

V. DEJOHN ANDERSON, *New England's Generation. The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1995, pp.232.

R. THOMPSON, *Mobility and Migration. East Anglian Founders of New England, 1629 - 1640*, The University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst 1994, pp. 305.

The characters, the chronology and the specificities of the founding of New England are subjects that these two books have in common. Although they use different sources and different approaches both books deal with the development of that impressive phenomenon known as the Great Migration, and concentrate on possible interactions with the economic, social, political and religious changes in the emigrants' places of origin.

We have decided to compare the two books mainly because of the diverse quality and quantity both of information and of the documentary sources of the specific studies. However, the fundamental theme remains the development of a local approach (Greater East England) to the history of English emigration, even though the authors aim to go much further. In one book, the heuristic potentiality of such an approach is examined and a historiographical model is adopted that takes into account mainly micro-migrations, i.e. individual groups of emigrants, how their journey was organised, local and family links; historiographical prejudice in favour of immobility is thus abandoned and we understand how migration was a natural experience and not a break that upset the pre-established order. The other book explores countless paths that are opened to researchers who delve into local realities. In both books there is a continuous recourse to different hitherto unpublished sources, mainly emigrants' papers, diplomats' reports, local history archives, both private and ecclesiastical, records of pastoral visits and other diocesan documents. These are new sources, whose documentary wealth is indisputable. It must also be stressed how both books broach more traditional matters: the relationship between emigration and exile for political or social reasons, the connection between the inclination to emigrate and the economic development of the regions from which the emigrants set out, and the overall picture of emigration from England. The extensive indexes, both analytical and of the names of people and places, are very useful: these are now essential instruments for a complete reading of tables and correspondence. They answer the need to create history in a new way, with more appropriate critical instruments and ever wider sources, a "local" history of the families of emigrants and, at the same time, a history of emigration. With these means, not only can the extraordinary phenomenon of emigration be reconstructed, but also the everyday life of the community, through the emigrants themselves.

The first attempts of the English to settle in America date back to the end

of the sixteenth century, but the real birth of English America took place between 1606 and 1612 through the Virginia Company which in 1608 founded the town of Jamestown on the 37th parallel, in an area with a climate that was hot and humid because of the Gulf Stream. In 1612, the Company occupied the Bermudas, thereby obtaining an excellent port of call for the outward journey to Virginia. This first English colony soon implanted all the social structure of the mother country: a restricted land-owning class with large estates, an agricultural system that was strongly integrated in the market economy because of the tobacco plantations, an Anglican clergy with great power and prestige, and a fluctuating class of agricultural labourers, tenant farmers and small landowners. In 1632 a second colony, Maryland, was founded, and was even more markedly aristocratic, in that it was a full-blown feudal concession from King Charles I to an English nobleman who had converted to Catholicism.

However, in 1620 a second English America was founded on the 42nd parallel, i.e. 800 kilometres from Jamestown, in a region with a very different climate, despite the relatively short distance from Jamestown. This region was not suitable for tobacco plantations but was mostly covered with conifer forests. The region, later called New England, was the destination of religious dissidents for the most part, and firstly of those Puritans who fled Charles I's and the Anglican Church's demands for uniformity or who had refused to accept the defeat of their radicalism at the end of the 1640-49 Revolution. After the first ship with the Pilgrim Fathers in November 1620 landed in the place where New Plymouth was founded, the Non-conformist settlements in New England multiplied, and in 1629 the colony of Massachusetts was founded: its population numbered 16,000 in 1640 and 40,000 in 1660. The social set-up in New England was very different from that in Virginia where there was an aristocratic class of large land-owners, a plantation economy and Anglicanism with its centralised hierarchy: in New England, the Calvinists had brought their rigid moralism, and were not at all interested in the aristocracy and the bishops; they were governed by their pastors who preached asceticism in habits and were convinced that they were God's chosen people for the future kingdom of saints. During their allotted period on this earth, according to Calvinist ideals, they had to prove themselves worthy of this divine choice by working hard - this was an end in itself - and killing the Indian pagans and barbarians which God's will put in their path to test the faithfulness of His people regarding promises of earthly or heavenly glory. Unlike the Spanish, Portuguese and French Catholics who always and in all places attempted to convert to Christianity all the people they met, the English Puritans immediately began to fight to the death the Indian tribes of East America, who practised a nomad agriculture in the forest which was not too far removed from being hunters and gatherers. The New England colonies increased in number during the seventeenth century; among the new colonies, Rhode Island had a particular place: it was founded in 1636 by a group of Non-conformists who had fled from the intolerance and the fanaticism of the oligarchy

of the Puritan pastors in Massachusetts. In the South, too, the colonies increased with the founding of Carolina in 1633. Until then some Dutch settlements, such as New Amsterdam, had continued to exist between New England and Virginia,, but in 1644 and once and for all in 1674 New Holland also became an English colony.

Virginia Anderson dwells upon the claims of the English origins of colonial America, and points out the paradox of the existence of an "English" generation in the history of American culture. She examines the life history of 693 colonizers who arrived in North America on seven ships between 1635 and 1638 and analyses their reasons for leaving England, their experiences during the Atlantic crossing, their colonization models in the New World and their quest for economic security in a new land.

With its wealth of details and observations, this unusual enquiry into the origins of New England gives us an original cross-section of the life of ordinary people, and points out some significant aspects: emigration must be examined not only as condition dictated, but as something that itself conditioned the changes that took place at the end of migration. Writing in simple terms so that even the non-specialist is encouraged to read her book, Virginia Anderson presents the "collective biography" of about seven hundred emigrants, but does not neglect the psychological introspection of the individual. There is no doubt that this is a new approach to the history of English emigration: unlike earlier studies which examined the towns and their inhabitants, this book follows seven shiploads of emigrants during their journeys in the Old and the New Worlds. This offers a more complete picture of the models and functions of migration in the context of the new colonizations, supplies new details about the formation and the culture of the Puritan societies in America and grasps the dynamism of the lives of the first generation of New England colonizers.

Through analysing the process of migration and settlement and the symbolic significance that the participants attributed to their experiences, the book recounts the history of the origins of New England as a history of dynamism and change.

With a clearly more technical approach, Roger Thompson studies the same dynamism and change in the period from 1620 to 1640. His field of study is much wider: he examines 2,000 people who emigrated from five counties between the Thames and Humber estuaries in Eastern England (Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Essex), a geographical area that Thompson calls Greater East Anglia.

Roger Thompson deals with the routes and means of travel, the family life of the emigrants and the kinship connections and groupings in the community, revealing their personal and "ancestral" experiences. The socioeconomic, geographical and environmental context, together with the specificity of the Great Migration in the first part of the book, show how complex the phenomenon was and point to some of its causes. Thompson considers the migration movement from two standpoints - that of the emigrant who departs and that of

the person left behind. In any case there are two movements: one person moves towards new destinations and the other moves to go back to stability.

The second part analyses the emigrants' personal and ancestral situations and follows the emigrants across the Atlantic to the New World, enquires into their lives and classifies them in well-defined social groups: gentlemen and clergy, entrepreneurs, artisans, peasants and servants. Thompson tries to define migration as a solitary uprooting from a stable and predictable world consisting of familiar places or else just as a longer movement among many new settlements. Thompson throws light onto the problem of why people emigrated: were these colonizers driven by the hope of becoming rich and of finding a purified society or were they driven by the intolerance and persecution of which they were victims in their mother country? Did they see New England as an escape paradise or as an opportunity to exploit? Did the New Englanders try to repeat "English customs", conserving traditional society and culture, or did they embrace change and innovation? All these questions are answered in the third part of the book which is about the New World communities, the Companies, the characteristics of New England and the author's conclusions.

The reader can perceive how shrewdly the author uses the material at his disposal and how ably he interprets the quantitative data and the series of statistics, extracting all that they can reveal to us, identifying what they do not tell us or what they tell us if studied superficially or in a hurry. The book can thus suggest a series of extremely plausible hypotheses and stimulating research suggestions.

Ample space is given to the migration options: Roger Thompson concludes that no single element that generates the inclination to emigrate is more important than any other in determining to which country or continent people emigrate. It is all the factors together which determine emigration to one particular destination: means of transport, shipping companies, organisational networks, financing and allowances, salary incentives or the offer of land, migration policies, the role of the Church, migration chains, links of kinship and so on.

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H. S. KLEIN, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, pp.234.

C. SCHMIDT-NOWARA, *Empire and Antislavery. Spain, Cuba and Puerto Rico, 1833-1874*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999, pp.239.

The theme of slavery in Spanish America has for some time been the object of attention among historians, sociologists and anthropologists, although the number of reliable studies are surprisingly quite few. Among these, however,

we ought to include the present two works under review. They deserve the reader's attention - and not just that of the specialist - for several reasons but above all because they explore the very close ties between emigration and Europeans' colonial beginnings from the end of the fifteenth century. The slave trade was a form of forced emigration and as such is important for the reconstruction of migration routes and patterns, family and community relations, but also for throwing light on the ideological issues relating to the racial problem.

Both authors address these problems from a particular geographical and chronological point of view. H Klein, who has set himself a more ambitious task, examines the Atlantic slave trade over four hundred years, looking at the experience of west and east Africa and the American colonies and republics that purchased slaves. His is a fascinating work of synthesis which sets the slave trade in a context of international trade and focuses on the economic, political and demographic impact of the slave trade without neglecting the cultural implications of the growing relations between Asia, Africa, Europe and America.

The employment of black slaves in the sugar plantations went back to the fifteenth century at the time of the Madeira plantations and those of other Atlantic islands. The export of slaves from Africa to Cuba and San Domingo had already begun at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but although the Spanish colonies were among the main purchasers of slaves Spanish sovereigns sold the contract (*asiento*) for this trade to dealers of different European nationalities (Portuguese, German and Dutch). The trade in human beings was dominated firstly by the Portuguese, who controlled strategic points along eastern trade routes, followed by the Dutch, the French and the British who, breaking the slave trade monopoly, engaged in both piracy and the contraband trade.

The attitude of the Portuguese was striking: they had no emigrants and their population was poor and small and yet they aimed to supercede Venice in the oriental trade. The discovery of the Golden Coast gave the Portuguese one of the most important ways for exploring the African coast. There they found the gold which enabled them to intensify trade with Europe, carrying away with them the first black slaves. This attracted the merchants' attention to African trade and since black slaves were already exploited in Portugal, within a short time, regular cargoes of slaves were organised, the most valuable merchandise that had been known until then. The Portuguese were the first to import into trans-Atlantic possessions the habits and behaviour which were typical of the European economy, an economy that for some time had become dependent on slavery and which had developed an excessive taste for ostentation in public life combined with apathy and idleness which became an authentic behaviour model for exportation. In their relations with the indigenous populations with whom they came into contact, the Portuguese were intolerant and intransigent as regards religion but basically inclined to set aside racial discrimination, even to the point of allowing mixed marriages.

The slave trade had a triangular pattern: a European ship loaded with weapons, metal objects, coloured textiles and liquor sailed to the west coast of

Africa where in exchange for its cargo it obtained African slaves whom it would then carry to the West Indies or the Americas. The human cargo was then exchanged for sugar, tobacco and spices to be brought back to Europe. The profits from such trips were exceptionally high and rarely affected by the high mortality rates of slaves or by the crews who travelled in inhuman conditions.

Klein takes into consideration the studies already published about the subject, providing the reader with a large bibliography complete with a long list of documentary sources and printed sources from which it emerges that the first studies on the Atlantic trade began in the last decades of the eighteenth century when 75,000 slaves arrived every year in American ports. In their attempt to reconstruct the forced migration of the African slaves, the British abolitionists sought to establish its dimensions by collecting data on crew and slave mortality rates and above all by showing the economic impact of the black slave trade on both the American and European economy. On a par with the latter, the African economy was particularly open, the only difference was that the raw material were human beings and thus the impoverishment to which it was subjected was of the most serious kind. The effects of the trade on the natural development of the African population were thus much greater than we could ever hypothesise, since it affected mainly the young, male population. The slave trade and the violence it engendered had undoubtedly a deleterious effect on the vitality of the African peoples, leaving an irreversible mark on their history.

Although the aim was to provide propaganda material which would be useful in their campaign, the abolitionists undertook serious studies. When the British parliament began to impose the first formal restriction on traders in 1780 and 1790, British government agencies began to gather statistical data systematically, which they carried out up to the mid-nineteenth century. The interest in the slave trade was still alive in 1810 when, after having convinced their own government to put a stop to this inhuman activity, the British abolitionists concentrated their efforts on its abolition in other countries. It should be stressed that over time the black slave trade had lost its characteristic of violence and had increasingly taken on the features of ordinary commercial business. European traders purchased their goods through mediators (always African) whom they paid with textiles, weapons and metal objects. The large slave companies and, generally speaking, the buyer of slaves were not obliged to know how their human goods were brought onto the market. At the beginning of the nineteenth century European penetration into Africa was limited to a few ports; the end of the Atlantic trade occurred in the mid-nineteenth century and coincided with the European conquest and colonisation of Africa. At the same time, imperialist and racist ideology began to spread in the mother-country cities.

Schmidt-Nowara's study is more circumscribed (Spain, Cuba and Puerto Rico from 1833 to 1874) although it is richer in detail and contains illustrations and photographic reproductions of documents. His is a long and well thought out enquiry into the legitimacy of the revolutionary regime and the dissolution

of tensions in colonial societies, which began in 1830. The origins of the Spanish abolitionist movement, the threat to the imperial system and to its economic hegemony, the strategies adopted in the protest and its results are the subject of study.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the Spaniards managed to create plantations in Cuba which were able to compete with French and British plantations and the island's black population grew rapidly. However, the case of the French islands remains exemplary: while around 1790 half of Cuba's 270,000 inhabitants were black and half were white, in Haiti 80% of its 245,000 inhabitants in 1764 were black slaves. The appearance of coffee plantations in the Antilles in 1730 alongside sugar plantations led to an increase in the demand for slaves and around 1790 their total number on the islands must have reached a million.

After the Spanish colonies in South America had revolted at the beginning of the nineteenth century, independence and anti-slave movements also grew in Cuba (although the island remained a Spanish possession for almost the entire century despite the efforts of revolutionaries like José Martí and Máximo Gómez) and began to take effect after the American War of Secession, largely due to the support of the United States. In 1898 the Hispanic-American War broke out, ending in Spain's expulsion from Cuba, which proclaimed its independence under the protection of the United States, which claimed the right to control the island's politics and to take over the naval base of Guantánamo. Meanwhile, in 1865 the Spanish Abolitionist Society had been set up and launched its revolutionary attack against the slave movement in the Antilles and the colonies. The increase in the black population in the area of the plantations gives us a very clear picture of the trade's enormous human dimension. At that time there were more than 300,000 slaves in Cuba and Puerto Rico and while in 1870 the colonial government had passed a law which promoted the gradual abolition of slavery, the Cuban slave traders held on even more tenaciously to their slaves, whose labour was of central importance in all kinds of primary production. Slavery and the slave trade was vital for Cuba and was an essential source of revenue for the island up to their final abolition (trade in 1867 and slavery in 1886).

The efforts of the Spanish Abolitionist Society to abolish Cuban and Puerto-Rican slavery met with huge opposition both in the colonies and in Spain, as soon as the basis of economic and political hegemony within the imperial system was threatened. The abolitionists, the radicals and federal republicans showed that the Cuban insurrection had effectively weakened colonial slavery and that the only way to re-establish Spain's legitimacy was to obtain the immediate abolition of slavery. The Spanish reformers and Puerto-Ricans believed that immediate abolition was, on the other hand, vital for Puerto Rico in view of the possibility of indemnity and the availability of free labour, and the level of racial mixing among the working population. Thus the abolitionists and separatists concentrated on Cuba.

Schmidt-Nowara uses his sources (archives of the colonial administration in Spain, the Overseas Ministry, personal correspondence, newspapers, leaflets,

memoirs and parliamentary debates produced by political activists and slave dealers on both sides of the Atlantic) as political records of men who were strongly motivated to interpret and perhaps to influence their social circles. His study is based on four main discussion points. The first is belief in the need for historians to rethink the power and complexity of Spanish colonialism in the nineteenth century as a necessary basis for understanding the dynamics in the growth of slavery in the Antilles. According to Schmidt Spanish colonialism did not end with the Hispanic-American revolution, there was only a shift in interests: the commercial and agricultural hegemony, and the metropolis's military objectives were concentrated again on Cuba and Puerto Rico, right in the mid-nineteenth century. In particular, an elite of the Antilles' community managed to become part of the Spanish Empire because it was especially productive and economic.

The second point concerns the Spanish Abolitionist Society and related anti-slave initiatives. Schmidt ascribes great importance to the role of popular political mobilisation in the economic changes which marked the ending of slavery in Cuba. Spain, Cuba and Puerto Rico are presented as parts of an integrated political whole, despite the rifts. To fully understand anti-slave history we have to venture beyond the cultural and territorial limits of single countries and place them in an imperial context. In particular, the island of Cuba, which was first joined administratively to Puerto Rico's harbour office later (1777) became itself a harbour office and acquired an extremely important strategic role for the continent's conquest. The economic exploitation of the island was based above all on tobacco plantations, plants for dyeing and, in the seventeenth century, on sugar cane, for which black slaves had been imported from the very beginning.

The third point stressed by Schmidt-Nowara concerns the perception, filtered through a "racial lens", that the Spanish and Antillian elites underwent political and economic change. Cuban and Puerto-Rican slavery exploded into the Haiti revolution, the only rebellion of Caribbean slaves to be successful in the Atlantic.

The fourth and final question addressed by the author regards the historiography of Atlantic slavery and its abolition. The dominant theories in anti-slave studies generally tend to emphasise – more in the colonies than in the mother country – the central role of social and cultural changes in producing attacks against slavery. Schmidt-Nowara argues that, to understand the origins and interests of the abolitionist movements, we must re-assess the interaction between the colonies and the mother country, two sides of the same coin.

The history of Atlantic slavery, which itself possesses an abundant and critical literature, the history of the abolition movement and of migratory communities will greatly benefit from these two studies which provide a wealth of information and analytical perspectives.

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S. LOPEZ GARCIA AND J. M. VALDALISO (eds.), *Que inventen ellos? Tecnología, empresa y cambio económico en la España contemporánea*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1997, pp.373.

Debate about economic history is often concerned with understanding its role in history and its role in economics, thereby defining its research area. This also occurs because of the awareness that all too often economic history has been kept separate from economic theory, especially from economic theory that makes a close study of institutions. This is a mistake, because the one discipline can be of great help to the other. This is what F. Vega Redondo points out incisively in the preface to this book, a collection of papers edited by S. Lopez Garcia and J. M. Valdaliso. In the Introduction (*Introducción: hacia una historia económica evolutiva*), the editors summarise the attitudes the authors of the various papers adopt. They are convinced that, in spite of the feared crisis in economic history and economics which has been the subject of so much debate in recent years, it is legitimate to reach the opposite conclusion: both disciplines have recently made enormous progress, finding a promising road to recovery, thanks to the history of enterprise and the history of technology in the case of economic history, and the theory of technological change and enterprise in the case of economic theory. Hence the hypothesis of an increasingly close link between the two disciplines, most decidedly due to the study of institutions, enterprise and technological innovations.

These, then, are the book's basic themes which are easily seen in the individual papers which all deal with the history of enterprise and technological progress in Spain. As is pointed out in the Introduction, the book has three sections: the first section is theoretical, and deals with the connection between technology, entrepreneurial spirit and economic development; the second section is historical, and tackles the consequences of technological change in the primary sector in two different regions of Spain; and the third section deals with the same issues, but in industry and transport.

There are two papers in the first section: *Funciones empresariales y desarrollo económico* by E. Torres Villanueva and *De exploración con Schumpeter* by S. Lopez Garcia. Torres Villanueva's paper aims to analyse the role of the entrepreneur in promoting economic development, understood principally in terms of productivity and income growth *per capita*. In fact, distancing himself from the Neoclassical school of thought which (it is claimed) would have undervalued the role of the entrepreneur as a factor in production, Torres Villanueva emphasises the role of the entrepreneur in economic development. To this end, he reminds the reader of some of the theories on the entrepreneur that he deems most significant in the history of economic philosophy, such as the theories of Cantillon, Schumpeter, Knight and Liebenstein, ending with Baumol's most recent formulation; and, maintaining that the subject is far from being exhausted, he concludes by warning that the relationship between

enterprise and the rate of economic development does not always "produce favourable results" (p. 82), in that it can at times give rise to periods of weak economic growth, and even stagnation. Torres Villanueva points out that there is a precise reason for this: it depends on the incentives offered by the institutions, and above all the State which defines the rules of the game and ends up by conditioning entrepreneurial decisions.

Such decisions are also closely linked with the "technological" factor. This latter is an obviously significant variable and is the subject of the above-mentioned paper by Lopez Garcia. The author states that he intends to provide an instrument of analysis, a "model" for empirical works of the historic kind which deal in particular with the industrial sector: more precisely, he aims to analyse how an industrial sector gradually adopts technologies analogous to the technologies of other sectors that are similar but more advanced technologically. To prove his case, Lopez Garcia begins by quoting the theories of some of those he believes to be the more significant economists, especially J. Wolf, an early twentieth-century German economist who - we are reminded - was the first to apply the law of diminishing returns to technology. Lopez Garcia goes on to examine topics such as "technological paths" and "levels of technological proximity", which allow him to present a "model" that is useful to anyone who wants to field test the technological development of the various industrial sectors.

The second section of the book moves on from the analysis of the contribution of economic theory to the study of "concrete" problems. The paper by R. Dominguez Martin and L. de la Puente Fernandez (*Dependencia de la trayectoria y cambio tecnico en la ganaderia de Cantabria, 1750-1930*) deals with technological changes in cattle-rearing in Cantabria from 1750 to 1930, a period in which many changes were seen in this sector: cattle were at first reared to draw carts, and then for meat and milk. According to the authors, the paper's interest lies mainly in its direct attempt to examine how technological changes took place in the agrarian sector, because there has been very little research done on cattle-rearing. Such changes have taken place uninterruptedly over the years and have been influenced in particular by the environment, by events in history and by institutional and entrepreneurial factors, leading to Cantabria's ever-increasing specialisation in the cattle-rearing sector.

Significant technological changes can be recorded in another field in the primary sector: fishing in the Basque provinces, which is the subject of a paper by E. Lopez Losa (*Recursos naturales, derechos de propiedad y cambio tecnico. La difusion del arrastre a vapor en las pesquerias vascas, 1878-1936*). Pointing out the peculiarities of the fishing sector and recalling the debate on the concept of "common property", the author lists the disputes that arose when trawling using steamers was introduced: the technological improvements brought about by steam had rendered traditional fishing techniques unproductive and had caused the prices of some kinds of fish to plummet. The conflicts were serious,

but the mechanisation process could not be halted and led to the establishment once and for all of a capitalist-type fishing system, "based on trawling and the marketing of fresh fish" (p. 207).

The third part of the book consists of four papers about industry and transport. They analyse entrepreneurial action in four distinct sectors and the various technological changes found in these sectors, changes that have produced different results. In the first paper (*Las transformaciones tecnologicas de la industria harinera española, 1880 - 1913*), J. Moreno Lazaro shows how, unlike other European countries and despite knowing about new techniques, Spain, with the exception of a few big cities such as Madrid or Barcelona, had a flour industry which, at the end of the nineteenth century, was the most backward in Europe. The author believes that the reason for this lies both in the Spanish tariff policy which was protectionist and prevented technological innovations from taking a solid hold in Spain, and in the small demand for flour-derived products on the part of Spanish consumers. Consequently the flour entrepreneurs' immobilism eventually hampered the development of the bread, biscuit and pasta industries.

The Catalan cotton industry has a very different history. It was very dynamic, having established itself as one of the most important sectors of Spanish industry and economy, according to J. R. Rosés Vendoiro in his paper (*La integracion vertical en el sector algodoner catalan, 1832 - 1861*). He points out that, although until 1850 "sub-contracting" was the principal way the sector was organised, after 1850 the spring-board for the Catalan textile industry was what is called "vertical integration", understood, according to most economists, as the elimination of dealings among different enterprises in favour of dealings within a single enterprise. Vendoiro maintains that it is only because of this "vertical integration" that the Catalan cotton industry was able to introduce the technological innovations which rendered it more productive and enabled it to go beyond the "limits" of the Spanish textile-products market i.e. the erratic nature of demand, the restrictions of the market, the flaws in the financial markets which were incapable of procuring the capital necessary for enterprise, and some institutional problems.

However, the military shipyards in Spain saw a real technological boom, and became one of the most technologically advanced sectors. This is the subject of A. Lozano Courtier's paper (*Estado, importacion de tecnologia y nacionalizacion de la construccion naval militar española: la SECN. 1909-1935*). The author points out that this technological revolution was largely due to the contribution of foreign technology, especially English technology. In fact, in a poor country, such as early twentieth-century Spain, precious little would have been achieved without foreign aid, which was decisive in the military industries of Italy, Japan and Russia. In Spain, some English companies contributed to the capital of the SECN (*Sociedad Española de Construccion Naval*) which obtained the ship-building contract in the 1908 "Naval

Programme", a programme adopted by a country that was playing a more direct part in the economy and was moving more and more towards an economic policy founded on nationalism and tariff protectionism, with a marked interest for the military sector.

Technology played an important role not only in the military sector but also in the merchant navy which was a real "technology-consumer sector" (p. 305), as J. M. Valdalisio argues in the last paper in the book (*La evolución del cambio técnico en la flota mercante española en le siglo XX: tecnologías disponibles y factores condicionantes*). Often entrepreneurs' decisions determined whether a particular technological innovation became widespread or not, but technological, economic and institutional pressure also played a part. This is what happened in the case of the Spanish merchant fleet which presents certain technological peculiarities such as the widespread presence of the diesel engine for propulsion machine, the slow adoption of oil-derived liquid fuel and a tendency to specialise in ships destined to carry oil or other liquid fuel.

In short, the third and last section of the book deals with four different sectors which are all connected with technological innovation, an aspect with which every entrepreneur must reckon, as this book demonstrates. The book's principal merit is that it highlights a new perspective for the interpretation of economic history, based "on the historic analysis of technology, enterprise and the institutions to try to improve our understanding of economic growth and development" (p.49).

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O. PRAKASH, *European Commercial Enterprises in Pre-colonial India*, in G. Johnson, C. Bahly and J. Richards (eds.), *The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol. II, 5, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 377.

Om Prakash has made a substantial contribution to a series already distinguished by remarkable breadth and competence. He covers the three centuries from the momentous landfall by Vasco da Gama on the Malabar coast (1498) until the no-less significant British take-over in Bengal in the late eighteenth century: in brief, from enterprises driven by trade to the beginnings of territorial occupation and colonial rule. Since the presence of Europe was multinational and pervaded Asia, his task in demonstrating the share of India becomes that much more demanding. And for three reasons.

In the first place, the enterprise embodied the complex tensions and ambitions of Europe. Spain and Portugal came first and claimed a global monopoly which prevailed through the sixteenth century. Soon, however, other nations stretched every nerve to enter the field. Governments and merchants worked in collusion. All or almost all had dealings in India. The Dutch and English weighed in with

better business acumen and more resolute organisation. The joint-stock Dutch United East India Company or V.O.C. (1602) was an outstanding innovation with long-term capital, ships, guns and sophisticated marketing. The English company (1600) quickly appreciated the advantages of such strategy and followed suit. When the Portuguese lost control of Hormuz (1622) the relation between Europe and Asia entered on a new destiny. The Dutch captured strategic points of commercial navigation: Galle (1640), Malacca (1641), Sumatra (1667), Batram (1682) and virtually expelled the English company from the archipelago.

Unlike the expansion of Europe in America these traders came face to face with established empires. Mughal power arrived in India and after the battle of Panipat (1526) the emperors tightened their hold on the sub-continent. They took time to found a capital, first Agra on the left bank, then on the right bank, Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore, Agra and finally Delhi (1638). Confronted with this huge polity Europeans traded cap in hand, confined to maritime strategies along the littoral of India. However, the growing size of their operations gradually made them indispensable. After the death of Aurangzeb (1708), Mughal power began to crumble and the English company took advantage to edge further into the life of the country. They paid tribute and provided fiscal services. But corruption was rife and difficult to subvert. Robert Clive laundered his takings through the Amsterdam market.

In the broader context, European trading in Asia played counterpoint to settlement in America. After about 1580 the Portuguese found more attractive opportunities in Brazil and progressively left Asian trade to private merchants. Two centuries later, Britain turned from rebuff in North America (1776-83) to further occupation of India. In the second half of the eighteenth century, private English merchants were prompt to ship Bengal opium and Gujerat cotton to Malaya and China.

In the second place, the structure of trade changed substantially. Many of the markets were highly specialised and the list of merchandise was long and comprehensive. Cargoes included textiles, metals, drugs, Dutch beers, French wines, and the ever-present spices. Pepper was the first attraction and the Portuguese monarchy struggled to establish a lucrative monopoly. But pepper came from a creeping vine which was accessible and widely cultivated. The more merchants tried to buy up the market, the more peasants reached under their charpoys for reserves of peppercorns. The Portuguese came reluctantly to realise that the 'corner' had dribbled through their fingers.

The V.O.C. initially followed the same course and about 1620 pepper made up some three-fifths of their returns. However, fine spices offered better prospects. The cinnamon of Ceylon and the nutmegs and cloves of the Moluccas came from trees and could be controlled. The Dutch took over Amboina and Banda, expelled the English, managed production, and formed a strict monopoly. The trade was small but the profit-margins were substantial. In the Netherlands these spices sold in small parcels 'over the counter' at prices which remained stable for decades

on end. In the mid-eighteenth century the profits in Asia often continued to be astonishingly high. In Coromandel nutmeg sold at 36 times cost; in Cochin 20 times; in China 12 times. Cloves sold in Coromandel and Cochin at 16 times cost. The markets in Persia, Japan and Bengal also remained favourable.

Through the seventeenth century a further revolution took place. Textiles became the great attraction for Portuguese and French as well as Dutch and English. By the end of the century these provided more than half of the V.O.C. trade. Most came from India: muslins and dungarees from Coromandel, sallampores from Malabar, guinees from Gujerat, calicoes from Bengal, and many others. In the eighteenth century tea from China and coffee from Java also made their mark.

The Dutch achieved their extraordinary commercial success through determined and well-funded organisation. They replicated the comprehensive strategy of market convergence in Europe based on the great clearing-house of Amsterdam. In the archipelago they opted for a central depot in Jakarta renamed Batavia (1619) and their 'comptoiren' or trading-posts branched out across Asia, from Persia to the Moluccas and from India to China. Merchants and merchandise travelled in all directions. Even in the mid-eighteenth century, when Britain began to dominate transfers between Asia and Europe, the V.O.C. held tightly to the reins of inter-Asian trade. Bengal came first in total outlay, but on nearly three million guilders annually the returns were comparatively low. However, in overall profits the first five 'comptoiren' were China, Coromandel, Bengal, Cochin and Ceylon. The highest percentage profits came from Coromandel, Gomburra and Cochin. By any count, India was well ahead.

The English company faced powerful competition from the V.O.C. and the entrenched authority of Mughal emperors. It took time to settle in. During the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries Coromandel and its textile production became the focus of interest. Then Calcutta and Bombay came to the fore with trade to Malaya and China. In the second half of the eighteenth century the English company extended, now here now there, the tentacles of territorial control: the command of Surat castle (1759); revenue collection in some of the textile areas of Coromandel in the 1750s and 1760s; the assumption of *diwani* rights in Bengal (1765). These intrusions further exposed the advancing decadence of Mughal power.

In the third place, the relative magnitude of the Asian economy changed. For *The Times Atlas of World History* (1984), the circle of global trade centred on Asia and closed in the sixteenth century with the voyages of Portugal via the Cape and of Spain across the Pacific. Om Prakash attaches great significance to the superior skills of Asia and of India in particular. These created industrial capacity and a credit surplus in trading with Europe. In effect, his study covers three centuries of artisan India before industrialisation reversed the balance.

Europe settled the trading deficit with precious metals. The flows of gold and silver to Asia were lost in the mists of time but returned in strength with the

discoveries of mines in America. The English company, as K.N. Chaudhuri shows, did not export gold during the first half of the eighteenth century when this metal poured from Brazil into Europe in general and Britain in particular, but still managed to find increasing quantities of silver. Paradoxically, in the period 1750-1770, as gold production in Brazil fell and silver production in Mexico rose, the company's export of silver to India declined appreciably.

The maps and graphs accompanying this study have shortcomings in the location of place-names and require careful scrutiny. These lapses nevertheless should not blemish an excellent study which merits its place in the bibliography of early globalisation.

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P. SQUATRITI, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy AD 400-1000*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, pp. XII-195.

It is not always the case that a book's title corresponds exactly to its contents. In the case of the book under review such a correlation emerges very clearly not only from the heading of the six chapters which make up the book but also from the contents of each chapter and each paragraph.

The subject of the book is water and its relation with Italian society in the period from the waning of the Roman Empire to the early medieval period. Within the time-span of this *longue durée*, water is studied from the point of view of its daily uses: bathing and body cleansing; wet and dry agriculture, fish and fishing and its use as motive power. The book's basic scheme is, in its very simplicity and clarity, particularly incisive and stimulating.

Squatriti stresses that in the period under study water in Italy was a "raw material and central to, nature and civilisation." This ambivalence dictated the ways of searching for, distributing and using water and also stimulated the creation of new methods and technologies in order to guarantee supply and use. The interaction between natural and social elements provides the book's overall *leitmotiv* and also explains why, whatever the ruling class in power, it could never neglect to supply rural and urban populations with water. This included the Church which was responsible for searching for water and providing the necessary facilities for conveying it to users on land under its care.

The book addresses an important period in Italy's economic transition, that is from the fifth century A.D to the tenth century, which was marked by significant changes in economic structure and relations and radical changes in attitudes to water mentality and administration. It focuses on the connecting function of water which linked different places and economic activities; that is to say, the way water acted as a constraint on and conditioned society and its

component parts, since every social and economic category needed to use water and this fact meant that no one category could appropriate its use exclusively. Squatriti shows that interdependence in consumption gave rise to the need for rapid regulation, which in the case of Italy culminated, after the eighth century, in the tendency towards ownership of water resources.

Squatriti believes that such a tendency was a kind of reaction to the water cycle, or rather to the extraordinary phenomenon of the double circuit according to which water, which falls onto the land as rain, flows to the sea through rivers and returns to the land again in the form of rain. On the nature and performance of this circuit, Squatriti refers to the differences in interpretation expressed by contemporaries like Aethicus Ister, Beda and Isidor of Seville, as well as the opinion expressed by the Ecclesiaste.

One of the book's main merits is that Squatriti has consulted a wide range of sources which not only include classical Roman writers but also texts from subsequent periods relating to the feats of conquerors, ecclesiastic, patristic and hagiographic literature, as well as drawing from the huge bibliography on particular aspects which has grown especially during the twentieth century.

Although further study is needed on the relations between water and single industries, above all with regard to the influence of water on the location of industry, considered overall, the book is to be highly praised. Reference is made to Italy in general, and not just to north Italy, and above all a number of different aspects are considered and are interwoven: climatic developments, religious beliefs and influences, the presence and effects of monastic life, administrative institutions and workings, the development of property and contractual rights, useful information on the labour market and payment typologies, technological development and the growth in knowledge related to agriculture and irrigation, valuable notes on food trends and useful reflections on the history of mentalities. Much more than the title suggests, this is not just a book to be included *tout court* among recent works on the history of the environment, but is an authentic and very useful study of economic and social history.

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E. TUCCIMEI, *La Banca d'Italia in Africa*. Introduzione all'attività dell'Istituto di emissione nelle colonie dall'età crispina alla seconda guerra mondiale. Editori Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1999, pp. XII-358.

Historians have, generally speaking, neglected the economic aspects related to Italian colonial expansion. This is probably due to two factors. Firstly those who have studied colonialism were mostly historians of politics, diplomacy and warfare and were therefore more concerned with aspects closest to their own

specialisation. Secondly, the negative moral judgement that most historians since the 1960s have cast on Italian colonial action from the beginnings in the nineteenth up to the war with Ethiopia in 1935-36 have had an influence, both with regard to the aims of Italian colonialism and its results. In the last few years this situation has somewhat changed since, in a context of renewed interest in colonial studies, alongside studies on the history of the institutions and legislation of Italian colonial possessions in Africa and the Aegean, several works have appeared on the history of communications and national investment. In this respect, Ercole Tuccimei's study of the Bank of Italy in Africa is to be praised the latest monograph to be published in the Bank of Italy's History Series, which has by now become monumental. The lack of a credit system worthy of that name in the Italian colonies certainly acted as a brake on their economic development and Tuccimei's book can undoubtedly provide us with some convincing answers to this problem.

Tuccimei, who has consulted a large number of Italian and foreign archives, sets out to reconstruct the Bank of Italy's actions in Africa and in the Dodecanese from the beginnings to the end of Italy's colonial empire at the end of the second World War. The first few chapters describe the first unsuccessful attempts to found credit institutions in Italian possessions. The creation of colonial banks was undoubtedly a basic prerequisite for valorising the economy in Eritrea and Somalia and was pursued by Italian governments, who had reduced colonial finances to a minimum. However, the setting up of banks in the colonies was hampered by two formidable obstacles: private citizens were certainly not encouraged to make investments whose outcome was uncertain and which would yield profits only after many years, considering those countries' backwardness and poverty. Moreover, although colonial authorities had long urged the Bank of Italy to act in this direction, in order to be able to intervene positively in the colonies' economic development the Bank would have to deviate from its normal functions and act as a mixed bank, thereby over-stepping not only the limits of its own statutes but also the criteria based on caution with which Bonaldo Stringher managed the Bank. The latter was a fervent colonialist and for more than a decade he laboured to find a solution which would satisfy colonial needs while at the same time safeguarding the issuing bank. The opportunity came from the new course Italian colonialism took after the conquest of Libya and, above all, through the ambitious expansionist programmes developed during the first world war. On 3 May 1913 the Bank of Italy's branch in Tripoli was inaugurated and a few months later the branch in Asmara. Naturally both branches were given the task of handling the State's treasury operations in the respective colonies; this was, of course, the indispensable condition requested by the Bank to operate in the colonies. In 1920 a branch was finally set up in Mogadishu and in 1925 in Rhodes. In this way the bank was present in all of Italy's possessions.

The period of the first world war was one of ferment in Italy's east African colonies, during which economic initiatives were set in train that were to have

exploited the inevitable enlargement of Italy's dominions in the wake of victory. In this respect the Bank of Italy's action was certainly consistent with the national government's objectives. Eritrea, in particular, which should have benefited from a widening of Italian influence in Ethiopia, appeared to have interesting prospects. Already in 1915, in his annual report, Stringher announced that "the Bank's action in Eritrea is in the position to best meet the credit needs of a colonial country since all the colony's economic progress tends to be promoted by it." This justified the opening of several agencies that were supposed to exploit more effectively the new potential of those territories. Italy's failure to satisfy its expansionist ambitions at the Paris Conference and the political, economic and social crisis into which the country was thrown in the aftermath of the war, led to a dampening of colonial initiatives. A period of stagnation began for the economy of Italy's possessions, which was destined to last until the mid-1930s. From 1920 to 1935 the issuing bank was urged to intervene more actively in the colonies' economic development, but credit should go to Stringher and Azzolini for having resisted the pressure that was sometimes exerted by leading exponents of the regime and for never having deviated from what were the bank's statutory obligations so as not to burden the balance sheets of its own branches and in order to safeguard its presence in those countries.

The Ethiopian war and the proclamation of the Empire on 9 May 1936, began a new phase in Italy's colonial history. The leading Italian banks cast aside the indifference with which they had viewed the earlier colonial experience and were the first "to perceive the opportunities for profit that the empire offered." With the aim of neutralising these initiatives, Azzolini used his influence to get the leading government authorities to support him and to recall the merits and rights acquired by the bank in more than twenty years of colonial action. In agreement with the central bank and the Ministry for the Colonies (afterwards Italian Africa), Mussolini opted for a transitory solution as regards the credit system and apart from the Bank of Italy, only *Banco di Roma* and *Banca Nazionale del Lavoro* were authorised to operate in A.O.I., and only in the Addis Ababa branch. Overall the issuing bank operated in the empire through a network of twelve banks while *Banco di Roma* was present in seventeen localities. According to Tuccimei, compared to their competitors, the Bank of Italy's branches saw their own action limited "by the vertically structured form of organisation" which forced them to act "in an uncoordinated way" compared to their sister banks. This was on the basis of directives emanating from the head office which generally speaking were not sufficiently informed of the colonies' special local conditions." Despite this, the Bank acted for the benefit of the empire's economy "dispensing credit in the form of discounts and advances for a total of 2,775 million" between 1936 and 1940, behaving in a very different way from other banks "concerned to transfer to Italy part of the savings collected *in loco* and in any case careful to tighten the strings of credit at the first sign of crisis".

Overall, therefore, this is a work of great interest which fills a serious lacuna in the field of colonial studies. The only criticism that can be levelled against Tuccimei is that he still seems to view Italian colonial history with a certain bias (perhaps on account of the bibliography which is not always the most recent) and this can sometimes mask a real understanding of actions and events. For example, the quotation on p.168 taken from *Storia d'Italia 1861-1969* by Dennis Mack Smith on Mussolini's supposed disinterest in the Empire after its conquest, is a statement completely out of line with reality; as Alessandro Lessona has said, the Ministry for Italian Africa functioned as a virtual secretariat for the Duce regarding imperial affairs. But this should not in any way detract from the book's overall value. In a presentation of the book, Tuccimei himself points out that the work does not intend to be a systematic and exhaustive study but only a preliminary enquiry" to an "introduction to the bank's operations in the colonies and the Dodecanese based on the records kept at the bank's historical archive". It is to be hoped, therefore, that Tuccimei will continue his work, with special attention to the crucial period 1936-1940, a period when Italian colonialism shed its own traditional characteristics in order to acquire other new and original features which seem to stem more from the contemporary evolution of the Fascist Regime towards a totalitarian state than from European colonial tradition.

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