicles, and miscellaneous records as well as the surviving topographical features for the Anglo-Saxon landscape, it is hardly surprising that interpretations differ. The real surprise is that so much has been learned and that our understanding of the medieval landscape has been so greatly changed by recent research. In particular the extent of forest clearance prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons seems to have been much greater than was formerly realized, and the extent of open-field systems prior to the twelfth century rather less; though these issues are still debatable.

The book does not attempt to cover all aspects of the medieval landscape but concentrates on woodlands, estates and their boundaries, farming systems, settlement patterns, the church, parks and gardens, and the problems of conserving historic landscapes – a choice of topics mainly fortunate for agricultural historians. These are sub-divided as follows: 'woods, hedges and forests' by Oliver Rackham, 'the late Saxon landscape, the evidence from charters and placenames' by Michael Costen, 'the Church in the landscape, part 1, the Anglo-Saxon period' by Michael Costen, and part 2 'from the Norman conquest to the Reformation' by Joseph Bettey, 'settlement patterns and forms' and 'land use and field systems' by Michael Aston, 'parks, gardens and landscaping' by John Harvey and 'conserving the historic landscape' by Kenneth Brown, Robert Croft and Russell Lillford.

Although all the contributions are excellent, Michael Aston's chapter on land use and field systems will probably be the most interesting to agricultural historians, particularly for its perceptive account of how a generally prevailing infield-outfield system was gradually converted into a more diversified rotational common-field system in much of Somerset mainly during the tenth to fourteenth centuries. This clear and sensible treatment resolves many previously confused issues.

The inclusion of a chapter on parks and gardens is to be welcomed, as is the concluding chapter which analyses the manifold problems of conservation in a sympathetic way.

MICHAEL HAVINDEN

R W AMBLER, B and J WATKINSON, *Farmers and Fishermen: the Probate Inventories of the Ancient Parish of Clee, South Humberside 1536–1742*, School of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Hull (Studies in Regional and Local History Number Four), 1987, 203 pp, 1 map, 8 tables. £4.50 (incl. p&p).

Clee lies on the southern shore of the Humber estuary, under present-day Grimsby and Cleethorpes. In this well-presented collection, forty-one pages of introduction precede transcripts of the 211 surviving inventories. A glossary of local terms (including unfamiliar names for furniture or domestic tools) and drawings of the signature marks are useful extras.

The inventories are unevenly distributed over time: ninety are sixteenth-century, and sixty-two more are pre-1640. These cover the majority of substantial farmers. The parish register gives occupations for 126 of 133 adult males buried between 1609 and 1640. Of thirty husbandmen and yeomen (a very hazy distinction in terms of wealth), twenty-five have inventories, compared with only seven of eighty-five labourers.

The main commercial specialities within a mixed agrarian economy (where many men also fished) were apparently cattle and sheep. As early as 1541, William Colbes had 160 sheep, 25 cattle and 11 horses (p 44), but average holdings were considerably smaller. Herds and flocks were increasing in size, but without farms becoming more specialized. Barley cultivation expanded to partially replace other crops, but the scale of this increase is unclear, since much grain is simply called 'corn'. Leys appear in rotations from soon after 1600.

The introduction tabulates average corn and livestock holdings, and – too briefly – notes increases in numbers of rooms, the quantity of domestic furniture and personal possessions. Perhaps they were limited by space, but the authors are too tentative here, merely referring the reader to previous work based on Lincolnshire inventories. This also highlights their reluctance to compare Clee with other areas. This is regrettable since Lincolnshire has been well-served by agricultural and local historians.

Other than a glebe terrier (showing that several open-fields existed in 1601) and some material from Sidney Sussex College (landowners who allowed rent reductions for land eroded by the sea), there is little attempt to link the inventories to other sources. We are told about crops and livestock, but not landownership, or tenure, or the extent of common grazing rights. Were Clee's farmers owner-occupiers or tenants? Did much land come to be owned by men from other parishes, as in other parishes hereabouts? A consideration of factors like landownership, consolidation and enclosure is vital to the broader questions of agricultural change that the

authors touch on. What we get here is only half the story. It is an interesting collection of inventories to have in print, but will be useful to historians as accessible raw material, rather than as a successful local study.

PAUL GLENNIE

J T CLIFFE, *Puritans in Conflict. The Puritan Gentry during and after the Civil Wars*. Routledge, 1988. xi + 255 pp. £30

Cliffe's book does not attempt to revive the long since subsided gentry controversy but provides a sequel to his earlier survey of *The Puritan Gentry* (1984). The starting point in his new book is 1641 and he moves forward, sometimes impressionistically, to the very changed conditions of the 1660s. He continues to focus on the leading Puritan gentry – those worth over £1000 a year – and in particular those who took the Parliamentary side in the Civil War. We are offered case studies of well-known figures such as Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Sir Robert Harley, Sir Henry Vane, and Bulstrode Whitelocke, and get some sense of the way in which the godly saw the military struggles of the 1640s as a holy war. Puritan neutrals and Puritan Royalists, however, are not overlooked in Cliffe's account.

In no sense a statistical treatment, Cliffe's survey takes up such themes as the relations between Puritan clergy and gentry, the later divisions between Presbyterians and Independents, and tensions between Parliamentary gentry and the army in the aftermath of the first Civil War. He rounds off the book, in a chapter entitled 'The Twilight of Godliness' with a brief discussion of how and why the Puritan gentry acquiesced in and accommodated themselves to the different circumstances prevailing after the Restoration. He shows how they, like others of the élite, saw the benefits of the stability which accompanied the return of the monarchy and the Anglican Church.

Readers of the *Review* will be particularly interested in Cliffe's treatment of the price paid by the Puritan gentry in the war effort of the 1640s – a price in some cases as high as that experienced by the defeated Royalists. (It is a curious historiographical quirk that historians have tended to overlook Parliamentary losses.) He underlines the major point that the rent revenues of the Parliamentary gentry fell substantially in the Civil War period, either through difficulties of collection or through the inability of hard-pressed tenants to pay. High levels of war-time taxation also took their toll. 'No taxes laid by the King of Spain upon any of his dominions', groaned Sir Simonds D'Ewes, 'or by the Great Turk upon the Greeks in Asia ever equalled those which are now laid upon the said Associated

Counties (of East Anglia)'. Plundering at the hands of ill-disciplined Royalist troops proved another major hazard. Bulstrode Whitelocke's house in Buckinghamshire was one of the first to be ransacked after civil war had started. His horses were taken and the deer in his park were slaughtered or turned loose. In 1646 Sir Robert Harley – whose indomitable wife had bravely defended his estate at Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire in his absence – reckoned that his material losses in the war amounted to £12,000. Sir Thomas Jervoise in Hampshire estimated that sheep, cattle, corn and household goods to the value of £6000 had been taken from him between 1643 and 1645.

It should be noted that some of those Parliamentarians whose estates suffered war-time damage never received any compensation; Sir Robert Harley, John Hutchinson and John Pyne are examples. Such men, however, were untypical in their misfortune. Others like Sir Gilbert Gerard profited handsomely from the war through the acquisition of confiscated property and through office holding. (In Gerard's case £60,000 in gratuities came his way as treasurer of the army.) In this, as in other respects, Cliffe usefully illustrates the diversity of experience of these Puritan gentry in conflict.

R C RICHARDSON

PAUL BRASSLEY, ANTHONY LAMBERT and PHILIP SAUNDERS (eds), *Accounts of the Reverend John Crakanthorp of Fowlmere 1682–1710*, Cambridgeshire Records Society, volume 8, Cambridge, 1988, 293 pp, 6 figures, 6 tables, £15. (Free to members of the Cambridgeshire Records Society.)

John Crakanthorp was rector of Fowlmere, five miles north of Royston, from 1667 until 1719. For much of this time he kept detailed records of his domestic income and expenditure, and of the harvesting and sale of crops, of which the known survivals are printed here. Neither the harvest accounts nor the household accounts cover the whole period, nor do the periods covered by the two accounts overlap. Far from it, for the harvest accounts cover the years from 1682 to 1692, and the household accounts detail Crakanthorp's income and expenditure much later in his life, from 1705 to 1710. It is clear that he did keep the accounts at other times, and we can but hope that other volumes will eventually surface. Meanwhile, Crakanthorp has been magnificently served by his editors and printers (though gremlins have got at part of table 6, p 32).

The harvest accounts for each year begin with general observations on the harvest and weather, after which they record the quantity of each grain type harvested, and how it was used. Unfortunately,

there is no parallel record of livestock production, so our picture of Crakanthorp's farm income remains incomplete. His main cash crop was barley, most of which was sold to be malted in Royston, the nearest London out-market. Loads were threshed, winnowed and taken for sale weekly or fortnightly through the winter. Alas, since the accounts were for record-keeping purposes rather than for calculating profits, neither profits nor productivity can be calculated from them. Brassley's attempt to estimate crop yields, by dividing the harvest brought in by the acreages sown in the previous year, founders because Crakanthorp does not distinguish the crops grown on his own lands (the glebe and his other land totalling about a hundred acres) from those collected as tithes from other farmers.

But if Crakanthorp was no Loder or Best, he appears to have been meticulous and orderly in record keeping and, so far as may be judged from the accounts themselves, in his farming, housekeeping, and local relationships. His attention to details is especially valuable in the household accounts. These embrace thousands of transactions, most involving very modest sums of money, and give a vivid sense of small-scale local buying and selling, of his charitable donations, and his (limited) expenditure on personal consumption. There is fascination on almost every page and many readers may find it difficult to stop reading once started.

The thirty-three page introduction is a model of its type, anticipating and answering many questions about Crakanthorp's context in Fowlmere, and analysing some aspects of his farming. His income is compared to that of other clerics, and his Puritan leanings explored. His own and other Fowlmere probate inventories are used to discuss agricultural practice and specialization. His successor's lessee's inventory is used to reveal more about the glebe. The pattern of his sales for different grains are compared, and linked to differing market competitiveness for different commodities.

Those wishing to quarry the accounts for material on a single topic (cropping patterns, the timing of sales, equipment for horses, servants' wages, charitable giving, medicines, to name but a few) will be grateful for the excellent index. Brassley's concluding comment that the accounts 'provide an interesting glimpse of the domestic economy of a clergyman's household' is a major understatement, and this volume is a most welcome addition to the literature.

PAUL GLENNIE

R G GILLESPIE, *Settlement and Survival on an Ulster Estate: The Brownlow Leasebook 1667-1711*, PRONI, Belfast, 1988. lxx + 182 pp; 5 appendices; 5 maps; 7 illustrations. £9.50.

A common irritation for scholars working in Irish history is the destruction or loss of illuminating evidence. Historians of late seventeenth-century Ulster landed estates are particularly aware of the paucity of relevant records. However, one valuable archive which has survived is that of the Brownlowsderry estate in the north of County Armagh, and now held in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.

Brownlowsderry was a modest property of fourteen square miles, and included the town of Lurgan. In 1661, along with other properties in counties Louth and Monaghan, the estate was inherited by Arthur Brownlow, *alias* Chamberlain, from his grandfather William Brownlow. A condition of his inheritance was that Arthur should change his name from Chamberlain to Brownlow. In 1667 Arthur conducted a survey of his property. This survey formed the basis of his leasebook and served to record the subsequent administration of the estate over the next forty-four years (1667-1711). Dr Gillespie has approached his editorial task by writing a detailed introduction to the text of the leasebook, and has concluded the volume with five appendices elaborating on the Brownlow family and the development of the estate.

The late seventeenth century was an era of dramatic change in Ulster, and Dr Gillespie uses the introduction to set the leasebook in the economic and social context of the period. Thus he discusses population growth, the rise in agricultural exports, the increasing importance of rural domestic industries, the development of markets and fairs, and the expansion of communications and towns. But the most pertinent section is that on landlords and tenants. Dr Gillespie clearly and succinctly explains the relationship between the two, setting out the obligations of one to the other, using the Brownlow leasebook to illustrate leasing strategies general in the province, as well as to point out those peculiar to the Brownlow estate.

Turning to the leasebook itself, the first section contains the survey of existing leases of Brownlowsderry Manor in 1667. The information recorded includes the names of the parcels of land or tenements leased, an abstract of each lease and the rents. Inserted later, and placed after the Brownlowsderry survey, is a section containing abstracts of leases made after 1667. This is followed by the leases of a 500 acre property known as Nizelrath or Nisterach in County Louth also surveyed in 1667. Additional information includes a list of tenants with leases renewable for life, together with renewal fines; the half yearly rental for 1667 of the Brownlowsderry, County Louth and Monaghan lands; and the half yearly rental of Sir William Brownlow's estate for 1635.

The value of this publication is not only the insight it provides into the management of an Ulster landed estate in a period of sparse evidence, but also the light it throws on a wide range of economic and social themes important to the evolution of Ulster society. The text of the leasebook is clearly set out and enhanced by useful footnotes, appendices and index.

E MARGARET CRAWFORD

E A WRIGLEY, *People, Cities and Wealth: The Transformation of Traditional Society*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987. x + 348 pp. £29.50.

This is a volume of eleven collected essays by Professor Wrigley, grouped around the three broad themes of 'the background to the Industrial Revolution', 'urban growth', and 'population, marriage and reproduction', and prefaced by an introduction, 'What was the Industrial Revolution?' Eight of these eleven essays have already appeared in print, between 1962 and 1985. The book adds up in the main to a retrospective collection of work by one of our most creative and consistently thought-provoking scholars, with three new essays and an introduction.

Many of the pieces reprinted here will therefore be familiar to readers of the *Review*, if nonetheless the more valuable inside a single cover. Thus the section on 'urban growth' reprints the classic study 'A simple model of London's importance in changing English society and economy, 1650-1750' together with the recent comparative 'Urban growth and agricultural change: England and the continent in the early modern period' to focus upon the major issues of urbanization and agricultural growth, which are clearly central to modern analysis of the stimuli for gains in agricultural productivity.

Wrigley's demographic work is reflected by four studies here, the much-cited study of family limitation at Colyton, a revisionist piece on the fall in marital fertility in nineteenth-century France, and the article much employed as a crib to the Wrigley and Schofield *Population History of England*, 'The growth of population in eighteenth-century England: a conundrum resolved', which appeared in *Past and Present* in 1983. The fourth essay is the group, 'Fertility Strategy for the Individual and the Group', may be less familiar, and provides a speculative analysis of 'unconscious rationality' of changes in fertility in pre-modern societies. Agrarian historians considering the tenacity with which peasant farming families stuck to their few acres will find Wrigley's discussions of such matters as heirship

strategy and the timing of family formation valuable and often provocative.

Five studies, including the introduction, examine the background to the Industrial Revolution, and consider such issues as the supply of raw materials (1962) and the complex mix of region and nation in the analysis of processes of modernization. A new study demonstrates the perceptions of the period of the Industrial Revolution by the classical economists to reinforce the modern current of thought which emphasizes the continuity of the two centuries or so before 1840. Perhaps most interesting of all the studies included in this section is also new, 'Some Reflections on Corn Yields and Prices in Pre-industrial Economies'. This wide-ranging study interrogates the price and yield data of Gregory King and Charles Davenant, as tested by Jevons, and applies the findings to English and French grain price series to suggest conclusions that demand further, more intensive, research. The essay stresses the long term significance of the difference between gross and net yield in the context of secular gains in the former, the links of these through the price mechanism to the stability or otherwise of standards of living, and raises vital issues relating to the analysis of physical and labour productivity in farming. It demands to be read by all those interested in medieval and early modern agriculture.

In his introduction, Wrigley suggests that such a volume may have 'narcissistic undertones' and that is often true, if the volume has no other source of intellectual coherence than the accident of common authorship. He does not wholly succeed in proving the coherence of this present collection, but the recurrent themes and the quality and clarity of analysis make this a valuable and well-produced book, worth buying for the reprints alone. The importance and originality of the major new study makes this book essential reading for all interested in research in agrarian history.

J A CHARTRES

H B CARTER, *Sir Joseph Banks*, British Museum (Natural History), 1988. xi + 671 pp; 544 illustrations; £45.

This is a massive biography as befits a man of stature who lived (1743-1820) during an eventful period of history and contributed much to it. Best known as a naturalist on Cook's *Endeavour* and as the one who recognized the potential of Australia for European settlement, Banks was later involved with the introduction into NSW of Merino sheep whose wool still dominates the Australian economy. But he had great influence in other parts of the world and in other areas of knowledge - as someone who was elected President of the Royal Society at 35 and

remained so for 42 years until his death, the contribution of Sir Joseph to science has been neglected by historians. One reason for this is that his contribution lay in the encouragement of others rather than through his own few publications.

Those who knew the author, H B Carter, as a wool biologist will remember his meticulous attention to detail which has been fully applied (sometimes overwhelmingly so, it must be said) during the 25 years it took him to produce what is a definitive biography which redresses the balance, and which it is difficult to imagine being surpassed, despite Carter's modest claim that his 'sampling of the documentary mass' is merely an introduction. Far more than commendation is due to Harold Carter as author and the Natural History Museum as publisher. Banks even had a hand in the origin of that museum and its library now holds copies of all the research material used by Carter in the book's preparation.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, 'The Traveller', traces the Banks family back to its Yorkshire origins in the seventeenth century, covers Joseph Banks's education at Harrow, Eton, and Christ Church Oxford and entry into the scientific circles of London from which he was to be elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Royal Society by the age of 23. Income from his Lincolnshire estates allowed Banks to pursue his interest in natural history and in 1766 he went on his first expedition, to Newfoundland, before his best-known travels in the Pacific from 1768 to 1771. Then followed northern voyages before a period in London, with his election as President of the Royal Society in 1778 and his marriage in 1779, when he became established in Soho Square.

Part Two, 'The Savant' (1778-97), covers discussions on the settlement of Australia, and Banks's successful application to become a baronet in 1781. Here we read of his involvement with the *Bounty* voyage which resulted in the introduction of breadfruit into the West Indies, and how Banks went to great and secret lengths to obtain Merino sheep from Spain, four Negretti rams and 34 ewes reaching Windsor via Southampton in 1791. The Royal Flock so established on George III's farm was personally managed by Banks for fifteen years.

In Part Three, 'HM Minister of Philosophic Affairs' (1797-1820), more detail is given of the involvement of Banks in the assessment of the first Merino wool from Australia and the sale of sheep from the Royal Flock to Macarthur for export to NSW. There are 27 appendices, a very detailed index, and a 120-page bibliography, but no references in the text since the sources are to be published in a separate guide.

M. I. RYDER

T M DEVINE, *The Great Highland Famine*, John Donald Publishers, Ltd, Edinburgh, 1988. xvi + 349 pp, 2 maps. £22.00.

It may have been the close proximity of Christmas, not the best time to contemplate destitution diets, but this reviewer approached the task of digesting 349 pages on the Highland famine unenthusiastically. Did less than a decade of Highland history (and not all of the Highlands at that) really merit such prolonged treatment? Did the famine justify the epithet 'great' when not many more than 160,000 souls, the population of the crofting counties in 1841, were at risk and when excess mortality, the indicator favoured by modern students of famine, was slight? Such scepticism was not immediately dispelled by the claim that the term 'Highland Famine' was justified because of the repeated failure of the potato crop between 1846 and 1855, the scale of external assistance, and the demographic consequences. These seemed trite by comparison with the Irish famine. Moreover, the explicit rejection of sophisticated quantitative analysis seemed to herald a descriptive account.

Such misgivings quickly disappeared because the subsistence crisis has been used to re-interpret a much wider range of issues. The starting point is the recognition of two distinct social formations: a farming society in the south and east, and a crofting region in the Western Highlands and Islands. Most of the study concentrates on the latter, more vulnerable region; farming society plays a secondary role as a comparator. The first part of the book traces the origins, nature and demographic effects of the crisis. The second considers the responses of landlords, government, lowland charities and, not least, the people themselves. The third looks at the pattern of emigration and migration. Much new source material has been unearthed, presumably by the indefatigable project assistant, Willie Orr, and used to subject old generalizations to rigorous cross examination or, to use one of the author's favourite phrases, 'systematic analysis' (Glaswegian for teutonic thoroughness).

Older generalizations which are re-assessed include clearances for sheep farming, which Devine sees as a result rather than a cause of economic weakness without any automatic connection to the crisis of the 1840s; emigration as a solution to population pressure; the famine as a turning point in the demographic history of the Highlands; the role of landowners in famine relief; its effect on their finances; and, mass migration from the west to the east.

Agricultural historians will find the chapters on the landed classes and temporary migration particularly useful. Hunter's thesis that landowners did little to support the tenantry is found wanting.

Traditional obligations still counted, though landlords were not slow to coerce their tenants, as local studies of Lewis and Tiree later in the book show. Equally, landowners were subjected to government coercion should they fail to meet their obligations. Their ability to do so reflected an influx of new owners (62 out of 86 estates had acquired new owners since 1800), the buoyancy of sheep and wool prices during the crisis, and the limited importance of rentals as a source of income. Temporary migration to the prosperous agriculture of central and southern Scotland increased markedly and was crucial to survival; it also made nonsense of the notion that this was a parasitic population which did nothing to help itself.

This new study invites comparison with recent research which has interpreted the Irish famine as a case of extreme bad luck, the result of an unprecedented and therefore unpredictable, ecological disaster whose consequences were exacerbated by an inadequate relief effort. Devine, by contrast, stresses the weaknesses of the crofting region throughout the 1820s and 1830s. If crofters had good luck, and it seems an inappropriate term for such a poverty stricken community, then it lay in the later arrival of the blight, the response from charities already primed by the Irish tragedy, and the Victorian belief that Highlanders were 'virtuous' and deserving; the Irish 'unregenerate' and undeserving.

It may seem uncharitable to record two reservations about this splendid contribution to Highland history but not much quantitative sophistication is required to calculate population growth rates correctly rather than as crude percentages, and why try to rehabilitate that atrocious humbug, Sir Charles Trevelyan with his 'final settlement' of the Highland problem?

RON WEIR

MALCOLM CHASE, *The People's Farm: English Radical Agrarianism, 1775-1840*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988. ix + 221 pp. £25.

There has in recent years been growing appreciation of many aspects of early nineteenth-century radical thought, and on the crucial radical agrarian strand of that thought Chase's excellent book is the best study now available. It will prove particularly illuminating, as a fundamental dimension of agricultural history many readers will not have explored or appreciated. For it concentrates on the main themes of radical agrarianism in this crucial period: proposals for land and property reform, the work and influence of Thomas Spence and his circles in London and the provinces, including closely integrated discussion of Maurice Margarot, Richard Carlile, Thomas Evans, Hetherington, Thomas Preston,

Davenport, Wedderburn, Thistlewood, Cobbett, O'Connor, and many others. The book contains what must be almost the most exhaustive spadework feasible into the history of the ideas of this group of thinkers, and of their influence subsequently, and its author must be warmly congratulated on the thoroughness and ingenuity and with which he has pieced together the strands of an intractable, neglected and important area in the history of ideas. One is persistently impressed by the archival and other research by which Chase ties together his subject, by the subtlety, sophistication, balance and security of his treatment of it.

The persistence of the themes of access to land, of anti-enclosure sentiment, of communality, of contested notions of private property in land, the heritage of a sense of unjust exclusion from the land, emerge very strongly in this study. The roots of oppression were widely located in a conviction that the soil had been misappropriated. The enormous popularity of the Chartist Land Plan (70,000 weekly subscribers at one point) is convincingly tied together by Chase with the longer lineage of radical agrarianism, mediated via many thinkers but originating to a considerable extent in the work of Thomas Spence. The Chartist Land Plan 'dramatically fathomed the depths of working people's continuing attachment to the land . . . [it] gave shape to deeply rooted popular feeling'. Chase is clearly right to stress 'the vitality at grass-roots level of agrarianism, and the Spencean ideas at its core.'

And his stress that the main challenge was to particular *forms* of property, rather than to production itself, is extremely instructive. The book is indispensable with regard to attitudes to Nature. The labouring poor clearly did not share a pastoral aesthetic which minimized agricultural production; they always insisted upon the huge productive and employment potential of land, and fought against the wastage of land in parks and the like in the hands of those who owned it. Land and work were upheld, this was not a form of 'pastoral' radicalism. In this and many other regards, Chase's admirable book will open a whole new dimension to our understanding of popular attitudes to land in this period, will bear importantly on current debate on the function of land and the rights of ownership of it, and above all will assert for Thomas Spence the reputation he rightly deserves in the history of ideas and of the working classes. This is a most important and significant book.

K D M SNELL

S J G HALL and J CLUTTON-BROCK, *Two Hundred Years of British Farm Livestock*, British Museum (Natural History), 1989. 272 pp. Illus. £19.95.

This is a 'coffee-table' book profusely illustrated

with excellent (mostly coloured) reproductions of an amazing collection of old livestock paintings and photographs. The price is cheap and the biologist authors have done extremely well to cover all farm animals including horses and donkeys, but excluding poultry, although there are many places where even a popular text could have been more accurate. I see little biological or historical basis in the arrangement, which starts with cattle instead of goats, the first farm species to be domesticated, and among goats the most-recent exotic introductions are put first instead of last. With sheep, instead of grouping them throughout correctly according to biological type, as with the long-wools, most are grouped according to environment (eg 'upland') which gives no indication of their biological relationships. 'The Merino Experiment' (itself somewhat garbled) is tucked between two chapters on long-woolled sheep. The greatest error occurs in the discussion of the Cotswold long-wool breed where it is implied that better nutrition was the origin of the long-woolled type, whereas this has a genetically distinct type of fleece. The authors missed a marvellous opportunity to draw attention to the mystery of how a primitive long-wool with a fleece like that of a modern Romney breed, mutated (for mutation it must have been) to the very long, curly and lustrous modern long-wool. A similar mutation apparently occurred in Angora goats to produce mohair.

A white belly is a feature of the Castlemilk variety of the Shetland sheep, yet the illustration chosen (possibly not by the authors) shows a self-coloured animal. Text references are given where essential, otherwise there is a very full bibliography to allow the serious student to go into greater detail. There is a tendency, however, to use older (contemporary) sources in place of more critical recent ones, with the inherent trap, into which historians often fall, that the erroneous nineteenth-century explanation is accepted because modern ideas on the subject have not been sought. A good index rounds off a useful introduction to the subject whose unique illustrations themselves provide valuable source material, provided that the reader realizes that the text has its limitations.

M L RYDER

PETER BENES (ed), *The Farm*, Boston University, Boston, 1988. 192 pp; 4 maps; 11 figs; 34 plates. \$9.

The Farm is a collection of nine articles selected from the papers given at the 1986 Dublin (New Hampshire) Seminar for New England Folklife. Three of the articles, based on journals kept by farmers in the nineteenth century (from Nova Scotia,

Massachusetts and Maine), form the first section of the book, and are preceded by a discussion of cooperation between farmers in Maine, for the purpose of assisting one another in farm operations, road maintenance, building work, and care of the sick and needy. Taken together, the four articles throw much light on the day-to-day working of the farms and its highly seasonal nature. Also revealing are the extent to which goods and services were paid for in kind rather than cash, the use made of borrowing and credit, the families' political and religious views, and their use of leisure.

A second group of three papers deals with farm improvement, beginning with an account of a family of gentleman farmers, whose members included a doctor and a storekeeper and tavern keeper. A further discussion considers the role of the New England agricultural press in fostering technical advances in the first half of the nineteenth century. The journals provided a forum for the exchange of readers' advice and information, and even attempted to promote good taste in the architecture of farm buildings and ornamentation of grounds. The third paper is concerned with the various ways in which Massachusetts farmers adapted to changing market trends in the early nineteenth century, notably in meeting the demand from the expanding non-farm population, in satisfying the rising industrial market for raw materials such as wool, hides, and timber, and in reducing wheat production in response to increased western competition.

The paper which is perhaps of greatest direct interest to British readers, however, concerns the introduction from Europe, especially England, of cattle, sheep, and swine into coastal New England in the first century of settlement beginning in 1620. Devon cattle, for example, were popular among the settlers, while the original sheep brought to eastern Massachusetts were Wiltshire Horns, though there were also Old Leicesters and Romney Marsh sheep, the last especially well suited for survival in harsh New England winters.

Lastly, a commentary on seventeen most interesting contemporary illustrations of farmhouses and farming scenes of the period 1790-1865 provide an attractive conclusion. The volume is rounded off both by an informative editor's introduction, and by valuable bibliographies of primary and printed sources relating to the American north-east.

With its numerous illustrations, which help greatly to bring the text to life, the volume provides the kind of detailed local history which is the essential underpinning of regional studies, and succeeds admirably in putting flesh on the bare bones of textbook generalizations. It should be read by all English scholars who want to gain a deeper understanding of American rural history, and the book

makes a worthy addition to the publications of the Dublin Seminar. And, at nine dollars, it is extraordinarily good value for money.

G E MINGAY

JOHN HEBRON MOORE, *The Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom of the Old South West: Mississippi, 1770-1860*, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1988. xii + 323 pp. £38 (hbk); £17.05 (pbk)

The economic development of the southern states before 1860 and the character of their 'Peculiar Institution' is an American classic. However much of the literature both of traditional historians and revisionist cliometricians concentrates on the period just prior to 1860 when the best manuscript and statistical sources become available. Hence many authors discuss temporal change by charting the westward movement and analysing the trade cycle from 1815-1860 without investigating the detailed development of the plantation system. The merit of this study is that while Mississippi is sufficiently important to suggest findings for the whole southwest, the author has space to consider economic development over the long run and in depth.

Moore's most interesting conclusions are that agriculture and slavery were thriving in Mississippi in 1860 not just because of the rich soils alongside the Mississippi, Pearl and Tombigbee and their tributaries, but also because of an agricultural revolution in the 1840s. Prior to 1840 cotton was usually so profitable that the planters grew little else, and imported most of their food and supplies. However the depression of the early 1840s was so severe they were forced into widespread agricultural improvements such as better seed, more draft animals, simple machinery, and primitive rotations. Costs were also reduced by self-sufficiency and by 1850 nearly everything needed on the plantation was home made. When prices recovered during the 1850s, the plantations entered a golden age and the secession movement in 1860 - led by rich river planters such as Jefferson Davis - was partly due to their self-confidence. By 1860 the state had good river and railroad transportation systems, a thriving livestock and timber industry and even the small towns of Natchez, Vicksburg and Jackson were prospering servicing plantations, and occasionally manufacturing simple machinery. 'Let us live within ourselves and knuckle to no power on earth' commented one small farmer in 1860.

The work suggests fascinating insights into what might have happened if the developments of the 1850s had continued undisturbed. The huge cotton crops of the late 1850s were inevitably leading to overproduction. Urban slavery was breaking down

because of the problem of supervision away from the work place. Even rural slavery was changing rapidly as the need for motivation in specialized farming loosened the planters' controls. The local detail is interesting and refreshing. One of the characteristics of much recent southern history has been its methodological novelty and polemical style, but after a time this palls and a well documented and detailed traditional history is a welcome change.

J R KILLICK

KARL KAUTSKY, *The Agrarian Question*, translated by P Burgess, with an introduction by Hamza Alavi and Teodor Shanin, Zwan Publications, 2 vols, 1988. xxxix + 459 pp. £25 each volume.

Kautsky's *Die Agrarfrage* was first published in 1899, in response to debates within the German Social Democratic Party concerning the role of rural labour within the overall electoral strategy of the Party. Although Germany had experienced a rapid process of urbanization in the decades following Unification in 1871, such that by the late 1890s around half of the population was classified as urban, this shift was not accompanied by appropriate alterations in national electoral boundaries. The rural population, despite the inroads made by overseas migration and urbanization, continued therefore to enjoy considerable weight when it came to *Reich* elections. Furthermore, Catholic workers in the new industrial quarters consistently voted for the Catholic Centre Party - and so, if the SPD was to make significant electoral gains beyond those already made in the early 1890s, the winning of the rural vote was vital to its cause.

Unfortunately for the SPD, much of the German countryside was hostile to socialist politics, as was demonstrated to urban agitators in the early years of the 1890s during the period of *Landagitation*. Proposals that a special agrarian section be appended to the 1891 Party Programme were drawn up following the 1894 Congress, only to be soundly rejected in the course of the 1895 meeting. Kautsky's large book, published some four years after the official rejection of 'peasantist concessions', presented a detailed review of the prospects for peasant agriculture and, implicitly, the likely political consequences that would follow.

Although the last hundred pages or so of the book are devoted to the stance that Social Democracy should adopt with respect to the peasantry, *The Agrarian Question* is primarily a book which focuses on the nature of the tendencies within contemporary rural economic organization. Such empirical evidence as there is comes from the German context, but this does not form the object of analysis; likewise there is very little discussion of trends in French, British or American agriculture. Kautsky is seeking

the trends in capitalist agricultural development related to the impact of technological change, more general changes in farming patterns, the advantages enjoyed by large enterprises in a rural setting, and the consequent effects of these factors on the social relations of agricultural production. This analysis turns on a political question: in becoming proletarianized will the peasantry line up with the urban industrial working class; or will they in fact enter a phase of terminal numerical decline in the face of technical progress in farming and food processing?

One weakness of the book, arising from the level at which it places its analysis, is the absence of any detailed discussion of the real variations in the German rural economy with respect to products, markets, property forms, geography and settlement. This might not seem so striking today, but read in the context of contemporary German discussions its abstract tone robs it of the incisiveness apparent in the very different work by Lenin, published in the same year – *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. It could be argued in Kautsky's defence that the abstract level of the argument was dictated by the need to transcend the terms in which the mid-90s debate was conducted, in which simple applications of Marxist principles were advanced, or the imminent disappearance of the peasantry as a political and economic force predicted. In any case, the book remains a lasting monument in refutation of the contention that Marxism in its classical form ignored the peasant question.

I cannot resist in closing drawing attention to a rather odd feature of what is, it must be said, a rather idiosyncratic introduction by Hamza Alavi and Teodor Shanin. My co-author Athar Hussain contributed an entire chapter on Kautsky's book to the first half of *Marxism and the Agrarian Question* (1981, 1983²), the remaining one hundred-odd pages detailing the kind of issues raised above. Furthermore, in 1984 we published a collection of writings from German Social Democracy under the title *Paths of Development in Capitalist Agriculture*, the one non-Social Democratic contribution being an extract from a review of *The Agrarian Question* by Germany's then leading agronomist, Max Sering. Neither of these relevant works is cited, instead a dismissive reference is made to an English summary of *The Agrarian Question* published in 1976. Alavi and Shanin choose to devote most of their space to a brief outline of Kautsky's political life (here Dick Geary's useful brief biography is also inexplicably ignored) and a very general outline of SPD politics in the period up to the First World War. The publishers would in the circumstances have done much better to retain the informative introduction by Ernst Schraepfer which appears as a preface to the 1966 German reprint.

KEITH TRIBE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON ANCIENT AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS IN WALES, *An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments in Glamorgan, IV, Domestic Architecture from the Reformation to the Industrial Revolution, Part II, Farmhouses and Cottages*, HMSO, 1988. xvii + 661 pp. 100 plates; 100 maps. £47.

The stereotyped picture of Glamorgan is often an amalgam of coal mines, waste tips, pithead gear and mile upon mile of terraced houses. Add to these iron works, blast furnaces, dockyards, foundries and a generous sprinkling of copper smelters and tin works, and what remains can hardly be pictured as rural. The reality as revealed in this book comes as something of a surprise; true, Glamorgan is the most heavily industrialized and densely populated county in Wales, but beneath the industrial veneer of the past 200 or so years there survives a landscape that is essentially rural and agrarian.

It is the housing of pre-industrial Glamorgan which forms the subject matter of volume four of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales' Inventory of that county. Part I was published in 1981 and took as its subject the greater houses of the gentry. This latest publication (Part II) deals with the dwellings of the farmers and cottagers who largely built in the common or 'vernacular' tradition.

Houses of the Welsh Countryside published by the RCAHM in 1975 placed the study of vernacular houses well and truly within the category of academic respectability. The publication of *Farmhouses and Cottages of Glamorgan* effectively means that virtually the whole spectrum of non-industrial housing has been covered in that county. This is a remarkable achievement; indeed the book itself is a remarkable piece of work. The statistics alone are impressive: 661 pages of text and illustrations based on a survey of no less than 1,135 houses; 100 maps; 100 photographic plates, both black-and-white and colour, and literally hundreds of plans, elevations, architectural details and cutaway perspective drawings. The text is clear, readable and well researched, the architectural evidence being complemented by references to inventories, hearth tax returns, glebe terries and contemporary accounts and descriptions.

The history of vernacular architecture in Glamorgan is placed within the context of its agrarian and social history. Upswings in agricultural fortunes were often reflected in a spate of house building or re-building. The house can be seen as the farmer's 'bank account' – if he had money to invest, he tended to invest it in his house. Of course, a county as complex as Glamorgan cannot have a single identity, the very nature of its topography means that the economy of the thin-soiled uplands (Blacnau) will be different to that of the fertile limestone tracts of the southern vale (Bro), or of the more

maritime Gower peninsula to the west, or the intermediate Border Vale which occupies the foothills between the Bro and Blaenau. This is often reflected in the types of houses that were favoured in particular districts: the bed-outshut houses for instances are nearly all found in the Gower peninsula, whereas the hearth-entry longhouse is virtually absent from the low-lying Vale. The Vale is characterized by the large number of nucleated villages whereas the Blaenau, by contrast, presents scattered settlements characteristic of most other parts of Wales, having isolated farmhouses and tiny hamlets.

The first two chapters of the book examine the historical and architectural backgrounds to the buildings in question. These are followed by a series of sixty-six maps illustrating the distribution of various building features, together with a list of the properties where such features are found. Somewhat confusing at first is the inclusion in these lists of larger gentry houses (discussed in volume 4, part 1 of the Inventory) where similar features are found: thus Map 41 (timber panelling) notes 23 sites of which just 7 are actually farmhouses or cottages, and Map 56 (decorative plastered ceilings) records 66 sites of which less than half (29) are to be found in dwellings covered by the book.

Next comes an illustrated inventory based on plan types. This follows the pattern established in *Houses of the Welsh Countryside*, with variations in room layout, fireplace or entry positions being examined in turn. These are copiously illustrated by means of plans, sections, maps, photographs and sketch reconstructions, the latter showing how interiors or exteriors might have appeared before later alterations or modernization took place. But the tour-de-force of this section, and in many ways the book itself, must be the superb cut-away perspective drawings which enable the reader to gain an almost x-ray view of a building.

Following the inventory is a short section devoted to an in-depth study of two towns in the Vale, namely Llantwit Major and Cowbridge, both of which boast a remarkable collection of dwellings dating from the seventeenth century or earlier.

The final section is devoted to a brief study of the farm buildings of the county. Bearing in mind the title of the book and the obvious and oft-emphasized link between agriculture and housing, it is perhaps surprising that so little space is actually devoted to farm buildings, just 36 pages out of 661. True, cowsheds are discussed in the section dealing with longhouses as they form an integral part of such buildings, but most farm buildings are secondary to the house and are largely ignored in the text. The section could have been augmented by illustrating examples of the loose arrangement of farm buildings found in the uplands and the more formal or planned

layouts favoured in the vale. Also, reference could have been made to the use of horse works and horse engine houses as at Cwm Ciddy, Barry (p. 537) or waterwheels, to drive barn machinery or, as in the case of both Hayes and Cog farms near Sully (p. 537) of windmills for both milling and for powering threshing machines.

What does this book tell us about the agriculture of Glamorgan up to the nineteenth century? Cattle-rearing dominated the economy of the upland farm as evidenced by the emphasis on cattle housing on the farmsteads of the Blaenau, whilst the small size of upland barns on the other hand suggest that corn crops, generally oats and barley were of little significance, with arable crops being grown purely to meet the family's own requirements. Farmers in both the Vale and Gower peninsula practised mixed agriculture with corn playing a much more important role than was the case in the uplands. In the Vale, up to a third of a farmer's land might be devoted to corn crops, mainly wheat, though dairying and in particular butter production, provided the chief source of export. Gower boasted an even stronger dairying economy with corn representing about a fifth of a farmer's capital. Corn growers were able to reap the rewards of high prices during the inflationary period of 1540-1640 and this is reflected in the number and quality of houses built in the lowland areas at this time. Later the emphasis shifted, favouring pastoralists, a trend that again was reflected in their buildings.

Farmhouses and Cottages of Glamorgan must surely become a classic of its kind in the study of vernacular dwellings and the RCAHM in Wales is to be congratulated on yet another superb book.

GERALLT D NASH

BILL ALBERT and ADRIAN GRAVES, eds, *The World Sugar Economy in War and Depression, 1914-40*, Routledge, 1988. 241 pp. £25.

With the collapse of world sugar prices during the world depression of the 1930s, the sweet malefactor was once again a source of disaster for many communities. Prices had been falling rapidly from 1925, and the decline accelerated from 1929. Excessive concentration on a single crop was not confined to the major exporters such as Cuba and Java, but characterized many smaller producers such as Hawaii, Trinidad and Mauritius, and also localized regions such as the island of Negros in the Philippines and the state of Pernambuco in north-eastern Brazil. Major beet sugar exporters such as Germany and Czechoslovakia also faced problems of adjustment, although obviously this was easier to achieve in diversified economies.

There was an enormous range of experience, not least because of heavy State involvement, whether

through regulation, subsidies or protection, and one of the strengths of the book is that it reflects this great diversity. There are eighteen essays, selected from thirty papers presented at a conference at the University of East Anglia in 1986. The editors have written a good introduction that places the industry in its historical and international trading context, as well as providing a very necessary pulling together of themes from the other pieces. The contributors have been kept on a tight rein in terms of length, but a much looser one in terms of the focus of their papers. Hence we have studies of linkages between the ideology of the Nazi party and of leaders of the sugar industry in Germany, a comparative investigation of technology and plantation labour supply in Queensland, Hawaii, Louisiana and Cuba, and two essays which focus on the structure of the industry in Mexico and the Philippines. Other producing areas included are Czechoslovakia, Spain, Brazil, Peru, Cuba, Trinidad, Haiti, Australia, Java, India, Mauritius, South Africa, Central and Equatorial Africa. Yet for all the diversity of the studies, there are recurring themes. Perhaps the most persistent is that of heightened struggle, particularly as millowners attempted to push the burden of adjustment onto their workforce or onto the farmers producing the cane. There was also intra-class conflict between domestic and foreign capital. Although United States capital dominated the industry in Cuba and Haiti, it was unable to make its voice heard in Washington against the clamour of domestic producers as well as colonial interests in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Those unable to secure protection or preference were left to face catastrophe in the world market, and Cuba, discriminated against in the United States market, suffered a fall in sugar production from 5.2 million tons in 1929 to below 2 million tons in 1933. Cuban experience highlights one of the extraordinary features of the world trade in sugar: the free market was very restricted, so that even on the eve of the depression only an estimated 25 per cent of sugar was sold in non-protected or non-preferential markets. In this context, might not space have been found for some discussion of the UK experience? The British developed such an astonishingly sweet tooth that by 1938 they were each consuming an average of over 50 kilos of sugar per year. But the rapid development of subsidized beet sugar production, and the effects of imperial preference on imports into one of the two great import markets clearly had a profound effect on world trade in sugar.

A valuable service has been performed in bringing these essays together, and there is plenty here, as the publishers hope, for regional specialists, labour historians and readers of the *Agricultural History Review*.

TIM ROTH

P VOISEY, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1988, xxvi + 341 pp, 13 maps, 28 figures, 16 photographs. £26.50 (hbk); £13.50 (pbk).

Voisey's book is a detailed account of the settlement and development up to World War II of a smallish (maximum population about 6500) rural area midway between Calgary and Lethbridge, Alberta.

The book is divided into four major sections. 'Settlement' looks at Pioneers (the first arrived in 1904 – it is often hard to remember how *recent* history is in much of western Canada), at Farms (notably the homesteading procedure), and at Towns (highly dependent on the railroad). 'Agriculture' examines Crop Selection (an 'infatuation' with mixed farming battling the economics of wheat monoculture), Technique (desperate attempts to cope with erratic rainfall), and Farm Size. 'Social Life', a significantly shorter section, considers Activities and Institutions (rural boredom spawned numerous clubs, which struggled to cope with a low population base and time-consuming distances) and focuses more specifically on Schools and Churches (both valued more in principle than in practice). 'Society', even briefer, probes the Social Structure (egalitarianism encompassed all but the Chinese) and Social Relations (towns too small to generate any real rural-urban rivalry). Short opening and concluding chapters set the work in the context of frontier research, though the author ends with a healthy scepticism about such 'grand generalizations that employ woolly definitions and assumptions, and often rest for support on casual observations'.

Voisey utilizes a wide range of sources: official statistics, newspapers, local histories and a series of personal interviews with old-timers. Comprehension is aided by the extensive use of graphs rather than tables. More and better maps would have helped. There are seventy pages of notes: as is increasingly common these irritatingly mix source references with informational notes. There is no separate bibliography.

The book is readable, and it is hard to think of any aspect of the development of settlement in the Vulcan area not adequately dealt with. Indeed, the General Editor (the volume is in the series *Social History of Canada*) might usefully have insisted on a shorter text. For those interested in the development of agriculture and settlement in one of the last frontiers, this is a valuable book.

ROBERT S DILLEY

THOMAS J MORAIN, *Prairie Grass Roots: An Iowa Small Town in the Early Twentieth Century*, Iowa State University Press, 1988. xviii + 287 pp. Illus. \$24.95.

Prairie Grass Roots is a splendid example of a community study which is both interesting to the general reader and relevant to an academic audience. Jefferson, Greene County, Iowa, the county seat town some 60 miles northwest of Des Moines, was in the first third of the present century a small retail centre – population 3416 in 1920 – serving a thriving agricultural economy. It was typical of rural Republican White Anglo-Saxon America in its values and institutions. With few ethnic inhabitants, virtually no Blacks and no major industry, residents were self-confident in their Yankee heritage. Isolated and insulated, they knew that their views of society and their standards of conduct were correct. Yet despite this superiority they were not bigoted towards their neighbours like the Irish Catholics, the alcoholic lawyer or the card-playing Methodists who differed. They could afford to be magnanimous because they were in the majority in Jefferson and because they treated people as individuals rather than as groups representing national problems.

But the traditional standards and institutions would only survive into the 1930s in a much weakened form. Technological innovations in the shape of cars, buses, telephones, farm machinery, household electrical appliances and movies brought freedom from the former limitations of time and space. Daily life underwent significant and rapid transformation. For example, church authority waned as local residents took to enjoying sports, films, concerts and country drives on the Sabbath. Town schools consolidated and offered expanded curricula as rural population declined and motorized transport undermined the viability of the one-room country school. Shopping habits altered under the stimuli of brand-name items and retail price competition. Women enjoyed greater freedom and influence thanks to improved domestic conveniences, new social outlets like clubs and the vote. Men had to adjust to new masculine roles. World War One accelerated the changes which came to fruition in the 1920s.

Thomas Morain has written a vibrant detailed book based on his local knowledge and experience and on a sound historical perspective. As a Jefferson native who had access to a century of files of the local paper, the *Jefferson Bee*, and who interviewed over 40 longtime town residents, he is an insider steeped in the community. As director of research and interpretation at the Living History Farms in Des Moines and as a former academic he is well versed in regional and national history. He successfully interweaves narratives of the early Model Ts, the impact of the Spanish influenza epidemic in autumn 1918, the draft process in Greene County in World War One and the collapse of every one of Jefferson's five banks in the early 1920s with general

threads about Midwestern voting patterns, national gender roles and attitudes to prohibition. This is a solid contribution to the 'new rural history' of the United States. Though neither testing socio-economic theories, nor using sophisticated quantitative analysis, this is a systematic study of human behaviour over time and in a rural environment. The author prefers the narrative approach to community studies in order to show how people lived and treated others and what their lives actually meant. He may thus not be able to generalize about the region, but he most certainly can describe what is typical in Jefferson. In achieving this he adds valuable information on a mind-set and value system which is an essential part of American social history.

MARGARET WALSH

JOHN F RICHARDS and RICHARD P TUCKER (ed), *World Deforestation in the Twentieth Century*, Duke University Press, 1988. x + 321 pp, 39 tables, 13 figures. £45.15.

To follow their *Global Deforestation and the Nineteenth Century World Economy* (1983), John F Richards and Richard P Tucker have now edited a further series of conference papers extending their discussion into the twentieth century. Inevitably such volumes fail to provide an even-handed coverage of their subject. Instead they usually consist of a number of essays written by different hands, embodying different approaches and dealing with different time periods for areas of markedly different size. Thus in the first section of this volume which deals with forests in the developing world, one paper discusses Togo under German rule 1885–1915, another Assam and Kumaon between 1914 and 1950, a third the Mount Kenya area before 1950, a fourth Thailand between 1900 and 1975, a fifth Sahelian Africa (Niger, Mali and Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso) in the same years, while the final contribution deals with the *Araucaria* zone of southern Brazil. This list incidentally draws attention to one of the shortcomings of this volume, an almost complete absence of maps. For the developed world, one chapter discusses the exploitation of Tasmania forests for papermaking. All these accounts are variations of the general theme that the extension of agricultural production and the growing export trade in timber to meet industrial needs have resulted in a great reduction in forests in the developing world where their extent has declined by almost half in the twentieth century. At the present rate of operation, twenty-seven million acres are being currently cleared each year. By contrast, despite the continued export of softwood from the USA and Canada, and mismanagement in the Soviet Union, the decline of forests in the western world has been halted and the area under

trees has markedly increased in many countries. There has been a nearly four-fold increase in annual wood growth in the USA in the past sixty years. (See Marian Clawson, 'Forests in the Long Sweep of American History', *Science*, CCIV, 1979, pp 1168-74.) The problem in the 1980s therefore is not so much global deforestation but the loss of tropical forests. The trade in tropical hardwoods, as one paper reveals, is a trade which was small before 1946 and has expanded rapidly since then with South East Asia (particularly Malaysia and Indonesia) being the major source and Japan, which has striven zealously to preserve its own forests, the main consumer of hardwoods as it is of North American softwoods and Tasmanian timber. It is part of the current mythology in some western countries that the market provides the best means of ensuring effective development through the workings of a competitive system. Whatever may be the case in other fields, this volume brings out the deficiencies of such an approach in forestry. Deforestation in the tropics is being carried out by multinational companies who have little interest in the problems which their

activities bring, and competition, as with other primary products, forces down prices resulting in wasteful cutting and the reduction of the income of the inhabitants of the producing areas. Further, as the recent murder of a Brazilian who led the opposition to further reduction of the rain forests indicates, the market for such timber is ruthless. 'Japan in the dock over log imports' ran a headline in *The Times* on 18 November 1988 which discussed the effects of Japanese demand throughout the areas producing tropical hardwoods. As this volume indicates, only international action on a global scale to reinforce the attempts of countries like Brazil which are now taking steps to halt deforestation can be effective. To allow the market free rein is a recipe for disaster not just for the producing areas but for the whole planet with the problem of the glasshouse effect. Even if this volume does not pursue such issues with sufficient emphasis, it nonetheless provides some information for areas round the world which should lead to better-informed debate.

WALTER MINCHINTON

Shorter Notices

W GROENMAN-VAN WAATERINGE AND L H VAN WIJNGAARDEN-BAKKER, eds, *Farm Life in a Carolingian Village. A model based upon botanical and zoological data from an excavated site*. Van Gorcum, Assen, 1987. Illus. Dfl. 37.50.

The title is not the reviewer's translation; this book is in English. It therefore takes a stage further in bringing to the wider academic community some of the results of the major, multi-period, interdisciplinary investigation in the Kootwijkerzand in the 1970s. This data-packed but modestly sized publication (131 pages) complements Heidinga's *Medieval settlement and economy north of the Lower Rhine. Archaeology and history of Kootwijk and the Veluwe* (Assen, 1987) by concentrating on the presentation and discussion of the environmental evidence from Kootwijk, 'with respect to palaeobotanic and zooarchaeological research . . . still one of the best investigated sites from the Dutch sandy soils' (p vii).

With relatively minor exceptions in chapters 2 and 5, the book's focus is specifically on Kootwijk 2, a settlement of c AD 750-1000 and the 'Carolingian village' of the title. At its most prosperous, it consisted of some twenty farmsteads in a contempor-

ary landscape of arable fields, boundaries and trackways. The thrust here is the dynamism of its ecological context including, quite properly, cultural activity such as the deposition of peat on arable and the fetching of hay from some distance. The model carefully discussed in chapter 7 requires equally careful consideration, not least in its potential applicability to situations outside Carolingian Veluwe; and the book itself, less self-consciously, provides a model of how to publish palaeo-environmental detail while teasing out contextual history.

P J FOWLER

REX RUSSELL, ed, *Barrow on Humber*, Joyce Martin, Barrow on Humber, 1988, 150 pp, 7 maps; 8 plates, £3.50 (or £4.50 from R C Russell, 11 Priestgate, Barton on Humber, DN19 5ET).

This is a memorial volume to Jack Martin, lifelong inhabitant of Barrow, sometime blacksmith, farmer, local historian, and WEA student of the editor. It includes previously published pieces: 'The Barrow Town Book' edited by Maurice Barley, published in 1938, and 'Lawrence Wilkin's Diary' by Jack

Martin, published in 1964. There is also a much enlarged analysis of the enclosure of Barrow by the editor. 'The Town Book' is very instructive on the workings of a pre-enclosure agricultural system and the extracts from the diary illustrate the costs and activities of an early eighteenth-century farm. The book also includes an interesting description of the state of the parish church before Victorian restoration by Geoffrey F Bryant and an excellent piece by Dinah Tyszka on the early nineteenth-century incumbents. These are part of the largest section of the book on 'Change and Progress 1801-1851' mostly written by Rex Russell. It includes sections on population, housing, employment, non-conformity, education, Foresters and self-help, and farmers. The book is concluded by an analysis of the 1851 census returns for Barrow. It is well illustrated and, of course, includes some of Russell's beautiful enclosure maps. It will be of great interest to all who are concerned with Lincolnshire history and it is a model for the use of the readily available sources for local history in the nineteenth century.

DAN BYFORD

MARY PAGET, ed, *A History of Charlton Kings*, Gloucestershire County Library, Gloucester, 1988. 225 pp. Illus. £9.50.

This parish history is a product of the active local history society at Charlton Kings, near Cheltenham. The editor was the former County Archivist of Shropshire, and although she describes the parish as 'a community in which nothing spectacular ever happened', she has nonetheless produced a readable and well-illustrated history. A map showing the parish in its regional setting and in its relationship to Cheltenham would have been useful, and not all the photographs are as clear as they might be, but otherwise this is a well-produced book, tracing the history of the parish from the Iron Age to the present. The main interest for readers of this *Review* will be in the chapters on manorial custom and agriculture. As part of the royal manor of Cheltenham, the parish retained throughout the Middle Ages the custom whereby property passed to the youngest son; widows were also greatly favoured and could retain a tenement and even remarry and make the youngest son by the second husband the heir to the first husband's estate. This custom survived until 1625. The chapter on agriculture uses the evidence of field-names, surveys, tithe and enclosure disputes, probate inventories and terriers to provide a much fuller account of farming than is found in many local histories.

The Charlton Kings Society and its Editor are to

be commended for this well-researched and interesting account.

J H BETTEY

DAVID BUTLER (ed), *Tithe Apportionments and Maps of the City of Durham*, Durham County Local History Society, Documentary Series, No 7, Durham, 1988. xii + 80 pp. £2.50 (+ £0.25 p & p). [Available from D.J. Butler, Secretary, DCLHS, 3 Briardene, Margery Lane, Durham DH1 4QU. Tithe maps and apportionments are a useful source for agricultural and local historians, but they are not always easy or convenient to use. Now David Butler has provided a model for any individual or group wishing to incur the gratitude of future generations by putting them into printed form.

His book begins with an introduction which explains the background to and basic details of tithe legislation. There is also a bibliography of the most useful recent publications on tithes. The main part of the book consists of a transcription of the apportionments for the Durham city tithe districts of Crossgate, Elvet, Framwellgate, St Giles and St Mary Magdalene, giving details of landowners, land occupiers, field number on the tithe map, field name, the state of cultivation, field size and tithe rent charge. Each transcription is accompanied by a clearly drawn map on which each field, and in some cases each house and garden, is numbered. It concludes with a personal name index. Family and local historians interested in Durham city and the surrounding area in the late 1830s and 1840s will obviously find this book useful. For others, it is an expensive way of showing students what they will find in tithe maps and apportionments.

PAUL BRASSLEY

HILARY M THOMAS, ed, *The Diaries of John Bird, 1790-1803*, South Wales Record Society and Glamorgan Archive Service, Cardiff, 1987. 189 pp, illus. No price given.

John Bird and James Loch belonged to the same profession, estate management. The similarity largely ends there. Whereas Loch, as prime adviser to the Stafford/Sutherland family, was called upon to resolve complex management issues regarding that vast estate, Bird was of a much humbler standing altogether. Clerk rather than agent and serving the absentee landlord of a badly managed estate – unlike the second Marquess of Bute who contributed so much to the development of Cardiff a generation later – Bird appears a rather frustrated man, anxious to enhance his role but blocked by the apathy of his superiors. Neither the Bute estate nor Cardiff itself offered much scope for career advancement and Bird turned instead to creating pockets of economic and

political activity, thereby emerging in time as an official of middling importance in town affairs.

Bird's aspirations and achievements are clearly explained in the editor's full and well balanced introduction. She draws out Bird's efforts to improve the efficiency both of rent collecting and accounting procedures but these seem to have fallen on deaf ears. He was a loyal servant to the Butes but seems to have received scant recognition. No doubt he derived more satisfaction from his career in town government which opened up after the years covered by the diaries.

The diary extracts are very much the small talk of small town society. The annual cycle of Assizes and Jury sessions and the pursuit of rents outstanding provide the framework within which newsworthy events are recorded – disputes between the well-known local iron-making families and between them and the local canal companies; skirmishes with the press gang; fears of bank failures; floods and other natural disasters. National events make an occasional intrusion but essentially the diaries portray the 'cat bites man' (5 October 1790, p. 63) tonality of a quiet backwater.

GERARD L TURNBULL

VIVIANE J M BRYANT, *A History of Potten End*, privately published, by E W Bryant, Cherry Bounce, The Common, Berkhamsted, 1986. 168 pp. 16 plates; 3 maps. £4.50 (plus postage).

Potten End is a Hertfordshire village not far from Berkhamsted so unobtrusive that it did not gain an entry in Kelly's Directory until 1874 and was frequently omitted from maps of the county. This is perhaps less surprising than the author thinks, since it was small, with a population of under 200 in 1841, had a Baptist chapel from 1835 but no Anglican church until 1865, and was not made into an ecclesiastical parish until 1895; in any case it was, in fact, quite correctly marked in the first edition of the one-inch Ordnance Survey. Although obscure, it is a place which has as much of a history to tell as any other small settlement, and Viviane Bryant had clearly spent many happy and fruitful hours before her untimely death in collecting what materials she could find concerning Potten End in the county record office. These she pieced together to give some account of the families of farmers and cottagers who lived there, mainly in the nineteenth century, and of some of their activities in the school, the church, the bakery, and in straw plaiting, but unfortunately not in farming. It appears that the village was very much in the shadow of the Ashridge estate, and the Brownlow earls and countesses often intervene in the narrative, busy about school or church, cottages or parish-making, but unhappily

there is no clear statement about the Brownlows' relationship with the village, in terms of land-ownership, patronage, or local employment. This is an unfinished chronicle, a labour of love which will be of much interest to present-day residents in what has become part of commuter-land.

F M L THOMPSON

JULIET CLUTTON-BROCK, *A Natural History of Domesticated Mammals*, CUP and British Museum (Natural History), 1987, 208 pp. £9.95 pbk.

I wonder how many readers have fallen (as I have) for the paperback publisher's ploy of changing the cover of a book in order to get one to buy a second copy in the belief that it is a new edition? The changed title and new cover picture of the present book took me in until I saw the small print stating that it is a reprint of the hardback *Domesticated Animals from Early Times* published in 1981. One misleading feature of the original title has been removed – the book covers only mammalian species, but the term 'natural history' in this context suggests that it has been introduced to stimulate sales at the Natural History Museum.

Dr Clutton-Brock shows how agriculture had its origins in population pressure. The book deals fully with domestication and the early history of livestock for the general reader, but there is nothing later than the Roman period and so little on the origin and history of breeds. She gives the definition of a breed and stresses that breeds must not be given Latin names, but places too much reliance on the use of blood types for relationships. Great use is made of ancient illustrations, but no attempt made to summarize the evidence from skeletal remains nor that from wool in textile remains. There is a good index, and a reasonable, although selective bibliography. But a reprint is at once inadequate for the academic who seeks more recent evidence. The author has done well, however, to give such an excellent introduction to a vast subject in few words and it remains good value at the price.

M L RYDER

DAVID FRASER, ed, *The Christian Watt Papers*, Caledonian Books, Collicton, 1988. xvii + 186 pp. Illus.

Christian Watt was born in Buchan (north-east Scotland) in 1833 and died in 1923. She earned her living by gutting and selling herring. Although she spent the last 47 years of her life in a mental asylum (her description of which demolishes conventional ideas of what Victorian institutions were like), she remained lucid and articulate until the day she died, and she recorded many of her memories. She had strong views, some of them conventional, others

radical – she never believed the gentry were in any way better than her or that men were superior to women.

In order to get the most out of *The Christian Watt Papers* the reader needs a good grounding in Scottish history, because her memoirs are rather like oral history: very vivid, but also very subjective, and not particularly sound on dates or even facts. A better editor would have helped. David Fraser is fine at unravelling who is who, but he is no historian. For example, he writes that the 'Wee Frees' left the Church at the time of the Disruption of 1843, which is totally incorrect. (And this is the second edition of the book – 'with corrections'!)

As so much of Christian Watt's life was centred on the sea, the agricultural historian will not find much detail on changes in land use, although she makes some startlingly modern observations on what she saw of the transformation of Scotland from an agrarian to an industrial nation. The enormous value of the book for anyone working in the field of nineteenth-century Scottish history is that in Christian Watt one hears the genuine voice of the kind of person who rarely left a written record. The only way of conveying the flavour of the book is by quoting a small chunk of her narrative, and I will therefore end this book review by doing just that:

After Royalty came Deeside was ruined. The rich came and built huge palaces to try to outshine Easter Balmoral. Some of the ha' houses were very grand. In our fisher dress a group of us stood by the roadside near Crathie. The Queen came by, she looked so sour you could have hung a jug on her mouth. The carriage stopped and Prince Albert came down and spoke to us. He was very pleasant. The Prince of Wales was a bonny loon then, nobody would have thought he would turn out the foul bawdy man he did. The whole area was now invaded by the curious. Our hill trade was ruined, for we were no longer permitted to traverse the mountains after they made the deer forest.

LEAH LENEMAN

BOB POWELL, *Scottish Agricultural Implements*, Shire Publications, Princes Risborough, 1988. 32 pp. Illus. £1.50.

In a limited space Bob Powell covers a wide range of topics relating to Scottish agricultural implements. Each implement is treated chronologically within a seasonal framework, with an additional section at the end on transport. The concentration is more on the larger machines than hand tools although some such as scythes and broadcast sowers are covered. Included within this treatment are interesting vignettes of some of the Scottish innovators such as James Small, Patrick Bell, and Andrew Meikle. Brief mention is also made of some

of the social aspects of agricultural work such as the migrant seasonal workers. As is usual with Shire albums the illustrative material is strong and the booklet serves as a good introduction to the subject.

ANNIE HOOD

PETER and JEAN HANSELL, *Dovecotes*, Shire Publications, Princes Risborough, 1988. 32 pp. Illus. £1.50.

A great deal of interesting information about the keeping of pigeons from Norman times onwards is packed into this well-illustrated booklet. Originally a manorial perquisite, the dovecote became a common attachment to prosperous farms by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Left to forage for their food, pigeons needed little care once they had been trained to accept the dovecote as their home. This was achieved by confining the initial stock until pairs had mated and hatched their first brood. As each pair could produce two chicks about eight times every year for up to seven years, a dovecote was obviously a sound investment.

They are amongst the most curious structures in the countryside. The Hansells' illustrations indicate some of the variety of designs and building materials. The booklet makes good armchair reading, but on the ground it will be less serviceable. Invariably, the most difficult question to answer when confronted with a dovecote is: what is the date? Few have datestones and many bear little resemblance to contemporary buildings that can be dated on stylistic grounds. It would have been a great benefit to have been given some advice on how to hazard a guess, if nothing more.

DAVID HEY

Yankee Drover; Being the Unpretending Life of Asa Sheldon, Farmer, Trader, and Working Man 1788–1870. Foreword by JOHN SEELYE. University Press of New England, 1988, xxi + 192 pp.

This unusual and fascinating account of life by no means as close to the bottom of early nineteenth century Massachusetts rural life as the title might suggest, first appeared in 1862 when its author paid for its publication. It has now been reissued with a fine foreword by John Seelye, better known for his work in American literature, for it gives a unique account of Massachusetts on the eve of modernisation and from a lay point of view.

Readers will first discover a largely cashless world; one in which men's words not legal contracts bound them; one where white indentured labour lingered; and one in which hierarchical, deferential attitudes persisted. They will also see society change, as it experienced what Sheldon called its 'age of impro-

vement', especially coming to grips with the first railroads. Sheldon produced his autobiography in part to take issue with the Boston and Maine which he felt had acted unfairly toward him when one of its contractors and he reveals all the aggrievedness and bewilderment of a generation that felt the law

and natural justice were parting company as corporations hired the better lawyers. This book is well worth acquiring both in itself and as a primary source.

R A BURCHELL

Notes on Contributors

DELLA HOOKE is a Research Fellow in Historical Geography in the University of Birmingham. Her primary area of research concerns the development of the English Landscape and its regional *pays*, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon period, using pre-Conquest charters as a major source of evidence. Her books on this subject include *The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: The Kingdom of the Hwicce* (Manchester, 1985) and she has recently edited *Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford, 1988). She is a consultant to the Countryside Commission advising on landscape evolution in Midland England, in medieval and later times, as a basis for future strategy plans.

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BRUCE CAMPBELL has recently joined the Department of Social and Economic History in the Queen's University of Belfast after having served on the staff of the Geography Department in the same university for sixteen years. He has published a number of articles on medieval agriculture and rural society and was awarded the Arthur H Cole Prize of the Economic History Association for his essay on agricultural productivity published in vol XLIII of *The Journal of Economic History*. He is a committee member of the B A H S and is currently completing a book on the geography of seigneurial agriculture in medieval England.