

Book Reviews

Britain and Ireland

MARK MCKERRACHER, *Farming transformed in Anglo-Saxon England. Agriculture in the long eighth century* (Windgather Press, 2018). 164 pp. £34.99.

Over the last thirty years or so landscape historians and archaeologists have transformed our understanding of many aspects of Anglo-Saxon rural society. Thousands of developer-funded excavations – not all are great set-piece digs; rather, the great majority are evaluations, that is multiple trial trenches in advance of development – have gathered data not only about settlements and fieldscapes, but also stock and crops. However, relatively few sites have been formally published. Most reports languish in often hard to find grey literature, whose ever-expanding scale deters all but the most determined – and time-rich – from exploring it. Accordingly, overviews such as this, based on a PhD thesis, are to be warmly welcomed.

This is not the first recent work of synthesis on the subject, and Banham and Faith's ambitious *Anglo-Saxon farms and farming* (2014; reviewed in *AgHR* 63.2) merits special mention. Where McKerracher's study differs is through its extensive use of archaeologically recovered 'pollen, sediments, charred seeds, animal bones, watermills, corn-drying ovens, granaries and stockyards' from between the later seventh and early ninth centuries. This, the 'long eighth century', is increasingly identified as a period which saw profound political, social and economic change as the underpinnings of medieval England emerged. Jumping ahead, McKerracher concludes that it was agricultural innovation and intensification that powered these changes.

The study is based on two large study areas: the first greater East Anglia (essentially Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Essex), and the second based on the upper and middle Thames valley (Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire). As is noted, these include a wide variety of contrasting landscape types including the uplands of the Chilterns and the Cotswolds, which allows examination of the influence of soils and topography. The country's harsher zones such as the

moorlands of the South West, the Pennines and the Dales lie beyond the scope of the book; here different trajectories and narratives can be assumed.

McKerracher aligns himself with the Tom Williamson 'cow and plough' school of landscape and agricultural history, which allows for a strong degree of environmental determinism. He begins by examining the small but growing evidence (including finds of coulter and shares) for the introduction and spread of the heavy mouldboard plough, which he speculates was familiar on at least high-status estates by the tenth and eleventh centuries. Heavy ploughs allowed arable expansion onto claylands and especially clay watersheds, which in turn started to reduce the available pasture and wood-pasture, requiring the closer management of stock (including oxen) via closes and droveways as well as the active management and modification of hay meadows for winter feedstuffs.

Taken together the evidence, including that of animal bones, indicates that in, or by, the long eighth century farmers were over-wintering much of their livestock. At the same time, as noted above, for the first time since perhaps the fifth century all the study regions began to produce a cereal surplus. The archaeological and palynological evidence from crops and especially weeds suggests that this growth was achieved by farmers growing crops best suited to land often newly brought into – or back into – cultivation. Hulled barley (notably on saline silts) and free-threshing wheat (in clay vales) remained most important, although oats and rye (on droughty sands) were increasingly grown. And as the volume of the cereal crop expanded so did the need for specialist structures such as granaries, helms (both tricky to identify archaeologically although examples are known) and barns to store it as well as ovens to dry and malt grain. Mills, too, started to be constructed in the seventh century, after a three-century hiatus. At much the same time flax, grapes and hemp re-appear in the farming record, possibly evidence for the demands of the expanding monastic church, or more probably for a generally more buoyant, less localized, economy.

A concluding chapter flags some key sites and discoveries beyond the study areas, which generally

support the book's earlier conclusions, for instance showing how watermills and large grain ovens are found primarily on high-status sites, both lay and ecclesiastical (points set in a wider context – with acknowledgement to McKerracher's work – in John Blair's magisterial *Building in Anglo-Saxon England*, 2018). The conclusion seems inescapable, that agricultural intensification went hand-in-hand with the emergence of powerful and clearly defined and powerful local lordship. Which was the more powerful driver is a moot point.

If drab by Windgather's normal standards, the book is well and engagingly written – the source PhD must have been wholly rewritten and only a few buzzwords like paradigm and agency pop up – and with a large number of figures locating sites, quantifying data and bringing together elements of site plans from excavations. It is also mercifully concise, with the main text running to just 125 pages. Would that all authors were so continent.

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MOIRA COLEMAN (ed.), *Household Inventories of Helmingham Hall, 1597–1741* (Suffolk Records Society, 61, The Boydell Press, 2018), 337 pp. 6 colour plates, 22 b&w illus. £15.

For readers familiar with record society volumes and used to a brief introduction, a few notes on editorial practices, followed by pages of transcribed documents and a simple index, this book will be a revelation. In her editing of the four household inventories of Helmingham Hall, Suffolk, from 1597 to 1741, Moira Coleman provides an embarrassment of riches not only in the contents of the house, but also in her interpretation. These documents are not left to speak for themselves. The entries, accompanied by lengthy and meticulous footnotes, occupy less than half the pages and are linked to a magnificent glossary and index of household goods of similar length. In addition, there are two substantial appendices on the development of the hall, 1597–1741 and the Tollemaches' period at Fakenham Magna, 1622–1665.

Coleman begins with a generous introduction outlining the history of Tollemache family, the background of the four inventories compiled in 1597, 1626, 1708 and 1741, and the editorial practices employed. The contents closely reflect the family's progress from comfortable gentry, to aspiring baronets in the early seventeenth century and finally to wealthy aristocrats in the eighteenth century. Like so many successful landed families, the Tollemaches married well. The big leap came in 1648 when Sir Lionel Tollemach, third baronet, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir

of William Murray, first earl of Dysart. When he died in 1655 she inherited the Scottish estates and became the second countess of Dysart in her own right, a common feature of Scottish peerages, which allow female succession in the absence of male heirs. In the Genealogical Table Elizabeth's husband is credited with the title, but when the sixth earl died in 1821 without heirs, and the title passed to his eldest surviving sister, Louisa, she is rightly described as the seventh countess of Dysart. This is an important point as it led to the division of the estate, between Louisa's family, who inherited the earldom with its estate at Ham House in Surrey, alongside her husband's estate in Leicestershire and Lincolnshire, and the family of Jane, the younger sister, whose son, John, inherited the Tollemache estates in Suffolk, Cheshire and Northamptonshire. The situation is confusing as both families adopted the Tollemache name, but it explains the forward, written by 'The Lord Tollemache, Helmingham' at the front of the volume and Coleman's thanks to Sir Lyonel Tollemache for access to the Buckminster Park Archive. A further confusion is that the Tollemache baronetcy granted to the family in 1612 died out with the sixth earl, as it was restricted to male heirs. The baronetcy that survives was created in 1793 for Louisa's son William Manners, descended through his father from the Dukes of Rutland.

The title continued with the Tollemache family at Buckminster until the ninth earl died in 1935 without heirs. As before, the earldom went through his sister to a niece and her two daughters who served as countesses of Dysart from 1935 to 2011. The present holder, John Grant, thirteenth earl of Dysart, and seventeenth laird of Rothiemurchus, is the son of the younger daughter and a Scottish laird. The baronetcy survived as there was a male Tollemache heir available to inherit the title and the Buckminster estate; they also kept Ham House, which Sir Lyonel Tollemache, fourth baronet, and his son Cecil gave to the National Trust in 1948. The Surrey estate, beautifully situated along the Thames between Richmond and Kingston, was developed in the 1930s and finally sold in 1949. After three centuries, the Tollemache links with the earldom of Dysart and the iconic Ham House were finally severed.

In contrast to this tortuous tale, the estates in Suffolk, Cheshire and Northamptonshire left by the sixth earl to his nephew, John Tollemache, eldest son of his youngest sister Jane, flourished and became a model enterprise. W. E. Gladstone described John 'as the greatest estate manager of his day'. As MP for Cheshire constituencies from 1841 to 1872, he campaigned for land reform and was raised to the peerage as Baron Tollemache in 1876. His descendants at Helmingham today seem to follow

that tradition living in their moated manor house, tending their gardens and managing their historic estates.

Viewed from this perspective, it is almost as if the Tollemaches have turned back to their seventeenth-century forebears with their activities firmly rooted in Suffolk. Lord Tollemache, avidly interested in the history of the family, encouraged Coleman in her venture over many years. She was also supported by Victor Gray, honorary archivist at Helmingham and general editor of the volume and a team of academics, advisers and curators, who notably helped to compile the glossary and index of household goods, and the referencing system which provides easy access to the inventories.

So, how does this ingenious system work? It is quite simple. Each entry has been allotted a reference number: this consists of the year of the inventory, i.e. 97, 26, 08, 41 followed by the order in the listing, which for 1597 runs from 1 to 1216; for 1626 from 1 to 1549, while the later inventories are half that size, making a total of 4091 entries. If, for example, you want to search the close stools, look them up in the glossary either under stools, or close stools, where you will find a full description and the reference number which leads to their location in the hall. So, in 1597 there is one close stool in the Drying chamber, 97.544; three with their pans in the Old Chamber, 97.568; two with their pans in the Wardrobe 97.883; and finally a pan for a close stool in the Soap House, 97.561. So hours of fun await you! I would have preferred the glossary straight after the inventories with the two appendices at the end, but for giving us such a feast of records this minor inconvenience can be forgiven.

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JENNIFER S. HOLT (ed.), *The Hornby Castle Estates: Agrarian change from the 1582 Survey to the 1751 Sederunt* (The Chetham Society, 2017). xxxiii + 626 pp. 28 maps, plates, figures and tables. £39.95.

This volume presents an account of the estates belonging to the Lords of Hornby, a manor nine miles to the north east of Lancaster. Background information is presented on the Lords of the Manor from as early as 1465, starting with the three Stanleys (Lords Mounteagle), the three Parkers (known as Lords Morley and Mounteagle) through to Colonel Francis Charteris, Earl of Wemyss. The first chapter concludes with a description of the origins and location of the various estates, which extended beyond the manor and parish of Hornby.

Chapter two opens with a short description of tenant right, under which the estates were managed,

and its impact on the lords' income. Indeed, on p. 58, Holt notes that 'failure to overturn tenantright' meant that 'lands became a diminishing asset'. A review of the various legal battles between landlord and tenant includes the enclosure of moorland at Tatham and the disputes regarding the rights to take timber. Holt goes on to discuss enfranchisement, which allowed the owning lords to sell their rights to the tenants, after which the latter were effectively freeholders. Two enfranchisements are considered in particular – those of 1711 and 1774 – both of which occurred in a period when ownership of the estates changed hands: Holt considers this to be asset-stripping by the lords.

The purpose of both the 1582 Survey and the 1751 Sederunt was to determine the economic potential of the estates at points of transition and was related directly to the financial aspects of tenantright – the title of chapter three. The annual value accruing to the landlords is examined in comparison to that of the customary tenants: here Holt finds that whilst the landlords took 18 per cent of the total in 1582, by 1774 this had decreased to three per cent with the tenants directly benefiting from the other 97 per cent. The changes on the estates over this period are then examined to understand what brought about this effect. The four main factors were absentee landlords with estates managed by an agent, a reduction in the direct farming of the demesne lands, less focus on the town of Hornby, and the fact that the Lord was no longer able to intervene in the society of his estates.

Noting that the organization of the castle's household in 1582 was essentially medieval, chapter four observes that the real power on the estates lay with the customary tenants rather than their absentee landlords. Using the Survey and Sederunt, supplemented by other sources, this chapter examines how the resources of the Hornby estates were managed. It considers those who held office, be it as bailiffs, stewards, receivers and constables: it also looks at the court system and the appointment of jurors. Further, tenants were responsible for the maintenance of common resources such as corn kilns, mills and weirs, bridges and roads – in fact, all of the facilities provided to every individual on the estate. The power of the churchwardens and the Twenty-Four is also examined, with specific consideration given to the Quakers who lived in the area. The chapter then moves on to consider the distribution of land in terms of farm sizes, as well as the right to cattle closes or cattle gates in the outlying, higher land. Finally, this leads to a discussion of the landscape of the Hornby estate area and its features, and in particular, the effects of enclosure and improvement on that landscape.

In the final chapter of the introductory section, the economies of activities beyond the land are examined: these provided an additional source of income for some tenants. However, there were others making a living on the estate who were not tenants. For example, a tenant might malt and brew his or her own grain. On the other hand, there could be non-tenant maltsters and brewers who bought in grain: these and other independent tradespeople formed a wider economic community that took little or no notice of the Lord of Hornby.

Starting with the arable economies, the expected range of crops was grown, although potatoes were being grown in 1663: the inventories of a number of Hornby inhabitants who died in the 1670s included reference to this new crop. Livestock was again as expected, along with the food crops arising from fish and game. The practice of share cropping, or farming to halves, is examined with examples being given of its application to animals, albeit less usually than for field crops. The management of the estate's woodlands is looked at along with buildings in terms of the structures, materials and usage: most of the buildings are measured in bays and outshots, even when not cruck-built. Finally, the wide range of trades practised by the residents is considered, in terms of their contribution to the wealth of the area.

In summary, the introductory chapters examine the Hornby estates on the basis of documentary evidence, from the viewpoint of who held the power, how they achieved and kept it, and the economic implications for the lords, tenants and the wider population. Having extracted and summarized the changes in agrarian practice over a two hundred year period, a transcription of the two key documents, the 1582 Survey and the 1751 Sederunt, is clearly presented. This is followed by a number of appendices presenting key supporting documents.

Written in the way that many records society volumes are produced, the introductory section preceding the transcribed documents excels itself in its extent (224 pages) and its quality. The obvious errors are few and minor, such as the date of the Pentecost Rental in Table 2 (1772 not 1722) or the term 'bouse' (p. 206), which is not included in the Glossary. There are also errors of addition in the transcription: however, these may be errors in the original documents. Overall, this is a splendid piece of work which is clearly written, well bound on quality paper and will provide source material for students of agricultural and rural history, as well as for those interested in vernacular architecture and social change.

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MALCOLM DICK and ELAINE MITCHELL (eds),
Gardens and green spaces in the West Midlands since 1700 (West Midlands Publications, 2018). 212 pp. 90 illus., figs & tables. £16.99.

Malcolm Dick and Elaine Mitchell's edited collection aims to contribute towards what Tom Williamson has called the 'new garden history' by offering social, political, economic and industrial context to gardens and green spaces in the West Midlands. The collection was born out of a conference entitled 'Landscape and Green Spaces: Garden History in the West Midlands', the Annual Conference of the Centre for West Midlands History, held in the March of 2014 at the University of Birmingham. Through nine chapters, plus an introduction and foreword penned by Timothy Mowl, the period since 1700 is explored. In doing so, the chapters examine not only the connections between green spaces and the developing industrial landscape, but also the multiplicity of sources and methodologies utilized by garden historians.

The nine contributors cover the period well and investigate many different themes that converge upon these spaces: the relationship between the urban and the rural, issues of gender, class and religion, as well as the implications of public history and heritage. The case studies offered demonstrate the distinctiveness of space and place, situating the West Midlands within wider British contexts but also emphasizing specific moments within an area of the country that changed dramatically during this period. David Whitehead's chapter on the origins of picturesque landscaping in Stuart and Georgian Herefordshire looks to what made this county a unique place through a discussion of the interplay between art, poetry and landscape, building a comprehensive and interdisciplinary case study. Here Whitehead explains the opposition to the ordered landscaping championed by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, which centred upon a desire to maintain the local character of Herefordshire. On a smaller scale, John Hemingway's chapter on William Shenstone's garden at The Leasowes in Halesowen shows the creative management and desires of one specific character rather than a wider movement. We learn of the experience Shenstone desired to create for visitors to the garden which in turn unveils wider details about landscape management, sources of knowledge for gentlemen gardeners in the eighteenth century and how these green spaces invoked as much artistic and architectural fervour as the great houses often at the centre of the landscapes.

The sheer range of sources used within the nine chapters quickly attest to a point made by Timothy Mowl in his foreword, that 'budding garden historians ... must

become polymaths' (p. xv). Elaine Mitchell's contribution on the provincial pleasure garden, focusing on Duddeston, re-evaluates perceptions of industrializing towns by presenting the urban garden as a space of polite sociability. This is executed using extensive source material that highlights specific visitor experiences as well as convincingly evaluating J. Pedley's painting of Birmingham's Vauxhall as an accurate visual record. The importance of compiling a full picture through wide-ranging source material is especially clear in Joe Hawkins' chapter: in it, he offers a practical application of historical sources to restore Worcestershire's Hagley Park for the twenty-first century visitor. Not only does Hawkins desire to understand the physical landscape, but more importantly, to recapture the experience of the individual in this historic leisure space. This chapter, which is an appropriate final contribution to the book, underlines the usefulness of this 'new garden history' to West Midlands heritage in understanding landscape change and human interaction with it over time.

The relationship between the urban and the rural is a theme characterizing many of the contributions to the book. Whilst Clare Hickman's examination of therapeutic landscapes in the early twentieth century combines green spaces with health history, presenting such spaces as a retreat from the harsh effects of the urban, Harriet Devlin's work on the industrial landscape of Coalbrookdale looks to the religious and philanthropic effects on a space where the spoils of industry and the countryside came to be enjoyed simultaneously. Similarly, in Katy Layton-Jones' chapter, we are presented with a convincing argument for the understanding of urban public parks as spaces which were heavily intertwined with the surrounding industry. Layton-Jones looks to the inclusion of new industrial materials and machinery within these parks, with items as simple as wrought iron gates acting to create a new harmony between the seemingly incongruous rural and urban. As time went on, though increasingly wealthy industrialists desired to retreat from the crowdedness of growing urban areas, the city began to be incorporated into areas for retreat as with urban parks. Maureen Perrie demonstrates this within her chapter on the landscaping of south Birmingham and the estates of Richard Cadbury and Joseph Chamberlain: the views to urban townscapes were not hidden by extensive landscaping of the estates, but instead included, further developing the relationship between the rural and urban. These chapters offer many interesting insights into this relationship, one which would certainly benefit from comparison with other areas of the British Isles to see if this was a country-wide phenomenon.

Whilst the collection is wide in scope and admirable in the range of material covered, it is also made clear at several points, most notably in the introduction, that it aims to be a stimulus to further research activity, as the field is still in its infancy. This is particularly referenced in Dianne Barre's fascinating contribution on the female involvement in garden history and enterprising activity. Barre uses the *Derby Mercury* to uncover several fascinating stories of women between 1780 and 1830, but also highlights the deficiencies of the sources which tend to obscure female involvement. Barre uses her chapter to outline future research questions on the issue of gender and garden history. Overall, Dick and Mitchell's edited collection manages to be comprehensive whilst keeping to a locale, contextualizing garden spaces in multiple ways for a range of uses, in a way that will surely invite new research that will further develop the sub-discipline in exciting new ways.

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JAMES HUNTER, *Set adrift upon the world: The Sutherland Clearances* (Birlinn, 2016). 572 pp. 27 b&w and colour illus. £14.99.

In August 2013, guests and visitors from around the world congregated in the Strath of Kildonan, in the eastern part of the Scottish county of Sutherlandshire, to commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary of the Strath's notorious clearances. The two-week 'Translocation Festival', overseen by Helmsdale's Timespan Museum and Arts Centre, did more than reflect on a well-known narrative – the idea of a traditional agrarian society being destroyed by the inevitable creep of capitalism – it ensured that voices were given to those who had been marginalized in the past. Jacquie Aitken, of Timespan, stressed a fact that can often be buried beneath statistics and official accounts: the evicted and dispossessed 'were "real" people with the same thoughts and feelings as us'. This human focus, indeed, has become more prevalent in historical narratives – in recent months I have heard exactly the same argument made in the context of the Great Irish Famine (for example in identifying and attributing personalities to the 'Strokestown 1490', a previously amorphous group of evictees from the west of Ireland), as well as Finland's 'Great Hunger Years' (the inauguration address for a memorial in Ruovesi, in the summer of 2018, stressed that it was all very well to recall that '19 per cent of the parish died in 1868', but that each individual who perished was an individual with hopes, dreams, families and friends). James Hunter's latest contribution to the historiography of

the *Gàidhealtachd* and its Diaspora continues what has been, for him, a career-long crusade to amplify the subaltern voices of Scottish history.

For those acquainted with Hunter's previous works, *Set adrift upon the world* adopts a familiar tone – combative but optimistic, and determined to highlight the power structures which facilitated the mass social engineering and evictions of the Highland Clearances. The book's structure is largely chronological, although it leaps back into the present from time to time, in order to give context to characters, refer to the descendants of those who were cleared, to make explicit points about the cyclical nature of history, or to underline the persistence of the abuse of hegemonic power (allusions to Orwell and Stalin crop up quite regularly). Generations of writers who have, in Hunter's eyes, connived to normalize the Clearances and their consequences within a narrative of inevitable economic rationalization and progress, are treated with suspicion, if not outright disdain.

Hunter opens the book (p. 1) with a *dramatis personae* ('actors in the Clearance drama') and notes that 'what follows is a story'. As a result, it is tempting to bracket *Set adrift upon the world* alongside earlier polemical works about Sutherland – such as Ian Grimble's *The trial of Patrick Sellar* (1962), or John Prebble's *The Highland Clearances* (1963) or, indeed, the agitprop of John McGrath's *The Cheviot, the stag, and the black, black oil* (1973). What sets Hunter apart, however, is the sheer depth and breadth of his archival knowledge (in Gaelic and English), his extensive fieldwork, and his journalistic ability to weave complex stands into a compelling and readable narrative.

A key theme of the book is that the people themselves, despite the trying circumstances, always retained some sort of agency: early protests against the estate reorganization, therefore, are presented as rooted in tradition (pp. 94–5); the decision made by many cleared tenants to emigrate to Canada rather than remain in small coastal crofts, is presented as a conscious choice which sought to deprive the estate of labour (p. 129); attempts were made to bargain with the British crown (p. 115) – by promising a steady flow of soldiers for the empire in return for a guarantee against eviction; and during the Crofters War period of the 1880s (pp. 348–40), the actions of Patrick Sellar, James Loch, and the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland were used to stir the people of Sutherlandshire to protest or (especially after 1885) political action. Another theme – that of a pre-Clearance 'Golden Age', is a trope dismissed relatively easily as romanticism in literary works such as *Butcher's broom* (Neil Gunn, 1934), *And the cock crew* (Fionn MacColla, 1945), *The*

desperate journey (Kathleen Fidler, 1964), or *Consider the lilies* (Iain Crichton Smith, 1968). Hunter is aware of this trap, however, and throughout *Set adrift upon the world* he presents the common perception of Sutherlandshire's 'wilderness', or 'unimprovability', only to counter that any wilderness is entirely man-made, and that pre-Clearance society was not only viable, but thriving (*inter alia*, pp. 5, 69, 90). This contention is reinforced in the conclusion (p. 472), where a future is imagined in which houses have been rebuilt and the straths resettled, and the Clearances are seen as 'an indefensible departure from the way things were, and the way they should have been'.

In setting up the 'Rebellion at Kildonan' (p. 63), Hunter quotes the renowned artist Alison Watt on Henry Raeburn's portrait of Major William Clunes (included in the book's plates section along with twenty-six other images). Clunes' new sheep farm at Torrish was one of the major triggers for the Kildonan Rising of 1813, and his portrait is featured prominently in the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. 'Few artists', argues Watt, 'have the skill or chutzpah' to create such a striking image. It is also fair to argue, after reading *Set adrift upon the world*, that few historians other than James Hunter possess the skill or chutzpah to produce such a coherent, convincing, and moving book about the Sutherland Clearances.

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EDWARD BUJAK, *English landed society in the Great War: defending the realm* (Bloomsbury, 2018). 208 pp. 7 illus. £85.

Edward Bujak's previous books have focused on landholdings in England and the agricultural revolution, and on the 'gentlemen' of the Royal Flying Corps. This latest work both builds on and combines these interests, looking at the relationship between English landed society and the First World War, both in terms of landed estates' contribution to the war effort, and the impact of the war on landed society. It is a compact book of just 122 pages plus 41 pages of notes and a 16-page bibliography, and Bujak has chosen to examine his subject matter through the lens of the bible of landed society, *Country Life* magazine, referencing or quoting at length no less than 85 times from issues published between 1901 and December 1918, the vast majority published during wartime.

The book clearly charts how the role of landed estates and the socio-economic class that owned them changed over the course of the war. This was initially as a recruitment vehicle until conscription was introduced

in 1916, both with regard to landed society's 'fearless and perfect gentle knights' providing officer-class material, and also the volunteering or offering of irresistible cash inducements by squires to landed estates workforces if they enlisted. The book is most chilling when recounting the instance of the Earl of Wemyss who issued a decree to his estate workforce to either 'enlist or be dismissed' – before his wife intervened to soften her husband's stark ultimatum to his workforce. Over the course of the war some estate lands were used for training camps and aerodromes, and as casualties mounted, some country estate houses were converted to military hospitals, where the wounded could experience being treated more as guests than patients by some particularly compassionate and generous aristocratic hosts.

Bujak's unwavering focus on 'landed society' does lead to some unfortunate insensitivity. He attests that 'the weight of the war fell disproportionately on English landed society', with 'few landed families ... unaffected', but recognizes that the death toll only amounted to 800 titled men in the first 16 months of the war. Yet at the same time Bujak notes that across the whole of the war between 243,000 and 300,000 agricultural workers in England and Wales joined the armed services, but omits to say how many did not return. The accepted mortality figures are that some 12 per cent of the British army's ordinary soldiers were killed during the war, compared, admittedly, with 17 per cent of its officers, but that 12 per cent represented a higher number in absolute terms as the 'lower ranks' naturally comprised the larger number of soldiers; this would mean that perhaps 30,000 agricultural worker/soldiers died in the war – but this is a book on landed society, and the workforce that served it plainly does not count as part of it.

The chapters on fox hunting and game keeping are excellent illustrations of landed society culture at the time and the conflicting needs of wartime Britain, although readers of a sensitive disposition may flinch at the numbers of so-called game birds that were shot by the landed gentry for their amusement. War became an extension of game shooting and fox hunting, with – at least in one instance, incredibly, English beagles being transported to France to hunt French hares behind the Allied lines. This certainly provides a stark counterpoint to the world of John Lewis-Stempel's *Where poppies blow: the British soldier, nature, the Great War* where soldiers embraced nature rather than making a leisure pursuit out of destroying it. Further, fox hunting was seen within landed society as having provided a 'national service', with the country owing a 'debt' to fox hunting due to its consequent supply of horses and men already capable of riding and

commanding horses – resources valued by the cavalry. That is, until fox hunting was increasingly curtailed over the course of the war, as a more efficient means of containing the fox population was sought in order to protect the growing poultry farms, which were being increased in order to help meet food needs.

The book will be of greater relevance to readers of the *Review* whose interests lie in rural life rather than agriculture. As the book highlights, pre-war many estates made more money from rural lifestyle pursuits for the gentry than they did out of farming. Bujak quotes a *Country Life* article from 1916 criticizing the neglect of agriculture by landowners because they valued the land chiefly as a generator of income through the provision of shooting, hunting and other sporting facilities, with the country house providing a pleasant focal point for social life. Agriculture was only mobilized in support of the war effort from 1917, and this helps to explain why there is only one 'agriculture' chapter – 'Landlords and Food Security' – in the book, and this is just 11 pages long, compared to 27 for gamekeeping and fox hunting combined.

In looking at how war impacts countries which are not themselves battlegrounds, the book signifies a welcome broadening of subject matter into 'Home Front' history by Bloomsbury Academic's *Studies in military history*, which has previously focused mainly on more conventional battlefield histories. However, the publisher's back cover promotional text asserts that the author 'explores the ... corrosive effects that the progressive and systematic militarization of the countryside had on the authority of the squire'. In this respect the book does not deliver an examination of the militarization of the landscape of landed estates, nor proves that such a militarization was either progressive or systematic. The book shows that landed estates were subject to change during the war as a result of demands placed on them by the War Office, whether for increased agricultural production or for sites for training camps, aerodromes and hospitals, but the evidence is sporadic and there is no analysis of how temporary or permanent these changes were.

The book is also very tightly bookended contextually. Bujak's introduction sets the historical scene with Lloyd George's 'People's Budget' of 1909, accurately highlighting that the world was changing under the feet of the landed aristocracy before the war, but since the 1890s consecutive Liberal Governments had turned against the aristocracy and their landed estates as the epitome of offensive levels of inequality. Similarly, the post-war end of the book does not look forward to the impact on estates of the interwar economic depression, and with the advent of the Second World War just 21

years after the Great War ended, there was also scope for a comparison with how landed society was affected across the two wars, yet this is not acknowledged, not even as a pointer to further study. Whilst fully respecting the author's decision to adopt a narrow focus, a few additional pages to put *English landed society in the Great War* in a broader historical context would have made this interesting book more rounded.

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MICHAEL TICHELAR, *The failure of land reform in twentieth-century England. The triumph of private property* (Routledge, 2019). 230 pp. £95.

Since at least the nineteenth century, various political interests and campaign groups have sought to reform legislation and taxation to alter the power of private property. In Ireland, Scotland, and to a lesser extent, Wales, the land reform movement was driven by nationalist movements seeking to remove English control as a route to independence. English land reform has a long historiography, much of which has been led by Tichelar himself. Paul Readman and Matthew Cragoe's research on the land question has charted radical opposition to the concentration of aristocratic land ownership up to 1914, while Andrew Cox focused on the party-political conflicts over reconstruction of blitzed cities after the end of the Second World War. The period between 1914 and 1945 is less well studied, as F. M. L. Thompson noted in his chapter 'The strange death of the English land question' in Readman and Cragoe's edited collection, *The land question in Britain* of 2010. In this book, Tichelar seeks to revive the question, bringing together his extensive previous articles and studies to give a detailed narrative of attempts at land reform throughout the twentieth century.

The language of 'failure' of land reform and the 'triumph' of private property noted in the title presents Tichelar's argument from the start. Political parties attempted but did not ultimately succeed in legislating for and creating strong enough institutions to redress what has historically, and continues to be, the overbearing weight of private property. But he never quite fully argues that land nationalization was ever a viable solution or that private property was always in the wrong. He points to two key factors which prevented extensive reform. The primary cause, he argues, was ultimately the strength of the Conservative governments in overturning or modifying any of the Liberals' and then Labour's policies. Tichelar's main focus is on the Labour Party, but he compares Conservative policy throughout. The second more practical reason for failure was the complexity of administering the valuation of

land separately from buildings, 'a major constraint on policies seeking to tax land values, especially any levy on the unimproved value of land' (p. 202).

After two opening chapters outlining the main arguments, the narrative begins with a broad-brush overview of the origins of the English land question. The utopianism of the seventeenth-century Diggers, the anti-enclosure movement of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth-century Chartist Land Plan and Land Tenure Reform Association and the philosophies of Smith, Ricardo and Mill are presented as pioneers of the broader political critique of the inequalities of land ownership. Tichelar is more confident in the detail when he moves on to the twentieth century. He underlines two main turning points in the chronology of the land question: first, the point when major reform was most possible, and second, when political priorities and ideologies decisively shifted away from idealism to pragmatism and new interpretations of land reform. The first decisive point came with Lloyd George's People's Budget of 1909, which sought to introduce the rating of site values, a tax on the unimproved value of land regardless of whether it had planning permission for development or not. It was the most ambitious attempt to tax land values in the period, but was repealed in 1921. The central programme of the socialist and early Labour movements prioritized land nationalization in order to reduce the power of the aristocracy, and to encourage a utopian 'back to the land' drive among the working class. Following economic crises and the Second World War, however, the demand for reform came to be more associated with taxing the unearned increment and betterment value of land earmarked for development. From then on, Tichelar argues, it became increasingly impossible to enact the taxation of land values for a variety of reasons, mostly because of the 'ideological triumph of property rights' and party-political conflict (p. 5). The urgent need for post-war urban reconstruction was accompanied by fears of property developers speculating in the redevelopment of bombed sites. Land reform then became more directly linked to the nationalization of development rights rather than of the land itself (p. 3). The Labour government created a Central Land Board responsible for creating a betterment levy seeking to capture increases in development land values for the community. But as in 1921, the Conservative government of 1951 reversed the progressive policy, repealing the betterment clauses in the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act (p. 19). The diminution of aristocratic estates also helped to soften the old radical critique of the propertied elite, while the rights of property owners were subsequently

boosted by the growth of owner-occupation and the consequent ideology of home ownership, which reached its peak under the Thatcher government of the 1980s (p. 12).

Tichelar shows how, by the post-war era, land reform came to mean something largely different to its earlier incarnations. The requisition of land for military purposes and the post-war reconstruction plans gave the state control over land on a scale that the earlier land reformers would not have thought possible. The growth of the commons preservation movement further began to shift the focus away from the whole framework of taxing development land. Through progressive town and country planning legislation, the state began to acquire radical powers of access and control over land for specific purposes, including development control, the establishment of green belts and national parks, garden cities and new towns, and national agencies such as the Forestry Commission (p. 5). This attitude to the relationship between the state and land continues today, although issues over the lack of social and 'affordable' housing have indicated the relevance of the older debates over inequality of land ownership.

Tichelar builds on his earlier extensive work on the Labour Party's policies towards land reform, and this focus on Labour runs through the whole book. His research is comprehensive, using a wide range of political and legislative sources, though it would have been interesting to have heard more from landowners themselves about the impact of the various government policies. His argument is threaded clearly throughout the book, although often tending to repetition. Essentially the main narrative is charted in chapter one, and then repeated in more detail through the other chapters. It could therefore be more concisely written, but overall the book makes a significant contribution to the history of land ownership in England, with a continuing relevance to debates today.

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DAVID JOHNSON, *Lime kilns: history and heritage* (Amberley Publishing, 2018). 96 pp. 100 illus. £14.99. Lime kilns are among the commonest industrial archaeological sites in the British landscape and are by no means restricted to limestone country. In this attractive slender volume, David Johnson, who has researched lime kilns in northern England extensively over many years, provides an overview of the development of lime kilns (mainly but not exclusively in a British context) from the earliest times to the present day. It offers a useful guide to these often unnoticed legacies of the

past for all who are interested in the history of the rural landscape.

Lime was a ubiquitous part of life in rural Britain for many centuries, not only as the soil sweetener so central to the era of Improvement but also as the key ingredient in mortar for building and as a constituent of processes as diverse as tanning, bleaching and paper-making. In order to obtain quicklime from raw limestone or chalk, the stone was broken into small pieces and 'burnt' with fuel in a kiln in order to achieve the process of calcination, which removed moisture and gasses and changed its chemical composition. Though the form and complexity of kilns evolved across the centuries, the process remained essentially the same.

The bulk of this book takes the form of a chronological canter through the development of kilns from the Romano-British and medieval centuries to modern times. Many early kilns, often surviving as little more than a slight depression in a pasture, were clamp kilns in which the limestone and fuel were sealed using turf or clay. Such were the crude 'sow' kilns found in the Yorkshire Dales, some of which have been shown by excavation to have been medieval in date, though the same simple technology continued to be used for new kilns until the 1850s.

More numerous are the stone-built field kilns which proliferated during the era of land improvement and enclosure during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Often set into a hillside near an outcrop of limestone, they can be recognized by the tell-tale stone-arched draw hole from which the finished lime was shovelled. Ordnance Survey maps show that there were thousands of field kilns in the mid-nineteenth century. Kilns tended to grow larger over time, allowing higher temperatures and greater quantities of lime to be obtained.

Kilns of this era were by no means restricted to limestone and chalk country. A major coastal trade in lime developed, involving both the shipping of raw limestone or chalk to areas which had none and the trading of quicklime. This resulted in kilns being built in coastal locations, both along the western seaboard from Devon and Cornwall through Wales to western Scotland and on the North Sea coast in East Anglia (to which chalk from Kent was transported) and in Northumberland (from which lime was sent to eastern Scotland).

The later chapters trace the evolution of large commercial lime kilns across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is a story of the quest for improved efficiency, economies of scale and a higher-quality end product. Most were located close to large commercial quarries and produced lime on a scale altogether more

massive than the field kilns. Batteries of kilns were built, serviced by mineral railways and tramways, both to feed the kilns and to transport the finished lime. Increasingly complex vertical kilns were devised, with sophisticated air flows to optimize efficiency. Equally sophisticated were the horizontal continuous kilns, such as the Hoffmann kilns, where a ring of twelve or more firing chambers around a central flue enabled continuous production of lime. Dr Johnson brings each of these phases in the history of lime kilns alive through descriptions and illustrations of specific sites, thus weaving a wealth of local detail into the text.

The book is topped and tailed by brief excursions into the culture of lime kilns, both in art and literature and as modern 'heritage assets'. A helpful bibliography provides a guide to further reading for those who wish to pursue the subject in greater depth.

This is a welcome addition to Amberley Publishing's list of richly illustrated books which aim to appeal to a wide readership and to provide authoritative introductions to a topic. Amberley is continuing the tradition established by the erstwhile Shire 'albums', 'Archaeology' and 'Discovering' series, in publishing pithy introductions to archaeological and historical topics in the form of attractive slim books of around 15,000 words and 100 or more illustrations. It is a format which enforces brevity, with the result that the reader is sometimes left wishing that some sections could have been fuller, but, as David Johnson's book demonstrates, it can work well to provide a short, illustrated introduction to a subject with which a reader is unfamiliar.

ANGUS J. L. WINCHESTER
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Europe and Elsewhere

JAN KLÁPŠTĚ (ed.), *Ruralia X. Agrarian technology in the medieval landscape* (Brepols, 2016). xviii + 450 pp. € 90.00.

Ruralia X is a hefty volume containing papers delivered at a conference in Slovenia in 2013. In all there are 27 papers in a little under 450 pages, plus a short retrospect by the British archaeologist Alan Aberg and a foreword by Eva Svensson and Mark Gardiner. Inevitably it is something of a cornucopia and given the size of the volume it is really only possible to give brief mentions of each paper. Archaeology is, of course, a broad church. As its title suggests, the book really divides between studies of landscapes and field systems and studies of tools with little or no work that spans the two. A few are essentially documentary studies. The range is from Spain to the Danube with contri-

butions from Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and a good wodge of papers from England but little from France and Italy and nothing from Portugal. The arrangement of the book is geographical rather than thematic and the balance of the book is in the first millennium AD rather than the second.

The first paper is a long contribution from the English archaeologists Stephen Moorhouse and James Bond, 'An approach to understanding medieval field systems across Europe: the structure and anatomy of township field systems'. As one might expect the paper draws heavily on the English evidence but the paper is certainly to be recommended as a statement of where we are with field systems (it has a long bibliography) even if avoids the question of origins. Moorhouse then contributes a second paper, 'Features within medieval townships farming landscapes in Yorkshire and their function'. Steve Moorhouse will not mind me saying (not least because I have known him since I was a teenager, which is some years since) that his writing appears but slowly, and this is a valuable statement of the work he has been doing on the landscape of the Dales since the 1980s. One is grateful to have it and wonders whether it is a foretaste of a longer discussion, or whether this could be made more readily available for local audiences. Bond then has a second paper on 'Continental plant introductions to medieval monastic gardens in Britain'. Piers Dixon then contributes a useful paper on medieval and post-medieval Scottish field systems. The paper by Alice Forward and John Hines on the excavation of a manorial site at Cosmeston in the Vale of Glamorgan is a much less ambitious excavation report and discussion: it would have been in the spirit of the book if the paper could have looked at the landscape of the manor and its field systems. So far we have had little mention of tools: Niall Brady offers a discussion of early medieval Irish ploughs which moves from artefacts to discussions of corn-drying kilns and watermills. Brady suggests a shift from cultivation using ards to cultivation using ploughs in the tenth century and suggests some of the implications of this change.

The focus of the volume then shifts to Scandinavia. Ingvild Øye contributes a very useful overview of 'agrarian technology and land use in Scandinavia landscapes, c. 800–1300' (including a nice picture of an ard on p. 165). Vibeke Vandrup Martens offers an account of Norwegian farm mounds where he argues they are the natural accumulation of decayed buildings built of turf and wood, and waste from the human activities on the site. Janicke Larsen offers an account of the landscape of a single farm in western Norway. A short paper by Catarina Karlsson then presents the result of experimental archaeology on the rate of wear

on iron ard blades (100 grams of iron and steel per ploughed hectare as it happens) showing the continued demand for iron. Skipping ahead, Lars Agersnap Larsen contributes a paper on the mouldboard plough 'in the Danish area, 200–1500 AD' and suggests that mouldboard ploughs were known in the first millennium AD. Known, of course, is not the same as used. A paper on excavations in Greenland by Peter Steen Henriksen suggests that barley really was grown in Greenland by its Norse settlers.

Lying almost exactly in the centre of the book is something rather different, perhaps incongruous. This is a paper by Janken Myrdal and Alexandra Sapoznik on spade cultivation and the sources for it, including written sources, archaeology and images. A catalogue of the images is provided. The case that the authors make (and have previously developed in the *Review*) is that spade cultivation is much more important in the peasant economy in northern Europe than has been allowed, and explains how peasants were able to make a living off apparently very small parcels of land.

We then pick up the logical order of the volume with two papers from the Low Countries, Johan P. W. Verspay on the spatial organization of late medieval settlements (seen archaeologically) in the sandy soil areas of Brabant and Phillippe Mignot and Nicolas Schroeder on the small town of Wellin in Belgium, an early aristocratic estate centre.

Two papers follow on aspects of field systems. Hans Renes contributes a short synoptic discussion of the landscape history and archaeology of open fields in Europe which to my mind would not have been too short at twice the length. Nicolas Poirier's paper, 'Archaeological evidence for agrarian manuring' reviews the documentary and iconographical evidence for manure spreading and shows the appearance of domestic pottery in the fields but the question which is not answered (and perhaps cannot be answered) is whether this pottery was carried out to the fields in human excrement or animal dung.

Poirier worked on Berry in eastern France, but *Ruralia X* then flies over the remainder of France to Spain. A single village and its territory on the northern coast of Spain is the subject of a paper by Margarita Fernández Mier and Pablo Alonso Gonzalez. Occupation is found from the Iron Age onwards. Appropriate attention is paid to the commons of the village. The advantages of a 'long-term microterritorial research' project are handsomely demonstrated. Josep Torró shows the extent of drainage of coastal marshes on the east coast of Spain around Valencia. The technologies employed here offer an interesting counterpoint from those familiar from the North Sea

coastlines. We then take wing to the one Italian paper in the volume, by Paolo de Vingo, on agricultural tools found in Merovingian areas. A map would have been a useful addition to this paper, which ranges far.

Rainer Schreg offers a paper (in German) on fields in the low German mountains which combines map analysis with limited excavation. He looks for a revival of research into field systems using the new technologies now available. Iris Nießen writes on the use of place names in landscape studies drawing on examples from Swabia.

Finally we turn to Hungary and the Danube. Miklós Takács writes on tools and agrarian techniques in medieval Hungary. Szabina Merva discusses the agricultural practices of sites on the Danube although I was puzzled by her findings: accumulations of animal bones surely shows the consumption of animals rather than their breeding. Rozália Bajkai discusses a technology which has not featured much before in the volume, hand milling, and offers an account which will be found useful by a much wider audience. In a paper which is not wholly dissimilar to that of Myrdal and Sapoznik, Zdeňka Měchurová offers a discussion (in German) of the farmers' year and the tools used, mixing surviving specimens with medieval illustration. There is apparently little change over time. Finally the editor, Jan Klápště, who whether through meanness or modesty does not have his name on the title page, offers a short discussion of tools in areas of Slovenia and the Czech Republic.

The papers, with only a few exceptions, are in English. All have abstracts in English, German and French. The book, it should be said, is well illustrated. The papers are of varying interest but no two readers will ever agree which the most interesting are. It would be conceded that the papers show varying degrees of ambition. The lack of papers on France and Italy leaves a big gap in the volume. It is hard to come to any great conclusions about current research interests except to say that plainly a lot is going on. It might be possible to suggest that some countries are more interested in the ethnography of tools than others, and some more interested in landscape archaeology than others. The theme which does emerge is that of the need for iron. Like salt it was a necessity for the functioning of society: like salt, its manufacture, trade and use is poorly documented, but if there is a lesson of this collection of essays, it would be that it would be a mistake to overlook iron and its place in the agrarian economy. Agriculture did not – could not – happen without it.

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DIANE CHAMBODUC DE SAINT PULGENT and MARIE DEJOUX (eds), *La fabrique des sociétés médiévales méditerranéennes. Les Moyen Age de François Menant* (Editions de la Sorbonne, 2018) 543 pp. 22 b&w figs. 10 tables. €35.

This book contains a bulky collection of 46 essays dedicated to an influential historian of the middle ages, François Menant. The essays reflect his very wide range of interests, and cover subjects as diverse as the development of Lombardy, the crisis around 1300 (especially in southern Europe), credit, rural elites, towns, literacy, and the practice and culture of political power. It would not be possible in a limited space to cover all of these themes, and therefore this review will focus on the rural matters most likely to interest readers of this journal.

Menant takes a sceptical view of the importance of the crisis around the year 1300, associated by continental scholars with 'Anglo-Saxon' historical writing. In conventional interpretations of the period, around 1300 economic growth came to an end, and the population, especially the numerous smallholders, suffered from bad harvests and famine. A number of contributors to this book demonstrate the recurrence of famine throughout the middle ages, not just in the early fourteenth century, and point to the regional differences which make it difficult to recognize a general European crisis around 1300. A small town in western France, St Jean d'Angély, which has rich documentation for the 1330s, has been studied by Petrowiste. The town's records of commercial transactions epitomize the complexity of the period with its varied interactions between rural producers and the townspeople. A simple relationship between human population and landed resources, often regarded as lying behind the crisis, seems incompatible with the activities of the rural elites and entrepreneurs, who were involved in the rural industries discussed here by Drendel and Reyerson. Entrepreneurs persisted, and a fifteenth-century example is revealed by Verna in the form of an individual functioning as a draper, butcher and merchant in the vicinity of Perpignan, who dealt in iron. Enterprising peasants supplying Toulouse with wood fuel around 1500 are analysed by Fabre. The early fourteenth-century's capacity for social mobility and renewal is demonstrated by To Figueras in his discovery that a significant number of peasants' sons in Catalonia went to school. Their parents invested heavily in their education, expecting that they would have a clerical career, though they also apprenticed sons for the more mundane occupations of shoemaker and tailor.

Menant has worked on credit, and the subject is represented in this book by a number of essays. Our knowledge of trade between country and town at St Jean

d'Angély comes from references to debts, and here credit can be regarded as an aid to the flow of trade, though some traders got into difficulties. At Montpellier around the same time a female trader was apparently exploiting the local peasants who received loans and paid back in pieces of the linen that they made. Smail's study of the recovery of debts in the Lucca region suggests a growth in peasant poverty during the fourteenth century. To add to this rather negative picture of the role of credit, Laliena Corbera reveals that rural communities in Aragon would borrow money in order to pay collective royal taxes, or to fund public works such as the building of churches and bridges. Over the years these loans multiplied, and the villagers incurred substantial annual payments, so the original borrowers had saddled their successors with heavy burdens.

The countryside of Lombardy between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries was the subject of Menant's research for his doctorate, and of course the Italian sources allow detailed analysis of regional societies and economies before the thirteenth century. In southern Europe in general the division between the early and later middle ages is not as clear cut as is the case in England, for example. The accessibility of evidence as early as the eighth and ninth centuries enables Cândido da Silva to enquire into the morality of the market for grain, and Bühner-Thierry can examine members of the rural elite in the same centuries near Lucca, with their stone houses and other signs of relative affluence. Lefevre uses notarial acts to identify an elite family living in the neighbourhood of Florence in the mid-twelfth century. Contributors to this book make reference to the prominence of women as advancing credit, and forming part of the rural elites, in both the early and later medieval centuries.

This volume gives us an insight into the current preoccupations of continental scholars, and presents alternatives to the doom-laden interpretation of the later middle ages which seems to be gaining strength among historical circles in the 'Anglo-Saxon' world. We also gain insights into the collective spirit of academic activity in continental Europe. The introduction by Bourin and the two editors presents the progress of historical scholarship through a series of well-planned and carefully focused conferences in which François Menant had a prominent role. Later published as books, these events mark significant stages in the advance of knowledge and understanding. Such a coordinated pursuit of a common purpose differs greatly from the individualism prevailing in the 'Anglo-Saxon' academic world.

CHRISTOPHER DYER
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KYM ANDERSON and VICENTE PINILLA (eds), *Wine globalization: a new comparative history* (Cambridge University Press, 2018). 574 pp. 169 b&w illus. and tables. £120.

Wine is as much a marker of wealth as it is of trade, and discourses of consumption tend towards luxury and distinction. Yet, in its production, it connotes a rather more rustic engagement with the natural world, prompting comparisons between the domestic and international engagement with national wine cultures and markets. This fascinating volume edited by Anderson and Pinilla is packed with such stories, reconciling them to give a strong sense of how wine markets have evolved across two waves of globalization and over a century of development. The volume emerges from the ground-breaking work on the Global Wine Markets Database (covering 1835 to 2016), and its individual chapters provide a qualitative context for this material which both impressively situates the in-depth data and creates a meaningful cohesion across the book.

The volume is divided into four parts, with substantive engagements first into 'traditional markets' (broadly meaning what we call 'the Old World' when discussing wine, though including the UK as an important consumer) and 'newer markets' (broadly meaning 'the New World', though also engaging with emerging markets in Africa and Asia) bookended by the editors providing analytical overviews of the material. The database itself covers 47 individual countries, with a densely detailed and skilfully managed dataset that gives a wonderful overview of changes in the global market for wine across more than a century. The data is woven into the chapters throughout, giving invaluable insight into both the particular and the global. Tables are well presented and labelled throughout, and the 'Global Overview' by the editors in part 1 is a particularly rich treasure trove of information. Likewise, in the final chapter, the dataset serves as the basis for the editors to offer econometric projections, forecasts and analyses of likely developments up until 2025.

In the first substantive section, the story of the changing market for French produce is told well by the Franco-Spanish team of Jean-Michel Chevet, Eva Fernández, Eric Giraud-Héraud and Vicente Pinilla. The narrative is focused squarely on the wine sector, charting its many fluctuations in production, consumption, and export in response to pests, war, and the loss of empire. The story is one of the rise and fall of cooperatives as policy tools, the amelioration of varietals, and of complimentary measures to limit production. Here, as throughout, the tone weighs more economic than historical, and despite some strong analysis, chapters

conclude by more readily offering predictions for the near future than concise analytical judgements of their historical material. Karl Storchmann does some extraordinarily nimble work summarizing the turbulent twentieth centuries of Germany and Austria (and Switzerland), to show how their wine industries responded to civilizational rupture, and subsequently negotiated the balance between free enterprise and state control. Across two chapters on Italy (the first by Giovanni Federico and Pablo Martinelli, the second by Alessandro Corsi, Eugenio Pomarici and Roberta Sardone) we get a sense of stasis followed by a rapid post-war uplift in production, driven by technological improvement, and a later export boom (beset by the 1986 adulteration scandal). Similar rapid shifts can be seen in chapters on Portugal (by Pedro Lains) and Spain (by Eva Fernández and Vicente Pinilla), and integration into global trade flows in the late twentieth century altered their fortunes (although more positively for Spain).

In the second section on 'Newer Markets', we see equally diverse stories. From the collapse in Moroccan and Algerian production described by Giulia Meloni and Johan Swinnen, to booms in Argentina which Steve Stein and Ana María Maetu attribute to the quality revolution in the 1990s that made the wine more palatable to the outside world, and in Chile where William Foster and Oscar Melo point to the 'return to normalcy' following the 1988 referendum on military rule as ushering in a more adaptive engagement with international tastes and trade. More noted 'New World' stalwarts Australia and New Zealand are surveyed by Kym Anderson, and the Antipodean 'export-led experience' after 1986 became a replicable measure of how to challenge established norms in the world of wine. For South Africa (surveyed by Nick Vink, Willem H. Boshoff, Gavin Williams, Johan Fourie and Lewis S. McLean), those lessons – tested in earlier export booms in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – would be fully employed after the end of apartheid in 1994. Another New World champion is clearly the United States, which is surveyed by Julian M. Alston, James T. Lapsely, Olena Sambucci and Daniel A. Summer. Here, the table wine revolution of the 1960s was recognized as a marker of quality at the famous 1976 Judgement of Paris and led eventually to a second boom driven by Californian expansion in the 1990s. Kym Anderson's final content chapter on 'Asia and other Emerging Regions' presents a sense of how China in particular has led the Asian share of global wine consumption to treble from 2000 to 2016, and also contributed strongly to burgeoning production levels.

From these myriad examples the book presents not

a single story, but a variety of developments as diverse as their *terroirs* and interlinked by the development of a global marketplace. It benefits, however, from the perspective this brings; for example, the concept of 'comparative advantage' (the share of wine in national merchandise exports divided by wine's share of global exports) gives a valuable analytical tool to understand and contextualize pronounced global changes. The scope of precise, generous, and well-presented information and analysis across all these chapters is truly global in scale, and the result is a testament to the excellent work of both contributors and editors. This book would make a valuable acquisition for many university libraries for the sake of its contextualized dataset alone. Yet, it will also be of great appeal to researchers and students keen to situate their knowledge of a particular country or region within a broader historical and global context. This volume is an invaluable compendium of broad economic insight and sharp historical analysis which I would heartily recommend.

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NANCY K. BERLAGE, *Farmers helping farmers. The rise of the Farm and Home Bureaus, 1914–1935* (Louisiana State University Press, 2016). 308 pp. 13 b&w illus. \$48.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has held its place as one of the premier organizations representing commercial farmers in the United States for nearly 100 years now. It did not begin its existence as a nationally prominent association, but rather as an intensely local movement focused on organizing and supporting business-oriented farmers similarly to the ways in which business and industry was so effectively organizing and achieving economic and political dominance. This, in essence, is Nancy Berlage's thesis in her recent book, *Farmers helping farmers*.

Leaving the later story of growing national prominence to others, Berlage takes readers to the grassroots origins of the Farm Bureau and emphasizes the local links that remained core to the Farm Bureau's successes at the state and national levels. In these earliest years, small groups of leading farm families recruited like-minded farmers in their communities to create associations that could support each other socially, economically, and politically. Berlage neatly traces that activity through chapters focused on early local organizational structure and strategies and how those built to the eventual state and national organizations with which most historians are more familiar.

While Berlage's primary focus is the local functions of the Farm and Home Bureaus, she deftly links those

developments to the broader national movement embracing organization and efficiency. Just as urban business and industrial leaders were rising to economic and political dominance through their deployment of those doctrines, farm leaders hoped their own adoption of those business principles would convey a forward-looking and efficient business vision in agriculture and help the sector to regain a place at the table of national leadership. For many early Farm Bureau organizers and leaders that effort gained traction through its link to governmental efforts to modernize U.S. agriculture through activities of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA).

Those links to government are detailed in Berlage's examination of cooperation between local Farm Bureaus and the USDA and state extension services to support county extension agents in their local communities. These were key strategies in early local organizing that lent the weight of Federal and state government to the local bureaus and the legitimacy of local support to the new county extension services. Berlage complicates the more common understanding of that early partnership as dominated by government with evidence of the role played by local farmers in accepting and supporting the arrangement. Berlage also devotes a whole chapter to the way in which local Farm Bureaus strengthened their visibility as progressive leaders, and expanded their memberships, by linking their organizations to the USDA's fight to eradicate bovine tuberculosis, a widespread contagion that not only reduced the economic value of farmers' livestock, but also threatened human contagion. Through both collaborations, the Farm Bureau identified itself to national and state professionals and leaders as the representatives of forward-looking farmers in their communities. Such activities advanced the organization's intent to gain for agriculture the same type of associational relationship to government that professional organizations and leaders in other business sectors held.

Berlage's work especially shines in its analysis of the place of women and children in the development of local Farm Bureau associations and the Farm Bureau's vision of their roles in a modernizing agriculture. Having described in her second chapter the ways in which early organizing encompassed all members of the farm family, Berlage returns her attention to women and children in her final three chapters. Two are devoted to examining competing visions of farm women's place in a professionalizing agriculture sector. The first focuses on the rise of home economics, the extension home demonstration program, and the independent Home Bureaus as offering opportunities for women's professional and organizational independence. Berlage notes,

however, both the promise of intellectual and institutional leadership that separate organization offered and the limits it could pose through its definition of separate spheres and potential exclusion of women from a role in farm production. The second describes the alternative approach of integration into the Farm Bureau organization modelled on the integrated farm family unit, which allowed women to initiate projects and take leadership roles across the range of home, family, and productive activities of farming. While leaving women free from the limitations of separate spheres, Berlage points out that women could find it difficult to assert their views in the integrated organization. Berlage's final chapter analyses the Farm Bureau's approach to youth work, which tied together, although not without tensions, the organization's emphasis on the professional, specialized vocational skills of farming and the centrality of family as the productive core of American agriculture.

Berlage's well-written study provides a long-missing understanding of the Farm Bureau's early years and grass-roots origins, drawing an important and illuminating connection between local farm organizing and the broader emphasis on organization and efficiency in business, industry, and government of the period. She makes clear the social and cultural appeal of the organization for families and communities and delves deeply into the ways that women and children benefited from, defined, and were defined by the organization. Room remains for other historians to expand this research to other regions, exploring whether the same local orientation and social and cultural approaches characterized the organization's early years outside the Northeast and Midwest communities that are Berlage's focus. Room also remains for others to fill in the gap between her narrative of the local community origins of the Farm Bureau and the more familiar narrative of the Farm Bureau's later role as a power in national farm politics. In both cases, however, the foundations for that further research are securely laid, and all historians with an interest in the American Farm Bureau Federation and in American agriculture in the early twentieth century will want to be familiar with Berlage's work.

ANNE EFFLAND

U.S. Department of Agriculture

DAVID SOTO FERNÁNDEZ and JOSÉ MIGUEL LANA BERAŚAIN (eds), *Del pasado al futuro como problema: la historia agraria contemporánea española en el siglo xxi* (Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2018), 368 pp. €28.

The book is an attempt to describe the main advances that have taken place in the study of contemporary

Spanish agrarian history, as well as the challenges that the discipline faces in the near future. The editors took the interesting (and in my opinion wise) decision of inviting young academics to present their contributions, choosing authors who received their doctorates after the year 2000. Although the decision could initially sound controversial, the reasons behind their choice are convincingly explained by the editors. The volume contains 311 pages (368 including a detailed bibliography) divided in thirteen chapters that vary both in the approaches followed and the themes analysed.

Summarizing briefly the content, in chapter one the editors explain the developments in agrarian history in contemporary Spain, with a special emphasis on the institutional and epistemological turning point that came at the turn of the century. The chapter is an excellent piece of work required to understand the current state of agrarian history in Spain, and how internal and particularly external factors have had an influence on the development of the discipline. As mentioned above, it also provides an explanation of their decision to include in the volume the contributions from young academics. In chapter two Fernández Mier moves beyond contemporary history, to explain how the use of archaeology and its recent improvements could be used by historians to study agrarian systems in times when traditional sources did not exist. In chapter three Collantes focuses on the concept of the food system and its use by agrarian historians, proposing that the three main epistemological schools that have covered this field could find common ground here. Chapters four and five present case studies, the first one by Martín-Retortillo with a study of agrarian output and productivity in Europe between 1950 and 2005, and the second by Serrano González with the analysis of water resources and their use in Spain since 1850. Living standards in rural areas is the focus of chapter six, where García Montero explains how the existing literature has measured historical welfare levels in the countryside. In chapter seven Beltrán Tapia introduces the role of the commons and their importance in the agrarian world, particularly in Spain. Chapter eight presents the third case study of the book, where Medina-Albadalejo focuses on the history and economic impact of cooperatives in Spanish agriculture in the twentieth century. In chapter nine Cabana Iglesia presents the importance of understanding the role of women in the rural world and the lines that could be followed in future research. The connection between political changes like democratization and the countryside is described by Herrera González de Molina in chapter ten, and

developing the theme of the connection between the rural world and politics, Cabo presents a long term view of the evolution of agrarian parties in Europe in chapter eleven. In chapter twelve Lanero Táboas summarizes the main literature on agrarian reforms in Western Europe between 1945 and 1960, extending the analysis for Spain until 1987. Finally, the book concludes with Botella Rodríguez's chapter on the main problems and challenges faced in the rural world in Latin America, including also a comparison with other countries in East Asia.

The book contains, in practically all the chapters, a summary of the literature in each one of the topics covered (particularly detailed in the case of chapters twelve and thirteen). Three chapters (four, five and eight) take the form of case studies. This provides the reader with a generous description of the current state-of-the-art in a wide range of issues related to contemporary Spanish agrarian history. However, it is in the epistemological discussions and the examples given concerning the roads the discipline should follow where the best contributions are made. Very good examples of this are the chapters dealing with the role of archaeology, food systems, welfare levels and the commons, where the authors explain the potential that each one of the topics analysed has for agrarian historians, and the way they can overcome the problems that the traditional literature has encountered. This approach is, in my opinion, an excellent way to reach a wider audience, where the chapters clearly introduce the topic and the main contributions of the literature, and the methodological difficulties are addressed from an academically robust and convincing perspective.

The editors were very clear in the introductory chapter when they explained that the scope of the book went beyond a simple review of the literature, trying also to suggest an agenda for future research. I believe that in this sense and in general, the volume achieves their ambitious goal. Although not all the chapters are equally successful fulfilling this purpose, the book can certainly provide the reader with an excellent background and a clear road map for future studies in some of the most important and promising fields in contemporary agrarian history.

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PAUL WARDE, LIBBY ROBIN and SVERKER
 SÖRLIN, *The environment: a history of the idea*
 (John Hopkins University Press, 2018). 256 pp. \$29.95.
 The environment is at the forefront of public
 debate, although despite this there is often a lack of

political will to address environmental issues. As a sub-discipline, environmental history has emerged only relatively recently in Europe compared to the USA. This pocket-sized book considers the emergence of the environment as a concept since 1948. The authors are leading environmental historians and the book originates from the inaugural World Congress of Environmental History. The prologue begins by posing thought-provoking questions: 'Is it possible for the economy to grow without the environment being destroyed? Will our lifestyles impoverish the planet for our children and grandchildren? Is the world sick?' (pp. 1–2). It continues by introducing the post-war backdrop to human perceptions of the environment, illustrated with notable defining events such as space exploration and the Chernobyl disaster. There follow seven discursive chapters.

The first chapter, 'Road to survival', begins by highlighting the significance of Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* as a catalyst inspiring people's interest in the environment as something man could alter rather than being in the background. Nevertheless it is argued that 'The environment was an idea whose moment came earlier, whose story was first written in an earlier time' (p. 8). There follows a discussion of events in the post-war period and influential works with it being further argued that: 'The history of an idea, and particularly the idea of the environment, is also the history of a style of imagination, a history of sciences, and very much a history of politics' (p. 14). Four dimensions of environment are proposed: future, expertise, trust in numbers, and scale and scalability. The notion of a 'post-war environmental turn' during the 1960s, reflected in governmental policy, is put forward, yet it is argued that aside from politics the 'conceptual revolution' 'was silent, unsought, and largely unheralded' (p. 24).

The second chapter, 'Expertise for the future', explores the rise of environmentalism as a social, political and media phenomenon during the 1960s and '70s, whilst highlighting the derivation of the term 'environment' from French; Thomas Carlyle borrowed it in 1827 for a different meaning and it was widely used by writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Discussion returns to the environment as a global concern conceived during post-war reconstruction by American and Soviet scientists. The third chapter, 'Resources for Freedom', outlines how Malthusian thought influenced post-war thinking about the environment along with the development of modelling and predictive technology, and how links between statistics, ecology, demography, economics and geopolitics contributed to post-war understanding of the environment. In the

1960–70s writers like Garrett Hardin were inspired by space race thinking about the planets and much of the environmental debate at that time was concerned with global resources.

The fourth chapter, 'Ecology on the march', outlines how in the Australian and the US dustbowls during the 1930s pastoral farming systems were replaced with urban settlements heightening drought risk, soil erosion and the need for conservation of land, soil and wildlife. Hence emphasis is placed on the importance of ecology and ecological thinking regarding the stewardship of animals and land. Desertification crises necessitated the management of nature as increased output and productivity from the land was prioritized. By 1968 the Green Revolution in agriculture had led to greater research and applied technology. It is outlined how in particular ecology, which had nineteenth-century origins, sought to address concerns about the environment and world oceans whereas scientists studying animals tended to work in disciplines like zoology, anatomy, physiology, medicine and agriculture. Seemingly modern concepts such as ecosystem are shown to have a history; it was coined in 1928 by A. R. Clapham, a crop physiologist at the Rothamsted agricultural research station. It is pointed out that by the 1940s ecology and ecologists were making major contributions to the environment discourse as it was appreciated that animals and plants could impact on ecology.

In the twenty-first century, climate change is the foremost environmental issue. Therefore it seems appropriate that the fifth chapter, 'Climate enters the environment', examines how from the 1920s the discourse of climate and environment converged. As in earlier chapters, discussion is structured along the lines of notable interventions by leading figures. Climate has become an environmental issue in the last twenty years, whereas in the nineteenth century climate change science was part of different scientific disciplines. Like the earlier discussion of the term environment, the Greek origins of 'climate' are highlighted leading onto a general point that climate has been considered as essentially a local and regional phenomenon, only being recognized as a global issue relatively recently. There is an interesting section exploring work on climate and environmental warfare during the Cold War. It is argued that today, climate is central to the 'globalizing narrative' of environment. (p. 121).

Chapter six, 'The Earth is one but the World is not', explores the emergence of environmental politics since the 1960s with environmentalists addressing long-standing issues like protecting green

space, ecological sites and combating pollution. By comparison, policy makers were more focused on economic development. The setting up of national and transnational environmental initiatives involved with nature conservation, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the World Wildlife Fund and the individuals behind them are discussed, for instance the geographer Dudley Stamp. Likewise it is shown how climate and weather were not considered environmental until high-profile droughts in the late 1960–70s.

The last chapter, 'Seeking a safe future', begins by outlining how Earth system science emerged from environmental science in the 1970s. Parallels are drawn with earlier thinkers, namely Carl Linnaeus, before turning to the Anthropocene, a suggested geological epoch marking human impact on the Earth which raises similar questions as the idea of the environment. In synthesizing the arguments made throughout the book, three ages of environment are identified: the period 1948–72 when there was progress in science and technology associated with the Cold War, a second phase from about 1970 when the environment became the concern of governments and institutions followed by the widespread use of the term environment during the past two decades. The final forward-looking section suggests ways the humanities can engage with the environment, especially by bringing together narratives of human and non-human development, and addressing concepts or problems as stories to aid interpretation. Concluding that it has a history, the authors ask, conversely, 'But does the environment have a future?' (p. 180)

This book, written in an engaging narrative style with notes at the end, could perhaps have been more lavishly illustrated. Explicit reference is made to agriculture on only a few occasions, for example, with regards to the role of the agricultural science (p. 79) and there is clearly scope for further work. Nevertheless this is a highly recommended book that agricultural and rural historians will appreciate the significance of in tracing the history of the environment. It will be of interest to a wide academic readership, including historians of the environment, ideas, politics, science and technology. More importantly, this book deserves to be read by the wider public as it explains how perceptions of the environment have evolved relative to the history of the twentieth century. Understanding this history can inform contemporary responses to present and future environmental issues.

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CAROLE L. CRUMLEY, TOMMY LENNARTSSON and ANNA WESTIN (eds), *Issues and concepts in historical ecology: the past and future of landscapes and regions* (Cambridge University Press, 2018). 338 pp. 143 b&w and colour illus. and tables. £49.99. Historical ecology has a long history, and as a term has been used in a variety of ways, in different times and places. In essence, however, it refers to the study of change over time in ecological systems and also – due to the fact that, for millennia, and globally, these have been modified by human agency – the long-term character of human/natural interactions. The extent to which the environment has been shaped by human activities affects, of course, the very definition of ‘nature’, and as several of the contributors to this excellent volume emphasize, nature and the natural are culturally defined. More than that: definitions of what is ‘natural’ change with progressive modifications to ecosystems, an idea articulated in the concept of the ‘shifting baseline’, which describes how declines in biodiversity are insufficiently recognized because each successive generation reads the present situation as ‘normal’. The entanglement of humans and the natural environment ensures the need for a measure of historical awareness when setting goals for nature conservation. Indeed, one of the attractive things about this book, and about the subject of historical ecology itself, is that it is more than an abstract academic enquiry, but a pursuit with urgent practical relevance in a fast-changing world. The opening chapter is entitled ‘Is there a future for the past?’

To understand the history of nature involves not only a measure of collaborative and trans-disciplinary working but also the sharing of concepts and approaches between the humanities – especially social and economic history and archaeology – and the natural sciences – principally ecology. Much of the book is thus, as its title makes clear, concerned with conceptual and theoretical issues, the discussion of which is often challenging and invigorating, sometimes repetitive and on occasions, for some tastes, unnecessarily tortuous. In the first category one might place the excellent discussion by Sinclair, Moen and Crumley of how we think of time and causation in complex systems; and the exploration in chapter six of how frameworks and concepts in the natural sciences (such as niche construction or ‘adaptation’) can inform enquiries in the social sciences, and *vice versa*. The discussion of such matters in the abstract can become a little laboured, and so it is fortunate that most of the contributors employ case studies which both make these ideas clear and, in many cases, are simply interesting and informative in their own right. Of

particular note are the discussions by Lennartsson and his collaborators of reindeer husbandry in Sweden, and of agriculture in colonial America, in their chapter on ‘Diversity in ecological and social contexts’.

At times, the discussion of the relationship between changes in eco-systems, and changes in human societies, can appear slightly naïve. Explaining the European witch-craze of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a direct consequence of climate change seems to ignore many generations of scholarship. And at times cross-disciplinary interchange seems strained, as arguably in the discussion of the use of the concept of ‘diversity’ in biological and cultural contexts. Indeed, in some cases the subtlety of the analysis of human/natural interaction does not appear to be matched by a similar level of sophistication in the discussion of the workings of human societies. Concepts like ‘class’, for example, or of social inequality more generally as a driver of environmental change, are largely ignored. Moreover, the reader is left with a lingering suspicion that the particular concepts and issues which the contributors have chosen to focus on are themselves to a large extent the product of their own intellectual and social milieu. Of the key influences shaping our current environmental crisis only climate change – fashionable and topical – receives a chapter of its own, written with particular clarity by Frerik Ljunqvist. Much less is said about the impact of globalization over the past few centuries, and the consequent impact on ecosystems of alien introductions – surely one of the key impacts of humans on the ‘natural’ world. Nor is there any real discussion of the effects over time of population growth, of the impact of billions of humans on the natural environment. To some extent, it might reasonably be argued that the cross-disciplinarity which the book serves to foster is best realized, and certainly explained, in more focused local and small-scale case studies. But both human numbers and globalization must count as among the basic ‘issues’ which historical ecology needs to examine and evaluate, and even the demographics of small-scale societies is a topic which receives limited attention, in spite of the vital part it plays in the shaping of local ecological systems.

Such minor quibbles aside, this is an invigorating book, full of new ideas and striking arguments. The contributors have worked hard, and successfully, in their attempt to provide a conceptual framework to a vitally important field of intellectual enquiry. And the editors have done an excellent service in bringing together such a powerful team.

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