
REVIEWS OF BOOKS

I. GLAZIER - L. DE ROSA (eds), *Migration Across Time and Nations; Population Mobility in Historical Contexts*, New York, Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1986, 384 pp.

This collection of essays results from a panel on "History, Models, and Method in Migration Research" that was convened during the Eighth International Economic History Conference in Budapest in August 1982. The essays offer a wide gamut of approaches (from statistical to psychological) in explaining population movements over time. The twenty-essays span the globe: they include analyses of external migration from India, China, Yugoslavia, France, Ireland, Sweden and Southeast Asia, as well as internal migration in India, Sardinia and the United States. Jana Englova presented the shortest essay (6 pages) on "The Effects of Migration on the Demarcation of Industrial Areas", and Robert Swierenga the longest (30 pages) on "Dutch International Migration and Occupational Change".

The book is organized in five sections (although the last, on "Looking Ahead" is only two pages). The others are: "The Migration Movements to Southeast Asia and Africa", "The Migration Movements to the United States and Argentina", "Inside the Towns", and "Sources and Methodology".

Although there are aspects of coverage from 1673 to the present the book is heavily weighted on nineteenth-century migration. Included in early nineteenth century analyses are essays on the Irish to America, 1800-1850 (Cormac O Gráda) and Dutch migration from 1835-1880 (Robert Swierenga). Essays emphasizing the last part of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth include Italian emigration, 1881-1915 (Luigi Di Comitée), German - Jewish migration, 1830-1910 (Avraham Barkai), Hungarian migration patterns, 1880-1930 (Julianna Puskás), and East European Jewish migration, 1882-1914 (Shaul Stampfer).

Space limitations do not allow me to summarize all the essays. I offer, instead, comments on a few. In part I, on Southeast Asia and Africa A.J. Latham deals with the two largest groups of migrants, Indian and Chinese. The Indian is the most interesting, because there was much external and internal migration, *at one time*. The Chinese story is not as well reported, and, therefore not as well known.

Part II will probably be of most interest to readers of this *Journal*. "The Migration Movements to the United States and Argentina" takes up 192 pages — 50 percent of the book. In one essay, O'Grada tells us that one-half of all the

emigration from Europe before 1845 took place after 1815, and that the Irish provided one-third of that total. Swierenga compares "last job in country of origin to first job" in the United States for the Dutch who came between 1835 and 1870, and he found *no* downward mobility, contrary to many views.

Turning to later movements, Ostergren summarizes research by the Uppsala group — 30 scholars who worked at the University there, who produced a final report in 1976, *From Sweden to America* (Åkerman, 1975). This research tested certain econometric analyses of international migration, particularly those of Brinley Thomas (1954). The Åkerman Study diminished the importance of push and pull factors in Swedish migration, and emphasized, instead, the importance of information flows. Di Comit e stresses, as did Betty Boyd Caroli, that one cannot understand Italian migration without analyzing the number of repatriates. According to him, 13.4 million persons left Italy between 1881 and 1911, but Italy suffered a loss of only 3.8 million persons in that period.

To understand Kamphoefner's essay on XIXth century German emigration, we need to remember the different inheritance laws of France, England and Germany. In France and England, where the Napoleonic Codes and primogeniture prevailed, inheritance was based on national laws, but in Germany, where there were hundreds of jurisdictions, no generalizations were possible. Kamphoefner diminishes the importance of *realteilung* (the progressive splintering of arable land) as the primary factor explaining emigration — a view which goes back at least as far as Friedrich List. Kamphoefner stresses that emigration tended to be greatest where a well-developed, rural, decentralized cottage industry prevailed (the northwest, central and Southwest Germany). He performs econometric analyses on the relationship between this proto industry and emigration. According to him, places that had the highest industrialization had the lowest rates of emigration (the Ruhr, Silesia, Saxony and Berlin).

Barkai, writing of German-Jews from 1830-1910 tells us that Jews were always "on the move", but that *binnen wanderung* (internal migration) was more important than emigration. These Jews moved to large cities. Between 1882 and 1925, the percentage of Jews living in cities of 100,000 persons or more grew from 17 percent to two-thirds. When these German Jews did leave Germany, most went to the United States. Barkai calls these migrants a movement of "the young, the unmarried, and the poor". But they had a very high success rate in the United States. They became part of "Our Crowd" — the established financial aristocracy of New York city. When the flood of Jews came from Eastern Europe to the United States, many of them worked for German Jews who showed contempt for the *Ostjuden*.

Pusk s provides us with a good deal of new information about Hungarian immigration to the United States from 1880 to 1930, but her task was complicated greatly by the political boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Tsarist Russia. Ethnic groups were confused and there was mislabeling of persons. She relied mainly on "comparative studies" and "oral testimony" to overcome these obstacles. She slips in one respect, when she claims that Jews led

in immigration from East Central Europe to the United States by *nationality* — 27.1 percent of the total of 6,502,109. But Jews had no nation there, and many were counted under their proper nationality (i.e. Polish).

As one goes through this book, one is stuck by the recurrent themes: urban centres unable to provide enough employment, poor agricultural productivity, desire to avoid military duty, contact with relatives and friends in the new land and religious and political difficulties. This book also cries out, once again, for additional studies of return migration. Time after time we read that over one-third of all emigrants returned (i.e. to Italy, Hungary or Sweden).

As a participant in the Budapest Conference, I can say that this was indeed an impressive group of scholars who offered new evidence and analyses on the complex factors explaining population movements over time. The volume is a welcome addition to the literature. As an economist, I hope the \$49.50 price does not keep it off too many book shelves.

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S.H.F. HICKEY, *Workers in Imperial Germany: The Miners of the Ruhr*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 330.

The field of labour history has undergone some changes in recent years. Much of what I would term "traditional" labour history has become associated with the histories of strikes, trade unions, labour institutions, and the political activities of organized labour. Meanwhile, there has arisen a "new" labour history, which has stressed more micro-factors — fertility and mortality in working class families, social and geographic mobility, marriage patterns, social customs, household structure, and household budget studies, as well as wages, hours, working conditions, and organization of the workplace. Quantitative methodology is increasingly used. Sources often include manuscript census and vital statistics records, city and business directories, company records, manuscript union records, and manuscript labour department surveys. When trade unions and their activities are indeed studied, it is often from a social science and quantitative perspective — frequency of strikes, participation, types of goals and gains. This represents a merging of labour with social and economic history and historical demography (or, more generally, social science history). Some of these developments in the United States have been associated with scholars such as David Montgomery and the late Herbert Gutman.

S.H.K. Hickey's monograph on the coal miners of the Ruhr represents some effort to move between the more traditional and the newer labour history. It focuses on the period from roughly the 1870s to 1914 and concentrates on the city of Bochum and its environs, although much is generalized to the Ruhr as a whole. (There is a postscript on the war years 1914-18 and the time shortly

thereafter). The monograph represents an extension and reworking of the author's 1978 D. Phil. thesis at Oxford University.

The book fills a niche in the literature. Klaus Tenfelde's important work *Sozialgeschichte der Bergarbeiterschaft an der Ruhr im 19. Jahrhundert* (1977) covered the period 1815-1889. David Crew's *Town in the Ruhr: A Social History of Bochum, 1860-1914* (1979) deals with the same period as Hickey's work, but from a more local and social history perspective. Hickey essentially extends the study of the social, economic, and political formation of the working class in the Ruhr up until 1914.

The central issue is why the working class in the Ruhr should have shown so little success in organizing itself and in achieving its own social, economic, and political goals. "The persistent theme of the present study has been the fundamental importance of the divisions within the working class of the Ruhr" (p. 290). Others have shown that coal miners exhibited a greater proclivity than other workers for organization and that the organization was most often industrial rather than by craft. David Crew, for example, pointed out the failure of effective unionization and strike activity by the metallurgical workers of Bochum, in contrast to the coal miners. The Ruhr was the very heartland of modern German heavy industry, with coal mining, metallurgy, metal fabrication, and machine building. But even there, with a high concentration of miners, efforts at organizing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were only partially successful and strike activity even less so, despite seven major work stoppages between 1889 and 1912. Why? Hickey's answer is internal divisions among the workers, strong and consistent employer opposition, and a basic lack of support from the national government.

Much of the book is devoted to exploring the factors associated with this lack of cohesion among coal miners as a group. Following a brief introduction, Chapter 1 provides an overview of the rapid growth and evolution of the Ruhr's industrial economy and its labour force in the late nineteenth century. Chapter 2 concentrates on worker housing, and Chapter 3 discusses the role of religion in workers' lives and activities. Chapter 4, one of the most interesting, provides considerable detail on the nature of coal miners' work: promotion, skill levels, health and safety, mining techniques, hours, job security, holidays and absenteeism, wages, and social interactions. The fact clearly emerges that workers more often chose the more traditional, individual protest response of absenteeism and job switching to the collective response of unions and political activity. This is reinforced by the discussion of miners' strikes, unions, and political activities in Chapters 5 and 6. For example, when strikes did occur, they were unlikely to involve political issues and more apt to concern wages, hours, working conditions, overtime, etc.

What were the factors creating divisions among the workers? Among others, Hickey identifies ethnic differences (e.g. Germans versus Poles); religious divisions (Catholics versus Protestants); a huge influx of migrants, continually diluting organizing efforts; housing patterns (especially in company housing)

which mitigated against strong community ties; and the interaction of all this with rapid turnover in the labour force. Both ethnic and religious differences exercised a conservative influence on workers. "The labour movement was not so much building on a strong and cohesive working-class community and culture as trying to create one" (p. 294). One notable example of this is the fact that the Ruhr miners organized four different and competing unions.

These conclusions may be hardly surprising to students of German history or labour history in general. But this monograph has its value and fills a place in the literature. It is well-written and provides a detailed view of one industry in one region in a crucial period. It is based on considerable local archival research. The orientation is, however, much more toward traditional trade union history and not socio-demographic and economic history of the mining population. It is not methodologically involved in social science history or the "new" labour history. Statistical materials are used in a descriptive and illustrative fashion. No analysis is done. In consequence, it will be of moderate interest to those concerned with the history of work itself, workers' lives, and everyday workers' activities. But it does establish a link between the factors in workers' everyday lives and the success or failure of union and political activities, and this is, in itself, a very useful contribution.

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M. POHL, *Entstehung und Entwicklung des Universalbankensystems: Konzentration und Krise als wichtige Faktoren*, Fritz Knapp Verlag, Frankfurt a.M., 1987, pp. 7-198.

Pohl begins his latest book on the German banking system, from the second half of the XIXth Century to the present day, by stating that the task of any study on the history of banks should not only be to trace the evolution of credit institutions, but also, through the study of past events, to hypothesise on their future course. Therefore by almost eliminating the gap between the work of the historian and that of the economist, the former traditionally concerned only with the past and the latter with looking towards the future, he recognises how important quantitative methods can be for the historical discipline, especially as a tool for linking the past, the present and the future. (Pohl, introduction p. 11). This methodological introduction is evidently in line with the general approach adopted from the time of the First World War onwards which considers the banks not so much as single credit institutions but rather as an important

element in a broader economic context. This is demonstrated by the even greater attention paid to links between industry and the business world in general, as the English *Business History* brilliantly illustrates, and as has also been recognised by many European scholars.

Actually, although Pohl is aware in his work of the links between banks and economy, he centres his reconstruction on the gradual but determined evolution of the German credit sector towards an universal system of banking.

In particular, the author argues that the development of such a system, from its beginnings to the present day, has been determined above all by two inter-related phenomena: crisis and amalgamation. This hypothesis is developed and illustrated throughout the book, following, chronologically, the changes in the German banking system and linking them to the above-mentioned phenomenon of amalgamation and crisis.

The first chapter lays out the institutional and organisational characteristics of the various sectors into which the German financial market was divided about the middle of the last century. After giving a brief description of the operators before 1850, the author shows how the most important category of German financial institutions between 1815 and 1870 was made up of private bankers (see also Rondo Cameron), who had made a name for themselves as creditors of various local governments. Another significant characteristic feature of the mid-XIXth Century was the proliferation of note-issuing banks in spite of the Prussian Government's hostility.

The 1856/7 crisis, which spread from the U.S.A. to all parts of the world, soon put an end to this boom of note-issuing banks, giving rise to the first example of amalgamation following the occurrence of an economic slump. Indeed, not only was the creation of new note-issuing banks limited by the authorities but there was also an even severer restriction imposed on pre-existing institutions: therefore while in 1875 there were 29 note-issuing banks, in 1875 there were 33, but already by 1875 there were 15 and in 1904 only 5.

Another pillar of the complex German credit and financial market were the stock exchanges, infallible barometers of the political and economic situation, faithful reflections not only of amalgamation but also of national and international crises. Two cities boasted a long and important tradition in this field: Berlin, as the capital of Prussia, and Frankfurt through its centuries-old commercial position.

Another innovation of the second half of the XIXth Century was the creation of Germany's first joint-stock company on the initiative of several private bankers and with the collaboration of individual investors. An example had been set a few years earlier by the *Société Général de Crédit Mobilier* of Paris with the participation of Abraham Von Openheim.

The role of the joint-stock company was destined to become more important for the future development of the German credit system; but the role played by the savings-banks and, to a lesser extent, the co-operative banks, (*Kreditgenossenschaften*) was equally significant as they were created to satisfy the needs of

all the small savers and medium-small economic operators excluded from the business of the large banks.

The first chapter ends by weighing up the changes brought about by the above-mentioned crisis of 1856 in the German credit system, which had begun to show an initial tendency towards both vertical and horizontal amalgamation by the end of the XIXth Century. The second chapter deals with the period from 1895-1924, during which the universal or mixed banking system continued to gain ground in Germany. This process, which is still carrying on today was begun initially by the joint-stock companies, which started to expand into the provinces in these years competing openly with local banks. This expansion was put into effect by the setting up of an extensive network of branches, often accomplished by taking over provincial and local banks with an already formed clientele. A similar process of amalgamation, but of the horizontal kind, was characteristic of the development of the local banks as well as that of the savings banks. The co-operative banks, on the other hand, entered a complex phase of institutional transformation which often affected their legal standing. In all three cases, the problem was to try to compete with the big banks and at the same time increase their own turnover.

The third chapter, aptly entitled "Stabilisation, economic and banking crisis, Second World War (1924-1945)", reconstructs an intense period covering twenty years of dramatic events, and not only for the banking system. As the author himself states, the current economic and therefore financial structure of Germany originated in the troubles of those difficult years in which an unprecedented inflationary crisis was followed by an economic and banking crisis that put the whole world on its knees. Forfeiting political liberty, recovery seemed to take place, but the crisis only re-appeared again after a war of grave material and moral consequence. In particular, Pohl looks into the effects that inflation had on both the internal structures of credit institutions and, for example, on their clients, by altering the relationship between real and nominal size.

The 1931 banking crisis is then examined by considering both the possible explanations and consequences of the more rigid regulations on the German banking system. A feature of this period was the State rescue of several large institutions, tottering after the violent crisis, an operation which, on one hand caused an outcry of protest from other minor credit institutions which had instead been abandoned, and on the other, seemed to confirm Hilferding's well-known aphorism that control of capital meant control of the economy. In this connection, it has been erroneously stated that public ownership of the commercial banks prepared the way for the controlled economy of the Nazi-period. Actually, the purchase of bank shares by the Reichsbank was a means of reconstruction rather than control and national-socialist demands for the 'abolition of the slavery of interest rates' remained what they had always been: a vague and hazy electoral slogan destined to be soon forgotten. Far more important for the banking sector were the norms concerning the "Arianisierung" of the credit institutions. Indeed, considering the influence the European Jewish community

had over the centuries in the world of finance it is easy to imagine the very serious consequences this purging provision had on the operation and survival of numerous important banking institutions. Finally, the last chapter deals with the latest developments in the mixed banking system, from the period after the second world war and onwards; in the first paragraph, Pohl reconstructs in detail the very serious problems which had occurred after the world war and which were overcome only after 1957, the year in which the mark became a convertible currency once again. In the next paragraph, the author examines what has changed in the German banking system since then. It would be difficult to sum up in a few lines the complex history of the past thirty years and undoubtedly, the study offers a clearer and more accurate picture. Fundamentally, increasing competition among operators within the same and with other sectors is a feature of this period. This is a phenomenon which, on the one hand, has provoked notable structural changes linked to the process of amalgamation and, on the other, has driven the German banks, including the savings-banks, towards an international market (consider, for example the transactions with the *Banca Commerciale Italiana* in the mid 1960's).

With a brief mention of the changes brought about in the working of modern banks and in accounting techniques by the communications revolution, Pohl concludes this clear and concise reconstruction of the development of the universal banking system in Germany.

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D. QUELLER, *The Venetian Patriciate, Reality Versus Myth*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1986, pp. XIII, 386.

"This is an avowedly one-sided book. It is an attack upon that portion of the myth of Venice which holds that the Venetian patriciate was extraordinarily patriotic, self-sacrificing, decorous, and wise" (p. IX). So Donald Queller presents *The Venetian Patriciate, Reality Versus Myth*. The myth of which he speaks has commanded historians' attentions for at least half a millennium; they have affirmed it, sung its praises, doubted it and recently begun to move beyond debating it to examine its impact on society, political thought and perceptions.

Now Queller has returned to the original debate on its reality, not so much to doubt as to demolish. With masses of information that reveal the patricians of Venice failing to live up to the myth in virtually every conceivable way and with masses of unsuccessful and regularly ignored laws that demonstrate how ineffective were attempts to enforce the myth, he shatters the traditional vision of moderate, self-effacing patricians committed to the higher glory and common good of their noble republic. One might well suppose that in the cynical last

years of our century, all too aware of the endurance of human frailty and hypocrisy, it would hardly be necessary to annihilate a myth that celebrates the honesty and self-effacing concord of a group of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century merchants and investors who seized hereditary control of their government and legally made themselves a permanent nobility. Merely laying it out is enough to bring a cynical smile.

But some myths die hard and while Queller is not rigorous about it, he does do a nice job of suggesting how the myth still colours historians' work in ways often strange to behold. For him it is the myth's pervasiveness that is at fault — it has become virtually impossible to keep it from sliding back uncritically into our analysis. This is clearly true, but perhaps the myth also endures because it has so many resonances with contemporary mythologies that wish to see in the leadership of modern economic elites — at least the ones we are sympathetic to — the rule of the best and the brightest for the common good. In sum, it is a myth that dies hard because it speaks with a voice many still long to hear.

Be that as it may, for one familiar with the archives as Queller clearly is, it is a rather easy myth to attack given the richness of Venetian documentation for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the focus of this study. Beginning with a brief summary of the myth itself, Queller moves on to investigate one of the chief reasons he sees for the nobility violating it: the relative poverty of a growing number of nobles that led them to use government to support their private economic fortunes.

Obviously, such behaviour does not square well with the myth. He then considers *broglio*, the Venetian form of electoral corruption that covers the gamut from mere electioneering to rigging elections, seeing *broglio* as the key that in many ways allowed government to serve the private ends of individual nobles and their families. There follows a discussion of strategies devised to avoid onerous public responsibilities, a lengthy description of various forms of noble corruption in office and beyond, and a broad-ranging consideration of "other uncivil behaviour" including the revelation of state secrets, disobedience to governmental officials and decrees, public verbal and physical violence, disruption of public business and "miscellaneous unseemly acts". In each area a wealth of detail drawn from both criminal prosecutions and laws designed to restrict such behaviour demonstrates the weakness of the myth. Much of this material is revealing and important for understanding the intricacies of Venetian political and administrative history as well.

It may be that some defenders of the myth will argue that over the course of two centuries Queller's impressive listing of noble misdeeds represents merely a "normal level" of such activities or, perhaps more cogently, that such prosecutions are merely evidence that the myth really had some weight and was to some extent upheld. Readers, however, should not be misled, for although Queller's evidence is extensive, he has just scratched the surface, confining his examples largely to major cases and avoiding the thousands of more mundane prosecutions for malfeasance and corruption heard by the Avogadori di Comun. Their

Raspe registers are filled with such matters and await the scholar who will want to take the analysis deeper leaving the myth's unreality behind to examine the strategies used by nobles to profit at the expense of their state, the alliances involved, and the degree to which those involved represented the poor of their legal class as is suggestively argued by Queller.

In the end Queller's attack on the myth should lay to rest an old issue and allow scholars to move on to newer questions about the development of the myth, the interrelationship between its strong civic strains and civic humanism, its impact on political and social concepts and its use as a justification for a ruling class and a city-state that played a leading role in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe. These researches have been brilliantly begun by scholars like Edward Muir, Margaret King and others; Queller's work should stimulate and in a way free others to further develop these exciting areas of Venetian scholarship.

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R.B. SHERIDAN, *Doctors and Slaves: A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies, 1680-1834*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Pp. XXII, 420.

In the course of a distinguished career, Richard Sheridan has established himself as the leading active authority on the early growth of the colonial West Indian economy. During the past three decades he has produced a series of studies that consider the economic development of the English West Indies at both the micro and macro levels. More than a decade after its publication, his *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* remains the best overview of the economic changes set in motion by the sugar revolution of the mid-seventeenth century, and that book and a number of Sheridan's articles also contain some of the most revealing detailed evidence on the individuals who helped to shape the plantation society of the colonial West Indies.

In *Doctors and Slaves*, Sheridan makes a new departure, as he addresses the medical history of the early West Indies. Yet this new work continues to be informed by his sure and thorough knowledge of the slave economy, and the result is a book that will be of interest to both historical demographers and economic historians.

Doctors and Slaves is concerned with documenting "the pervasive and significant impact of environmental and economic factors on the health and well-being of the slaves" (p. XVII). It accomplishes this by weaving together information on subjects ranging from the practices followed by English doctors in the colonial West Indies, through the diseases, diets, and nutrition of the slaves, to the organization of plantation work forces and the daily routines of slaves on the great sugar plantations of the Caribbean. From these descriptions

emerges a chilling view of the harshness of the colonial West Indian demographic regime, that provides a basis for understanding why deaths exceeded births among the slaves virtually everywhere in the British sugar islands throughout the colonial period. Based on a compilation of information drawn from scores of manuscript and published primary sources scattered in dozens of libraries and archives, *Doctors and Slaves* will be an indispensable complement to recent quantitative studies of slave demography in the early West Indies.

This book will also be of interest to a wider audience, however, for it goes beyond the stated concerns of its title to give a wide-ranging portrayal of the conditions of life and work of both the slaves and their masters in the colonial West Indies. Sheridan always remains aware of the interactions between demography and economics, and a careful reading of the book yields many insights into the business of the slave trade and the operation of plantation agriculture in the New World. Recent years have produced a renewed awareness of the great economic importance of the West Indian sugar islands in the early British empire, and of the brutal demographic and social regimes that grew up on this early frontier as a consequence of the establishment of an economic system aimed at capturing the enormous profits that could be made by producing sugar for European markets. *Doctors and Slaves* adds important detail to our understanding of these regimes. As another major work by a scholar who has been a leading contributor to modern research on the early West Indies, this book will join *Sugar and Slavery* as required reading for anyone who seeks to understand the history of this region during the time when it played such a critical role in the formation and growth of the Atlantic economy.

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F. SNOWDEN, *Violence and Great Estates in the South of Italy: Apulia, 1900-1922*, New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 245 pp., \$39.30.

This is a very expert study of the rise of the farm workers movement and the *latifundia* in a single region of Southern Italy, Apulia, after 1900. The *latifundia* (great estates) developed in Apulia as a high risk, single-crop (wheat), commercial farming system after the property deregulation law of 1865. As an agricultural system, the *latifundia* depended on cheap labour, which became available after the collapse of small subsistence farming in Southern Italy after unification. The disintegration of feudalism in Southern Italy started under Napoleon but was only completed after unification. The laws, however, that liberated and commercialized agricultural property did not lead to an equal distribution of land among small holders. Small peasant farmers in the South lost their land because of excessive division of holdings among heirs and dependence on

primitive farming methods; however, vine disease (phylloxera), high taxes, the new enclosure law, and the collapse of agricultural prices and export markets with the onset of the great depression were all contributory factors. The enclosure law of 1865 which emphasized the principle of private property rights and symbolized the ideological bias of the new Liberal state and the new policy of privatization of the common land, further undermined the standard of living and independence of the peasantry. A new class of landless agricultural workers was thus created that was now forced on to the labour market.

In Apulia, agricultural workers migrated to the large estates, particularly to the Tavoliere, a vast primitive, uncultivated grazing area in the province of Foggia, (appropriately called the Texas of Apulia), which became the *locus classicus* of the *latifundia*. Land ownership was highly concentrated in the Tavoliere where a class structure, based on differences between rich and poor, dated back to feudal times. Low-wage agricultural workers settled in squalid agro-cities under a repressive political system dominated by large landlords and clients. This was the setting in which the revolutionary anarchist/syndicalist movement was born at the end of the XIXth century.

Although peasants in Southern Italy were generally not known for political activism, Apulia was a special case. Snowden describes how the agricultural workers organized resistance to the landlords. In the *latifundia* zone peasant leagues were established on geographical lines and the general strike was used to agitate for higher wages, collective bargaining, the closed shop, labour exchanges, etc. In the small peasant farming regions where the labour force was more diversified, workers organized along occupational lines and the socialist party apparatus was brought into play in local elections to achieve better housing, lower taxes, local government reforms, etc. In periods of good harvest (1906-1909) the workers made gains; in years of poor harvest (1909-1912) the landlords took them away. In the large profitable *latifundia* zone, benevolent landlords often showed moderation in their dealings with the unions. In areas where smaller proprietors predominated, landlords faced with soil exhaustion, falling productivity and a shrinking labour force due to massive emigration, resorted to lockouts, boycotts and intimidation. In the decades preceding World War I the landlords dominated in politics and in the labour markets.

In the post-war period conflict intensified, with inflation, unemployment, and the onset of the Red Years (1919-1921). The landlords lost control of the local political administration while the unions established short-lived soviets. In one of the best chapters of the book, Snowden shows how the *latifundia*, under increasing political and economic pressure from the unions regained the counter-offensive by making common cause with the rising local fascist party and with the tacit collusion of the state, destroyed agrarian socialism through a campaign of terror and violence. Under the fascist dictatorship the great estates were given a twenty year lease on life; they disappeared with the collapse of the fascist regime and the land reforms of the 1940s and 50s.

Twenty years ago, John McDonald studying patterns of labour organiza-

tion, income distribution and property holding in Italy since the late XIXth Century proposed a series of brilliant, if provocative, theses concerning the relationship between emigration and labour militancy, suggesting that in Apulia, the class struggle was an alternative to emigration. Snowden's study contains interesting data on socio-economic aspects of emigration but regrettably he does not test the theory in a formal way. It is nevertheless a major contribution to the literature on Italian and European labour history.

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STUDIA HISTORIAE EUROPAE MEDIO-ORIENTALIS, *Bürgertum und bürgerliche Entwicklung in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, Budapest, 1986, 2 vols, pp. V-VII; 1-916.

There has been an increasing need in the last decade or so for more investigation into the economic, social and cultural history of the countries making up Central-Eastern Europe, so often neglected in the past, which has been felt not only by Western historiography but also by the countries of Central-Eastern Europe themselves. Against this background a group of Hungarian historians have decided to set up a centre of studies dealing specifically and systematically not only with Hungarian history but with the history of all the countries lying between the Elbe and the Urals, highlighting the similarities and differences in their economic and social development.

This is certainly not the first attempt to co-ordinate research in the various countries of Central-Eastern Europe. It is sufficient to recall the research group set up by the Academy of Hungarian Science in 1972, or the various centres of historical-social research founded in the years which immediately followed. The element distinguishing the new "Centre of University Research on Central-Eastern Europe" (set up in Budapest in 1981 and connected to the Department of Economic History of the University of Budapest) from the previous centres is its more far-reaching objectives. The Centre aims to provide a constant and systematic source of information for comparative studies in the history of the countries in the area in question.

So much for the intentions, but it is first necessary to define exactly what is meant by the term "the countries of Central-Eastern Europe", which might appear too vague and even ambiguous. In his introduction to the two volumes under consideration, Sándor Gyimesi underlines the "geographical" nature attributed by the promoters of the centre to the term. "Geographical" in the sense that the area being studied does not have strictly defined confines and includes all the territories lying between Germany and the Soviet Union, with the Elbe marking the western boundary and the Urals the eastern, not excluding

the countries of South-Eastern Europe, towards the south. An area, that is, of strikingly different ethnic and national characteristics, but with a past and present sharing many common factors, from the economical and social point of view.

It is precisely in this connection between past and present that the promoters of the new centre see the key to the understanding of present-day problems in the development of the Central-Eastern countries of Europe. In the process, then, of recovering their own past, their attention has necessarily focused on the long and crucial period of transition from feudalism to capitalism, which occurred in the course of more than two centuries and which differed so greatly from Western Europe in the way it was carried out and in its timing. This gives rise to three main guide-lines for future research undertaken by the Hungarian Centre: first of all, the reconstruction of what could have been the premiss for the capitalistic development of the area; secondly, the study of the characteristics of the local middle-class; and finally the analysis of the present-day socio-economic structure on the basis of lessons drawn from historical experience. The volumes under consideration, in this way, reap the first fruits of the research programme promoted by the Centre of Studies of Middle-Eastern Europe, and, as has already been revealed indirectly, address themes related to the birth of the middle class and to its development in the countries of the area being examined. This is not yet a comparative analysis because, as Vera Bácskai points out in the Introduction (p. 1), studies which are suitably detailed and above all homogeneous in method and in content are yet to be carried out. It has been necessary, therefore, to start, first, with an investigation into the socio-economic history of each country, paying attention, moreover, to methodological problems, and to leave for future study the comparative analysis of the various realities.

In this connection, it is important to note that although the problem of the origin, the structure and the mentality of the middle-class elites is approached throughout the study on the basis of experience and selected methodologies which often vary, such diversity is more apparent than real in the sense that the various perspectives fundamentally serve to illustrate in a more detailed way the picture of a phenomenon already well-known in a general context.

The Poles J. Kosim and R. Koodziejczyk examine the economic role of the middle class in Poland during the XIXth Century through the study of a typical city, in order to illustrate how a social group lived and operated. Kosim reconstructs the activity of the military suppliers of Walsall spanning the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries; Koodziejczyk makes more general observations on the behaviour of the middle-class elite of the city in the XIXth Century.

In a similar way, the Hungarian authors K. Halmos, K.E. Koncz and G. Lengyel, starting from a study of several important entrepreneurial families, attempt to reconstruct the general principles along which the upper middle class adopted its social and economic options in the course of the last century. On the basis of previous studies it is therefore possible to revise the well-known thesis

about the foreign origin of the middle-class and, above all, to explain its predominantly commercial nature. In fact, the sector of trade and credit in this region reached levels of complexity and organisation on a par with the developed industrial structures of the West. This phenomenon was due, above all, to the fact that these two sectors freed themselves more quickly and substantially from corporative restrictions (feudal in origin) which continued to bear heavily on other forms of economic activity for a long time.

Still in connection with the problem of the commercial nature of the middle-class, but particularly focusing on its initial foreign origin, is the contribution of M. Bur who examines, using extensive documentation, the penetration of nuclei of Balkan merchants into Eastern European countries. Operating initially as importers of goods coming from Turkey, their role in the internal market became increasingly more important and, more often than not, led to their settlement in the cities of the Central-Eastern area. The question as to how ethnic groups of disparate origin fitted into pre-existing social structures is considered to a greater or lesser extent by all six authors quoted, with reference to its bearing on the very composition of the local middle class.

Just as important is the analysis of the relations between upper, medium and lower middle class in the various countries which tend to highlight the fluctuations from one level to another as economic development progressed. As can be inferred, for example, from the work by J. Ehmer on the characteristics of the Viennese working class in the XIXth Century, the greater part of the proletariat was made up of small artisans in the early phase of its formation, and this was not just the case in Austria but also in the other countries of the area being considered.

Connected to the problem of the passage of feudalism to capitalism is the question of demographic change and its influence on the urban development of the cities. Vera Bácskai deals with this problem in her essay on the social changes affecting the cities in Central-Eastern Europe in the course of the XIXth Century.

Another aspect of the complex process of the formation of a middle class concerns its ties with the State. In fact the importance which many families who were not of noble origin attached to having a place in the bureaucracy of the State must not be underestimated. Although some scholars assert that the nobility occupied the most important and prestigious positions, something which for the eastern countries needs to be investigated further, the civil servants constituted an important part of middle-class elites. In this connection, G. Benedek's article on Hungarian ministerial civil servants in the period following the *Ausgleich* of 1867 should be noted, as well as A. Hegedüs's article on Hungarian engineers of the XIXth Century. In the latter case this figure, representing the specialised functionary, was crucial for the development of the infrastructural sector which was promoted by the State.

On the other hand, Szabo's approach to the subject of the constitution of the Yugoslavian middle class appears to be quite different from previous studies.

Her's, in fact, is a methodological contribution, motivated by the novelty which this type of historical analysis represents for the historiography of her country and which constitutes, therefore, a useful premis for future research. Other than the articles of a strictly historical-social nature, two contributions should be noted which could be better classified in the ambit of the History of Ideas; A. Miskolczy's study centred on the 20's debate on the historical relevance of the Roumanian middle class, outlining the origins, the structure and the development of the class in the Balkan countries; and I. Bába's study which, starting from an analysis of the idea of the Nation in the XIXth Century, examines the growth of a national consciousness in the Czechoslovakian middle class during the period of the formation of the National State.

The two volumes end with a critical essay on the sources of Z. Tóth, analysing Austrian and Hungarian social statistics, which form the basis of all the research contained in this collection.

It has not been possible to go into detail about each contribution, but the validity of the Centre's aim to increase knowledge of the Central-Eastern countries by co-ordinating national research should be underlined. Undoubtedly, as these first articles already show, further effort will be useful to increase our present knowledge about the formation and development of the vast area extending from the Elbe to the Urals.

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C. TILLY, *The Contentious French*, Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986, 456 p.

Recently Arno J. Mayer was quoted as saying, presumably with social historians in mind, that he considered it "nothing short of obscene that we are not to address questions of power, ideology and economics more centrally than we do". Charler Tilly's major new book may not be exactly what Professor Mayer had in mind, but it moves some distance away from the social history apparently at issue.

The intention here is to "survey from the ground the same terrain that high-flying [for which one assumes one must read political, constitutional, and administrative] historians have mapped into regimes, wars, crises, and transitions' in the old drum - and - trumpet history. The object is to discover the fundamental forces moving this history of France across almost four centuries, to see behind the kaleidoscope of changing regimes, the hulabaloo of even ostensibly profound revolutions, and other superficial political phenomena. The proposition, by implication, is that it was not (*pace* Maurras, Guizot, et al.) the "forty kings" and their middle-class opponents, bearers of the true faith,

who made modern France, but rather the interaction of "ordinary people" with the twin forces of brutal centralized statemaking and no less oppressive capitalism. The method is an examination of the changing forms, or "repertoire", of "popular contention" in five representative regional areas, Burgundy, Anjou, Flanders, Languedoc, and the Ile de France. In each area the experience was a variant, dependent upon local popular traditions and the nature of state authority and capitalist development in it.

In some four hundred pages packed with fresh detail and moving us serenely back and forth through the almost four hundred years, we are shifted from the early modern world of protest and confrontation in the street theatre of the charivari, grain seizures, and antitax rebellions, through protest meetings, strikes, and demonstrations, to the recognizably contemporary experience of occupations and even hostage-taking. This is macro and micro history combined, an extraordinary survey of "ordinary people" in five cities and their surrounding regions as they struggled against the encroachment of both state and capitalism on their rights, their social status, their way of life. Out of more than two score archives, a dozen newspapers, and some hundreds of monographic studies, Tilly brings into the light a small army of the forgotten, as well as the great names familiar in the received version of the national history, to illustrate the endless "contention" between the French and the holders of power, old and new.

From the failure of the *frondes* on, he argues, "ordinary people" were pretty much on their own in the struggle against intolerance and a variety of oppressions at the hands of the centralizing state or from the growing strength and power of capitalist wealth. If the eighteenth-century monarchy made itself unpopular by conscription, taxes, and religious intolerance, it was (on this reading) less the twice-told myths of the Revolutionary tale that brought it down than its essential complicity in the greedy exploitation by the capitalists. But as it happened, the challenge to "ordinary people" was not diminished by the great Revolution, which simply reordered and consolidated state power from top to bottom. Thus the "repertoire" of popular protest did not slacken its activity, and only towards the middle of the nineteenth century did it change fundamentally — strikes, demonstrations, and meetings becoming the common coin of "contention" as the industrial revolution and democratic forms of government became part of the landscape.

Tilly opens his *tour de France* with a set piece in Dijon, 1668, when the municipal council was summarily brought under royal control and "ordinary people" were brought face to face with the necessity henceforth to act alone on behalf of their rights and privileges, and toward the end of his study he returns to Dijon on May Day, 1913, and, on this occasion, the city mayor's defiance of the prefect of the Côte d'Or who asked him to forbid demonstrations against the proposed Three Year's Military Service law. Few turned out for the event which was then cancelled, but, Tilly says, the intent and the defiance reveal a new world and a new repertoire: a world of surveillance and tight political calculation; a

world in which challengers and powerholders bargain out not only the exercise of power but also the limits within which demonstrations occur; a world in which specialized associations do a great deal of public business; a world in which orderly shows of strength make a political difference. In Dijon of 1913 we see the world of collective action we know today.

The story is carried forward to the present moment to show the strength and limitations of the "collective-action repertoire" in the circumstances of the twentieth century. His finding is that, despite a momentary illusion of smashing a regime and bringing down the political, even the social, arrangements of 1968, the "repertoire", now more national and autonomous than ever before, has shown itself effective nowadays only as an indication of alternatives within the system.

Tilly does not believe that all this history of "contention" supports the position of the 1977 *Comité d'Etudes sur la Violence, la Criminalité, et la Délinquance* which found violence beginning to infuse the republic's public dialogue. Rather he draws the conclusion that across his charted territory from the seventeenth century to the present moment, popular violence has diminished, that most violence has been occasioned by agents of the state, and that in any case the overall scale of violence has usually been small. Moreover, as historian, he is quite clear that the study of popular "contention" is a truer mirror to "the continuous experience of ordinary people" than the discourse of politicians.

Finally, in a way that suggests the moderate but firm commitment here, he states flatly that this study also shows "how much the growth of the state and the development of capitalism occurred at the expense of ordinary people". He will not have Alain Peyrefitte's committee's conclusions — for by their struggles, which "authorities call disorder", run the closing lines of this remarkable and illuminating book, "ordinary people fight injustice, challenge exploitation, and claim their own place in the structure of power".

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