

R: J. BARENDSE, *The Arabian Seas. The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century*, M. E. Sharpe, New York, 2002, pp. xvi + 588.

It is a well-known fact that Fernad Braudel's book *Civiltà e imperi del Mediterraneo nell'età di Filippo II* broke with European historiographical tradition, and introduced a new approach. In that admirable work, Braudel was the first to introduce the concept of superimposed historical cycles – linking different times – the history of slow transformations, of minor cycles and the history of the individual. And, for the first time, historical analysis was shifted to a broader field, bearing in mind a sort of “least common denominator”, the Mediterranean, which has characterised the evolution of the whole of Europe. In his weighty study on the “Arabian Seas” – in other words, that vast expanse of sea which stretches from the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean – and which includes countries such as the sultanates of Arabia, the kingdoms of India, the Kingdom of Persia, the Ottoman Empire and the Chinese Empire – Rene Barendse has used the same methodology as Braudel, succeeding in overcoming the barriers to historical analysis which are formed by the complexity of varied subsystems and by the diversified nature of the sources.

Barendse's work is based on dense, highly-meticulous archive research, on which he spent over ten years, working in the archives of the *Estado da India* and of the *Conselho Ultramarino* (the two bodies that dealt with the running of Portugal's colonial territories in the East), the archives of the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* - the very powerful Dutch trading company that throughout the whole of the seventeenth century disputed supremacy in the Asian spices and fabrics market with the Portuguese -, the Archives of the English East India Company and the National Archives in Lisbon, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and New Delhi.

The world Barendse has analysed is a very extensive one: it includes the two largest national states of the seventeenth century – the Ottoman Empire and the Chinese Empire – and shows how numerous and profound were the links between Europe and Asia. Barendse carries out this deep analysis with extreme scientific rigour, examining the connection between the coastal strip and inland areas, along the Horn of Africa, along the Arabian Peninsula and in India. In this vast area, the ports were the outlet for the hinterland's output, but they also constituted a close-knit network of communication for the region's inland areas. Essentially, despite the different cultures, religions and societies which lined the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, commercial and social links were transversal ones which disregarded such differentiations. Besides, as Barendse argues, all kinds of trading in the area were complementary, each one being vital to the others: inevitably, they emphasised the gap which existed between the developed and underdeveloped areas in the seventeenth century. A great number of *nations* - Asian, Middle-Eastern, African, but above all European - played an active part in this trading, and – this is the main thread of the second chapter of Barendse's

fine book – left their mark on the territories where they settled. The *nations* or *natiois* – the Portuguese term used throughout the area – were, for the most part, made up of professional merchants who chose to settle abroad to be nearer to the supplying markets. As well as this main category, Barendse points out that there was a varied world of farriers, blacksmiths, surgeons, clockmakers, librarians and, of course, clerics. Thus, the original trading settlement – a temporary structure aiming to look after specific business – became a stable settlement which enjoyed national sovereignty and extra-territorial privileges. Thus the situation was very different from that in many of the Mediterranean states, for example the Kingdom of Naples, where a nation was not an autonomous and extra-territorial entity, but more a colony of foreigners with precise fiscal and judicial privileges. The peculiarity of the European settlements along the Horn of Africa and in Asia has been the corner-stone on which France, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Portugal were able to build their colonial empires. Barendse examines in great detail the role the various social classes, mercenaries, merchants, artisans and slaves played in the “overseas” settlements, managing to reconstruct every individual contribution in this slow process; besides, the heterogeneity of the settlements explains why on the coasts of Madagascar, in Indonesia, on Timor or at Goa, the Portuguese sought to reproduce the social structure which existed in their homeland, as did the Dutch in Sumatra and Java, the French in Djibuti and the English in India.

The third chapter deals with the role of the national states. It is true that Asia and the Horn of Africa are a long way from Lisbon, Amsterdam, London or Paris, but the presence of important settlements – especially from the economic point of view – made it necessary for the European monarchies to discipline these settlements’ relations with the mother country and with the “host” countries. The diplomacy which the European nations practised in Asia was totally different from that practised in Europe. Religious differences, and even more so differences in social and political organisation, meant that the European states had to operate with extreme discretion. The Sublime Porte was not the Chinese Empire, just as the same administrative structures were not to be found in the caliphates of the Gulf of Aden and in the Indian kingdoms. Social structures were extremely differentiated, based on local potentates – especially in the case of small states which were part of the attractive domains of the great empires. They were often founded on family ties and corruption and were continuously and rapidly changing. In short, the situation was very far removed from the feudalism that characterised the whole of Europe. In such an area, even political relations became trading relations, and in this connection, Barendse’s example of the cyclicity of the monsoons – which, coming from different directions according to the seasons, change political relations – is fascinating.

The last two chapters of the first part of Barendse’s book deal with the world of the merchants. Despite all the political and military characteristics of the European presence in the East, there is no doubt that it was the trading sector

that was its basis and its main driving force. Trading is also the most complex element in Barendse's book, because he has had to reconstruct a world with extremely different and variable characteristics. In the many Eastern states, there was no common commercial law, nor were there any common practices that could ensure the uniformity of trading. However, it is a well-known fact that economic laws are stronger than laws based on principle. And so trading practices unrelated to nationality or territoriality, but based on the goods being traded, spread rapidly – so much so that international accounting units were stabilized, and were real benchmarks for the monies in circulation in the area, such as the Mexican *reale* in the seventeenth century and Maria Teresa's *tallero* in the eighteenth century. This proves – were there still any need to do so – that globalisation has always existed, and has merely changed pace and taken on different forms over the course of history. Barendse examines closely the role of spices, coffee, textiles and precious metals in forging the links and the fortunes of the merchants operating in the area; in particular, he reconstructs these goods' supply mechanisms, goods which came from the inland regions and were bound for the coastal cities. He also reconstructs the links that came into being between the product and the middleman, describing the forms and methods of credit used throughout the seventeenth century. Thus he goes over the commercial *iter* of pepper, the real and undisputed master of trading in the early modern age, and of cloths, silks and damasks, the pride of the European nobility who wore them.

In the second part of his book, Barendse examines the role of the great trading companies operating between the Horn of Africa and the Gulf of Bengal. It is common knowledge that the economy of the European states in the seventeenth century was characterised by an economic trading policy based on the role of the balance of trade and, consequently, on the privileged or corporate trading companies. These big trading companies – privately-owned in Holland and England, and publicly-owned in Portugal and France – have provided the framework on which European nations based their penetration into the East. Regardless of their origins, the trading companies had the advantage of having a flexible operational structure, based generally on a board of directors who could take quick decisions. Furthermore, the commercial and technical risks of the trading operations were widely spread among the shareholders. The trading companies were able to finance both single voyages and entire, complex operations, such as the monopoly marketing of certain colonial products. This means that such companies could attract all kinds of investment, from speculative and volatile investments to savings investments. As well as the great capacity for collecting capital for investment, the trading companies had the advantage of being able to negotiate as equals with the states in which they were going to settle. As Barendse reveals, the trading companies were private companies in their mother-countries, but real national states abroad. Indeed, the Dutch *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, the English *East India Company*, the

French *Compagnie des Indes* and the Portuguese *Estado da India* had their own armies, their own accounting units, their own diplomatic representatives, their own courts of justice and their own legislative instruments to discipline life in the Asian settlements: ultimately, they constituted a "state within the state".

In conclusion, it emerges clearly from Barendse's book that the "Arabian seas" were not a separate economic world of their own, but were an essential part of the world economy. Moreover, from ancient times they had been part of an "ethnosphere", an extensive network which spread technology and culture and carried out trade between China, South-East Asia, India, Central Asia, Africa and Europe. Barendse leaves open the question of the real European influence on the whole area examined in this book: in short, to what extent the Arabian Peninsula, the Indian subcontinent and the Horn of Africa were indebted to Europe for their development, or perhaps it would be better to say, their underdevelopment. Barendse leaves this question unanswered. However, there is no doubt that he distances himself from those who have supposed that there was no European influence at all on the area's development, which was due exclusively to endogenous forces. Barendse is certain that the Europeans introduced new forms of credit, insurance and military protection to bolster economic interests, but grafted their activities onto a commercial, social and political network which already existed and which had been functioning since ancient times.

Roberto Rossi
University of Salerno

I.T. BEREND, *History Derailed. Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century*, University of California Press, Berkley-Los Angeles-London, 2003.

Ivan T. Berend, who is one of the world's leading authorities on the history of Central-Eastern Europe, gives us a new and interesting study on the history of the countries in this region in the nineteenth century, a crucial period for examining certain issues which were to shape those countries' political and cultural subsequent development. According to the study, certain structural features that were consolidated in the nineteenth and twentieth century are key elements for a better understanding of an area which from 1 May 2004 will be almost entirely included in the European Union.

What strikes one immediately is Berend's agility in the way he addresses so many different factors, not just historical factors but cultural, demographic, linguistic, religious and ethnic factors too. One interesting observation emerges from a reading of the first chapter which examines the problem posed by the creation of the "Rising West" model compared to the "Sleeping East". Although this axiom has sanctioned Eastern and Central Europe's "hibernation" compared

to the dynamism of Western Europe which was at that time experiencing the first wave of industrialisation and the patriotic stirrings culminating in 1848, Berend shows that actually the nineteenth century was a period of major change for the countries in the region. The heavy influence of romanticism strengthened the sense of national identity among the central and eastern European populations, for example through the creation of national myths. Some degree of modernisation also took place within the economy, although this occurred with notable differences between the regions and involved primarily the agricultural sector and only marginally the commercial sector.

The influence of the Enlightenment and Romanticism had driven and accompanied Western Europe's historical and political change, but in Central and Eastern Europe it did not produce the same results. Berend provides an explanation by pointing to the incomplete nature of society in those countries which was characterised by a dualism between elites and the less well-to-do classes and by political systems that discouraged the movement for democracy and encouraged authoritarianism.

Overall, *History Derailed* offers a detailed and exhaustive view and provides the reader with the means to understand the economic and political events of Central and Eastern Europe.

Chiara d'Auria
University of Pisa

S.D. CARLS, *Louis Loucheur, 1972-1931. Ingénieur, homme d'Etat, modernisateur de la France*. Preface by Emmanuel Chadeau, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2000, pp.334.

In 1968, reviewing a biography in the *Voce repubblicana*, Alberto Aquarone wrote: "there is never any doubt that in the history of parties and of organised political movements, the action and the personality of single individuals takes on particular importance – in other words, that history is to a remarkable extent (...) the history of men who, with their ideas, their willpower, their passions and their action, exert an undeniable driving force on the course of events" (A. Aquarone, *I problemi dell'Italia unita. Dal Risorgimento a Giolitti*, Florence, 1989, p.194). For that very reason Aquarone regretted that there were so few studies on representatives of the ruling and the entrepreneurial classes. The same belief seems to underlie the book by the American historian Stephen D. Carls on one of the most significant political and entrepreneurial figures in France at the time of the first world war, and, all things considered, one of the least known.

The book, first published in 1993 by the Louisiana State University (*Louis Loucheur and the Shaping of Modern France, 1916-1931*), has been translated

into French by the historian Alice-Catherine Carls, wife of the author, and thence republished. It is no surprise that an American researcher should choose to write a book on Loucheur, because Loucheur fully embodies the idea of the self-made man, and Carls himself declares: "*D'une certaine manière, Loucheur offrait un parallèle avec les personnages américains créés par Horatio Alger dans la seconde moitié du dix-neuvième siècle*". Loucheur was born in Roubaix, in Northern France. His family was poor. He received a Roman Catholic education and after high school he went on to the Ecole Polytechnique which was the basis for his practical and technical training: "*L'Ecole polytechnique lui donna une formation rationnelle et une aptitude à résoudre les problèmes qui façonnèrent son action ultérieure en affaires comme au gouvernement*". His diploma from the Ecole Polytechnique got Loucheur his first job as a railway engineer, but very soon, 1899, together with Alexandre Giros, one of his former fellow-students, he founded a company, the Girolou (*Société Giros et Loucheur*), and, a few years later, the *Société générale d'entreprise* (SGE). Both companies were involved in the electric sector, in reinforced concrete structures and in the railways. They had business dealings in French Africa, Spain, Italy, Russia, the Ottoman Empire and South America.

The wide range of his initiatives brought Loucheur into contact with political circles. Carls was not allowed to consult the *Société générale d'entreprise* archives, but he wonders to what extent Loucheur's political connections helped him to obtain contracts for his company: "*Etant donné ses contacts avec des personnalités politiques françaises influentes et le nombre et l'importance des projets obtenus par sa société à l'étranger, il semble probable que les contacts politiques jouèrent un rôle*".

The first world war was Loucheur's great opportunity : he was among the first to answer the appeal the war minister Millerand made to the industrialists to organise the manufacture of arms. Among other things, he acted as liaison officer between the armies at the front and the state arsenals, and already by 1916 he was producing munitions and, at a time when there was a serious lack of heavy artillery, he submitted a bold plan to the government, proposing to increase heavy artillery production. Of course, at this point, Loucheur seemed the right man to hold the office of Under-Secretary for Armaments and War Manufactures. From this moment Loucheur never looked back: between 1917 and 1931 he was Minister of Armaments, of the Reconstruction of Industry, of the Liberated Lands, of Commerce and Industry, of the Postal and Telegraphic Services, of Finances, of Labour and of the National Economy.

Loucheur's had "radical" political leanings, combining left-wing ideas and nationalism, which made him closer to his champion, Georges Clemenceau. "Son entrée dans la vie publique... provenait du fait que le gouvernement avait besoin de son expertise technique." In November 1919, he was elected *député* representing the *Fédération républicaine du Nord*, and some newspapers connected to entrepreneurial circles hailed him as the pioneer of an industrialists'

party, even though during the electoral campaign he was accused of having been a war profiteer, a disgrace from which he was not acquitted until 1925, after appearing before a court of honour.

In 1925 Loucheur led the *Gauche radicale*, a political group which had just emerged from the elections, and Carls points out how “*son groupe de quarante-et-un députés, qui siégeait au centre même de la Chambre pouvait jouer un rôle décisif dans n'importe quel gouvernement de coalition ; la position clé de la Gauche radicale lui donna sur les parlementaires un moyen de pression qu'il fit jouer lorsqu'il s'occupa des réparations et des dettes interalliées, de la modernisation économique, et des finances gouvernementales*”.

Loucheur owned means of production and he increased industrial production. He also tackled the issue of raw materials. He owned newspapers (including the influential Paris daily *Le Petit Journal*), and used political power to build and carry out a vast, detailed project: to lay the foundations “*d'une économie française forte, efficace, compétitive et modernisée... Loucheur voulait apporter au libéralisme économique une tendance modernisatrice fondée sur le soutien du gouvernement et la participation de l'Etat*”. However, Carls adds that “*il voulait maintenir uniquement une participation étatique sélective*”. Carls quotes the speech Loucheur made in the Chambre des Députés in January 1929 : “*Je dis, Messieurs, que, devant l'immensité des mouvements du monde économique moderne, devant leur complexité, c'est folie de s'imaginer que l'Etat pourra rester indifférent... Le rôle de l'Etat est de coopérer dans les industries quand elles prennent l'allure d'industries nationales, sans jamais en assumer la direction. Son rôle est de défendre les droits de tous, qu'ils soient producteurs ou ouvriers. Son rôle... est d'obliger les divers éléments de la production à l'harmonie...*”.

The book portrays a perfect technocrat who, with his many and varied activities, seems at times to enthrall Carls, perhaps, too much. However, consulting a wide range of archive sources in France, England and the United States, as well as the archives of international organisations (*Bureau International du Travail* and *Archives de la Société des Nations*), Carls presents the reader with a rounded portrait of a man who in the difficult years after the first world war played a decisive role in the negotiations with Germany concerning reparations following the Versailles Conference (which he had attended as a technical expert on economics), preferring tactics of “*souplesse*”, in the firm belief that “*la coopération et la négociation économiques donneraient à long terme de meilleurs résultats que la coercition*”.

Loucheur was an early champion of the principle of European cooperation and was very active in organising an international economics conference in Geneva in 1927. In the meantime, “*ses intérêts s'étendaient aux questions sociales: il joua un rôle clé dans le développement et l'application de la législation sur les habitations à bon marché et la préparation d'un programme d'assurances sociales pour les ouvriers*”.

Loucheur, concludes Carls, « fut l'un des premiers cadres techniques connus sous le nom de technocrates...; il mit l'accent sur plusieurs idées technocratiques, dont l'efficacité, la consolidation des affaires, une croissance économique vigoureuse, l'interventionnisme gouvernemental accru à travers les experts techniques, la production de masse, et une modernisation économique. » This, then, is a biography which examines the ever-topical issues of good administration and the relationship between technology and politics and between state interventionism and the free play of the economy, issues which cannot, of course, be wholly explained by studying the experience –however fortunate and perfect - of a single person.

Ludovica de Courten

Ministry for Heritage and Cultural Activities

Archive General Management - Rome

J. R. FARR, *Artisans in Europe, 1300-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp.IX-306.

In a review of a book, *Le regole dei mestieri e delle professioni, secoli XV-XIX* (by Marco Meriggi and Alessandro Pastore, Franco Angeli, Milan, 2000) published in this *Journal* some time ago (vol. 31, n.2, Fall 2002, pp. 463-466), it was pointed out how the subject of work, its origins and its organisational forms continue to arouse great historical interest. Work not only covers those aspects linked to the history of economic occupations but also entails the study of the legal basis underlying the organisation of labour, and examining the relationship between guilds, corporations and professional associations on the one hand and the political systems in which they arose and developed.

In this context, this study by J. R. Farr (a lecturer in history at Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana) may be viewed as an effective *summa* of the history of work in Europe between the late middle ages and the age of industrialisation, and provides a detailed picture of the various professional categories which are portrayed with their social attitudes and conventions too: there is a whole chapter on “Ceremonies, festivals, taverns and games”.

Farr makes use of wide-ranging and recently published material on this subject, starting with his previous research on the situation of the corporations in Dijon. The book has a clear sociological and juridical focus, which leads the author to present a definition of the subject of his research: “artisans from the late middle ages well into the nineteenth century were defined and defined themselves not primarily as producers as their labels may suggest, but rather as members of an *état*, a rank or “degree”, a *Stand*”.

Starting from this concept, Farr carries out an analysis which, while belonging

to the sphere of economic history, is in actual fact a "political" interpretation of a social phenomenon. Farr reminds the reader that for fourteenth and fifteenth-century jurists, who went back to the *collegia* and the *universitates* of Roman law, guilds "were quasi-public associations, which were empowered to make their own rules governing their internal affairs and submitting their members to a collective discipline, but which simultaneously gained this privilege from a public authority. A *de facto* situation of confraternal association was thereby appropriated and systematized in a sweeping theory organizing socio-political and, increasingly, economic life... Corporate theory of the fourteenth century joined hands with demographic and economic forces to formalize a political and juridical system that would last into the nineteenth century."

Farr reconstructs the world of professional associations in the principal European countries, moving easily from the *arti* of Florence to the French *métiers* and *compagnonnages*, from the English mysteries to the Germanic *Zünfte* and the Spanish *gremios*. There is ample reference to the various collections of regulations, which included statutes, rules and lists of the various activities, such as, for example, the famous *Livre de métiers*, compiled in 1268 by the Provost of Paris, Etienne Boileau.

Farr analyses above all the guilds' organisational and hierarchical which seems to mirror the alternate periods of autonomy or of submission to the authority of the state. He writes: "Corporatism as a new system of order was imbedded in the economy, but everywhere it was also inextricably linked to social hierarchy and distinction as well as to politics. It was grounded in a demand for subordination and discipline of inferiors. Indeed, the corporate régime gained definition by the principle of exclusion."

Already by the end of the fourteenth century, the principle of oligarchy was emerging. It marked the end of the democratic system which regarded "journeymen and masters more or less equal". This process, explains Farr, "was accompanied by the growing involvement of governments in the trades, a situation encouraged by masters who feared the growing "indiscipline" of their employees".

In actual fact, apart from the unsuccessful attempt of the Ciompi revolt, the rebellions led by guilds between the middle ages and the beginning of the eighteenth century saw the participation of artisans and tradesmen, but rarely that of the "very poor and the destitute": "on the political plane, all of these rebellious factions complained of being excluded from town management, and their demands for reform always redrew the map of political participation by broadening its social base".

Farr summarizes decisively: "The craftsmen who led or participated in these insurrections were drawn from the more substantial ranks of the artisanry, and the régimes that were installed, even ephemerally, were still oligarchic... Artisans expected their municipal governments to safeguard their interests, and protested if the ruling élite failed them."

This, then, is not merely an economic interpretation, but also a cultural and political interpretation which has gained some currency among historians more recently, refuting a narrow, fossilized vision of the ancient world of guilds and drawing attention also to the evolution of the guild system and the survival of its principles until the time when industrialisation was at its height.

These include the studies by Geoffrey Crossick (*The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900*, Scolar, Aldershot, 1997) and again by Crossick with Gerard Haupt (*Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-century Europe*, Methuen, London - New York, 1984; *The Petite Bourgeoisie in Europe 1780-1914. Enterprise, Family and Independence*, Routledge, London - New York, 1995), but especially the far-reaching analyses that study the subject until the second world war, such as the book by the American historian Steven Zdany, published in 1990 and then translated into French (*Les artisans en France au XXe siècle*, Belin, Paris, 1999) and the more recent study by another American historian, Fred McKittrick (*Modernizzazione e identità sociale: artigiani tedeschi e capitalismo a metà del Novecento*, in "Passato e Presente", n.49, 2000). McKittrick shows how the petite bourgeoisie, in other words artisans and tradesmen, has played a very important role in Europe over the last two centuries; in particular, *"dal punto di vista politico essi sono stati una classe rivoluzionaria nel 1789, nel 1792 e nel 1848, per poi divenire spesso, a partire dalla fine del XIX secolo, quando l'ampiezza e la capacità di azione politica del proletariato aumentarono, la spina dorsale della nuova destra. Dal punto di vista culturale e ideologico, nel primo Ottocento essi furono i pionieri del radicalismo democratico, mentre più tardi attirarono l'attenzione dei conservatori e degli esponenti del cattolicesimo sociale che contrapponevano al capitalismo industriale l'ideale di un modello produttivo agrario su base familiare"*.

With the coming of liberalism, the Market economy and "absolute private property", corporatism declined and was abolished both as a form of regulating business relations and as the basis of economic activities. Farr, however, supported by an appropriate bibliography in line with his interpretation, continues his study until the eve of the first world war, emphasising the phenomenon of industrialisation, and consequently writing not about the end of the old artisan class, but about its "transformation", especially that of the journeymen into "workers, mechanics and shopkeepers".

By the nineteenth century, the state had replaced groups and associations in the defence of domestic order, and the institutional and commercial innovations "destroyed the basis of "home town" community, and the artisans within it had to seek a different grounding for their identity".

Farr's interpretation, linked to a more strictly cultural view, takes a step forward, identifying the elements of continuity in the principles of organisation which survived the decline of the ancient institutional forms of association: "The resurgence of extra-legal corporatism found expression not only in working-class trade unionism, or even socialism, but also in the employer associations

of tradesmen and shopkeepers that dotted the business landscape of the nineteenth century.... The collective spirit among masters as well as journeymen also found expression in the burgeoning of "friendly societies" .

This book is a very sound reconstruction and will be useful for generating further research into a social force which has been, and still is today in the present context of democratic governments, an important factor in the way opposing majorities are positioned against one another.

Ludovica de Courten
Ministry for Heritage and Cultural Activities
Archive General Management - Rome

A.J. KERSHEN (ed.) *Food in the Migrant Experience*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2002, pp.XV, 252.

Considering food as an aspect of the history of migration and especially of immigration into host countries is rather unusual but certainly not of secondary importance, especially if migration is considered from a sociological perspective.

Food does not mean merely dietary habits; it also means culture, traditions, the preservation of part of one's own identity and, at times, in material terms, commercial opportunities, which is why food has often been one of the targets of xenophobic reactions.

Anne Kershen, the author of this book, is the Director of the Centre for the Study of Migration of Queen Mary College, University of London. The centre deals with all that concerns the study of population movements at a local, a national and an international level, from both a historical and a contemporary perspective and in an interdisciplinary context.

In this book are to be found the papers presented at the fourth conference organised by the Centre for the Study of Migration. The first three conferences the proceedings of which have been edited and published by Anne Kershen, were on: *London, the Promised Land? The Migrant Experience in a Capital City*; *A Question of Identity*; *Language, Labour and Migration*.

Kershen's main interest is emigration in its broadest sense (with a political and religious background, not just a social and economic background), as is evident in the general lines of her most recent book (*Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis*, Frank Cass, London, 2004). Her research is on the historical evolution and the present-day aspects of population movements, and she has analysed in particular the social, economic and political impact of immigration on the London scene.

The book is in three sections: Food in Migrant History; Migrants, Food and Entrepreneurship; Food and the Health of Immigrants.

At the roots of the analysis in each paper is a basic concept which Kershen clarifies in her introductory article: "In the migrant experience, food is not just a question of regular consumption for "maintenance purposes". It plays a multiplicity of roles in the social, political, economic and cultural lives of new immigrants and those who become long-term settlers."

Food as a work tool and a source of income is examined in several papers (Lucio Sponza, *Italian "Penny Ice-men" in Victorian London*; Panikos Panay, *The Spicing Up of English Provincial Life: The History of Curry in Leicester*; Anuradha Basu, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs in the Food Sector: Breaking the Mould*; Sally Chan, *Sweet and Sour – the Chinese Experience of Food*). Two papers (Bruce Hindmarsh, *Transported Food: Convict Food Habits in Australia*; Lien Bich Luu, *Dutch and their Beer Brewing in England 1400-1700*) on this specific aspect of the more general subject present in particular a "historical" cross-section.

Hindmarsh's paper is on the deportation of British convicts to New South Wales, Australia, between 1788 and 1852 and, as Kershen explains, "shows us that British convicts – in this context to be categorised as involuntary migrants – became small-time entrepreneurs in Australia through the practice of selling meat and vegetables "removed" from farms upon which they had been detailed to work". Luu's paper deals with an interesting case: that of the Dutch who introduced the beer industry into England in the fifteenth century. This beverage, with added hops, replaced the old and more perishable English beverage made from malt and water, and was immediately seen "as an alien drink imported by unpopular strangers and was... rumoured to be poisonous"; later, in the eighteenth century, when beer had won over the English, xenophobia took on a more commercial aspect, with the aim of ridding the English market of the Dutch brewers. Kershen adds: "Three centuries later the association of aliens and poisonous foods was extended to the Italian immigrant community... Scaremongering English newspapers reported that Italian icecream men were "out to poison the children" ".

Another case of xenophobia, in this case of antisemitism too, which uses dietary habits as a pretext, is the attack made even in the 1950s on the ritual slaughter practised by the Jewish community in Great Britain (Tod Endelman, *Practices of a Low Anthropological Level: A Shehitah Controversy of the 1950s*).

The last section of the book contains papers on current aspects of migrant waves: most migration is from Asia nowadays, and the papers deal with these immigrants' health and the problems connected with malnutrition, especially in children, due both to real economic problems and to poor adaptation to new diets (Angela J.M.Donkin – Elizabeth A. Dowler, *Equal Access to Healthy Food for Ethnic Minorities?*; Daniel W.Sellen – Alison Tedstone, *Assessing Food Insecurity and Nutritional Well-being of Preschool Refugee Children in the UK*; Nasima Mannan . Barbara J. Boucher, *The Bangladeshi Diaspora and its Dietary Profile in East London 1990-2000*).

It is not fortuitous that, in the introduction, summarising the papers in the last section of the book, Kershner comments: "Poverty is a major factor in the correlation of poor health and poor diet... It is undeniable that, even at the onset of the twenty-first century, poverty is a major contributor to that vicious circle of inadequate housing, unemployment and poor diet, an entrapment from which the immigrant finds it very hard to escape... Globalisation in the context of "McDonaldisation" contributes little to reduce these problems; rather it masks differences by imposing a powerful and transnational "other". "

Ludovica de Courten
Ministry for Heritage and Cultural Activities
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M.A. LADERO QUESADA, *El primer oro de America. Los comienzos de la Casa de la Contratación de las Indias (1503-1511)*, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid 2002, pp. 174.

This book, published by Spain's most prestigious institution of historical knowledge, is one of a series of studies carried out in Spain to mark the 500 years' anniversary of the founding of the *Casa de la Contratación*, the body which handled American shipping and trade from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, firstly from Seville and afterwards from Cadiz, and which is universally known for its role in receiving and guarding the treasure arriving from the New World before it went into general circulation.

M.A. Ladero Quesada, the meritorious historian of Castilian finance and government at the time of the Catholic Kings, examines the *Casa de la Contratación* from its beginnings through the accounts of its first Treasurer, Sancho de Matienzo for the period from 25 February 1503 to 31 March 1511 when the *Libros Manuales* and *Mayores* produced during the Treasurer's management were audited by Castilian government's Supreme Auditing Authority. The importance of this source is borne out by the studies which have been based on it, starting with Hamilton's classic works on the arrival of precious metals from America and price movements in Spain and the subsequent studies on the history of European and American trade, shipping, emigration in early modern times published in Spain and elsewhere.

The book is divided into two parts: the analysis of the data is followed by a compendium of the source which sets out one by one all the entries regarding the *Casa's* income and expenditure, in a summarised form. As far as income is concerned we can find both the amount of silver and gold arriving in Seville from America for the King as well as the areas it came from, thus providing a map of the state of conquest and economic exploitation of the New World, at

that time restricted to the Caribbean basin. From the point of view of expenditure, the study shows that remittances from America were used above all to finance the Spanish monarchy's European policy and reveals that a large part of the revenue was spent on envoys at the Court and on payments made directly by the Treasury in Seville for military expenditure concerning the Iberian peninsula: 111 million *maravedís* out of a total 137, that is, around 81%.

The remaining 19%, however, found its way back to the New World and helped to finance the running of the *Casa*, activity related to conquest, exploration and administration of the American territories. The chapter on the *Casa's* contribution to the voyages of discovery is particularly interesting. Up to 1507 the Crown did not have a body of navigators at its service and the books of the *Casa de la Contratación* record only a few gratuities given to navigators who had made voyages for the King: Cristobal Guerra, Alonso de Ojeda, Rodrigo de Bastidas and Juan de la Casa. Gradually, however, the Crown's maritime policy took shape. Special attention began to be paid to voyages whose aim was to find a western passage to Asia which would have given the Castilian Sovereigns access to the spice trade like their Portuguese neighbours. The so-called *Junta de Toro* (1504) and the preparation of an expedition entrusted to Vicente Yáñez Pinzón and Amerigo Vespucci are evidence of Ferdinand's interest in Asia but the voyage was never carried out because of the difficult situation in Castile arising from the death of Queen Isabella. With Ferdinand the Catholic's return, more decisive steps were taken to search for a way into the spice trade. The King called to Burgos (1508) the most important navigators at the time: Amerigo Vespucci, Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, Juan de la Cosa and Juan Díaz de Solís, who from that time entered the *Casa's* pay roll.

With regard to the expeditions of conquest carried out directly for the Castilian State, which was very active before the large and privately sponsored expeditions were undertaken, like those by Cortés and Pizarro, the book documents the unfortunate expeditions by Hojeda and Nicuesa in the first attempt to conquer the continental mass of South America, the area lying between the present-day countries of Colombia and Panama.

Francesco D'Esposito
University of Chieti

C. MARICHAL: *La bancarrota del viceroyalty. Nueva España y las finanzas del Estado Español, 1780-1810. Fondo de Cultura Económica, México DF, 1999, 366 pp.*

The economic importance of the Spanish American Empire is well known. Leaving aside the debate about the way American markets influenced the birth

and development of Western capitalism, probably one of the most important topics in economic history, there has always been an interesting discussion on how American possessions affected the Castilian and Spanish economy. It is commonly acknowledged that the continuous flow of American silver was a crucial factor in the finances of the Habsburg Empire, whose main interest in the sixteenth and seventeenth century lay in the development of the rich Mexican and Peruvian silver mining areas. The arrival of the new Bourbon dynasty at the beginning of the eighteenth century brought some changes in this model of economic exploitation. Of course, the colonies preserved their traditional role as silver suppliers, but at the same time the new dynasty tried to diversify the benefits obtained from America through a more rational and balanced system of economic exploitation focused not only on silver mining, but also on the promotion of the colonial trade. The famous Free Trade decrees of 1765 and 1778 are the best examples of the new attitude. Unfortunately for the Spanish Crown, the war cycle of the last decades of the eighteenth century opened a new phase which led to the end of Spain's colonial empire and the subsequent birth of the new American republics.

In this book, C. Marichal, one of the leading experts on eighteenth-century Mexican and colonial history, whose books and articles are a basic reference for all those interested in the topic, analyzes the role played by the viceroyalty of Nueva España, undoubtedly the most profitable part of the Spanish Empire during this period, and shows that the incomes obtained by the Crown from this viceroyalty were a crucial factor in the finances of the Spanish Monarchy.

Chapters 1 and 2 study the fiscal structure of the viceroyalty and this allows the author to describe the role played by *Nueva España* in Spain's imperial system. As C. Marichal points out (pp 23 and 52) the shipments of American silver reached high levels during this period, and it should also be remembered that during the eighteenth century the viceroyalty financed Spain's Caribbean possessions through the remittances of funds (*situados*) to Cuba and Puerto Rico. The importance of the *situados* can be fully appreciated when we consider that their amount exceeded that of the silver sent from the viceroyalty to Spain, so it is not unfair to say that the incomes from *Nueva España* played an important role in the financial stability enjoyed by the Spanish Crown in the eighteenth century.

The wars of the last decades of the century destroyed this stability and posed the need to look for new sources of incomes not only in Spain but also in its colonies. As for Mexico, the colonial government enforced a policy very similar to that followed in the metropolis: first, the authorities tried to maximise the incomes generated by taxes which were traditionally collected in the viceroyalty, but it was soon discovered that this was not enough, so it was necessary to find new sources. As had been common in previous centuries, the most important source was the continual request for benevolences and forced loans (chapter III). Thus, between 1781 and 1811 the government asked for at least 8 benevolences and 20 loans (appendix 3). In this way, the Spanish Crown

obtained substantial revenues to pay for its expensive wars against France and England, but the cost was high. As the author masterfully shows, although the privileged sectors of the viceroyalty (merchants, miners and church) bore a substantial part of the fiscal burden, in the end every social group in the country, even the poor indigenous communities, was forced to contribute, and this helps to explain some of the problems faced by these sectors during these years.

The continual benevolences and loans disrupted the finances of the viceroyalty. The development of a complex financial system had been one of the most interesting characteristics of Mexico's eighteenth-century economy. This system depended on the Church, which controlled the many religious foundations (*Obras Pías*) set up in the previous centuries through a special kind of institution (*juzgados de capellanías*). The *Obras Pías* had been generously endowed by their founders with the funds obtained from silver mining and colonial trade, so a big part of the wealth of the country was hoarded in these religious institutions. Obviously, the main task of the administrator of every *Obra Pía* was to invest funds for those purposes first set out by the founder (masses, education, etc) but, once this had been done, the administrator could invest the rest of the funds in loans to miners, landowners and merchants so, in the end, the *Obras Pías* could be considered as an special (and highly effective) kind of credit provider.

In 1804 the viceroyalty decided to use the considerable wealth of these institutions, in theory to finance its own public debt (chapter 4). As C. Marichal convincingly explains, this damaged all those sectors whose activity rested on the supply of cheap credit, so the measures adopted that year caused a serious financial crisis which illustrates an important aspect of the tensions suffered by Mexican society in the years before Independence.

The study of this complex process is one of the most interesting aspects of the whole book, especially because it enables the author to explain one fascinating and previously unknown episode of Spanish and Mexican history: contrary to its original purpose, the money obtained by the Spanish Crown from the Mexican church after 1804 was really invested to pay Napoleon the subsidies established in the treaty of 1803 signed between Spain and republican France (chapter V). This episode is very interesting because it throws light on an important aspect regarding the end of the Spanish Empire. It is commonly supposed that the continuous wars of the last decades of the eighteenth centuries and the early years of the nineteenth century undermined the relationship between Spain and her colonies. In chapters five and six the author offers his view on this question. Although it should be admitted that the frequent wars of the period hampered the relationships between both sides of the Atlantic, it would be an exaggeration to say that they disrupted them completely. In fact, the arrivals of American silver to Spain reached their height precisely during these years, peaking in 1802-1804. After 1804 they began to decrease, but it should be remembered that even then the arrivals continued

to be significant and were crucial for financing the war against Napoleon after 1808 (chapter six).

In order to protect the arrivals of Mexican silver, avoiding the restrictions imposed by the Royal Navy's blockade, the Spanish Crown decided to hire the services of neutral ships throughout the period. Perhaps the most notable aspect of this was the fact that the British authorities always had a precise understanding of the meaning of neutral trade for Spanish and French finances and they tolerated it. The reasons for such tolerance, which at first sight seem rather surprising, are easy to explain. Mexican silver was, of course, used by France to finance its wars against England but, as British merchants knew only too well, the continuous flow of American precious metals was the key to preserving European trade with the far East. At the same time, neutral trade opened the door for the legal sales of British textiles in the Spanish colonies, something that had traditionally been one of the most cherished objectives of British foreign and commercial policy. Thus it is easy to understand that even the British government had a clear (but not openly declared) interest in the development of neutral trade.

In the book under review, Carlos Marichal convincingly explains the importance of the Mexican viceroyalty for Spanish finances in the last decades of the eighteenth century. After reading it, we are bound to agree with his main thesis: if Bourbon Spain played the role of a Great Power during these years it was due, to a large extent, to the funds remitted from the colonies. But the fiscal and financial effort sustained by the viceroyalty had serious consequences and through a careful analysis of these repercussions, C. Marichal offers in his book a clear and convincing view of the economic origins of Mexican independence. First of all, the indigenous communities lost a substantial part of their funds and common lands as a result of fiscal requests. At the same time, the close relationship between the colonial rulers and the rich traders and miners of the viceroyalty, the bedrock of the country's political stability, was seriously challenged. The disruption of colonial credit markets after 1804 and the frequent benevolences and forced loans of the period were the reasons usually given by privileged sectors to explain their inability to support the viceroyalty in its fight against the rebels after 1810, so the colonial authorities were unable to mobilise the fiscal and financial resources they desperately needed. Finally, it should also be added that the development of neutral trade was the recognition of the failure of the colonial rulers to protect the commercial links between Spain and its colonies, something that should have helped to foster new attitudes towards the colonial power among privileged sectors.

Mexican independence is usually explained in terms of political and social factors. Without denying the importance of these factors, it is easy to see that, as the author reminds us, the final collapse of the viceroyalty was also caused by its fiscal and financial difficulties, so the case of Mexico illustrates the same connection between fiscal and political processes which can be seen in other

states, such as France, in the same period. At the same time, the author has convincingly explained the basic importance of Mexico's fiscal effort for Spanish finances at the end of the eighteenth century. Taking all this into account we can say very definitely that Marichal's book will be a great help to all those interested in Mexican and Spanish history.

José Ignacio Andrés Ucendo
Basque Country University

J. PALMOWSKI, *Urban Liberalism in Imperial Germany. Frankfurt am Main, 1866-1914*, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp.391.

The decades which followed 1848 formed the period when the European system of states took on its final shape and the principal political regimes were consolidated. Strengthened and driven forward by the widespread industrialisation process, but frightened at the risks presented by the contemporaneous emergence of an increasingly numerous proletariat and frightened, too, at the spread of socialism, the bourgeoisie in every country tried to foster political stability by pursuing an alliance and a compromise with the old ruling classes, as well as with the political and institutional forms that were most suited to maintaining social order. Once the principle of the sovereignty of the people and of political representation had been asserted in a large part of Europe, the problem was to render this compatible with the effectiveness of government action and with the need for continuity, avoiding the frequent revolutionary tremors and the institutions' excessive dependence on the will of the people. Victorian England, the France of the Second Empire and the making of Bismarck's Germany were three different variations of this process.

In this book, Palmowski tackles the complex situation in Germany, where, paradoxically, the opening up to international trade was ordered not by a liberal movement but by a strongly conservative government (the Austro-Hungarian government). In actual fact, liberalism was creeping into even the most closed regimes due to the general need to be accountable to public opinion for the acts of the government or the Crown. In many European countries, the "politicization" of the new classes was a setting for a climate of unusually explicit debates in which fairly widespread criticism from the people could gain ground and sometimes lead to the creation of real "parties", competing for success and positions of power.

German unification had come about militarily, through the expansion of Prussia and a long series of wars that - in the national state's formation process - centralised the functions of the army, the diplomatic corps, the landed aristocracy and the Prussian Crown. The political model that emerged was

characterised by a rigorous authoritarianism, the marginality of parliamentary representative institutions and the domination of a social bloc which was highly disproportionate and favoured big land-owners and state bureaucracy, with a subordinate participation of the bourgeoisie.

Unlike France and England, the German constitutional model entrusted the government with such powers and authority in order to guarantee the status quo. In fact, the German constitution established a form of semi-parliamentarism that conceded precious little to the sovereignty of the people and concentrated in the executive (made up of the Chancellor and secretaries of state appointed solely by the Kaiser) the decisive power on the big issues of domestic and foreign policy. Chancellor Bismarck could thus govern for almost twenty years without having to worry (as did his English and French counterparts) about the fluctuations in public opinion, using systems very similar to the "enlightened despotism" of the eighteenth century. Relying on the Centre-Right, made up of the two conservative parties (representing the Junker aristocracy and the agrarian classes in general) and the National Liberal Party (supported by the social sectors more closely connected with industry and trade), Bismarck fought a hard battle based on tactical alliances and involving sudden shifts, in order to curb, repress and marginalise the two big emergent parties that appealed to the masses: the Roman Catholic party (the Central Party) and the Social Democrat party (the SPD).

From 1871, Bismarck began a violent attack (*Kulturkampf*, a battle for civilisation) on the Catholic movement, dissolving the Society of Jesus, subjecting Church activities to police surveillance and taking away from the Church control over teaching. Bismarck saw Roman Catholics, who were particularly strong in the southern states, as dangerous opponents to Prussian centralising aspirations: the popular nature of Catholic organisations, which were to be found for the most part in the rural regions, were a form of autonomous expression. The battle against the Catholics strengthened the Central Party and, at the same time, worried the Emperor, who wanted to win over Catholic conservative circles against the more fearsome and hated socialist peril. The *Kulturkampf* was ended very quickly; with a rapid turnabout repression was concentrated against social democracy, using, for this new cause, the alliance with the Central Party. In 1878, after various vain attempts, Bismarck managed to pass the special antisocialist laws which practically banned the SPD and which remained in force until 1890, but did not succeed in stopping the continuous growth and spreading of social democratic organisation. However, Bismarck's era was drawing rapidly to a close. New, more aggressive forces were emerging from the sudden industrialisation process in Germany: the big industrial groups, the steel, coal and chemical "syndicates" who wanted a more enterprising foreign policy both in Europe and in the colonies, and who wanted to participate more actively in the big political decisions. The turning point came in 1890 when the new Kaiser Wilhelm II entered into a serious and relentless conflict with the old Chancellor. Bismarck resigned in March 1890, after a resounding defeat for the Conservatives

in favour of the Liberals, and the new, real leadership of the country passed to Wilhelm II.

Twenty years previously, local affairs, which until then had been "apolitical", had begun to take on a political colour. Palmowski brings forward to 1870 (1900 being the date accepted by the generalised opinion of many historians) the date when the liberals, at least at the local level, succeeded in rising to positions of power in Germany. German political life was increasingly conditioned by militarism and by the authoritarian nature of the bureaucratic, agrarian and industrial castes, who had lost Bismarck's firm leadership and were heading towards continental supremacy and the search for a vaster *lebensraum*.

Through his analysis of urban policies where the liberals could have realised many of their ideals to achieve a civil, cultural and enterprising society, Palmowski focuses his attention on the city of Frankfurt-on-Main, one of the most progressive cities in the Germany of that time. After a careful and well-documented analysis, he reaches some very interesting conclusions. His theory aims to refute the idea of an "apolitical" Germany that was influenced by a distinctive adherence to authority, free from the conflict of different political factions, and happy to lead a cultural and enterprising life that left matters of government to the managerial élite. Palmowski describes what the German liberals did to obtain governing power, how they administered it, and how much they differed from other liberals in western Europe, but he describes all this at a local, urban level in the city of Frankfurt. From the local data, Palmowski manages to determine the main areas of interest of liberal politics in Germany: welfare, education, religion and taxation.

As is well known, in the 1880s Germany was the first European nation to introduce a social security system run by the state and common to all workers. Between 1883 and 1889 compulsory insurance, run under public audit, against accidents at work, invalidity and old age was introduced with the aim of guaranteeing social peace and keeping the trade unions at bay, thereby allowing industrialisation to take place in an orderly way.

Still at a local level, Palmowski identifies the only area where the liberals had direct access to power throughout the whole of Germany: the town council. Palmowski argues that German liberalism was not as feeble as was often believed and that, even when faced with an authoritarian state structure, German liberals promoted changes and reforms. The real problem lay in the country's complicated federal structure that made it impossible to transfer innovations from the local level to the national level. However liberalism, which Palmowski labels the *Burgertum's* political *alter ego*, remained fundamentally weak compared to other European liberal movements. After all, in 1914, the German liberals had still not achieved a parliamentary democracy and so they remained without direct access to power. This singular inability to obtain control of the government has often been attributed to the liberals' reluctance to achieve power, but, above all, to their political immaturity.

The observation that local government was an important stronghold of

liberalism in imperial Germany, however, is not new. It was pointed out, as Palmowski recalls, by James Sheehan in a pioneering article on the issue, published in 1971. Sheehan revealed that in many liberal cities the liberals worked to hang on to their control of town councils until 1918, despite the growing challenges, first from the Central Party and then from the SPD. Strangely enough, despite this focus on the importance of the city as a foundation of liberal power, more detailed studies of liberal politics in local government have been very rare indeed. One of the main reasons for historians' scant interest in the characteristics of local government political parties is the traditional account given by urban historians. In their studies, urban local government in Germany, in so far as it was "apolitical", has been considered emblematic. According to the studies by H. Croon, W. Hofmann and W. Kollerman, in the nineteenth century, cities and town councils were not run by parties, but by the elite of local notables, the *Honoratioren*. The associations of members connected by bonds of friendship or family ties were more important than the alliances of a political party or its ideology. It seems that throughout the nineteenth century there was no room for politicians in town halls. It was only because of the SPD's efforts to obtain a share of municipal power and because of electoral growth that the municipal government opened its doors to politics, from about 1900. Increasing politicisation of the municipality contributed to more subdivisions in municipal government. It became necessary to provide the city with administrators and officials who were able to do their work well and professional training of staff guaranteed these conditions. Applying typical German rationality, the art of governing had to become more impersonal, a sort of administration of a company that consisted of people and things. It has been pointed out that, until the end of the nineteenth century, German cities were governed by local notables, but, after 1900, a degree in law and a specialisation in particular branches of municipal government became prerequisites for entrusting the running of the state to a powerful *Magistrat*.

The idea that local government was unaffected by political party conflicts has been widely accepted by experts on urban history who have concentrated their attention on urbanisation, town planning, health, architecture and other areas such as the growth of speculation in the building sector. In the range of studies on imperial Germany's political order, local government policies constitute an until now little frequented subject, but one which doubtless has many aspects awaiting investigation. Rather than providing information on a particular social, political and cultural situation, this book is an original proposal of historical enquiry that opts for a "structural" analysis which dwells on social roles, institutions, predominant aesthetic ideas, academic debates and particular political decisions: these are functional elements linking single events in a more general situation. Palmowski begins his book with a long introduction, which contains many starting points for discussion. The book is divided into five chapters with a preface and a conclusion which reveal the objective difficulty of synthesising a subject-matter in itself broad and diversified.

The handling of issues such as education, a chapter of German history which was remarkably important in the context of Europe, is very interesting. It must be remembered that the era of reforms in post-Napoleonic Germany was marked by the revitalization of Germany's ancient universities and by the creation of new ones. The attempt to contain within a system of knowledge applied to the training of bureaucrats in the universities was necessary in Germany. The growth of Prussian bureaucracy, its social composition and its political role have been widely studied. Scientific education was largely fashioned on the syllabus and the methods of the *Ecole polytechnique*, but was made accessible to a much greater number of students than in France. This is why, at a time when science was becoming increasingly essential to industry, Germany proved ready to take advantage of the situation. When American educationalists began to feel the need to reorganise their higher education system in the 1870s, they sought a model in Germany rather than in France or England. The liberals' interest in education was due essentially to two reasons. Firstly, there was the need to save Germany's social structure, especially that of the bourgeoisie faced with other emergent sectors of society. Secondly, there was the role of religion. The debate on secular or clerical control of education became one of the most controversial subjects in late nineteenth-century European politics. The importance of the *Kulturkampf* as a fundamental characteristic of the German nation in general and of German liberalism in particular, has been pointed out only too often. On the other hand, the impact of religion, in particular of Protestantism, on German liberalism is still on the whole unknown. In the "new direction" of Wilhelm's empire, the cities became centres of education. The new education system provided for primary education and secondary education. Palmowski's book examines the education system in Frankfurt from the time of Prussian annexation until the founding of the civic university which has been rightly considered the epitome of Frankfurt's liberal civic spirit.

The book ends with an analysis of another great area of liberal interest: municipal finances. The issue over the liberal administration of finances is rather complex, and, as in the case of education and social policy, the Frankfurt liberals adopted a stance that differed enormously from that of the others. They operated in accordance with social, industrial and historical factors, and the fiscal policy they adopted was to a certain extent successful. The enthusiasm with which they faced enormous debts was evidently due to the difficulty of implementing their reforms without touching the municipal budgets. In this "golden age" of local government, the "era of management and liberal debt", the increase in expenditure and in municipal debt, which became more contained in 1900, was surprisingly soft-pedalled in political debate of the time. The main reason was that most municipal expenditure benefited the middle-class electorate. The drive to reform the economy and municipal finances, education and religion depended more and more on the public authorities' wish to rationalise and counterbalance. The public authorities hinged on a small group of officials who were highly motivated ethically

and politically and were soundly competent in economics and social sciences.

The book is enriched with graphs, tables and appendixes, and Palmowski ends his study by recalling the singularity of German liberal policy practised in Frankfurt: the constitutional context in which it operated constituted an unsurmountable difficulty.

Rossella Del Prete
University of Sannio

A. RITSCHL, *Deutschlands Krise und Konjunktur 1924-1934. Binnenkonjunktur, Auslandsverschuldung und Reparationsproblem zwischen Dawes-Plan und Transfersperre* (Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft 2), Akademie Verlag Berlin 2002.

Ritschl's central argument is that the extreme severity of the Great Depression was caused by the fact that the Young Plan of 1929/30 tightened the reparation regime greatly. Under the previous Dawes Plan there existed a provision that the transfer of reparation payments abroad could only be undertaken if this did not endanger the German balance of payments. By that clause reparations were effectively assigned the lowest priority within the bundle of German obligations to foreigners. An incentive was thus established to increase German commercial indebtedness abroad in an attempt to finally dispose of war-related transfers by presenting the choice to Germany's creditors between servicing the commercial debt or paying reparations. Even though Ritschl presents some support for this interpretation from governmental sources, one could ask whether the fast growth of German foreign debt could, indeed, have been the result of a coordinated action of a multitude of German debtors with that aim in mind. The alternative seems more plausible that the country imported capital after its hyperinflation which was freely given by foreign creditors not least because the transfer clause of the Dawes Plan seemed to reduce greatly the risks of such action. Even if they had wanted to avoid such large capital imports, German authorities lacked the necessary policy instruments to do so given the gold standard with its convertibility of currencies, as well as free international capital movements.

However, the substance of Ritschl's argument remains unchanged by these considerations. The abolition of the transfer clause and the institution of a binding scheme for the payment of reparations through the Young Plan reversed priorities. Now the reparation transfer was the first German obligation, the servicing of commercial debt was given second priority. In view of the huge foreign commercial debt already incurred by Germany at the end of the twenties this meant that the risk of additional credits suddenly skyrocketed. The conclusion

drawn by Ritschl that this led to the near drying-up of capital inflows to the Reich is warranted. The diagram, entitled "German Capital Imports", (p. 111) shows a steep decline in 1929/30.

Unfortunately, the diagram in reality shows "net capital imports" as can be seen from Table 4 in appendix B. It is evident that capital imports remained surprisingly high, amounting to more than 3.5 billion Reichsmarks in 1930 (as well in 1931) with capital exports instead reaching higher and higher figures. It would have been quite interesting to get an explanation of this very peculiar development, which the author fails to provide, however.

Even if capital inflows generally did not cease as quickly as might have been expected, it is clear from the historical record that the German state could not liberally obtain further foreign credit. Related to this, its creditworthiness at home was also severely affected. The German banks, for example, could not give credit to the government without the consent of *their* foreign creditors whom they themselves were dependent upon. Therefore, the state faced a severe credit restriction and had no choice but to follow a policy of balanced budgets, which led to a deflationary policy, in spite of the ongoing crisis. That, in turn, produced the big export surpluses for the first time since 1926 which were necessary for the real transfer of reparations in 1930 and 1931, in a period with high capital exports (capital flight).

Ritschl's book makes fascinating reading in part, and its appendices include a large amount of data which he has painstakingly collected himself, many of them from archival sources. Yet, at times the book is sometimes difficult to comprehend. The volume's main achievement is the demonstration that a deflationary policy was necessary. Hence, it is a valuable contribution to the debate about possible alternatives to Chancellor Brüning's austerity policy, and it persuasively comes down on the side of Knut Borchardt's prior, rather pessimistic, account. As such it deserves a wide audience.

Christoph Buchheim
University of Mannheim

M.A. SOLINIS ESTALLO, *La alcabala del rey. Fiscalidad en el partido de las cuatro villas cántabras y las merindades de Campoo y Campos con Palencia, 1474-1504*. Santander, Universidad, 2003, pp 406.

The study of the birth and development of the modern state in Western Europe has a prominent place in the research agenda of historians. As all those interested in this topic will certainly know, there is a long and ever-growing list of books and articles on this fascinating question. Although this is not the best place to analyze the different approaches adopted by researchers to explain

why at the end of fifteenth century the first modern monarchies - usually seen as the first step in the building of the modern state - appeared in England, France and Castile, it should be remembered that this has been usually related to simultaneous advances in the development of new and more complex fiscal and financial systems in the three countries, especially in France and Castile.

In this light, the great interest shown in the study of the different European tax systems in the early modern period in recent decades is understandable. As for Castile, there is a number of classic works on Castilian taxation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the books by R. Carande, M. Artola, M. Ulloa and A. Domínguez Ortiz among many others, demonstrate¹. Thanks to them we have a good understanding of the main characteristics of Castile's fiscal system, and the fact that these authors established the basic framework for the research that has followed in recent decades is the best proof of the high quality of their research.

The works we have just mentioned analyze Castile's tax system during the Habsburg period. It is well known that the arrival of the new dynasty in the first decades of the sixteenth century did not constitute, at least from the fiscal point of view, a radical breakthrough with Castile's past. In fact, there was strong continuity. The collection techniques and some of the most important Castilian taxes had appeared during the last centuries of the middle ages, so, to a certain extent, the history of Castilian taxation in the sixteenth century fiscal context might be interpreted as the development of traditional practices in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This justifies the approach adopted by M.A Solinís Estallo in "La alcabala del rey", where we find an interesting study of Castile's most important tax, the *alcabala*, in a number of northern Castile fiscal districts (*partidos*), during the reign of the famous *Reyes Católicos*.

The *alcabala* was a 10% sales tax. It should be emphasized that the history of this tax during the sixteenth century has been analysed in the books and articles of L.M Bilbao, J.I Fortea and P.Zabala², whose works are a basic reference for all those interested in fiscal income, and the book by M.A. Solinís improves our knowledge of the *alcabala* during an important period of its history. Although its origins are still unclear, it seems possible that it was first collected in Muslim cities, and then adopted by the Castilians after the reconquest (*Reconquista*). In the central decades of the fourteenth century, the Castilian *Cortes* decided to transfer the *alcabala*, until then a mere council tax, to the king, in order to help him to finance the siege of Algeciras, so from 1342 onwards the collection of the *alcabala* became a royal right.

¹ See Carande, Ramón: Carlos V y sus banqueros. Artola, Miguel: La Hacienda del Antiguo Régimen. Ulloa, M: La Hacienda Real de Castilla en el reinado de Felipe II. Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio: Política y Hacienda de Felipe IV.

² See Bilbao, L.M: Relaciones fiscales entre la provincia de Alava y la Corona de Castilla: la alcabala en los siglos XVI y XVII; Fortea, J.I: Fiscalidad en Córdoba. Fisco, Economía y Sociedad. Alcabalas y encabezamientos en tierras de Córdoba, 1513-1619 y Zabala Aguirre, P: Las alcabalas y la Hacienda Real de Castilla.

In the first part of the book (chapters 1, 2 and 3), the author analyses the creation of the fiscal districts (*partidos*) used by the king's government to collect the *alcabala* in the Cuatro Villas, Campoo and Campos. As something similar would have happened in other areas of the country during the same period, it is not unfair to say that in this part of the book Solinís has studied a basic aspect of the country's fiscal and political history.

The policy followed by the Crown between 1474 and 1504 to achieve its objectives was twofold. First, the old ecclesiastical districts were incorporated into the new fiscal districts. Although this reform only affected taxation and the Castilian Church preserved its own administrative and religious autonomy, it nevertheless showed the Crown's intention of tightening its grip on the Church in those aspects more related to the political life of the kingdom. Secondly, since in previous reigns a substantial part of the *alcabala* had been transferred (*enajenaciones*) to members of the nobility, a part of this tax was collected by them, and not by the government. Knowing this, the Catholic Kings promoted an extensive and careful enquiry into the exact amount of *enajenaciones* in every *partido*, in order to assess the villages and districts where the tax still was in the Crown's hands and its yields. Throughout this process the Crown showed a detailed knowledge of the economic circumstances of the different districts, together with a strong determination to maximize its fiscal incomes, even if this meant the disappearance of old districts and their merging into new ones. Particularly interesting in this respect is the process which led to the establishment of the *partido* of Cuatro Villas. The main basis for the new district were four previously separated commercial villages which had grown considerably during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: S. Vicente de la Barquera, Santander, Laredo and Castro Urdiales. Taking this into account, the Castilian Crown decided to incorporate these four cities into a *partido*, with the obvious idea of easing and improving the collection of the *alcabala* generated by the rich trade developed in the area.

The second part analyses the methods adopted to collect the tax. As was quite normal not only in Castile but in the rest of Spain and Europe, the farming (*arriendo*) of the *alcabala* was very common, especially in the period 1474-1494. In the last years of the fifteenth century, however, the government promoted an important reform. As the author convincingly shows (pp 369-370), the farming of this tax had a basic problem because around 1483 a group of powerful farmers, many of them Jewish, collected the *alcabala* in most districts of the country. To quote an example, in 1491 the firm of Rabí Meyr, Abraham Senior and Luis de Alcalá farmed the *alcabala* of 21 *partidos*. As this could endanger the Crown's control over the tax, in 1495 the Catholic Kings decided to replace the farming of the *alcabala* with a new method: the *encabezamiento*. The *encabezamiento* was a contract between the king and, depending on the circumstances, a *partido* or even the kingdom itself in which the former gave the later a licence to collect the *alcabala* in return for a fixed amount of money.

Although the amount of the *encabezamiento* was always the same during this period, the new technique had many advantages. Thanks to it, the Crown regained the ground previously lost to tax farmers, and in addition the *encabezamiento* had interesting political advantages. As the Crown allowed the *partidos* (and later the kingdom) to collect the tax choosing its own methods and preserving its autonomy, this created the basis for the close political and fiscal partnership between both sides which would last over the next centuries.

The third and final part of the book is focused on the study of the way the sums collected were expended. In general terms, there were two kinds of expenses: a substantial part of the funds collected (around 60-75% of the *alcabala* in the Cuatro Villas; 55-65% in the *merindad* of Campos and around 20% in Campos; pp 238) was transferred to the nobility through the payment of public debt titles (*juros*) and favours (*mercedes*), while the rest was invested in revenue expenditure. Taking this into account, it is not surprising that many members of the most important families of the Castilian nobility, such as the Enriquez, Acuña, Bivero, Sarmiento, Zúñiga, Guevara, Velasco and Manrique families, along with other members of the lesser nobility were the main beneficiaries of the sums paid by the Castilians in the districts of northern Castile analysed by the author.

As in many other European areas, continuity is one of the most interesting elements in Castile's history during the early modern period. Of course, this is not to deny the extent of the changes and transformations of the period, but we must not forget that many aspects of the of Castilian society from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century were introduced in the later middle ages and survived until the early years of the nineteenth century. This is particularly clear in the case of taxation. The *alcabala*, the Crown's most important fiscal income during the sixteenth century, lasted until the liberal reforms of the nineteenth century. At the same time, the collection techniques (*arriendo* and *encabezamiento*) used during the reign of the Catholic Kings were also adopted by their heirs. The case of the *encabezamiento* is noteworthy. As the author explains, the Catholic Kings always looked with suspicion upon the farming of the *alcabala*, because this could endanger the Crown's control over the tax, and this prompted them to promote the use of the *encabezamiento* in the last few years of the fifteenth century. It should be remembered here that this was the same reason invoked during the sixteenth and seventeenth century by the Crown's fiscal council (*Consejo de Hacienda*) to reject the use of tax farming. The new collection method had a long and, we would venture to say, successful history. In fact, the *encabezamiento* was used to collect the *alcabala* during the sixteenth century and much of the seventeenth, and in 1683-1685 an ambitious reformist scheme was adopted in order to collect the Castile's main taxes (the *alcabala*, the *millones* and the *cientos*) through a large-scale "*Encabezamiento General del Reino*". As we have said before, the possibility of achieving close cooperation

between the Crown and the government was one of the most important advantages of this kind of contract, and this explains the keen interest always felt by Castile's kings in its use.

Taking into account its emphasis on the study of the origins of the *encabezamientos* and on the analysis of the way the fiscal incomes obtained from the *alcabala* were expended, the book under review sheds light on a basic aspect of Castilian history. According to research in recent decades, the rather striking stability which is one of the main characteristics of Castile in the seventeenth century is seen as the result of the compromise achieved between the king and the kingdom. Fiscality was a basic part of this agreement. Thanks to the great expansion of the public debt, the privileged groups of Castilian society (the nobility, the Church and the urban patriciate) had an obvious interest in the preservation of a monarchy which annually transferred to them a substantial part of its fiscal incomes through the payment of *jurros*, securing for them a control over the bureaucratic posts offered by the most powerful empire of the time. Simultaneously, the massive use of the *encabezamientos* in the sixteenth and seventeenth century provided the urban patriciate with a means for participating in the collection of taxes. We can say that in his book M. Solinís Estallo has convincingly shown that many aspects of this agreement were in fact forged during the reign of the *Reyes Católicos*. He reminds us of the importance of the changes and transformations introduced during the late medieval period, when the basic framework for the development of Castile's political and economic history until the end of the Ancien Regime was established, so the publication of this work, which deserves to be considered as proof of the medieval roots of Castile's modern state, will be welcomed by all those interested in the country's history.

José Ignacio Andrés Ucendo
Basque Country University

R.P. SWIERENGA, *Faith and Family. Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820-1920*, Holmes and Meier, New York/London, 2000, pp.XX, 362.

This book, which re-elaborates several studies that Swierenga has already published, aims to deal more widely with a subject which has hitherto been quite ignored: Dutch immigration in the United States. Swierenga, himself of Dutch immigrant descent, is a lecturer at the Van Raalte Institute for Historical Studies in Holland (Michigan), and is the editor of the recently-published book *For Food and Faith: Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846-1960* (Holland Museum and A.C. Van Raalte Institute, Holland, MI, 2000). There is an

increasing interest in this case study, as can be seen in Suzanne Sinke's publication of the results of her research, entitled *Dutch Immigrant Women in the United States, 1880-1920* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago).

In the Preface, Swierenga writes a short, pithy essay which is preparatory to the "interpretation" he gives of migration and very rightly points out the difference between the two types of "migration traditions": chain migration and impersonal migration. Swierenga stresses chain migration, lamenting the fact that "the familial and kinship facets of migration remain least explored. Indeed, it is still not known what proportion of European emigrants relocated as family units... The earliest emigrants, the innovators were usually single males. Families predominated in the groups phase, but in the saturation phase, singles again were numerous." Swierenga sees the migration flows from Holland in terms of "transplanted communities" and describes their fundamental features: "Dutch immigrants carried a traditional familism and localism to America as part of their cultural baggage... valued and ordered traditional society based on kinship, village and church. When these people emigrated, and this is especially true of the Calvinists, they sought to transplant their village cultures, churches and kin networks... Group identity and the desire for religious and cultural maintenance dictated settlement in segregated communities on the frontier or in urban neighbourhoods."

Dutch migrants, especially the free emigration of the nineteenth century which Swierenga examines in particular in this book, was made up of "economic migrants" who, as a consequence of the agricultural crises and the simultaneous development of industrialisation went overseas, since "emigration simultaneously alleviated the conditions of labour oversupply, capital scarcity and food shortages".

Dutch migration headed for different regions according to where they came from in Holland and, as Swierenga is careful to point out, there seems to have been a very strong distinction between town and country. Emigrants from towns settled in big cities, in New York, Chicago and Cleveland, whereas country folk headed mainly towards the states of central and northern USA: Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa. Emigration from Holland during the period examined seems decidedly rural-based and with strong family connections; during the first world war, 60% of Dutch emigrants set out with their families.

These characteristics are interwoven with the religious basis of the Dutch communities and with the fact that the Dutch exodus also had religious motivations. In 1834, an extreme Calvinist group had broken away from the national church which was state-controlled as decreed by King William I and which obviously abolished any form of self-government of the religious communities. The "Seceders" were persecuted and their Pietist doctrine was not recognised even by William II's more tolerant regime. The Secessionist movement addressed in particular "the blue-collar workers (small farmers, day labourers and artisans)". It is clear that the revolutionary aspect of the religious creed

together with the general circumstances of the community which at that time lacked money, but which was solidly founded on church and family, led to the search for a new promised land as the only way out.

The religious aspect which determined, especially in the case of Protestant communities, forms of social co-existence, is used by Swierenga as an interpretation of Dutch migration in the United States and its peculiarity. He stresses: "The settlement behaviour of Dutch Protestants and Catholics in the United States likewise diverged. Catholics established very few colonies, in contrast to the Calvinists, especially the Seceders, who formed ethnic enclaves wherever they settled, whether in rural areas or major cities".

Swierenga, who had already examined Jewish emigration from Holland (*The Forerunners: Dutch Jewry in the North American Diaspora*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1994), deliberately devotes one chapter of his book to the immigration of Dutch Jews in the United States, explaining how "they too emigrated in families, brought special work skills and religious values, and founded Dutch synagogues led by Dutch lay rabbis". The Jews were the first Dutch immigrants in the USA, dating from the Napoleonic era when the war between France and Great Britain seriously damaged their trading activities; later, during the reign of Louis Bonaparte and then during that of the House of Orange, increased state bureaucratization and increased taxation drove the Jewish community more and more away from Holland.

After studying migration models and the religious aspect of expatriation, in the third part of the book Swierenga describes the professional, social and political integration of the new immigrant communities.

Together with a vast bibliography, the last chapter presents valuable statistics and a full list of the many sources found both in Dutch and United States archives.

Ludovica de Courten

Ministry for Heritage and Cultural Activities

Archive General Management - Rome

J. WHITTLE, *The Development of Agrarian Capitalism. Land and Labour in Norfolk 1440 -1580*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2000, pp. xii + 361.

How capitalist was English society between the late middle ages and the early modern age? What was the importance of capital formation over a period of one hundred and forty years? Jane Whittle's dense study attempts to reply to these two questions. Using a substantial mass of documentation, for the most part feudal registers (manorial accounts and courts rolls), Whittle makes a detailed reconstruction of the relationship between and the importance of the two productive elements in the agricultural economy of the English county of Norfolk

between 1440 and 1580: the land and labour, examined in a period spanning two important events – the end of serfdom and the enclosures. After over two centuries of analyses on the development of capitalism, starting with Serra and followed by Smith, Marx and Brenner, it is now clear that it was the development of agriculture and the transition from subsistence to capitalist farming which created the necessary basis on which subsequent commercial, financial and industrial capitalism could flourish. In the 1970s, Robert Brenner clearly identified the evolutionary factors which enabled European agriculture to develop, thereby releasing resources that were vital for the transition to a capitalist economy. In this book, Whittle takes up Brenner's theories on class structure in rural society and on the agrarian roots of capitalism. It is well-known that Brenner showed how the transformation of social relations in the country were one of the determinant factors in capitalist development in England. Whittle consolidates this claim with the example of north-east Norfolk and, in particular, the village of Marsham, where the transition from a private consumption economy to an economy that was more complex - at least in its organisational structure - is seen clearly. Whittle's analysis begins at the end of the late middle ages when serfdom was almost extinct in England. The fifteenth century put an end to the indissoluble link between the agricultural labourer and land that was enfeoffed according to the customs brought by the Norman conquerors in 1066. The decrease in population throughout Europe due to the Black Death in the fourteenth century is fundamental to understanding why the feudal system was ever-increasingly and rapidly dismantled. In England the fall in population had dramatic consequences. The drastic drop in population drove feudal owners and the Crown to reduce further coercive rights over peasants, in order to ensure that they had at least a minimum revenue.

Obviously, the decrease in population did not lead to the total disappearance of feudalism; it merely began that inevitable, slow transformation which led to its final extinction between the eighteenth and the nineteenth century. Essentially, the coercive powers, related to the exercise of specific feudal rights, became *jus pecuniarii*, economic obligations. Moreover, the changes in production techniques and the development of the markets required an ever greater economic effort on the part of the feudal lord to ensure a constant income for himself.

The court rolls which Whittle examined for Marsham show the progressive transformation of feudal rights until what she aptly calls "sixteenth-century feudalism" was reached. In this situation serfdom was virtually non-existent and a flourishing land market had developed, now that land was no longer shackled by the legal restraints which had characterised it during the middle ages. In particular, the disappearance of serfdom and personal ties rendered land possessed by customary rights especially attractive, making it more desirable as an investment on the part of the big landowners and members of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, all the prohibitive, authoritative and jurisdictional rights became

eminently economic rights: even the vassal's obligation to do military service for the king, a real mainstay of feudal society, became a monetary service. There is no doubt that the land-owning regime underwent a radical change: it was no longer sanctioned by obligatory personal services and *corvées*, but by the payment of recognitive rents. In short, this was the prelude to renting land and to the legal division between ownership and possession. It should be added that for England, which had come through the Wars of the Roses, the sixteenth century was a period of administrative change as well as of religious tensions which began to spread throughout the country and which led eventually to the conflict between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Whittle points out that the "freeing" of the land market coincides with this transition period, when the transfer of property took place no longer exclusively *mortis causa* by feudal right, but by means of a bequest in a will (about 6% in the period in question), with the effect of redistributing wealth fairly well, and by means of acts *intra vivos* (about 52%). Whittle is right to emphasise the importance, in terms of quantity, of the acts of property transfer agreed upon between living persons, and she shows that this gave rise to a clear policy of redistributing estates within families in order to consolidate increasingly full ownership. However, above all, the policy of reinvestment in land and agricultural property on the part of the people in Norfolk, who made the most of all the advantages of the Ricardian 'rent' revenue, is noteworthy. This phenomenon may be better understood by bearing in mind that there was no official institute authorising transactions and so there was a greater flexibility in property transfers.

Jane Whittle wonders whether the agricultural society of north-east Norfolk may be considered a wholly capitalist society, in that it had an active land market and a complex legal structure to protect this market. However, in her opinion, the key element is missing: the certainty of a market-oriented agriculture, not an agriculture aimed at self-consumption. There is no doubt that the elements Whittle has identified suggest there was an embryonic phase, a protocapitalist phase which, however, has to be confirmed, as Brenner pointed out, by the type of social structure, the presence of small landed properties – in this sense the schematization of French agricultural capitalism drawn up by Robert Brenner is emblematic – and by the spread of wage-earning agricultural labour. Whittle devotes the last two chapters of her book to the search for these "convincing elements", the second term of comparison in her work, after the land factor. According to Whittle's research, the slow and gradual process of liberalizing the Norfolk land market between 1500 and 1580 brought about an increase in the number of medium-large land owners, which led to the formation of vast areas owned by customary tenure and freehold, without any feudal ties whatsoever. However, the small owners were increasingly squeezed out and forced onto the commons, and their incomes continued to fall to subsistence level. They had no choice but to abandon their smallholdings and become, in a few fortunate cases, subtenants and, for the most part, wage-earning labourers.

The data concerning Marsham which Whittle publishes reveal that two thirds of the work force in the smallholdings of the freeholders or the customaryholders was made up of wage-earning labourers. However, in Whittle's eyes, these labourers do not appear to be a sufficiently significant element to enable us to view Norfolk agriculture as capitalist. In fact, Whittle specifies that, despite the great number of wage-earning labourers, most of them were not independent or free-lance labourers in the capitalist meaning of the term. They were, when all was said and done, labourers who supplemented their wages – often paid with board and lodging – with income from poor artisan activities and from the use of the commons for grazing and to gather firewood. This was the world of protocapitalism, as described by Kulischer, which still lacked the driving elements it was to acquire in the seventeenth and, above all, in the eighteenth century. But the path undertaken by English agriculture, strengthened by the audacious policy of enclosure, would over the years determine the movement of capital from the primary sector to the secondary sector, thereby opening the floodgates of the industrial revolution which two centuries later was to change radically the understanding of the term "capitalism".

Roberto Rossi
University of Salerno

