
REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A. ATTMAN, *Dutch Enterprise in the World Bullion Trade, 1550-1800*. Gothenburg: Kungl. Vetenskaps — och Vitterhets — Samhället, 1983, pp. 113.

Artur Attman has written another fine book, replete with scholarship. It is the third of his contributions to the Acta of the Royal Society of Science and Letters of Gothenburg, and after dealing with the struggle for Baltic markets and then the bullion flows between Europe and the East, he now turns to the bullion trade of the Dutch from the time American silver first broke into the Antwerp market to the end of the eighteenth century. It covers virtually the life of the Republic itself, as it presided over the commercial convergence of the continent. One aspect of that mastery was the guided flow of coin and bullion. The Dutch, as it were, "laundered" the currencies of western Europe and pumped them through the arteries of trade. They had few concerns to trace and record the operations, treating precious metals more or less as merchandise, another instrument of enterprise. Occasionally, the authorities took note of the going state of affairs — as in the famous report of the General Mintmasters in 1683 — but in large measure the archives remain silent on the flows in and out of the Netherlands. In their prime, the Dutch appeared to be the least mercantilist of the mercantile nations. This unconcern has added to the task of Artur Attman. Instead of trying to sum the flows through the Netherlands, he has adopted an alternative approach of estimating the balances of trade in the different destinations. Imbalance on merchandise account entailed settlements by bills, credit, and ultimately transfers of cash in various forms: silver and gold, coin and bullion.

There were three main zones of deficit for the traders of western Europe: the Baltic — the "mother trade" of Holland and in existence well before the beginning of this study; the Levant, which the Dutch entered with purpose in the 1590s; and Asia, first open to the *Voorcompagniën* in the 1590s and soon merged into the grand United East India Company (VOC), with headquarters

in Java, another hub of trade. In summing these three main streams of precious metals (mainly American, flowing via Europe), Attman reaches the conclusion that previous estimates — notably those of the General Mintmasters (1683) and more recently of Michel Morineau (1974) — are probably acceptable in so far as the Levant and Asia are concerned. However, they seriously undervalue the flows to the Baltic and the North. There the balances of the Dutch in maritime trade were highly adverse (Attman does not deal in detail with overland transfers). The flows of bullion were in consequence substantial, and this could explain the absence in the Netherlands of that excess of currency suggested by the study of Morineau. The conclusions assign weights to the three zones for five sample years: 1600, 1650, 1700, 1750, 1780. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Baltic took two-thirds of the Dutch exports of bullion; Asia hardly eleven percent. In 1700, the two were on equal terms. By 1780, their positions were reversed: the Baltic took under two-fifths but the Far East managed to pass that figure. By then, Britain had taken the lead in both areas: in the Russian trade with direct exchange dealings in 1763 between London and St. Petersburg; and in Bengal as a territorial power.

All this carries conviction, although a book of this length cannot expect to examine every detail of the complex circuits of precious metals. The Baltic has meticulous attention; for Dutch enterprise in the Far East and in particular their inter-Asian trade the treatment is more cursory. However, the message of the book is clear. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the outflows to "the East" largely balanced the deliveries from America, on which no doubt we shall hear more. In the meantime, we can be grateful for this assessment of the literature which is incisive, adventurous, broad in scope, and lucid in conclusion.

FRANK SPOONER
University of Durham

F. CAPIE - A. WEBBER, *A Monetary History of the United Kingdom, 1870-1982*
Volume I Data, Sources, Methods, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1985,
pp. 596 + xxiv.

Since the publication of Milton Friedman's and Anna J. Schwartz's *A Monetary History of the United States, 1867-1960* (1963) there has been felt a need for a similar study of British monetary history; a need heightened as the successive volumes of Friedman and Schwartz's project were published (Phillip Cagan's *Determinants and Effects of Changes in the Money Stock, 1875-1960* (1965) and their *Monetary Statistics of the United States* (1970) and *Monetary Trends in the United States and the United Kingdom* (1982)). The first requirement, as with the U.S. study, was a consistent series of estimates of the money supply over a suitably long period (a century, say). Several years ago David

Sheppard made a brave pioneering attempt to produce such estimates, and serious econometric work in U.K. monetary history since then has used the results of his research (published in his *The Growth and Role of U.K. Financial Institutions, 1880-1962* (1971)). Those statistics were also used by Friedman and Schwartz in their last volume. Shizuya Nishimura endeavoured to produce superior estimates of bank deposits for the years 1870-1913, a period for which the data available to construct such estimates are far from complete. Nishimura's series have, however, only been circulated in discussion papers. The monetary economists at the City University's Centre for Banking and International Finance accordingly set out some four or five years ago to provide at last a proper monetary history of the U.K. founded on the best money supply figures for a century that they could produce. This volume, the first fruits of that endeavour, is therefore greatly to be welcomed.

In this volume the authors report their new estimates of several monetary aggregates and their components, and the sources and methods they have used to produce them, saving their analyses of the behaviour of these variables for a second volume due to be published shortly. The aggregates chosen are the monetary base (defined as bankers' balances at the Bank of England, cash in the hands of the public and notes and coin held by the banks including the Banking Department of the Bank of England), M1 (U.K. currency in the hands of the non-domestic bank public, plus net U.K. banks' current accounts or sight deposits) and M3 (currency in the hands of the public, net bank deposits, and other deposits at the Bank of England), for which monthly data are provided for the periods January 1870-December 1982 (money base) and December 1921-December 1969 (M1 and M3). Annual average and quarterly average data are also presented for the money base 1870-1982 and for M1 and M3 for 1922-1969. For the years after 1969 Capie and Webber have reproduced the Bank of England's money stock data for M1, £ M3 and M3, at end quarters for 1963-1982 and monthly June 1971-February 1983. For M3 before 1922 half-yearly (and annual average) data have been produced from June 1870 to December 1921. These series are preceded by a critical (perhaps too critical) account of the money supply estimates previously available, including the Bank of England's series as well as the work of Sheppard, Nishimura and other scholars, and by discussion of the definitions chosen for the *Money History*.

The authors have devoted most of their effort to the estimation of the component series required to construct the aggregates for 1870-1922, where the published data on currency and bank deposits are severely limited. For example, the best data available from which to construct a gold coin series before 1922 are Jevons' estimate for 1868 and an annual series for gold coin in circulation 1905-21 published by the Bank of England in 1932: to obtain figures for the intervening years not only have these sources to be supplemented by net annual issues of coin from the Royal Mint and recorded exports and imports of gold coin but also unrecorded net exports of coin have to be estimated and allowance made for the melting of coin. Here and in other pre-1922 series interpolation has

to be resorted to obtain less than annual estimates. With respect to the deposits series Capie and Webber build on the work of Nishimura, following him in dividing the U.K. banking sector into different categories of banks, calculating the average amounts of deposits per branch for banks of similar size (measured by the number of branches) within each category, and applying these ratios to the banks which did not publish accounts. (The published accounts were taken mainly from *The Economist's* Banking Supplement). Similar procedures were adopted for the banks' reserves, though here even less published material could be utilized. Both gross and net deposit series are presented, as archival and published material has been used to estimate (roughly) interbank deposits and items in transit. By and large the descriptions of the complicated methods of estimation are admirably clear, and the value of the authors' work is enhanced by their detailed comparisons of their own series with earlier estimates.

From the interwar years on more banking and monetary data for the U.K. have become available, a development assisted by the Macmillan Committee on Finance and Industry which reported in 1931, and the publication of the *Bank of England Statistical Summary* [*BESS*] (for private circulation only 1929-31, for wider distribution 1932-45). Although estimation and interpolation are still required to produce monthly data for U.K. banks other than the London Clearing Banks until the 1950s, a high proportion of the component series for the monetary aggregates can be taken directly from the existing sources. Unfortunately errors have crept in the reproduction of these series. For instance, in checking one series (coin in circulation) where the reviewer was familiar with the sources, I found inaccuracies both in the numbers for particular years (1931-38) and in the description of the sources. The first of these problems would seem to be due to a careless research assistant, since the numbers given for particular dates usually correspond to the first figures presented in the *BESS* and not to the revised figures which appeared a few months later. The authors assure me that these problems will be corrected in a later edition, but in the meantime users of British interwar monetary statistics will have to continue to use the original sources.

With interwar U.K. monetary statistics there is a perennial problem of the inclusion of Irish data after the creation of Eire. Capie and Webber have been careful to endeavour to include only Northern Irish bank assets and liabilities in their series after 1922, using various methods of estimation and interpolation to cope with the balance sheet data for banks operating on both sides of the border. With the currency figures, however, they include British coin circulating in the Irish Republic until the Second World War. They also include gold coin in their currency in circulation series until January 1939; here, since some monetary historians might prefer it to be excluded after the First World War, some explanation of their decision will be needed in another edition.

The authors and their colleagues at the City University are to be congratulated on their initiative in undertaking such an important project and on their hard work and ingenuity in carrying it out. But the problems with the interwar

numbers mentioned above are worrying, since they cast some doubt on the reliability of the series, and judgement of the project as a whole should perhaps wait upon the publication of Volume II.

SUSAN HOWSON
University of Toronto and
Nuffield College, Oxford

G. ERODY (ed.), *Demographie, Bevolkerungs- und Agraarstatistik*, Budapest, Akademia Kiado, 1982, pp 129.

This volume contains the proceedings of the conference held in September 1978 by the Austro-Hungarian Historical Commission, and the collection is prefaced by the opening speech made at the meeting by Z. Pal Zach which serves as an introduction to contributions from many leading Austrian and Hungarian historians including, respectively, R.G. Plaschka, B. Bolognese-Leuchtenmuller, R. Sandgruber and L. Matrai, L. Katus and J. Puskas.

In this first meeting of Austrian and Hungarian historians the themes selected all related directly to the joint experience of the two countries and focussed in particular on demographic and agrarian history from the XIXth century to the First World War. Two of the essays moved outside this field, however. R.G. Plaschka discussed the naval development of pre-war Austria-Hungary, while L. Matrai examined the cultural links between the two countries. Plaschka's essay traces the origins of the Habsburg merchant fleet from the late Middle Ages and identifies the main stages in the development of its Austrian and Hungarian components down to the XXth century. The essay provides a particularly detailed account of the expansion of the Habsburg fleet in the late XIXth century when its influence began to spread beyond the Adriatic to the Mediterranean as a whole.

L. Matrai's essay also highlights the powerful cultural impact of the Monarchy in the late XIXth and early XXth centuries, which found its leading protagonists both in Vienna and Budapest in the figures of Wittgenstein, Lukacs, Popper and Adler, as well as a host of other thinkers and writers.

These two essays remain distinctive not only because of their particular themes but also because philosophy and the sea provided two fields in which there was little conflict, and in which the energies of the two countries were combined and complementary. These were not characteristics that were common in other spheres of the political and economic contacts between the two nations, conflicts which have been well described by L. Valiani in his *Decline of Austria-Hungary (Dissoluzione dell'Austria-Ungheria)* Milan 1966).

The remaining essays on demographic and agrarian history deal with themes particular to one or other of the two countries. Stressing the particularities of the situations in the two parts of the Monarchy, the emphasis is of necessity on the

complementary character of the relationship between the two in terms of their demographic and agrarian development. The weighty essay by Bolognese-Leuchtenmuller is partly concerned with demographic theory and methodology, but also contains a detailed analysis of demographic development in Austria over the XIXth century as well as a valuable survey of the sources. The counter-piece is L. Katus's essay on Hungarian demography between 1850 and 1914, which explores different regional growth rates in the Hungarian and Croatian provinces which were markedly higher than in other areas of the Monarchy.

The agrarian history of the two components of the Monarchy is analysed by R. Sandgruber and J. Puskas. The former examines the growth of agricultural imports from Hungary in the period before 1914 and Austria's growing dependence on this source of foodstuffs. Puskas's study on the other hand deals with the differential growth rates of Hungary's main agricultural products — maize, oats, barley fodder crops, sugar beet and wheat — between 1870 and 1914 and stressed their overall expansion.

The different papers on demographic and agrarian history are all directly or indirectly addressed to the question of the industrial development of the Monarchy in the second half of the XIXth century. Even though industrial transformation was experienced most directly in the Austrian territories, especially Bohemia and Styria which were the homelands of some of the oldest mining industries in Europe, recent studies have tended to draw attention to the Hungarian participation in this process (e.g. I.T. Berend & G. Ranki *Lo sviluppo economico nell'Europa centro-orientale nel XIX e nel XX secolo* Bologna 1978). These essays demonstrate clearly, however, that at the close of the XIXth century Hungary was still primarily an agrarian economy in comparison both with the more advanced European states and also with Austria itself.

As a result, the collection provides an interesting and methodologically up-dated perspective on a series of issues that interested both Austria and Hungary, and perhaps marks the beginning of a new economic history of the Monarchy written for "two voices", one Austrian the other Magyar. It is a promising beginning which will be of interest to all those who are eager to understand better the economic developments of the two constituents of the Monarchy.

ANTONIO DI VITTORIO
University of Bari

T.J.A. LE GOFF, *Vannes and its Region: A Study of Town and Country in Eighteenth-Century France*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981. 445 pp.

There are few works that debunk so many historiographical myths so effectively as T.J.A. Le Goff's study of the Vannetais. Le Goff takes advantage

of the extraordinary richness of Breton archives to present a well-rounded, thoroughly documented look at Old Regime society in that part of France that had largely lost touch with modernization in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The result is one of the finest of all eighteenth-century local studies, combining the thoroughness of a *thèse d'Etat* with the accessibility of the best English-language scholarship on early-modern France.

Le Goff begins with a physical description of the Vannetais and moves quickly to an analysis of its economy, society and politics: He builds a strong case against the interpretations of Breton urban political culture set forth by Augustin Cochin and, within the larger French context, by Tocqueville. What they took to be the absence of local political life was, in fact, a very active political culture that, in Vannes, integrated local, regional and national issues within the town council. Le Goff provides a detailed analysis of this body, demonstrating the important role played by the nobility and clergy within town politics and identifying the main political actors. The patriot party of 1788-89 was made up of those, chiefly lawyers, who had been most active in politics between 1785 and 1788. The anti-patriots were led by those (especially nobles, clergy and some royal officers) who had sought to hamstring the town council in the 1780s by failing to attend its meetings and preventing the quorum necessary for taking action.

The discussion of the countryside is equally illuminating. Le Goff gives the best local description of the *domaine congéable* and provides solid evidence both as to the incidence of *congément* and to its mechanism (increasing in the hands of peasants buying out other peasants). The only flaw in the description is that he does not detail the evolution of entry fees for lease renewals, despite the fact that they were "the principal way in which the landlords had raised the rent" (p. 345); they were also the subject of one of the peasants' key proposals on this matter to the National Assembly.

In his otherwise remarkable analysis of the countryside, Le Goff presents one inconsistency with respect to the poorer peasants. He states (p. 187) that: "Rural poverty was intense, but for the most part it was the poverty not of drifting vagabonds nor of temporary marginal inhabitants, but rather of many of the people who lived on the land". His own evidence on low persistence rates (substantial changes in the taxable population from year to year), on widespread use of servants, on large numbers of "unknowns" among the poorest segments of those on the capitation rolls (in Ploeven, 22 of the 39 people paying under 21.), and on the extremely uncertain tenure of *fermiers* and *métayers* all points to a fairly large rural underclass, wandering from village to village either selling its labor or renting out the most marginal scraps of land (at highly unfavorable rents, in comparison to those paid by the *gens comme il faut* - here the *tenuyers* leasing the *domaines congéables*, *tenuyers* whose persistence rates were often remarkable).

Le Goff's general analysis of the countryside and its poor is much more compelling in the chapter on "Insiders and Outsiders". The poor were both:

"Nowhere is the blurred distinction between insider and outsider more evident than in the treatment of the domiciled and the itinerant poor... They had a place at the wedding-feast, but their place was at special tables set up at the end of the field, and they were not allowed to take food out of turn, or become disorderly... The poor were the community's property, they, too, belonged, as long as they stayed in their place". (pp. 227-228).

There is much to praise in Le Goff's analysis of the role of the Church in the Vannetais (more of a follower of local trends than a setter for them) and in his analysis of land transfers to the bourgeoisie (severely retarded by the *domaine congéable*). He also provides a delightful description of rural sociability that takes into account such important activities as fairs and social drinking (one wishes that there had been a bit more on urban sociability, particularly urban religious life in such organizations as confraternities). Again, as throughout this thought-provoking work, Le Goff demonstrates the inaccuracy of old generalizations — in this case, the belief that Sunday mass was virtually the only outlet for rural sociability in the *bocage*. This, in turn, leads Le Goff to some telling observations about loose categorizations of the *bocage* as the stronghold of counter revolutionary sentiment *because* it was the abode of individualist misanthropes.

In his general analysis of the Vannetais and the Revolution, Le Goff demonstrates the extent to which specific local grievances (particularly the Revolution's failure to act on the *domaine congéable*) led to local opposition to the Revolution. While he stresses the point that the division town-country makes little sense with respect to Vannes and the Vannetais, elsewhere he makes a compelling argument that Vannes was really part of the countryside. The dichotomy town-country would, based on Le Goff's evidence, divide Nantes and Vannes, not Vannes and the Vannetais. In that sense, Vannes and the Vannetais are an excellent example of why the Revolution had so much trouble in certain parts of the countryside.

This is a work of fundamental importance, disabusing us of many historiographical inaccuracies — on urban politics in the late eighteenth century, on the role of the Church in western France, on social structure on the eve of the Revolution (in one area), on the quite practical reasons for opposition to the Revolution in certain areas. Le Goff's groundbreaking use of evidence makes this one of the most important studies of eighteenth-century France and a very model of the new generation of English-language scholarship on the Old Regime.

THOMAS B. COLLINS
Lafayette College

D. LINDENLAUB, *Maschinenbau-unternehmen in der deutschen inflation 1919-1923*, Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1985, pp 1-xii, 262.

D. Lindenlaub's recent study is an important contribution to economic history at two different levels. On one hand, it provides a widely researched

account of the development of production and managerial strategies in the German engineering industry during the 1920s, thereby making an important empirical contribution to the study of German industry in this period. On the other, it also represents an interesting and pioneering attempt to seek empirical verification of some of the principal general theories of inflation (inflation induced by demand, by costs, by profits; socio-political theories of the causes of inflation; money demand inducing inflation etc), although these are tested solely in the context of the behaviour of the producers of capital goods. For the author, the main purpose of the book lies in this second part, for which the detailed statistical reconstruction of the activities of the engineering firms between 1919 and 1923 provides the basis of analysis.

The study is divided into four chapters. The first examines the available theories of inflation, which are explored in relation first to the impact of rising prices on company investment strategies and then in relation to the various different factors that might give rise to inflation (pressures of demand, rising prices, increased profits, pressure from political groups). The second and third chapters contain the data resulting from Lindenlaub's research in the private archives of the *Verein Deutscher Maschinenanstalten* and in those of six other major engineering companies. The data are used to assess the impact of the devaluation of the Deutsch Mark on costs, profits, and investments as well as to discover whether the industrial entrepreneurs, consciously or otherwise, acted in such a way as to strengthen the inflationary spiral. Either of these chapters could be read on their own by those interested in the performance of company investment between 1919 and 1923, or in the relationship between company investment and inflation.¹

The fourth and final chapter attempts to examine, on the basis of the accumulated data, whether the different theories of inflation are capable of "explaining" the behaviour of the principal economic variables (profits, investments, prices) and the managerial strategies that were applied in the engineering industry during the Weimar hyper-inflation.

It is worth stressing an important methodological premise which the author introduces towards the end of the second chapter. Although seeming almost marginal, it is in fact an important observation which goes to the heart of the long disputed problem of the relationship between micro and macro-economics. Only when the linkages between the two have been properly identified is it possible to move from one level of research to the other, using patterns and data obtained from specific case studies to inform the aggregate picture without distorting it.² Lindenlaub's solution is to adopt what he calls the

¹ LINDENLAUB, pp 21-2.

² For a more detailed description of these problems see: H. LEIBESTEIN *Beyond Economic Man. A New Foundation for Microeconomics* Cambridge, Mass. -London 1976. On the technical aspects the older study by D. ALLEN (*Mathematical Economics* Macmillan, London 1959) is still reliable.

"*metodologische Individualismus*" asserting that the key to the reconstruction of overall economic activity in a given sector lies in individual options and choices.³ The term "company", he argues, is simply a fiction which disguises the activities of individuals, making it particularly important to evaluate their general objectives and the particular company objectives that they were pursuing. Yet in practice it is often extremely difficult to identify the individual operator, so that "methodological individualism" tends to become a matter of applying undogmatically the behavioural hypotheses contained in the theories of inflation, while attempting to identify as accurately as possible the evaluations made by individual entrepreneurs of the links between, for example, investment and inflation.

It is in these terms that the author develops the very precise analysis of company archives in parallel with the attempted reconstruction of the strategies and responses adopted by individual managers and entrepreneurs when confronted by the realities of hyper-inflation. This is the principal subject of the third chapter, which draws on a massive amount of primary material from company archives in order to explore the policies and strategies that developed within the company managements themselves, and the impact that these strategies had on the process of inflation.

On the whole, the theoretical constructs of inflation that have tended to command support do not appear to fit the data that Lindelaub has compiled. During the period of most massive price increases between 1919 and 1923, investments hardly kept pace with amortization and only began to rise much later in the pre-war period and then for quite different reasons. Contrary to what has often been argued,⁴ inflation and uncertainty over future prices had the effect of discouraging entrepreneurs from new investment since profit levels — the main determinant of investment decisions — became more difficult and hazardous to predict.

Lindelaub subjects the theoretical literature to exhaustive testing and critical analysis, and his findings are presented with great clarity and precision. But in addition this study also points to a variety of new fields for further research. Since it is concerned with a single sector, it suggests the need for parallel work on other sectors of industry which would ultimately permit a more general reconstruction of the behaviour of the German economy as a whole in these years. This would also, as the author points out, serve to create a stronger empirical base on which to construct theories of inflation.

This is an important study, which is rich in data (see the Tables at the end which summarize the principal figures), in bibliographical references and above all in suggestions for further research. It succeeds admirably in bringing together

³ Cf the same author's "Firmengeschichte" in W. ALBERS (ed.), *Handwörterbuch der Wirtschaftswissenschaft* Bd. 3, Stuttgart 1980 pp 293-302.

⁴ Cf: the theory of money demand, of portfolio decisions (J. TOBIN), the debtor-creditor hypothesis and the wage delay theory.

the statistical, historical and theoretical aspects of the subject: something that occurs very rarely.

ILARIA ZILLI

Naples, Faculty of Maritime Economics

H. PHELPS BROWN, *The Origins of Trade Union Power*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1983. 320 pp.

This is a book which missed its moment. Had *The Origins of Trade Union Power* appeared in the late 1970s, after the fall of the Heath government and the collapse of the social contract, the force of its theme would have seemed compelling. But in the wake of Mrs. Thatcher's employment legislation and the union defeats of the early 1980s, the very title has a dated ring, and the reader cannot refrain from doubts about the robustness of a plant that could wilt so quickly. In another sense, however, this book is itself a symptom of the changes it failed to anticipate, since the widespread disillusionment with British industrial relations among intellectuals formerly sympathetic to the labour movement forms an essential backdrop to the Conservative Party's ability to transform its legal framework in ways they would not necessarily approve.

The central claims of this book are that British trade unions are internationally distinctive in their strength and their freedom from legal and political constraints; and that these distinctive features have adversely affected economic performance by impeding productivity growth and promoting inflation. But as the title suggests, the author is less concerned to document the economic consequences of trade union power in Britain — which he passes over briefly — than to trace the historical route by which it emerged and to contrast it with developments elsewhere.

By far the most interesting sections of the book deal with the attitudes of politicians, employers and the courts to trade unions in the Victorian and Edwardian years. Phelps Brown shows that by the 1870s leading politicians and employers had come to consider trade unions a benign force in British industrial relations, which should be allowed to operate freely without interference from the criminal law. By the 1890s, however, the deep-rooted individualism of common-law judges had brought the unions into collision with the courts over newly-created torts of civil conspiracy, and the Taff Vale judgement of 1901, which allowed unions to be sued for damages, threatened to overturn the voluntarist framework of British industrial relations.

Between the legislation of the 1870s and the 1900s, Phelps Brown argues, trade unions had greatly expanded in membership and strength, acquiring an ability to impose restrictive practices in the workplace and disrupt the national economy through strikes undreamt of by Victorian observers. Yet the Lib-Lab government of 1906 chose not to protect union funds by amending the law of agency, as its legal advisors urged, but rather to restore the supposed *status quo ante* by exempting the unions from legal prosecution of any sort.

It is to these legal immunities — repealed by the 1984 Trade Union Act — that Phelps Brown traces the origins of overweening union power. But the consequences might nonetheless have been different, he suggests, had employers been more willing to combine in resisting the encroachments of the unions, like their counterparts in Sweden and the United States. While employers in industries such as shipping or the railways did refuse to recognise trade unions, the bulk of British employers — with the partial exception of engineering — proved unwilling to commit themselves to effective organisation for offensive purposes; and their underlying acceptance of collective bargaining can be seen in the absence of any determined open-shop campaign in the wake of Taff Vale.

Given the favourable legal framework and the attitudes of employers, the stage was set for the progressive expansion of union power, which Phelps Brown sketches in a thoroughly conventional manner. Alliance with the Labour Party gave the unions political protection; the two world wars discredited compulsory arbitration; and postwar full employment decentralised bargaining power to the shop floor, increasing the burden of restrictive practices, fueling cost-push inflation, and scuppering the efforts of successive governments at incomes policies and industrial relations reform.

While Phelps Brown raises a number of stimulating questions — notably about the causes of the early public acceptance of trade unions — his account of British developments is deficient in many respects. This book is not the product of sustained original research, drawing mainly on printed sources such as parliamentary debates, judicial opinions, and letters to the *Times*. But neither is it an up-to-date synthesis of current research findings, reflecting little of the progress in our knowledge of labour history since the publication of the author's *Growth of British Industrial Relations* twenty-five years ago. As a result there are serious gaps in the discussion of such key problems as the nature of managerial practices in the workplace, the dynamics of employer associations and the growth of shop steward organisation which make *The Origins of Trade Union Power* a less than reliable introduction to the history of British industrial relations.

Nor is the explanatory framework more satisfactory. Despite Phelps Brown's insights into the importance of employer attitudes and the legal status of trade unions, his comparisons of the British pattern with developments in the United States, Canada and Australia turn in the end on woolly arguments about the role of national character and the impact of the frontier. In the American case, for example, he devotes adequate attention neither to the constitutional position of the judiciary, which blocked the legislature from reversing anti-union court decisions until the 1930s, nor to the structure of product markets, which gave employers far greater incentives to eliminate trade unions than in Britain, preferring to emphasize supposed differences in worker attitudes to inequality in the two countries.

Most importantly, perhaps, there are weaknesses in Phelps Brown's under-

lying assumptions about the relationship between trade union power and economic performance. Like many conventional economists, he appears to believe that without the restrictions imposed by interest groups such as trade unions, a modern economy will achieve satisfactory growth performance, perhaps with the addition of Keynesian demand management and incomes policies. But as Phelps Brown's own account of British developments demonstrates, the inadequacies of employer strategies in the workplace and the wider labour market are themselves an essential condition for the emergence of trade union power; and despite the constraints union organisation has subsequently imposed, it is far from clear that its rollback will give rise to markedly superior economic performance in the longer-term.

JONATHAN ZEITLIN
Birkbeck College, University of London

J. ŠORN, *Začetki industrializacije na Slovenskem* (Beginnings of industrialization in Slovene lands), Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 1984, pp. 270.

Jože Šorn (1921-1982) was prominent among historians who, following World War II, spearheaded research in modern Slovene economic history. The group included Ivan Slokar, of an earlier generation. Their efforts are reflected in the book under review, which draws in part on Slovene periodical and monographic literature of the last decades.

Slovene lands, extending over most of Inner Austria, shared in Western European proto-industrialization and industrial revolution, albeit with a lag. The ideas and practices associated with the English and particularly French mercantilism appeared in Austria only around 1720, the approximate date at which Šorn's treatment begins. An important division in the text is the lifting of the Continental Blockade, which was followed by technological changes in production and transportation. This initial period of industrialization proper lasted into the early 1870's, where Šorn's coverage ends.

Both the proto-industrial and subsequent industrial developments were linked to the growing role of Austrian ports in the Northern Adriatic, Trieste in particular. In 1717 Austria proclaimed free navigation in the Adriatic, which meant that Venice could no longer tax Austrian shipping. Two years later Trieste and Rijeka were given the status of free ports. Šorn has shown that the traders of Carniola had a significant stake in the development of Trieste, since as late as 1761 one third of the port's exports originated in that province. Among officials who played a prominent role in early port promotion was the Ljubljana mercantilist Franc Rakovec-Raigersfeld. His papers, now preserved in the State Archive of Slovenia, have been used by Šorn to good advantage. He has also drawn on materials in the Vienna Hofkammerarchiv.

Although the expansion of trade through the Austrian Adriatic sea outlets failed to meet the original expectations, existing export demand stimulated production in the Slovene interior. Among the beneficiaries were the Upper Carniolan iron and steel works as well as various cottage industries, especially the weaving of linen. Where a given cottage industry showed a significant regional concentration, putting-out system evolved, as was the case with sieve making in the Kranj area.

It was against this background that local industrial leaders emerged during the Metternich era, for example, Fidelis Terpinec, founder of the mechanized paper industry in the Ljubljana Basin. Ljubljana wholesalers played a role in the development of coal mining in the Trbovlje Basin as well as in the concentration of steel works around Jesenice. The first mechanized cotton mills were established by the Trieste wholesalers (Ajdovščina, 1828; Prebold, 1842) and by the English immigrant William Moline (Ljubljana, 1838). Rosthorn of Vienna founded the Prevalje steel works (1832). Among the noblemen turned industrialists were the Auerspergs (machine building), the Thurn-Taxis's (steel) and the Attem's (steel and glass). The railroads added to industrial impetus, while at the same time destroying some traditional industries (Ljubljana was linked to Vienna in 1848 and to Trieste in 1857).

Šorn covers in detail each industry, along with such special topics as accounting practices, education, and inventions. Available statistical information has been incorporated in tables, including data on output, number of firms and employees, productivity, and number of patents. Particularly illuminating is the author's discussion of regulations pertaining to non-agricultural activities. The power of the guilds was circumvented by classifying certain trades producing for export as "commercial" and by issuing factory licences to firms with substantial capital. As to the public sector, the Carniolan Estates operated rather unsuccessfully a cloth factory in Ljubljana between 1724 and 1747, when it was sold to a private owner.

Although peasant traders were in principle restricted to exchange of their own products and were not permitted to assemble and store goods for resale, prior to the introduction of railroads peasant trade grew by leaps and bounds, especially in Carniola. As regards Slovene Styria, an important exporter of grain, Šorn makes passing reference to eighteenth-century restrictions imposed on peasant trade there. This topic would deserve additional treatment, since it appears that eastern Slovene lands represented the boundary to the east of which the landed nobility was driving peasantry into "second serfdom". To the west of this boundary, where agricultural land was scarce, the landlords encouraged peasants to engage in non-agricultural activities, thus facilitating the collection of peasant dues. One could argue that these divergent developments reflected the comparative advantages held in the West in agrarian and in the East in non-agrarian production.

The painstaking research which went into Šorn's thoroughly documented work is evidenced in extensive indexes of persons and places. Special credit is

due to Jasna Fischer and Peter Vodopivec, who have edited the text left in manuscript form by the author.

TOUSSAINT HOČEVAR
University of New Orleans

V.M. STEFANSKI. *Zum Prozess der Emanzipation und Integration von Außenseitern: Polnische Arbeitsmigranten im Ruhrgebiet* [On the process of emancipation and integration of outsiders: Polish labour migrants in the Ruhr district] (Schriften des Deutsch-Polnischen Länderkreises, Nr. 6). Dortmund: Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa, 1984, pp. x, 327.

Stefanski's study of the Polish minority in the Ruhr District from the 1870s to the 1920s follows earlier research by H.U. Wehler (1961) and Christoph Kleßmann (1978) in West Germany, Krystyna Murzynowska (1978) in Poland and Richard C. Murphy (1977) in the United States. The author relies on Kleßmann and Murzynowska but also revises their results. Murphy's study of Bottrop is less often cited because its exclusive reliance on German-language sources results in incomplete and sometimes naive conclusions.

The Polish workers who migrated from the Eastern provinces of the Reich, including the annexed Polish territories, to the mines and — to a lesser degree — to the industry of the Ruhr can be compared to other labour migrants both in Germany and elsewhere in most respects but there are also important differences. The Polish labour migrants (excluding the small percentage coming from the Russian and Austrian annexed territories) were German citizens: They could vote within the restrictive German election system. Secondly, both their culture and their religion (the majority were Catholics) were under pressure and prosecution because of the Reich's Germanization and anti-Rome policies. Finally, the — widespread — intention to return to the culture of origin was thwarted by the German authorities' refusal to let Poles buy land or build houses in the Eastern provinces and, after World War One, by the unwillingness of the German and the Polish governments to ease the return of those labour migrants who, according to the Versailles Treaty, had opted for Polish citizenship.

After a brief survey of Polish in-migration, about half a million by 1914, and a perceptive discussion of the differences and similarities between Polish and Masurians (Polish-speaking but from non-Polish territories) Stefanski analyzes the living conditions of the miners, the political and cultural control exerted by governmental authorities, the migrants' political and social activities and the return movement. In a final section she compares Polish turn-of-the-century in-migration to the "guestworker" migrations from the middle of the 1950s to the government-imposed restrictions of 1973. Her interpretative framework is the "established-outsider" dichotomy developed by N. Elias and J.L. Scotson (1965). She convincingly demonstrates the restricted access of the Polish minor-

ity to resources, the exception, of course, being jobs. She confirms Kleßmann's argument that a process of "secondary" formation of national consciousness and ethnic community building was forced upon the migrants by the repressive, anti-Polish attitudes of government, church and organized labour. In this respect the development of the Polish community can be compared to Czechs in Vienna rather than to East European immigrant groups in North America. While in Vienna acculturation to the German-speaking majority became the pattern, perhaps one third of the Ruhr districts' Polish miners moved on to French mines in the 1920s. In other respects, e.g. company housing, attitudes of the labour movement and of employers, the Poles faced a situation very similar to that of labour migrants in the United States and Canada.

Stefanski's book, originally a dissertation, is based on detailed research in local archives. She adds to the results of earlier studies and, in some cases, presents a more differentiated argument. Her chapter on present-day labour migration includes a sensitive plea for a humane policy that permits acculturation without forcing it. This case study is a valuable contribution to the scholarship on labour migration in the German Reich and in the Federal Republic of Germany.

DIRK HOERDER
University of Bremen

D.E. VASSBERG *Land and society in Golden Age Castile*. Cambridge, University Press 1984, pp xviii + 263

Following an earlier monograph on the sale of the *tierras baldias* in the XVIth century (Madrid 1983), David Vassberg has now produced a more general study of the Spanish economy in this period. It is not a subject that requires any justification, since Spain in the XVIth century was not only one of the greatest powers but played a major role in shaping world history. The Kingdom of Castile also provided the principal source of revenue for the Habsburg monarchy, yet remained at the same time an almost exclusively agrarian economy in which over 80% of the population were engaged in cultivating the land or raising livestock.

Vassberg's study reconstructs the history of rural landownership in XVIth century Castile, and takes this as the basis for a wider study of agriculture, economy and society, as well as legal history. The kingdom of Castile covered the whole of Spain except for the Crown of Aragon and the kingdom of Navarre, but the author also excludes the Basque provinces, Asturias and Galicia "because the geography of these northern provinces had caused their rural institutions to develop along distinct lines" (p. 3). The wide range of documentary sources on which the study is based are drawn from the public archives of Simancas and the *Chancillerias* of Granada and Valladolid. Published documents and contemporary works have also been widely consulted.

A topic as vast and challenging as this presents major problems, and the author is always ready to point to the need for further detailed studies on particular topics or regions before any fully reliable generalizations can be made. Despite the fact that there are very few studies of Castilian agriculture in this period, and that those that exist are now very old, a new overview is all the more necessary, and Vassberg has succeeded in doing this while always preventing his reader from jumping to premature conclusions by stressing the need to distinguish between the parts and the whole, between conjecture and certainty. The modesty of his approach is indicated by the subtitle of the book which is described simply as "an introduction to the subject of landownership in early modern Castile" (p. 4).

The first three chapters are devoted to community farming, a subject which is described with great skill. Because the greater part of the sources relate to privately owned land, historians have generally neglected both the extent and the importance of community based agriculture in modern Castile, but this is fully developed by Vassberg. The fragmentary character of the sources means that it is not possible to attempt any quantitative idea of the extent of communal agriculture, and given the variety of different types of communal exploitation this would probably be impossible; the existence of collective grazing rights (*derotta de mieses*), for example, effectively blurred the distinctions between the private and the communal. Nonetheless, a vast area of arable, pasture and woodland remained under collective communal management, while there were marked differences in the proportion of private to common land between one village and the next.

Vassberg emphasizes that although the main beneficiaries of the communal system were the small peasants and the landless poor, the wealthy were also generally the principal users and lessors of common lands. But he also shows that the importance of the communal system was widely understood, and that any threats to it were strenuously resisted. Paradoxically, these came from a variety of different sources: from peasants eager to establish their own private land, from nobles and municipal officers eager to turn the commons to their own advantage, and from the royal tax agents who saw in the sale of common lands a ready means of raising cash. While these incursions weakened the communal systems over the course of the century, the final blow was not to come until the mid-XIXth century when the general *desamortizaciones* of church and municipal lands took place. Vassberg's conclusions lend further weight to the argument that the major turning point in Spanish agrarian history came in the mid-XIXth century.

The fourth and fifth chapters are devoted to private land and the distribution of ownership, and while accepting that the peasants' share of private land was less than that of the clergy and the nobles Vassberg reveals that it was still much greater than has generally been believed. Unfortunately, the absence of monographs or adequate statistical data make any quantification of that share extremely difficult. The author also places the peasants' frequent need to lease land

at high cost in a less dramatic light. Leaving aside the *censo enfiteutico* which were generally very advantageous for the peasants, Vassberg shows that the lands held on leases normally formed only a part of the land they cultivated, whereas in many places the peasants could also make use common land which could be cultivated with little if any financial obligation. He also emphasizes the wide differences in peasant holdings from place to place and region to region.

Until there are more detailed studies, these conclusions suggest that some caution is needed in claiming that high leases were the main cause of the impoverishment of the Castilian peasantry. At the same time, the leases do indicate a general shift in the proportion of private to common land, paralleled by a process of engrossing in the hands of a smaller number of large landowners.

Vassberg's analysis is always circumspect, and he draws attention to the difficulties that arise from indiscriminate use of social categories. The terms nobility, clergy and peasantry are extremely loose, and the latter frequently lumps together without distinction wage labourers, share-croppers, leaseholders, owners of family based farms, and wealthy farmers who employed hired labour.

The first five chapters provide a static descriptive account of rural society, whereas the final two chapters turn to the changes that were taking place. The overall context lies in the long period of expansion that began in the second half of the XVth century, and which came to a end in the final years of the reign of Philip II. Vassberg emphasizes that this crisis was an inevitable result of the earlier phase of expansion. The need to produce more food to meet a rising population was met not by intensification of agriculture, but by making it more extensive. The absorption of marginal lands reduced the amount of pasture, and with it the sources of animal enrichment, as well as woodland. Yields, in consequence, fell.

The tragic ending to the period of expansion was only in part the result of natural disasters and meteorological conditions, but was more directly the result of political, institutional, social and demographic factors. While acknowledging the constraints imposed by the Castilian climate, Vassberg prefers to emphasize the human factor. The Castilian peasants continued to use a biennial rotation in which fallow land was not ploughed until as late as the March of the year following sowing in order to maximise the provision of pasture, and this persisted even when the decline in sheep rearing made it less rewarding. (p. 200). Oats and barley which resisted heat better than wheat were rarely grown in large quantities because they were not considered suitable for consumption. While better techniques might have improved productivity, the ancient Roman plough-share remained predominant and prevented deeper tillage, while the use of mules rather than oxen for draught meant ploughing was quick but light. When falling yields are seen in the light of a wider economic recession and of a fiscal policy that became particularly onerous during the final years of Philip II, it is clear that the peasants' situation became increasingly precarious as a new period of prolonged rural decline set in.

Vassberg's analysis is clear and well organized, and its most original section is the chapter dealing with collective farming and the common lands. But since the author insists that the crisis continued beyond the end of the century, it is a pity that there is little on the XVIIth century, since recent studies suggest that this may have been a period of reconsolidation rather than continuing decline.

In the final chapter, Vassberg argues that the decline of the agrarian and pastoral economy brought with it the collapse of the whole edifice of the Habsburg empire. This is a conclusion that is not really substantiated by a study that is addressed to the rural world, and not with its links with the administrative and military structure of the state. If Vassberg is claiming that the crisis in the agricultural economy coincided with that of the administrative, political and military structures of the empire, it could still be argued — despite the conclusions of the important study by I.A.A. Thompson on *War and Government in Habsburg Spain* (1976) — that the administrative and military structures of the Castilian state remained vigorous and effective throughout the first three decades of the XVIIth century. Nonetheless, it must also be true that sooner or later the crisis in Castilian agriculture must have had enormous wider implications for Castilian society as a whole.

ROBERTO MANTELLI
University of Bari