
REVIEWS OF BOOKS

D.C. COLEMAN and P. MATHIAS (editors), *Enterprise and History. Essays in Honour of Charles Wilson*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. Pp. IX, 290.

I can think of no one in the field of modern European economic history more deserving of a *Festschrift* than Charles Wilson, Professor Emeritus of Cambridge University. He enjoys an enviable reputation for training students, stands high in the ranks of fellow scholars, has stimulated research in Anglo-Dutch relations, was chairman of the department of history in the European University at Florence, Italy, established by the Common Market countries to train international civil servants, and has published such excellent studies as the *History of Unilever* (3 vols.), *Anglo-Dutch Commerce in the Eighteenth Century*, and *The Dutch Republic and the Civilization of the Seventeenth Century*. So numerous have been Professor Wilson's friends and so varied his interests that the editors of this collection must certainly have been embarrassed by the riches available to them once they had decided to have all his interests represented. The book before us is thus a group of essays with no central theme and with great inequality among them. To review such a *mélange* is a formidable task and requires a selection of contributions for comment without denigrating those not so chosen. I have followed my own interests in mentioning a few of the articles in what follows.

I was particularly impressed by the first piece in the book, "Comparative Business History" by Alfred Chandler, Jr, of the Graduate Business School at Harvard University. Professor Chandler explains that business history has gone from the history of individual firms to the placing of such studies in a setting of their social and economic environments to the investigation of the history of institutions, such as modes of production. This essay is followed by "Historians and Businessmen" by D.C. Coleman who makes the point that in England early business history began with the biographies of entrepreneurs and thence went into the histories of firms and industries with which they were affiliated.

Inasmuch as I have delved into Belgian economic history, I was very much interested in "Bruges as a Trading Centre in the early Modern Period" by J.A. Van Houtte, Professor Emeritus of the University of Louvain. His analysis stressed the *gradual* decline of Bruges, which he attributes to a combination of competition from Antwerp and Amsterdam, the high cost of land transportation upon which Bruges had to rely, wars and foreign domination, and, of course, the silting of the Zwin River. For much the

same reasons I liked the contribution by Peter W. Klein, Professor of Economics at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam,¹ entitled "Little London, British merchants in Rotterdam during the Seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries". From the evidence given here, Englishmen constituted an important colony in the city and played a large role in the economic and social life of the place.

This review would not be complete without mentioning "The Bank of Rome and Commercial Credit, 1880-1914" by Luigi De Rosa, Professor in the Faculty of Maritime Economics, University Institute of Naples, which is a partial condensation of his two volume history of the Bank. He makes clear how the Bank of Rome evolved from an institution serving the Vatican and wealthy landowners into a bank providing services to industry and commerce in Italy and abroad. Nor should one omit citing the excellent essay by R.W. Ferrier, Group Historian, British Petroleum, "French Oil Policy 1917-1930" nor that of Henri Baudet, Professor at the University of Groningen, "Reflections on the Dutch Economic Interests in the East England." In fact, all of the essays bring some new information to economic historians and all are contributions of which the object of this collection may well be proud.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

Professor Emeritus, Columbia University

A. DI VITTORIO, *Finanze e moneta a Ragusa nell'età delle crisi*. Napoli, Giannini editore, 1983, pp. XIX-284.

Already well known as the author of a number of important studies on the history of Southern Italy, Antonio di Vittorio gave some indication of the general features of the history of this remarkable 'city-state' in two essays which appeared respectively in the 4th volume of *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis* (Giannini ed., 1981) and in the second volume of the *Studi in onore di Gino Barbieri* (I.P.E.M. Edizioni, 1983). These earlier studies are now extended and given more definitive form in the present book which attempts to examine the economic and monetary history of Ragusa in relation to the triangular commercial system formed by Constantinople, Vienna and Naples in the period from the XVIth to the XVIIth century. Through a detailed reconstruction of the city's economic and financial fortunes, the author demonstrates how the remarkably solid economic and political structures of the city responded to the repercussions of the wider international crisis of the XVIIth century.

The detailed analysis of the decisions and reactions of the ruling elites and social groups in the city both in moments of crisis and in more normal conditions is conducted with considerable skill and sensitivity, yet this detailed reconstruction is set in the context

¹ One of the weakness of the book is the lack of information given about the contributors. In one case, no identification was presented at all.

of broader categories of interpretation such as the distinctions between long-term structural change and more transitory economic variations. Even a rapid survey of some of the themes and conclusions will serve to illustrate the flexibility and methodological clarity of Di Vittorio's analysis.

The study focuses on a period which was decisive in the economic history of Ragusa, since it covered the transition from the prosperity of the XVth and XVIth centuries to the onset of the crisis of the 1630s. It is divided into two parts, the first providing a detailed description of the ways in which the city's economic and financial institutions functioned, while the second examines in terms of more modern economic theories the relations between money supply and economic development in the monetary policies of the city-Republic.

The financial administration of the city was both complex and unique. The key financial institution was the body known as the Treasurers of S.Maria Maggiore which was responsible for overseeing public revenues, and reflected the solidarity of the city's elite and its strong belief in the unity of the Christian community. Although the economic and financial policies of the Dalmatian city were relatively pragmatic and flexible, the influence of contemporary Italian and French mercantilist and monetary theorists also played a part in shaping the state's intervention in commercial and financial matters. From this stemmed both the strengths and weaknesses of the Republic's policies. Its spontaneous pragmatism made possible, on one hand, rapid if not always entirely effective responses to changing shifts in economic conditions either by the reactivation of previously abandoned sectors or else by taking up new types of activity. On the other hand, it also contributed to the continuation of extremely uncertain relations between public and private initiative in financial matters, of the competing jurisdictions of the different administrative offices, which contributed to the development of an increasingly dispersed and decentralized system of financial organization. In view of the extraordinarily fragmentary nature of the sources that have survived (which contain virtually no complete accounts other than the credits and debits of individual magistracies and reveal how very confused and random accounting techniques were) it is all the more to the author's credit that he chose to explore the roots of the Republic in its financial administration rather than in the better known features of its commercial development.

In the context of recent discussions on Ragusa's economic decline, the author argues that the turning point came in the 1620s and 1630s and was the product of factors within the city Republic itself as well as international developments such as increasing tension with Venice and growing competition from British and Dutch shipping in the Adriatic. However, the crisis itself was to evolve more gradually and to pass through successive phases of economic stagnation and recovery until the close of the XVIIth century. But neither the increasingly adverse conditions of trade in general nor the growing pressure of foreign competition which gradually shrank Ragusa's commercial horizons caused the city's patriciate to give up the search to find some solution to the crisis, even though the city's social and financial structures were beginning to show signs of the changing conditions. The crisis served rather to launch a series of initiatives not only in commercial but also in financial and monetary policies. These included attempts to revive the economic life of the port through encouraging ship-building once again, measures

designed to hold down the wages of the dock workers and at the same time ban the displays of luxury amongst the wealthy, to reactivate retail trade while at the same time reasserting the state's monopoly over the sale of salt. Other measures were introduced to reduce public expenditure while increasing revenues by raising the duties on the import of raw and primary materials and the taxes on foreign capital investments. Finally, the most common of the XVIIth century Ragusan coins, the silver grosso, was devalued in an attempt to give new life to commerce and restore trading balances. In particular the author reveals how skilfully the Ragusan patriciate showed itself able to take the opportunities provided by the more favourable conditions that prevailed in the years before the onset of the crisis of the 1620s and after the terrible earthquake of 1667 through a detailed reconstruction of the commercial accounts for those years. This took the form in particular of careful manipulation of the budget in order to avoid revealing a net deficit, in order that both at home and abroad the image of a sound and politically stable state should continue, while at the same time state expenditure was concentrated on those sectors most likely to strengthen the state's internal and international position. Even in the period in which the Ragusan economy was subject to the most serious problems, in the years after the earthquake of 1667, the republic - now in the hands of a new bourgeois patriciate which had, however, inherited much of the pragmatic outlook of old nobility - still tried to find a solution by means of economic and financial strategies, rather than resorting to fiscal solutions which would have damaged the recovery of the process of commercial accumulation.

Nonetheless, in the course of a century in which commercial activities gradually shrank and in which periods of brief recovery were followed by new periods of stagnation which differed in timing from one region to another, the Ragusan republic could not escape the internal and international consequences of an increasingly erratic and uncertain long-term situation. In the absence of a credit system that might have given greater resilience to the city's economic life, the permanent deficit on its trade balances, the resulting outflows of metal coin in an age when sound money was in short supply, devaluation of its currency and the necessity of importing silver and copper for striking new coin, were the constituent elements in the process which led slowly, — thanks largely to the skill of the city's ruling elites — yet nonetheless inexorably away from its former prosperity and into ever greater decline.

GIAMPAOLO PISU

University of Cagliari

CH. JOHNSON, *The Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy 1925-1975*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1982.

For more than two decades Westerners have struggled to comprehend the (now somewhat fading) miracle of Japanese growth since the devastation of World War II. This volume follows the publication of a number of models over a period of more than a decade. The author presents an analysis of those models and offers the "developmental

state" as a more general and a historical perspective in which they may have contributed to the Japanese economy. An extensive bibliography of Japanese and English language sources is appended.

The book opens with a review of the major theses: about the national character and basic values of the Japanese, about the gaps between the levels of technology and capital stock in Japan at the close of World War II and those in western economies, about the diversion of resources to "unproductive" defence purposes in the West and about institutional factors peculiar to Japan in areas such as management practices and banking. Professor Johnson notes that some of these factors were, or had been, to some extent present in other economies without similar consequences, and that Japan's rate of investment during the years under consideration was so high that significant amounts of defence spending might easily have been accommodated. In defence of the resource diversion model it should be noted that if scarce specific factors were shared by the industries that led Japan's growth and those that would have been involved in rearmament, a discussion limited to the allocation of gross investment may be misleading. In this case an expansion of arms production might still have restricted economic growth.

The author's position may be compared with that held by Hugh Patrick and Henry Rosovsky,¹ who argue that the role of the Japanese government and its agencies had been to provide an environment favourable to private industry. All three authors agree that among the government agencies, MITI adopted the most activist role. But while they would not deny the importance of industrial policy in defining this environment, models of the "Japan, Inc." category would be regarded, and are demonstrated by Johnson, as being too strongly drawn. The author cites many attempts by MITI to direct the economy's industrial policy and documents the continuing dissension that occurred among agencies and between business and government over specific issues of economic policy.

Central to the "Japan, Inc." model has been the belief that MITI, or government more broadly defined, directed industrial development and policy in more than the loosest sense of the word. Johnson suggests that this perception is a mirage, and reflects instead a broad congruence of goals for economic development that has existed since before World War II. Internal dissension might arise over specific policies, but a broad agreement about goals existed nevertheless.

Part of this congruence derives from the relative freedom with which managers and bureaucrats move from one environment to another in Japan. Perhaps for this reason, Japanese managers at the level of the enterprise are noted by Johnson as able to enjoy considerable freedom "from being judged exclusively in terms of short run financial performance" unlike their American counterparts. Johnson may have been the first and was certainly of the first to understand the implications of Japanese-American differences in this respect for economic growth in the two countries. Further, such a congruence could also strengthen the hand of government in any attempt to direct the economy

¹ HUGH PATRICK and HENRY ROSOVSKY, "Japan's Economic Performance: an Overview," in *Asia's New Giant*, ed. *idem*, (Washington D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1976).

through "open-mouth" policy via the manipulation of expectations, a mechanism suggested, for example, by Martin Bronfenbrenner.²

Differences in performance between Japan and, for example, the United States are ascribed by Johnson largely to differences in national goals. The United States is characterized as having been concerned primarily with matters of industrial and personal equity and the regulation of industrial behaviour, whereas Japan was seeking an increased material standard of living, "catching up" with the west, in the 1950s and 1960s. In recent years Japan has shown an increasing concern with the domestic externalities of industrial growth and the need for public investment. During these same years Japan's rate of growth has slowed; these observations are certainly consistent with the hypothesis of this work.

An important conclusion reached by Johnson in this work is that the institutions of Japan *per se* did not contribute significantly to the remarkable economic growth of the period, but that the credit should instead be attributed to the way these institutions were exploited by a growth-oriented society: "This suggests that other nations might be better advised to fabricate the institutions of their own developmental states from local material". The essential factor is to achieve consensus between the major sectors of the economy about development goals. In summary, for those with a practical or theoretical interest in the Japanese growth experience this volume conveys both important insights and an extensive documentation of the institutional context in which it occurred.

JACK LUCKEN
Rutgers University

H. KEIL - J.B. JENTZ (eds.), *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective*, Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1983, viii + 252 pp.

The essays of this collection edited by the codirectors of the prolific Munich-based research project on the social history of German working-class immigrants in Chicago were first submitted to scholarly criticism at a conference in Chicago in 1981 and then revised for publication. Authors from a broad range of perspectives place the German experience in a comparative context. Northern Illinois University Press is to be congratulated on producing a well illustrated volume with maps, tables and charts that fortunately never overwhelm the text.

German workers in America have not received much attention in American, German-American or German scholarship. Therefore the *cliché* that German migration was one of peasants moving into new farming lands is still rampant. At first, persons from an agrarian background did predominate, but from the 1840's onwards the number of

² MARTIN BRONFENBRENNER, "Economic Miracles and Japan's Income-Doubling Plan", in *The State and Economic Enterprise in Japan*, ed. W. Lockwood (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

artisans and skilled workers increased. The last great wave of German migration, 1879 to 1895, brought about two million skilled and unskilled German workers to the American shores. (Note that in the preceding fifty years, 2.9 million Germans had come). Chicago has been selected as the example to study German acculturation because of its large German population, the national significance of its economy, the ethnic heterogeneity of its working-class and its important place in labour history. The chronological limits indicate that the German-American labour movement had become part of the English-speaking mainstream by the 1890s, long before the havoc caused among German-American institutions by World War One.

In the essays the demographic profile of the German population in Chicago is described (Hartmut Keil) and placed in the context of other ethnic groups and cities (Nora Faires and Richard J. Oestreicher). In the section "industrialization and the transformation of work," German cabinetmakers and machinists (John B. Jentz), carpenters of many nationalities (Thomas J. Suhrbur) and immigrant workers in the packinghouses (James R. Barrett) receive attention. Then the focus changes to everyday life and neighbourhoods (Christiane Harzig, Dorothee Schneider) and finally to politics and culture: the radical forty-eighter artisans (Bruce C. Levine), class conflict and governmental reform (Richard Schneirov), German socialists and anarchists (Christine Heiss). An assessment of the changed character of German working-class culture in the first decade of the twentieth century concludes the volume (Klaus Ensslen/Heinz Ickstadt).

It is impossible to evaluate each contribution separately. In many the combination of diligent analysis of manuscript census or other quantitative materials with descriptive sources is impressive. Dorothee Schneider reconstructs a debate in the *New Yorker Volks-Zeitung*, about every-day expenses and living standards so vividly that readers almost see the women heatedly arguing their point of view. They did not compare their standard of living to the past, i.e. to that of their class in Germany but the present, that of better-off American workers. The new society was no longer experienced as the fulfillment of former hopes but as an arena in which to struggle for better living and working conditions. The ethnic community and solidarity that was necessary to support such struggles was not an abstract German-American identity — the cherished ideal of many filio-pietistic studies — but the neighbourhood in which workers and small businessmen and women provided shops and saloons as spheres of communication, as C. Harzig ably demonstrates for the Chicago Northside. Her research supports the thesis that lower middle class and workers cooperated closely. Ethnicity, however, was not always stronger than class. German workers together with other immigrants struck against German-American entrepreneurs.

The democratic-republican ideals of the 1848 Revolution which Jacobin artisans and skilled workers carried over the Atlantic joined, as Bruce Levine argues, into a tenuous coalition with middle-class liberals. While common attitudes toward slavery provided a basis for cooperation the shift towards independent labour and socialist parties led to a permanent rift. Hartmut Keil continues this theme to 1900. The heavy influx of German migrants into the American labour movement decreased to relatively low levels after 1895 and an American-born second generation could no longer base its militancy and organizational activities on old-country cultural traditions. Even the radical politics of the refugees from Bismarck's anti-socialist law merged into the multi-ethnic and native labour movements. The turning point is in the period 1890-1910. The old forms of expression begin to be accompanied by nostalgia and address a changed working class.

Review of Books

Klaus Ensslen and Heinz Ickstadt discuss the gradual withdrawal from cultural activities in German language and the increasing participation in an urban working-class American culture.

The German-American traditions are placed in perspective by Paul Buhle. The radicalism that has often been described by historians as irrelevant sectarianism was in fact part of a creative experimenting with many forms of socialism among many different ethnic groups. Buhle's essay, however, would have benefitted from more attention to empirical detail — which is available. The broad affinities of ethnic working-class cultures are minutely researched by James Barrett on the shop-floor of the Chicago packinghouses in a period of ethnic and organizational transition. Under specific conditions ethnic and racial, new-old, skilled-unskilled differences of interest could be overcome. Militancy, solidarity and organization of this type was, however, tenuous and frequently did not weather periods of strong employer pressures.

As a whole this volume integrates the research on the German-American working class in Chicago into similar work on other groups and other cities. The work of the Munich project measures up to the high standards of the Philadelphia Social History Project. The collection is a must for any student of German-Americans. It takes into account the results of other more limited studies on Germans in Milwaukee, Poughkeepsie, New York and elsewhere but goes much further. Its conclusion is that by 1910 not only German workers but "even the German radicals had found their place in the history of the American working class — and had themselves become Americans in the process".

DIRK HOERDER
University of Bremen

J. KOMLOS, *The Habsburg Monarchy as a Customs Union: Economic Development in Austria-Hungary in the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983. Pp. xix, 347.

In recent years a small number of scholars in the United States has considerably improved our knowledge of the economic history of the Habsburg Empire. As a group they have discredited the traditional picture of the Habsburg economy as backward and stagnant, and have used the empire's extensive statistics to paint a picture of the empire as a gradually industrializing and steadily developing economy. In doing so these economic historians have added to the evidence that the take-off hypothesis advanced by Rostow and Gerschenkron may have only limited applicability.

Prominent among these American scholars of Habsburg economic history is John Komlos, and this volume (a revised revision of his doctoral dissertation) makes three contributions to the literature. The first is a calculation of indices for agricultural production in Hungary for the years 1870 - 1913 and for industrial production in Austria and Hungary for the years 1830 to 1913. These indices refine and sharpen the chronology of economic growth in the Habsburg empire. In particular, they highlight that industrialization was already underway in Austria in the 1830s, especially in the Bohemian lands.

The second contribution of the book is an analysis of the economic impact of the reforms of the mid-nineteenth century, the customs union and the emancipation of the peasantry (*Grundentlastung*). The first did not significantly accelerate economic growth, since the level of tariffs prior to the creation of the customs union was already low. Removal of these barriers therefore did little to stimulate growth. The *Grundentlastung* also failed to stimulate growth, because prior reforms had already reduced the severity of feudal dues.

The third contribution is an analysis of the benefits to Hungary of integration of its capital market with that of Austria. These benefits, Komlos asserts, were high, since Austrian capital financed a large proportion of total Hungarian investment.

In weighing the relative importance of these three contributions, the first should rank highest, for this is the most original and most extensive. Komlos's indices provide a basis for much future research on the timing and breadth of Habsburg economic development.

The second contribution, the analysis of the mid-nineteenth century reforms is less important, for it focuses solely on the end of a decades-long processes of deregulation and reform in the Monarchy's internal tariff and agriculture. It is a pity that Komlos did not attempt to examine the effect of the gradual decline in tariff rates and feudal dues on the pace of Austrian industrialization before 1850.

The third contribution, the analysis of the benefits of capital market integration within the Empire, is problematic. In this case Komlos attempts to quantify the total effect of capital market integration, not just the marginal effect of removing the last barriers to the free flow of capital between the two halves of the Empire. However, Komlos provides no analytic framework for this discussion, so the results are less convincing than his analysis of the mid-century reforms.

However, this is a minor quibble. The book is an important building block in the construction of an analytic and quantitative economic history of the Habsburg Empire.

THOMAS HUERTAS

VICE PRESIDENT CITIBANK NEW YORK

A. KUSSMAUL, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 233.

These 233 pages encompass text, eight appendices, 28 figures, 27 tables, an excellent bibliography and two statistical results aside from medians, means, standard deviations and cumulative binomial probabilities.

Kussmaul's study concerns agricultural servants, young (generally 15-24) male or female workers, paid wages and provided room and board (often although not always in the farmer's house), who contracted for work by the year. They are contrasted with agricultural labourers, workers who provided their own room and board and worked by the day, week, month or task rather than by the year. Except for the age limits on servants one is reminded of the XIXth Century American cattle ranch with its mix of yearly

workers provided room and board and seasonal help hired for the spring and fall roundups.

Using direct evidence drawn from local and national censuses, muster lists, settlement examinations, courts leets, hundreds courts, petty and quarter sessions and other sources, Kussmaul discusses such questions as the significance of agricultural servants as an element in the agricultural labour force between 1600 and 1900 (p. 16 "in the median parish there were 2.56 hired workers per farmer" and "in half of the parishes [ranked by percentage of servants relative to others] servants were at least 56 percent of the hired force."), the nature of their annual contracts, the types of work given them, wages, the nature of room and board, their recreations and resentments by and toward them, their mobility including both frequency and distance measures and an account of entry into and exit from service. These quantitative outlines are fleshed out with biographical sketches as well as frequent use of contemporary farming and non-farming sources (such as Arthur Young).

Having described these aspects to agricultural service, Kussmaul turns to two closely related questions: 1. Institutional origins and demise; 2. Cyclical importance during the institution's existence. At this juncture indirect evidence, such as changing importance of marriages in months following traditional service termination months relative to marriages in other months, is used to plot the changing incidence of service. Despite the indirect nature of some evidence, and the fact that all but the national census materials are samples (the properties of which are both unknown and unexplored), it is unlikely we will be presented with a more adequate description of agricultural service from 1600 on.

Intertwined with these numerous descriptions lie explanations, interpretations. These, it will be seen, differ in both detail and scope from the descriptions. Whereas the descriptions rely upon extensive surveys of the literature and are often presented in considerable detail, the explanations tend to be more loosely constructed. For instance, roughly one-fourth of the book is concerned with cycles in service relative to the use of agricultural labour and with the demise of this most interesting institution. According to Kussmaul's method for identifying the incidence of service (Figure 6.1, p. 98), service peaked in 1560-70 (the figure starts in the 1550s), then declined "to a trough in the mid seventeenth century, and then rose sharply to a second peak in the mid eighteenth century" (p. 97) and died out in the late XIXth century. These changes in magnitude appear substantial. Why such swings?

Kussmaul begins with an age structure argument. When birth rates fell, "the absolute number of youths fell more than did the population as a whole (Figure 6.2)" p. 100. The development of this interesting line of argument is hindered by failure to consider the implications of stable population theory (the age structure quickly readjusts after a fertility decline), by failure to replace the wavy lines in Figure 6.2 with the more revealing numbers upon which the table is based and by failure to test the argument in an econometric model. She continues with an argument linking changing incidence to the supply of servants (1. population growth rates — age structure aside — and 2. the prevalence of occupational alternatives identify the supply schedule) and to the changing demand for service (demand is tied to the prevalence of grain as opposed to animal husbandry). Again we find the argument's outlines sketched in briefly, but there is no

attempt to flesh it out; we are not shown that the argument is valid (that the premisses entail the inference sought) or that the data support the argument.

Pursuing this question of explanations further, we may ask from which literature on structural or institutional change does Kussmaul draw her inspiration? To this question we find no answer for no such literature is cited and no such models are utilized. It may be there is little to be gained from using theories of institutional growth and decline to examine this institution's rise and decline in the light of American agricultural servants' (cowboys in bunk houses) experience, American industrial servants' (women working in Lowell mills) experience or English industrial servants' (apprentices) experience. But rather than assume the theory inadequate, it would be more enlightening to show it to be inadequate.

We might summarize this book by claiming it is a sound example of narrative history, that its subject matter is the English agricultural labourer, 1550-1900, and that its strengths and limitations are those inherent in its methodological foundations.

DAVID LOSCHKY

University of Missouri-Columbia

D.S. LANDES, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1983, 482 pp.

David Landes is an economic historian with a collector's love for clocks. In this impressive study, he attempts a wide-ranging history of the mechanical measurement of time and the cultural significance of the clock. One has to share his amazement that a subject of such importance has received so little attention by "general historians". With the publication of *Revolution in Time* that situation is sure to change. Landes has proven that a concern for time measurement is one of the critical characteristics of modernization, that the clock as both an instrument and a reflection of cultural change deserves the attention of all historians.

The book has three parts. The first deals with the invention of the mechanical clock. After showing that the Chinese water wheel clock was not, as Joseph Needham has suggested, an inspiration for later European innovation, Landes examines the reasons why Europeans built and grew to depend on mechanical clocks. The second part examines the technological improvement of the clock, primarily a search for greater accuracy and ever smaller size. The final part is about the manufacture of timepieces. Landes looks at craftsmen, managers, industrial growth, market expansion, and ultimate decline. He takes his story to the present and ends with the "quartz revolution" that has made mechanical clocks and watches technologically obsolete.

Although the book is primarily a history of invention and of the development of the clock and watch industries in Europe and America, Landes goes beyond technological and economic history to include the cultural factors that helped create a "revolution in time consciousness". He shows us devout monks getting up in the middle of the night for religious devotions, serious burghers with important business appointments, navigators

using chronometers to determine their positions at sea, and travellers checking their wristwatches while hurrying to catch a train. The clock affects our modern behaviour patterns in so many ways that we can hardly imagine life without accurate and standardized time measurement. We need an interdisciplinary study like this to remind us that the clock has dramatically changed the way people work and order their lives.

One can see the influence of E.P. Thompson in the sections that deal with the differences between the "natural" and the "man-made" day, and between pre-industrial and industrial time discipline. Landes could give us more on the role of the clock in the workplace, but his somewhat limited coverage of this important topic is perceptive and powerful. Here, as in other areas, one hopes that this book will stimulate further research. One of Landes' stated objectives is "that time measurement will never again be so ignored".

Perhaps he will also cause many of his academic colleagues to stop ignoring the physical remains of history. For this reviewer, the attention given to material culture as historical evidence is one of the book's major strengths. The timepieces themselves are often Landes' most revealing sources, and his years spent in the examination of these fascinating artifacts have made him a skilled technical detective. He may have picked up too much of the collector's concern for priority, rarity, value, and artistic beauty, but his enthusiasm for the real thing has improved his abilities as a scholar.

Historians of technology and industrial archaeologists will be disappointed that the tools and machines used to make timepieces get far less attention in this study than the consumer products. Landes does describe the general changes in production methods that made possible the mass production of watches. He adds considerably to the growing scholarship on the industrial devaluation of craft skills, the rise of the "American system of manufacturing", and the introduction of interchangeable parts. There is, however, in this lavishly illustrated book not a single picture of the inside of a watch factory. We must wait for another book to give us more details on the ways watches have been made. Landes only tantalizes us with his brief but provocative excursion into the technical and economic problems of interchangeability at Waltham Watch Company.

Students of machinery may partially forgive Landes his omissions when they sample the photographs (some in colour), historic illustrations, and new drawings that he has included for his readers' instruction and enjoyment. An appendix devoted to clockwork escapements will satisfy both the serious horologist and the fan of Rube Goldberg cartoons. The fine technical drawings by David Penney and the precise explanations in this appendix give those who are so inclined an opportunity to explore the mechanical operation of the escapements discussed in the text. Those who have no aptitude for or deep interest in things mechanical can still enjoy and understand the book as a whole without figuring out exactly "how things work".

Revolution in Time is a book that all historians should read. The author's infectious enthusiasm for his subject is fully justified, as is this reviewer's enthusiasm for a finely-tuned product of the historian's craft.

PATRICK M. MALONE

BROWN UNIVERSITY

S. LIEBERMAN, *The Contemporary Spanish Economy: A Historical Perspective*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1982, xii + 378 pp.

For two decades Spaniards have watched their hopes of entry into the European Common Market suffer continual postponements, in good measure because their economy has been judged unprepared for the eventuality. Sima Lieberman seeks to uncover the reasons for this weakness. His book concentrates on the period of Franco and the transition of the late seventies, and here it provides the fullest account available in English of developments in the Spanish economy, with numerous tables and graphs, and much information also on labour organizations. One may feel, as I do, that at times one loses sight of the forest, and that short-term trends get undue attention, but for the present the book is a unique source of information.

Underlying his presentation there runs a consistent theme: Spain's economic problems result from a failure to modernize in timely fashion. "If the process of economic modernization is characterized by a systematic effort to implement more efficient ways of production and distribution, then Spain did not start modernizing until the early 1960s. A brief study of the contemporary Spanish society and economy will promptly reveal that tradition-determined norms and values still play an important role in today's Spain" (pp. 7-8). Lieberman argues forcefully that the standard prescriptions of development economists for the injection of capital and technology will not solve Spain's difficulties, because Spain is in the grip of cultural forces that they ignore.

He searches far into the past for the origin of these forces, but what he comes up with is largely well-accepted clichés which embody an updated version of the "black legend". That some of them come out of Spanish authors does not lend them weight. In agriculture, he finds Spain in the grip of a "feudal" structure created when the Reconquista produced a land of minifundia in the north and latifundia in the south. For instance, he says, because of the large number of rural unemployed and underemployed, in the 1950's and 1960's "one could not seriously speak of a capitalist, rural wage system in Spain. Feudalism had not left the Spanish countryside" (p. 29). Although Lieberman presents a chronicle of agricultural legislation since the middle ages, he does not appreciate that by the end of the nineteenth century, with the abolition of señorío and family entail and the sale of public lands and the vast church estates, Spain had a quite "capitalistic" agriculture, even if not one that replicated those of England or France (both of which Lieberman finds preferable to the Spanish, though they are hardly identical).

Adherence to tradition is the great evil that besets Spain. "Almost until the present day, large and small landowners have continued to give emphasis to the production of the traditional crops, partly because of the strength of tradition, especially for poorly educated peasants, and partly because the government's price support policies encouraged the continuation of traditional production" (p. 28). Curiously, these policies include not just subsidizing wheat (itself a new crop in many places in the nineteenth century, replacing pasture) but also cotton and sugar beet, not exactly harvests that one would expect to have found in a feudal society.

Tradition, in fact, for Lieberman is what is privileged and harmful, not just what is established by ancient practice. This meaning comes out more clearly in his discussion of

industry. Basque and Catalan industrialists, who successfully established import substitutes in metallurgy, textiles, and lesser products, nevertheless, because they called for protective tariffs, become new "traditional-elites" (p. 144), dedicated to the preservation of antiquated technology.

The Second Republic and Franco, despite appearances, did little to improve the situation, for both worked closely with the traditional bourgeois-elite. Until the 1960's Franco's search for autarky failed to transform the structures, in either agriculture or industry. It kept out foreign technology and produced inefficient industries, unable to compete in the export market. Then came the industrial "miracle" of the sixties, but it was achieved, he says, not by basic economic reform but through foreign investment and the exploitation of cheap domestic labour. "A few years after the publication of the reforms contemplated by the Plan of 1959, the Spanish government reverted to traditional policy, that of protecting the interests of the elite groups in Spanish society... Economic policy was once again influenced by the ideology which had flourished in the 1890s!" (p. 217).

In the 1970's a new privileged sector appeared, organized labour. Desirous of avoiding social conflict, the governments of the transition allowed wages to rise much faster than prices; yet Spanish industrialists continue to rely on labour-intensive technology. The results are lagging investment and high unemployment. While Spaniards blame their economic ills on the price of oil and the world depression, the cause lies more, he concludes, in the low productivity of all sectors, dominated by resistance to change.

Many of Lieberman's criticisms of the Spanish economy are valid, but implicit in his story is the belief that Spain is more attached to established practices than other advanced societies. This is unfair. High tariffs were typical of all western nations at the end of the century, price supports maintain uneconomic agricultural interests in France and the United States, more so, if anything, than in Spain, and British and American labour unions have fiercely resisted rationalization of industry. Many reasons can be found for the rhythm of Spain's economic development — foreign invasion and domestic strife during the industrial revolution in Britain, leaving Spain's economy vulnerable to outside exploitation; the imbalance between agrarian centre and industrial periphery; the Civil War and the boycott of the forties — without having to call in a singular national dedication to tradition. Lieberman's book provides evidence that a model of transition from "tradition" to "modernity" drawn from the nations that industrialized first is, *pace* Rostow, a misleading basis on which to measure the economic performance of their successors.

RICHARD HERR

University of California, Berkeley

G. YANEY, *The Urge to Mobilize: Agrarian Reform in Russia, 1861-1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982. Pp. viii + 599.

This is an interesting, complex, sometimes vexing, work. It combines a thorough

traditional exposition and analysis of the Stolypin Reforms with a fascinating study of the social psychology of the bureaucrat/reformer. But its complexity distracts and its polemics, which are at times worthy of its subjects, irritate and provoke.

The study of the bureaucrat/reformer presents a finely nuanced portrait of the traditional local gentry bureaucrat that details the ambivalence and inconsistencies in his attitudes toward the peasantry and his relationship to them. A second sketch depicts the technical specialists from the "third element". Limited only by their "science" and "knowledge", these "new" men almost immediately engaged the traditionalists in a battle they largely won within a few short years. The author argues both groups, and the revolutionaries who followed them, shared an "urge to mobilize". This persistent urge, rationalizing and modernizing in its thrusts, was fundamentally hostile to the integrity of the peasant community, and threatened, from the beginning, to destroy village society.

The core materials on the reforms outline the developing struggle between the traditional chinoviks of the Ministry of Interior and the specialists from agriculture in the 1890's. They trace the many events from 1901 to early 1906 that created a broad governmental consensus that peasant reform was necessary and detail the interministerial manoeuvring to control the pending reform. Finally, three long chapters describe the evolution of the Stolypin Reform. They characterize the initial reform that was designed in the capital cities, then focus on the reshaping of it by the specialists in the field. The flexible, responsive local structure that was able to mobilize local peasant support and coordinate a rapidly growing, broadly based interministerial program that emphasized group land settlement and agricultural improvement programs that resulted are described in detail. The author sees these developments as the ultimate triumph of the radically decentralized "line over staff" form of organization that had been used periodically in the Russian rural administration since the 1830's.

The main themes developed in Chapters 5-9 are supplemented by a long "prologue" and "epilogue". The former summarizes the rural administrative reforms of the 1830's, reviews the early post-reform investigations of the peasantry, then details the fierce struggle over enactment of the land captains statute in the late 1880's and outlines the overworked and embattled reality of this supposedly "all-powerful" administrator's position in the countryside. The latter traces the fate of the specialists and the Stolypin Reforms from 1914 to 1930. It examines the pivotal role of the urge to mobilize in the successful cooption of the specialists into the war effort in 1914, outlines the food and land policies of the Revolution and Civil War that drove the specialists underground or out of the countryside from late 1917 to 1921, then relates the dramatic reemergence of the specialists and the Stolypin Reforms in the 1920's.

The descriptive and analytical elements of the core are, for the most part, careful, detailed, and balanced; and its interpretations imaginative and insightful. The portrait of the traditional local gentry administrator is particularly empathetic; the detailed treatment of the evolution of the Stolypin Reforms is very persuasive. Although the concept of the urge to mobilize would have been sharpened considerably by a concise restatement of the psychological profile of the Russian elite that Professor Yaney presented in his 1973 book, it remains an evocative formulation that has application well beyond the particulars of the Russian case. Taken in conjunction with the concept of line over staff

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organization, it offers a very interesting interpretation of some recurrent psychological and bureaucratic patterns that bridge the tsarist and Soviet periods.

Despite these strengths, however, the work has a number of weaknesses, that, taken cumulatively, present the reader with some real challenges. It is a very complex work. The use of a prologue/epilogue format and the level of detail employed in each of them diffuses focus. The abrupt cuts from the social psychological to the administrative theme, and back, is distracting. And the failure to reconcile statements that appear to be inconsistent or contradictory muddle the picture still more (e.g., pp. 144-45 vs. 173, 265; 295-305 vs. 384-387).

By far the most disconcerting, and sometimes provocative, aspect of the work, however, is its frequently polemical, sometimes vitriolic, tone. Something of what is in store is suggested in the Introduction when the author thrashes the "yokel-worshipping nincompoopery" of Lev Tolstoi and the "tiresome romantics" and "fatuous pseudo-academics who concoct twaddle" (pp. 8-9). The worst substantive examples of the invective involve the withering treatment of the "fantasies" of the "capital city types" in the early chapters, and the subsequent harsh denunciations of A.V. Chaianov (pp. 389-394) and the "unleashed Chaianovites" (p. 524). In the latter cases, the attacks are so unbridled, even a reader sympathetic to the core of the criticisms is likely mentally to defend the "victims" or judge the attacker.

Despite the challenges and provocations, however, I would urge the Russianist to persist. Although much of the material has been previewed for us elsewhere, the sweep of the interpretations and the detail of the traditional exposition and analysis of the Stolypin Reforms deserve a thorough reading. Given the relentlessness of the Russian detail and the many distractions of the work, however, it is doubtful whether the major general theme that has broad implications far beyond the particulars of the Russian case — a modernizing elite's urge to mobilize — is accessible to non-Russianists. If this is true, it is a shame such insights as those offered by the passages from Walther Rathenau (pp. 447-55) will be lost to all but Russianists.

ELVIRA M. WILBUR
Michigan State University