

7. Sectorial Analysis

Agriculture

Agriculture has been so central to economic historiography and so protean in its wider relationships in the economy that it is difficult to construe in a content analysis such as this. Over 75 articles cover different aspects of agricultural development, with a further group on land issues, 10 more on town-country relations, a further group on 'economic dualism', while topics such as feudalism, proto-industrialisation, demographic change, economic growth, technological change contain much of relevance for agriculture as does, in turn, agriculture for all those topics. With agriculture, for most of European history, producing the largest share of the national income, employing a majority of the labour force, providing the basis for the power-structure of pre-industrial societies, and its products absorbing the greatest share of purchasing power (with fluctuations in agricultural prices producing the greatest swings in disposable income) the direct and indirect roles of agriculture are manifold.

The coverage of agriculture is extensive across all periods and all regions. This is true of the 'internal' history of agriculture — the record of crops, output, productivity, mechanisation, labour force, size of holdings, and comparable issues — as it is for rural society — relations between peasants and landlords, land tenure and land reforms, proto-industrialisation and demography dynamics in rural, agricultural-based societies. Radiating outwards from the agricultural basis are topics concerning trade in agricultural goods, government policy towards agriculture with the dynamics of rural society in the political process, rural credit, taxation and tithes. Beyond that lie the

wider relationships between the agricultural sector and the economy as a whole, influencing the dynamics of change and growth (as also for stasis and inertia). Thus many entries under such general themes as innovation, industrialisation and economic growth are concerned in part with agriculture. In consequence there is much multiple replication of individual articles under different topic headings — perhaps more than with any other similar category. This complicates any count dividing articles between different subjects but is an accurate reflection of the interrelatedness of agriculture in the economy of pre-industrial and industrialising Europe.

For all these reasons, paradoxically, the extent of the presence of agriculture in the *Journal*, together with the diversity of its themes, preclude a detailed content analysis in parallel to that undertaken for many other subjects. It would also prove invidious for the authors remaining uncited. Reference directly to the subject headings in the index, cross-checking under countries, will enable the reader to explore the range of articles covered by the generalisations made here.

Industries

Industrialisation as a process apart, many articles concerned with technological innovation and technology (over 45) — a major presence in the *Journal* — appear within the framework of specific industries. This distribution reflects the general balance of interests of historians more widely and the *Journal* does not appear idiosyncratic in this coverage. Of more than 70 entries concerning individual industries (with a further 14 concerning railways and 11 more for shipping if these be included in the definition of 'industry') no less than 33 were devoted to the textile industries (including articles related to silk). Predictably textiles — the woollen industry before the nineteenth century and cotton thereafter — being far greater in scale than any other, have attracted the greatest attention from economic historians subsequently. Within this aggregate the range of theme and location is wide. Four articles concern the silk trade and the silk

industry, Iranian raw silk as well as manufacture in Krefeld, France and Italy. Much interest centred on state promotion, monopolies, tariffs and other encouragement for indigenous enterprise and import substitution, with Eastern Europe and the Near East prominent. Other pieces focus on the textile industry in connection with its role in proto-industrialisation (Vol. XV, 1986, No.2; Vol. XVIII, 1982, No. 3). Indeed, relatively few articles about textiles concern the 'main-line' economic history developments in the main textile industries in the European heart-lands. Two specialist articles reveal fascinating details of the supply of dye-stuffs for textiles — woad from Città di Castello in the fifteenth century (Vol. XI, 1982, No.1) and logwood from the new world (Vol. II, 1973, No. 1).

One of the few presences of women as a specific subject in the *Journal* comes with textiles — the women's guild in Cologne in the later Middle Ages (Vol. XI, 1982, No.3). As a whole the important presence of women in the industrial labour force, particularly in textiles, is unremarked, but this is in common with the sparsity of articles concerning the role of labour in production. More generally, equally notable is that a single entry (perhaps appropriately appearing in the category of 'problems') is concerned with the consumption of clothes in Europe rather than the production of cloth (Vol. V, 1976, No.2). This is a true reflection of the wider pattern. Economic historians have concentrated on issues of production and technology rather than of consumption, of supply rather than demand. On the whole consumption, like fashion, was evidently thought to be a matter for social and cultural historians rather than economic historians. Very recent historiographical trends which are breaking down these boundaries are not represented significantly.

The next concentration of articles under individual industries concern metals — 14 entries — which range widely from the late Middle Ages to the motor car industry, from iron and steel to copper, from questions of technological innovation to cartels and tariffs. One might consider, however, that the coverage is thin, considering the omni-presence of the metal industries, in different forms, in all the main European regions and their universal recognition as enjoying

strategic importance in an economy, if not so pervasive a presence as textiles. Four further articles concern the engineering and machine-making industries (including machine-building in Czech lands in the early nineteenth century — Vol. IV, 1975, No.1). Clearly, early machine-making was closely associated with the textile industries. The critical importance of skilled artisans in technological innovation and technology transfer in the early modern period is acknowledged in several articles (Vol. XIX, 1990, No.1; Vol. XII, 1983, No.3; Vol. XVII, 1988, No.1) and this is also the central issue concerning French efforts to obtain English technology in the eighteenth century (Vol. XV, 1986, No.1).

Surprisingly, the next concentration of articles concerning industry — 5 presentations — cover the development of the Russian oil industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, documenting its links with the British market, western technology and foreign business interests in the armaments industries. For the modern period — and for a major new industry — this underlines the excellent coverage which the *Journal* has always shown for Central-East-European and Russian themes.

Other industries have a less predictable presence, although four articles about the salt industry and the salt trade in the middle ages and early modern Europe reflect the wide interest shown by economic historians in this industry, which stands out in several different ways, fulfilling highly specific roles and attracting state control and taxation throughout Europe. Other industrial topics include the glass industry (2), sugar beet (2), chemical industries (2), synthetic-rubber (1), fishing (1) and leather (1). Of course, individual industrial products and industrial production find a place in such wider categories as technology and technological innovation (45 entries) and industrialisation (73 entries), with the familiar problems of double-counting.

The same problem of boundaries concerns 'shipping' as a subject. More than ten articles are identified with shipping which in reality cover a wide variety of themes: Venetian and Baltic trade, galley slaves, Mediterranean ship-owners (and their crews), changing

patterns of pepper and spice imports and the like. No equivalent interest was evinced by ship-building. More widely, shipping was clearly a dimension of several large categories of subjects — international trade (with 104 entries), trade in general (129), merchants (52), the colonial trades (6), commercial companies (11). Fishing was an 'industry' of major economic and political (not to say naval and strategic) importance through its links with shipping and seamen, which might have been expected to have induced substantial representation, yet the only presence is indirect, concerning a regression analysis in the comparison of fishing communities (Vol. XIX, 1990, No.1), which has significance as an exercise in method as well as for substantive results. Shipping's importance did occasion two articles on the specialist subject of medieval and early modern maritime contracts (1990, Vol. XIX, No.3). It is salutary to note the high degree of legal sophistication and political controls which permeated trading practices, whether maritime or inland, in these earlier centuries. There are few topics where the 'economic' analysis of change is autonomous as a process in its own right, subject to purely economic variables, rather than being permeated by non-economic considerations. This is not just a matter of political, cultural or legal influences setting the external parameters — establishing a framework — within which economic imperatives could operate, subject to such exogenous constraints, but such non-economic variables were integral in complex ways to the process of change itself, setting motives and objectives, affecting the varied dynamics of change and inertia. In short, non-economic criteria lay — with the economic — at the heart of the matter. No theme bears out this truth more than the collection of articles in the *Journal* on trade, merchants and shipping, apart from those specifically on the economic policy objectives in trade, industrial protection, colonial development and monetary policy.

Once again, looking at themes not present but which, judged by expectations derived from their general significance, one might have anticipated a presence — on the basis of the significance of the dog which did *not* bark in the night — there is the whole topic of natural

resources and their significance for economic growth and industrialisation. Nor do ecological issues focus the attention of authors, while they assumed high profile in contemporary consciousness in the 1970's and 1980's. There is one prominent recognition of this aspect of environmental history — 'climate as a factor affecting the human environment in the Middle Ages' (Dr. T. Dunin Wasowicz, *Problems*, Vol. IV, 1975, No. 3, pp. 691-706).

Railways

Apart from shipping, railways form the principal topic under the general theme of transport in the pages of the *Journal* — no specific entries are to be found under roads. In fact few articles concern railways exclusively but are concerned with the financial aspects of railway development, in the enormous demands for fixed capital which laying down railway net-works invoked in Ireland (Vol. XVI, 1987, No. 3), Cyprus (Vol. VII, 1978, No. 1), France (Vol. VI, 1977, No. 3), Germany (Vol. VI, 1977, No. 2; Vol. XIV, 1985, No.2; Vol. XV, 1986, No. 1) and Russia (Vol. IX, 1980, No. 2). Other aspects of public investment and state budgets concerning railways also identify a theme (Vol. IX, 1980, No. 1; Vol. III, 1974, No. 1). Of the economic impact which railways made to the process of economic growth and industrialisation by way of increasing transport capacity and lowering transfer costs there are two key articles: C. Wilson on transport as a factor in the history of economic development (Vol. II, 1973, No. 2 — derived from a report presented to a *Settimana* of the Datini Institute in Prato) and P.K. O'Brien's review of the cost-benefit measurements in 'new-style' railway history for 'transport and economic growth in Western Europe 1830-1914' (Vol. XI, 1982, No. 2).

The section on the 'new economic history' discusses the role which American railway historiography played in the new methodologies. These ideas reached the *Journal* by way of Professor P.K. O'Brien and C.M. White ('Railroads and Rigour', Vol. IV, 1975, No.

1) rather than from their initial proponents. As has been stressed elsewhere, many of the economic effects of the operation of railways (a different issue from the economic effects produced by the process of their construction) cannot be captured by the comparison of freight and passenger costs of transportation by means of railways with the cost of alternative modes of transport (the measurable net gain to the economy being derived from this difference). The whole methodology of cost-benefit analysis proves extremely complex, particularly with prices having to be used as proxies for costs. Most of the themes covered by the majority of articles about railways in the *Journal* could not gain from the new methods: the interactions with government, strategic decisions for national development, the concentration of industry, the development of capital markets, the pioneering of methods of managing very large organisations and the like. Railway investment also brought into existence a large share-holding class for the protection of which new company legislation and new accounting techniques had to be developed. It is difficult enough to measure the economic gains which the railways brought by increasing the *speed* of travel and the greater certainties of journeys. Such effects were not discounted, or embodied accurately, in the price of passenger tickets and freight rates 'captured' in the calculus of social savings.

Trade

Trade and trade-related topics enjoy a major presence in the pages of the *Journal*, emphasising the predilections of so many economic historians of the medieval period no less than of more recent centuries. The number and range of the contributions on this theme (as with agriculture, money and banking and industry) make it impossible to report on individual articles without making invidious choices or over-extending this text. The table makes this point succinctly, despite the usual complications of defining articles within specific categories. In the subject index, virtually all the contributions

cited under 'trade' appear also under 'international trade' and only 13 of those under 'merchants' are not listed under 'trade'. The same is true for the specialised branches of trade, itemised in the index and many of the relevant entries under 'economic policy', 'capitalism', 'credit' etc. Equally, some of the citations under 'trade' share the attribution with 'industry' and other headings: clearly an analysis of the Russian beet-sugar industry, Austro-Hungarian agricultural development or the rise of Italian industry and the Balkans have associated commercial and trading links, as does a topic such as the overseas expansion of Portugal, although none are exclusively articles about trade (Vol. XIII, 1984, No. 2; Vol. VIII, 1979, No. 1; Vol. VIII, 1979, No. 3). These issues have been cited above (pp. 533-539).

Editors of some other 'main-line' economic history journals complain that the dearth of submissions on medieval topics regularly frustrates their wishes to produce 'balanced' issues. Evidently no such problems have been encountered by the *Journal* here. Aggregating the listings under 'merchants', 'trade' and 'international trade' in the index in order to eliminate double-counting is to make the distribution by period clear, having made arbitrary decisions in the case of articles crossing the conventional period boundaries. Over 35 contributions relate wholly or primarily to pre-1500, a further 65 fall within the 'early modern period' of 1500-1800, and almost 40 more are post-1800.

This is a remarkably balanced distribution which is re-inforced by the distribution evidenced in other related categories. For example, topics under 'economic fluctuations' (23 entries) show the early-modern period as strongly represented as the modern (which has an additional 9 entries under 'the great depression'). All three articles about fairs relate to the early modern period (whereas one might have anticipated a medieval presence also) while two of the 4 contributions about bills of exchange are pre-1500 and two early-modern. All the entries under 'protectionism' concern the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but these have to be seen in relation to others under 'mercantilism', 'commercial capitalism' and related themes where earlier periods are more prominent. 'Shipping'

(where all except two of the eleven entries appear also under 'trade') is almost equally divided between the medieval and the early-modern periods.

What accountancy historians would undoubtedly consider an unbalanced distribution of articles in their discipline concerns all 6 studies of accounting and book-keeping practices falling within the fifteenth century. Doubtless this was occasioned by the prospective quincentenary of the inauguration of double-entry book-keeping focused on the publication of L. Pacioli, *Summa de Arithmetica*, (Venice, 1494) — the first published description of double-entry book-keeping — which enjoys a wholly disproportionate prominence, but it is nevertheless surprising. The history of accountancy is now a fully-fledged historical discipline in its own right and on its own terms, with several journals, societies, and regular national and international conferences devoted to its development (mainly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where increasingly sophisticated accountancy techniques are identified as a potentially important agency for improving business efficiency). Doubtless accountancy historians are drawn to publish in the organs of their own guild but the particular concentration in the *Journal* says much about its unselfconscious specialisations, when judged by result rather by policy intentions *ex ante*.

The spatial range of studies concerning trade, commerce, shipping and associated topics reveal an equally diverse distribution. Here, again, some boundaries have to be arbitrary — for example, where to categorise 'Pisa and the trade routes to the near east' in the late Middle Ages (Vol. XVI, 1987, No.2), or 'seaborne trade between France and Poland in the eighteenth century' (Vol. VI, 1977, No.1)? — but the main lines are clear. Mediterranean trade and that with the eastern Mediterranean and the Levant are dominant, with 30 entries between them (the 11 devoted to the latter category are dominated by 8 articles from the pen of the late E. Ashtor on the Levant). There are more than 20 articles primarily concerned with trading relations in or to central and eastern Europe and Russia, with a further 12 concerning the Baltic (particularly for the early modern period).

Covering the more distant trading areas over 5 articles focused on Atlantic commerce and a further 12 or so on the eastern trades, following European penetration of all these regions. Taking as their perspective world trade more generally were 10 contributions.

Interpretative articles seeking to explore the dynamics of trade in the wider momentums of economic growth for the world economy or for particular regions are of particular interest and here the *Journal* has been fortunate in becoming the forum for several wide-ranging essays. The controversy occasioned by Gunder Frank's thesis on world accumulation has been mentioned before (p. 548). General interpretative articles, because of the interest they cause, always have the propensity for stimulating controversy in the way denied to individual detailed research pieces. This is exemplified in a brief controversy between K.N. Chaudhury and R.C. Blitz concerning one aspect of the commercial relations between the European 'core' and the Asian 'periphery' in the bullion balances required to cover the European deficit on visible trade with India and the S.E. Asia/Far East trading area — which had major indigenous commercial momentum of its own, apart from the nexus to Europe (Vol. IV, 1975, No.2; vol. VII, 1978, No.1). Core-periphery dynamics in a western-eastern European context (not, by inference so prejudicial to the periphery) are explored by I. Berend and G. Ranki (Vol. IX, 1980, No.3). Although not specified in the same analytical terms regional dynamics of trade are the subject of three other regional studies — M. Bogucka on Baltic trade in European development 1500-1800 (Vol. IX, 1990, No.1), C. Verlinden, on the shift of focus from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic (Vol. I, 1972, No.3) and E. Ashtor on the decline of the Levant (Vol. VII, 1978, Nos. 2-3). Charles Kindleberger identifies commercial expansion as one of the main sources of momentum in the lead-in to the industrial revolution (Vol. IV, 1975, No.3), re-emphasising a traditional interpretation which maintains its currency. Then, in terms of the global quantification of European trade, Paul Bairoch chose the *Journal* to publicise the initial results of his major research project documenting both aggregate values and volumes of European exports together with

the geographical distribution and the commodity trade balance of Europe's trading accounts with the world from 1800 to 1970 — a formidable project (Vol. II, 1973, No. 1; Vol. III, 1974, No.3). Every type of historical research into trade and commerce thus has its presence in the *Journal*. The weight of research, however, has emphasised foreign trade — particularly sea-borne trade — rather than trade in internal markets, except for the handful of articles in the category of town-countryside relations.

Table 10: Trade, Commerce and Merchants

Bills of exchange	4
Bookkeeping	6
Chambers of Commerce	1
Commercial Capitalism and revolution	5
Commercial policy	7
Economic fluctuations	32
Exchange rates	2
Fairs	3
Markets	7
Merchants	52
Protectionism	10
Shipping	11
Trade, and international trade	129

These are the main headings listed in the subject index for this groups of topics. Some minor sub-categories have been re-grouped. Most double counting has been eliminated but some remains where an article is central to more than one category e.g. commercial policy, merchants. See table on p. 507.

Finance, Money, Banking

It is clear from the table (p. 569) that finance-related subjects collectively form the largest single group of contributions to be published. The topics in this group range more widely than those discussed in others in the text, which means that the extent of overlap is greater, both between articles cited here and in other groups and

between articles under different headings in this particular group. 'Credit' encompasses trading relationships, for example, as well as financial: the same is true of exchange rates and 'foreign capital', as categories. 'Taxation' and 'public finance' relate to government and the state as well as to banking: most 'central' banks — those financial institutions concerned with government and royal funding — were established as a consequence of such lending and are thus structurally and operationally integral with public finance.

To reduce the 'inflation' in numbers of items for the group as a whole created by multiple appearances, some of the largest individual groupings cited in the subject index have been aggregated and double counting within the enlarged group thus eliminated. For example separate entries in the original index under 'money' with its sub-categories and 'monetary' policy total 67; when aggregated into a single group the individual articles total 53. Virtually all the citations under 'central banking' are also to be found under 'banking'. 'Prices', the 'price revolution' and 'inflation' have 52 entries separately, including multiple entries, but 46 when aggregated. Even so 14 entries in the consolidated category appear also under 'money and monetary policy'. Of the 28 entries under 'credit' 9 are also under 'banking', three also under 'money and monetary policy' and 2 under both. All the entries (15) under 'gold' and the 'gold standard' except one are to be found also under 'money'. All the citations under 'central banks' appear also in 'banking' or in 'monetary policy' and have therefore been eliminated in the table. As has been stressed at several different points in the content analysis, to produce a single aggregated category embracing all the sections listed in the table would mask much of significance. Hence a compromise is inevitable, with the working method made clear.

The main clusters of interest stand out from the list as regrouped without double-counting within them — 'money and monetary policy' 53; 'prices', 'price revolution' and 'inflation' 46, 'banking' and 'central banks' 34, 'public debt' and 'public finance' 27, 'taxation' 21.

Unlike many other themes in the *Journal* the weight of these contributions falls predominantly in the modern period. Over half the

articles are post-1800 — two-thirds for banking — except for taxation where half concern the early-modern period (particularly France and England in the eighteenth century). Again, perhaps more predictably, two thirds of the articles appearing under 'gold' and the 'gold standard' fall in the modern period, when the gold standard was central to the operation of the international economy, while a large majority of those listed under 'silver' concern the early-modern period when 'new world' silver played a comparable role in international economic relations and subsequent debates about the effects of the supply of money on price levels. The medieval period drew less than 10 per cent of contributions on the broad range of financial topics, except that it equalled the early-modern period in the representations of articles on banking, which reflected the strong interest in banking in Italy during the late Middle-Ages and the Renaissance.

In parallel with the weight of emphasis falling in the modern period is the dominance of Western European countries (including, in this instance, Scandinavia) in the spatial distributions. Almost half the articles in these financial subjects relate to countries in this region. England, France and Germany are the most prominent. Mediterranean countries (Italy and Spain predominantly) feature in about a quarter of the articles, both for their internal financial developments but also for external relationships through colonial and trading links, as would be anticipated. Eastern Europe and Russia remain prominent — much more so than would be the case in other general main-line economic history journals — with between a fifth and a quarter of the total number of contributions to money and currency issues, public debt and public finances, prices and inflation and banking. This, again, emphasises the importance of the *Journal* in bringing work from economic historians in these countries to a world-wide readership in English, and the advantage which the existence of the *Journal* has had for such authors - one of their main 'windows on the west' in the dark days.

Of the many themes which might be singled out for attention within finance and banking - it is impossible to address them all - is the complex financial linkages which developed between government,

banks and industry in the process of industrialisation in Europe during the nineteenth century (c.f. pp. 560-561), when unprecedented amounts of capital needed to be mobilised for investment in large-plant industry and infrastructure, such as railways. Such intensive capital investments required new institutions - in particular the evolution of new banking forms, and incorporated enterprise - which in turn demanded new state initiatives and regulations.

The *Journal* has not carried articles which addressed the long-running controversy about whether the German mixed banks constituted a veritable revolution, giving an unprecedented boost to large-scale German firms (apart from two articles relating to Alexander Gerschenkron's typology of the process of nineteenth-century industrialisation) but a group of contributions takes up the substance of the matter in different respects. Relations between banks (the Périer bank in particular), joint-stock companies and government are explored in the French context, with railways as one focus of interest in four articles (Vol. II, 1973, No. 3; Vol. III, 1974, No. 1; Vol. VI, 1977, No. 3; Vol. XVIII, 1989, No. 2). The special role of the *Société Générale*, a prototype and exemplar for these new financial institutions in the industrialisation of Belgium, is studied in an article by J.M. Laureyssens (Vol. XV, 1989, No. 3). A series of complementary articles then explores the evolution of similar banking structures in different national settings, in some cases with strong influences from major banking 'powers' in the leading continental economies — the Balkans (Vol. III, 1975, No. 1), Germany (Vol. VI, 1977, No. 2; Vol. XIV, 1985, No. 2; Vol. XV, 1986, No. 1), Hungary (Vol. XVIII, 1989, No. 3), Norway (Vol. XII, 1983, No. 1), Poland (the state sector after the first world war — Vol. XVIII, 1989, No. 1), Tsarist Russia (concerning the role of foreign investment — Vol. VIII, 1979, No. 1; Vol. XIV, 1985, No. 1), Sweden (Vol. XII, 1983, No. 1). Britain stood apart from these main trends in the evolution of new banking structures, designed to promote major long-term equity investment in industry and public utilities, pursuing an atypical path of its own, which perhaps explains the absence of studies on this theme. Even so one contribution does

explore the evolution of a specialised Anglo-French financial institution — as much the fore-runner of an investment trust as a bank — in the period 1850-1980 (Vol. III, 1974, No. 1).

Table 11: Finance, Money, Banking

Money, monetary policy, currency	53
Prices, the price revolution and inflation	46
Banking	34
Credit	29
Public debt, public finance	27
Taxation	21
Exchange rates	19
Foreign capital	17
Gold and gold standard	15
Currency	10
Silver	10
Insurance and tontine	6
Coinage	5
Usury	4
Rural Credit	2
Cheques	1
Financial concentration	1

These groupings have been made from the main headings listed in the subject index for this range of topics. Many minor sub-categories have been aggregated. Much double-counting has been eliminated — all double-counting within groups listed above and much between groups. Some double-counting remains where an article is central to more than one category e.g. credit, trade, gold — see text for details. See table on p. 508 .

Coverage of Social History

The *Journal* has always flown under the flag of 'economic history' *tout seul* in common with the *Economic History Review* in Britain and the *Journal of Economic History* in the United States. However — as with the interpretation of the subject more widely, in university

courses, the range of papers taken for 'economic history' degrees, the content of economic history conferences and congresses — 'economic' has been generously interpreted to include most aspects of social history; moreover with 'social' being as generously interpreted as 'economic'. The same trends have been apparent in the annual *Settimane* of the Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica 'Datini' in Prato and in the diverse offerings in all the Congresses of the International Economic History Association since 1962. 'Economic history' has traditionally been seen as a 'broad church' and, as a consequence, scholars concerned with more specialised and specifically 'economic' or 'econometric' economic history sought to establish new societies and new journals in the standard tradition of progressive academic and scientific specialisation. A growing number of journals catering to specialist tastes in economic and social history has not robbed the *Journal* of articles over those wider fields, which is particularly the case with social history topics.

The main presence of social history comes in the articles on demographic history, reflecting a principal trend in the development of social history and its growing specialisations. A total of 62 articles fall within the field of demography (including 3 concerning the demographic effects of plague). Contingent, but separate, contributions were much fewer: health (2), food (3), consumption (4) and there was, within the years covered here, no concentration on a theme of major research interests integrating these themes in the study of the demographic effects of changes in nutritional levels.

The next largest category of social history articles were focused on various aspects of labour, including slaves, wages, labour organisation, trade unions, and the labour market, which produced 32 contributions, with a further 9 on employment issues. Trade unions alone had only 3 articles devoted to them.

Its practitioners might dispute that urban history should be considered as a category of social history rather than as a major subject in its own right. Certainly this is one such specialism which has become institutionalised separately over the last half-century, in association with a formidable expansion of interest in the field.

Including articles on urbanisation (4) as a general process, 33 contributions concerned particular aspects of urban history – the growth and decay of individual towns and cities, together with thematic articles which took a particular town or city as the focus – the town and food supplies, or plague, or trade, or real estate, or economic policy, or urban charities. Very little interest was concentrated on comparisons between towns: Barcelona and Glasgow (Vol. XVIII, 1989, No. 1), medieval Frankfurt and Basel (Vol. XVI, 1987, No. 2) and a typology of Polish towns in the early modern period (Vol. XII, 1983, No. 1). One article married urban history to church history in an analysis of the economic effects of Holy Years on Rome (Vol. IV, 1973, No. 3). This latter contribution illustrates the difficulty of categorisation of such themes: are they to be identified as 'urban history' or under the particular thematic approach within the locus of the urban setting? They can, of course, be classified under both headings, and urban historians as well as the non-urban historians will want to know about the results, but this creates a problem of double – or multiple – counting for a content analysis, as has already been stressed.

Beyond these broad categories of social issues it is difficult to make generalisations about the presence of non-economic themes. A social or cultural or political or religious dimension exists in so many contributions – for example 'women and credit in the Middle Ages' (Vol. XVIII, 1988, No. 1), the 'social and psychological consequences' of monetary changes in XVIIIth Century Poland' (Vol. IV, 1975, No. 1), or the fortunes of various socio-economic groups (merchants, landowners, peasants etc.) in different contexts. Over 20 articles have 'social groups' as a framework, if not as their intrinsic subject, with cultural factors prominent in up to 15 (with religion specific to the themes of 5 within this group). Other, more isolated contributions concerned education (7), Jews (7), ethics (1), crime and unrest (3), corruption (1), fashion (1) and women (3). Given this distribution, it would be true to say that, apart from demographic issues and proto-industrialisation, some of the more rapidly expanding interests in social and cultural history have remained

under-represented in the *Journal*. Women's history, children and the family are examples; the social and economic history of art, centring on patronage in court and urban culture, are others (apart from P. Burke's comparison of investment and culture in Rome, Amsterdam and Paris in the seventeenth century (Vol. VII, 1978, Nos. 2-3)). Doubtless submissions to the *Journal* are in large measure self-selective, social, cultural and other non-economic themes being offered mainly where their topics relate to economic history issues.

One further dimension of the new trends in historiography which has not been reflected prominently in the pages of the *Journal* is that of 'popular culture' which also has its economic significance. This has been a major focus for new research by French, British and American socio-economic historians in particular (where this new field has been principally institutionalised), although its influence has been pervasive in all national historiographies. It is another example of the breaking of traditional historiographical frontiers, led by the expansion of the conventional limits of 'social' history. Brought onto the stage in this new trend have been the anonymous multitudes; those who, supposedly, had no direct voice of their own speaking to the historians — at least in conventional categories of archives — and were mainly ignored even where present. These are the marginalised people, the non-political nation, those without acknowledged or recognised roles in the economy and society, the alienated, those living on the fringes, more in towns than the countryside, the unsettled, those without masters, the drifting. They embrace the criminal, or those whose ways of life included illegality on occasion, the prostitutes, the actors, the street traders, hawkers, peddlers, gypsies, those contributing to and dependent upon the 'black' economy or the unrecorded economy.

We have all learned that these groups were not so inarticulate, after all, if not through their own wills, inventories, letters and diaries then, above all, in the records of the courts, whether feudal, magistrates' or ecclesiastical courts.

Associated with the increasing interests by historians in the many dimensions of 'popular culture' has been the analysis of 'perceptions'

of reality, *l'histoire des mentalités*, as a means of deconstructing the concept of objective reality as determinable by the techniques of historical investigation. Here, again, there is little presence in the *Journal*.

To focus attention on what has thus *not* featured prominently is not, of itself, a useless or wholly negative exercise, because the exercise reveals, by contrast, the positive strengths of the *Journal* and the roles which it has played in the evolution of the discipline. The main strength, clearly, has lain in economic history and main-line social and urban history themes, the emphasis being on solid, well-researched articles on specific topics in the 'objective reality' tradition, apart from exercises in methodology *per se*, and articles with a strong orientation to economic theory.

