REVIEWS OF BOOKS

AA. VV., *Aux Origines du Retard Economique de L'Espagne, XVIe-XIXe Siècles*, Paris, Editions CNRS, 1983, pp. 169.

This volume presents the first results of a collective research programme financed by the French CNRS on the Spanish economy, and the essays which it contains range widely in theme and chronology across the many different regional situations that were embraced by this one country through four centuries of its history. But although the themes vary, there is much greater coherence in the questions to which they are addressed and which are succinctly summarized in the title. Each of the essays seeks to explain why Spain succeeded only belatedly and unevenly in joining the ranks of the so-called industrial nations during the last century. Jordi Nadal's fine study of the failure of Spain's industrial revolution (Ariel Publishers, Barcelona 1975) was based on a minute analysis of a limited number of sectors of the Spanish economy in the period 1814 to 1913, whereas the present book attempts to set the same issues in a wider perspective and against a longer historical context.

In one of the first and lengthiest of the essays, J.P. Amalric compares two different agricultural systems that existed in XVIIIth century Spain: on one hand the intensive polyculture of Galicia, on the other the cereal monoculture and dry-farming that prevailed on the Castilian plateau. Drawing on recent local studies, Amalric shows that in the period between 1650 and 1750 Galician polyculture experienced profound changes in certain regions where it was transformed into a system of intensive farming geared to producing new types of crops. After the 1630s the production of maize began to spread rapidly, and in the following half century quickly replaced traditional cereals (millet, rye and even wheat). The introduction of maize went in combination with beans which improved the supply of animal foodstuffs. The development of a fallow-free system of rotation was made possible by increased cattle-raising and the use of the legume called *tojo* growing on uncultivated land.

These changes, Amalric argues, gave certain parts of Galicia an agricultural economy that was not only the most advanced in Spain but amongst the most productive in Europe. He also claims that the traditional view that the *foro* leases (a form of emphyteut peculiar to Galicia) were restrictive is wrong, since they guaranteed extremely low cash rents and were unalterable. The principal agents and beneficiaries of the increased productivity of Galician farming were the small peasant farmers, yet these developments did not bring them a better

standard of living, nor did they increase investment in production. The reason was that demographic growth kept steady pace with, and often overran, the increases in productivity, causing the subdivision of holdings and emigration, thereby ensuring that agriculture remained subject to the demands of subsistence rather than the market.

The dry-farming cereal farms of central Spain were faced on the other hand with three alternatives: they could become more extensive, more intensive, or more diversified. To increase the area implied reducing pasture and using more marginal soils, and was only possible in areas that were not densely populated. But the adoption of more intensive methods posed even greater problems, since it required the use of greater supplies of natural enrichment which in turn demanded more livestock. In the arid conditions of the Meseta where the production of forage crops was difficult, this was not a viable alternative, even though the introduction of legumes — whose existence was well known in Spain in the XVIIIth century — might have partly compensated the shortage of animal manure had the low level of agronomical knowledge not impeded their diffusion.

Diversification was a more radical alternative, since both of the other solutions served to preserve the prevailing cereal monoculture. The range of crops that could be grown in the climatic conditions of central Spain was relatively wide and included vines, olives, mulberries, almonds, nuts, sumac, saffron and so forth. But these were all crops that were market-orientated, and their development was therefore held back by the sluggish development of the Castilian economy and by the high cost of transportation.

Amalric also examines the structure of land-ownership and the ways in which the net product was distributed (defining this as what remained once the subsistence needs of the farmer and his family and the input in the form of seed-corn and stock required to maintain the farming cycle was deducted). As in most other countries in this period, the greater part of the net product was consumed by rent, although in Castile this had certain unusual features. The lion's share went to the church. The nobility took a small share, although still a substantial one, while although the part taken by the contractors of church tithes and by the grain merchants is difficult to assess it was also considerable. Only a few of the richer peasants succeeded in getting their hands on any of it, however.

The way in which the net product of agriculture was distributed was a major obstacle to capital accumulation, particularly since the Church continued to invest its share in charitable activities, in artistic works, and in public and private annuities. The great nobles also opted for unproductive forms of expenditure. Yet, despite these problems, Amalric argues that some changes did take place in the dry-farming regions and that there was some expansion although this was halted by the wars that followed the French Revolution.

A. Broder, G. Chastagnaret and E. Témime are joint authors of a short chapter on 'Capital and Growth' which discusses the principal obstacles to industrial development in Spain in the XIXth century. Amongst the factors that

they list are: the loss of Spain's empire and colonies after the Napoleonic invasions; the lack of goods and commodities that could be exported in large quantities to the industrializing countries during much of the XIXth century; the negative economic consequences of the suppression of the monasteries and municipal corporations; the shortage of technical skills and the inadequacies of facilities for training in science and technology; the shortage of national investments and the negative consequences of foreign investment in Spain; the inadequacies of the railway network despite the investment it attracted, and its failure to provide the basis for a new industrial sector or to stimulate the expansion of the Spanish economy.

In a more detailed essay, G. Chastagnaret examines the fortunes of the *Real Compañía Asturiana de Minas* in the field of non-ferrous ore mining in the XIXth century. The company was founded in 1834 with mainly Spanish capital, but by 1853 the Spanish investors were already a minority because Spanish financial circles showed very little interest in the project. But Chastagnaret's study shows that foreign investment in the company provided work for many Spanish workers, large profits for the Spanish share-holders and even some increase in state revenues (although taxation on mining profits was very small). Yet these benefits to the Spanish economy were very small beer in comparison with the profits that went abroad, not to mention the natural resources that were lost.

The final set of chapters are devoted to 'attitudes and change'. B. Bennassar examines the role of illiteracy, the distribution and availability of books, and attitudes towards work, and puts forward a particularly interesting explanation of the remarkably low literacy rates in the second half of the XIXth century. He argues that at the beginning of the modern period literacy levels amongst male city-dwellers in Spain were roughly comparable with those of England and France. But the policies of *desamortizaciones* imposed by Mendizábal (1836-7) and Madoz (1855) removed vital sources of income from the Church and the local communities without putting anything in their place, and were a direct cause of the decline in literacy in the following generation.

In a similar context, L. Domergue provides a brief summary of his thesis on the censorship of books in Spain at the end of the *Ancien Régime*, which is shortly to be published, while J. P. Dedieu examines the claims that the Inquisition had contributed to Spain's economic backwardness. The latter begins in terms that are impossibly general ("Three countries experienced the modern Inquisition: Spain, Portugal and Italy. All three were major economic powers in the XVIth century, but all three failed to industrialize in the XIXth century. Does this suggest some causal link?"), but when it addresses more specific issues draws some interesting conclusions, although in general rejecting the initial hypothesis. Dedieu argues that the presence of the Inquisition was not capable of preventing new economic attitudes reaching Spain or of stopping the circulation of new cultural ideas and books. He also asks to what extent the Inquisition can be blamed for the subordination of the life-styles of the *judeo-converso* with

its openness to commercial and financial activity to the ideal of the *cristianos viejos*, and argues that the cult of *limpieza de sangre* was not the work of the Inquisition, which was itself a reflection of this obsession. But one might still question whether the *conversos* really did seek to abandon trade for land in order to hide their ethnic and religious origins, or for that matter what their contribution to the country's industrialization might have been had they retained their traditional way of life and outlook.

By way of conclusion J. Pérez discusses the ambiguities of the term modernization, but while he raises many very valid points it is arguable that this should have been done much earlier in the book in order to form part of the premise rather than the conclusion of the research. But for all its brevity, and despite the fact that the questions that are raised inevitably require much greater research, this volume still gives a useful indication of the work that is being carried out by this group of French scholars. One might hope that in future the group will turn its attention to the economic backwardness of another country, so that many of the questions that they raise here could be explored in a comparative context.

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S. CHAPMAN, *The Rise of Merchant Banking*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1984, Pp. IX-224.

The title of this volume is something of a misnomer. Rather than the broad ranging exploration it promises, Stanley Chapman's more modest study restricts itself to the merchant banking community of London and focuses on the century following the Napoleonic Wars. It is as concerned, moreover, with the faltering performance of London based firms, from the late Victorian era to 1914, as with their origins. But as the first such scholarly treatment of this significant sector of English money market operations, synthesizing newly opened archival material and recent studies of individual firms, it is an important addition to the literature that challenges long-held suppositions and lays to rest anti-semitic allegations of the ingroup allegiances and influence of Jewish financers.

In tracing the evolution of the two dominant houses, the Barings and Rothschilds, Chapman points to their distinctive approaches to merchant banking and the too often neglected differences in commodity dealings and mercantile outlook. Using these leaders as models of development, he argues that the Barings' lingering reluctance to move from general trade to concentrate on finance — in contrast to the Rothschilds — constituted the more typical response of British-based merchant bankers. On the other hand, both vanguard firms, responding to economic opportunities in countries where they had established connections, maintained a diversified financial and commodity business.

For much of the century, most merchant bankers were, according to Chapman, "at some stage in a long transitional period between merchanting and commission banking." [132] Acceptances and other trade credits, not foreign loan issues, remained their mainstay as they took advantage of the changing options of international trade. In oldline family firms, in particular, the second and third generation looked to safe moderate profits, changing government loans, but responding slowly to riskier railway and industrial issues.

Chapman also emphasizes the diversity of the bankers who established themselves in the City, maintaining that business cooperation ranked higher than ethnic or religious loyalties for the heterogeneous group of German, Greek, French and American background, who set up in the world's financial centre. And pointing to pacemakers like Kleinwort & Sons, he finds in Anglo-German families an exception to the thesis of a tight community bound by ties of aristocratic life-style, education, and intermarriage.

The image here is of conservative merchant bankers who for the most part responded selectively to the expanding possibilities of the late Victorian era. Yet Chapman warns against presumptions of their decline. Granting the two dominant houses lost initiative, he contends the best held their own in acceptances against British joint-stock banks and fast-growing American and German competitors. He similarly cautions against overstating the extension of merchant banker power in the pre-war period when partners increasingly joined the directorates of joint-stock companies, chartered banks, investment trusts, and insurance companies.

Chapman's study brings fresh perspectives to current assessments of the international economy, though econometric exploration is clearly needed to test his hypothesis that greater importance should be assigned to the role of merchant bankers in facilitating the growth of international trade and in releasing capital for internal growth, than, as has been supposed, in making a direct contribution to financing far-flung economic development.

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J. R. HALE, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450–1620*, London, Fontana Press, 1985, pp. 282.

This volume is part of a series, the *Fontana History of European War and Society* edited by Geoffrey Best, and in the best English style is written by a specialist but with a general audience in mind. It describes and examines the recruitment, technologies, methods of organization and size of the European armies, the conditions of military service, the cause of wars and their consequences for public finance, for society and the economy in the different European states in this period. The title *War and Society* is more than justified since the

author's interest is not in military history in its narrower definition of battles and campaigns, but rather with the social fabric from which armies were created and on which in turn armies had certain influences.

Even the causes of war reflected the assumptions of their age, and John Hale shows how early modern monarchs continued to behave much like great landowners. They sought to preserve their family or dynastic claims to lands that had been lost in times of hardship or through forceful expropriation; they laid claim to new possessions by marriage, yet they remained completely indifferent as to whether their possessions were geographically compact or dispersed, or whether or not they were populated by those who shared a common tongue or culture. There were few examples of outright conquest in Europe in the period between 1450 and 1620, but Hale points out that the complex web of territorial rights and claims that had been established over the centuries provided any ambitious ruler with ample opportunities. Economic gain did not play a part in the official rhetoric of the causes and aims of war, however, and Hale argues that the costs of military campaigns were not recovered by the victors nor was the expense of occupying conquered territories met from their administration. But although wars were not entered into for economic reasons, they demanded a considerable economic effort since both armies and their suppliers had to be paid. These burdens were the greater because during this period campaigns tended to become longer and armies larger, which entailed heavier costs and taxes.

There are many fascinating trends that became evident in this period, one of the most interesting being the loss of a taste for war amongst the European nobility — even though this was disguised in the ever more elaborate fashion for heraldry and genealogy. But by the mid-XVIth century there were few knights or *hidalgos* who were actually able to ride or shoot (except in eastern Germany where a more bellicose spirit continued to survive amongst the nobility). This was an important change that cannot simply be explained in terms of the relatively prolonged periods of peace since these had also occurred in earlier times. There had been a real change in the perception of the state of peace, which ceased to be seen simply as an interval between wars or as some vain ideal dear to pacifist churchmen, but rather as something positive which gave the opportunity for doing things that were more useful than simply preparing for new wars. So the period that Michael Roberts has quite rightly defined as one of military revolution also witnessed a revolution in the attributes of peace which began to offer its own alluring enticements: the life of court, diplomacy, and public service, not to mention the administration of ones' own estates.

A society which was able to offer more books, more diversified forms of culture, and greater material comforts also served to lessen the attractions of purely martial exercises amongst those who might otherwise have felt duty-bound to dedicate themselves entirely to such things. But this more diversified society also produced the new figure of the professional soldier by choice rather than birth and status. Alongside the wage-earning professional soldier there also

appeared the figure of the military contractor, who again reflected the growing importance of cash as the medium of exchange and sought to make his fortune by supplying mercenary troops to the highest bidders.

Hale has some interesting observations on the relationship between economic conditions and recruitment, and he argues in particular that unemployment did not necessarily make it easier to find recruits. It was only in those regions where there were well established traditions of mercenary soldiering that the connection between the internal state of the economy and military service abroad emerged clearly (p. 107). Elsewhere the alternatives were a decline in living standards, even banditry: but not the army. Hale also shows that the army was a poor base for those who wished to grow rich and rise up the social ladder. Plunder, booty and corruption did not transform soldiers into prudent savers or investors, and in the long run war proved pretty unrewarding for those who made a career out of it.

The author also argues that the emergence of a modern capitalist economy had little impact on military activities, and he suggests that it would be difficult to demonstrate that the production of weapons or other military supplies had any significant impact on the formation of a new bourgeoisie (pp. 214, 224). Nor did war bring about any major changes in the organization of trade, and the merchants of the XVIth century continued to follow the practices of their predecessors (p. 225), although it did on occasions disturb and even completely paralyze commercial activities. Armies brought together large numbers of men who needed to be fed, but the effects on agriculture were negligible (p. 213). Indeed, Hale concludes, the growing indebtedness of the State as a result of military operations and the proliferation of government bonds and loans if anything strengthened the taste for living off rent amongst the propertied classes rather than pursuing profits in trade or industry (p. 244).

Nor did war significantly affect mortality, since dearth and disease were far and away the major causes of death (p. 180). Death in battle was relatively infrequent, yet although armies rarely destroyed everything in their path they did bring real suffering and horror, especially during the frequent and lengthy sieges that occurred during the XVIth century.

Taken all in all, war was an important cause of change. Either directly or indirectly, it provided many with opportunities for growing rich either by supplying military needs or the financial needs of belligerent states. The resulting increases in taxation caused the role of the State to grow and helped stimulate monetary circulation. As armies became larger, were employed for much longer periods than in the past, and were equipped with new and costly pieces of artillery that were extremely difficult to move, they placed major challenges on the financial, economic and administrative capacities of the European states. Henry II's army, including camp followers, numbered between 90,000 and 100,000 men for example and contained more bellies than Milan and only slightly less than London (p.159). What were virtually travelling cities could

not be supported simply by requisitions and pillage but required the development of more systematic forms of provisioning.

The aim of the book is not to put forward any new general interpretation, but rather to give a clear general survey of the realities and significance of war in these years. Drawing on a vast bibliography, as well as on his own research, John Hale's conclusions are admirably balanced and succeed in reflecting both contrasting interpretations and also the different empirical realities that lay behind apparently similar situations and developments.

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P. HILDEN, *Working Women and Socialist Politics in France, 1880-1914: a Regional Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

The story of the French working class's experience of industrialization and of its courageous resistance to the dehumanizing effects of industrial capitalism through the socialist and syndicalist movements, is a story which is by now well known. Yet, with the exception of the work of Charles Sowerwine (*Sisters or Citizens. Women and Socialism in France Since 1875*, Cambridge, 1982) and Marilyn Boxer (BOXER and JEAN QUATAERT, eds., *Socialist Women: European Socialist Feminism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, New York, 1978), relatively little work has appeared in English to chronicle the particular situation of working women in France, whose experience of both work and resistance differed considerably from that of men of their own class. For this reason Hilden's carefully researched study is particularly welcome. Not only does she take us inside the textile mills of Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing, three of France's most important textile centres in the nineteenth century; but she also insightfully examines the problems textile working women faced as they were alternately courted and marginalized by the socialist party in the *Nord* and eventually by the SFIO (the unified socialist party) after 1905. Her work underscores the importance of local studies for bringing alive the texture and complexity of women's experience and for examining the ways in which individual communities responded to and related to national movements.

Working-class women in Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing found themselves caught in a complex and demanding web of work, marriage, and maternity. Hilden graphically depicts the harsh realities of life in these northern textile cities, with their crowded and unsanitary living conditions. The dangerous and unhealthy environments in which women worked left many with missing fingers or battered limbs, and made tuberculosis the number one medical problem of the *Nord's* textile workers. In these respects perhaps, the experience of working women in the *Nord* differed little from that of their counterparts elsewhere in France or in Europe more generally. Hilden is concerned, however,

to distinguish the situation of these women from that of women in other industries. Whereas many female industrial workers worked sporadically over their life cycle, nothern women who entered the mills as girls were likely to work in the mills continuously for most of their lives. Unlike many female industrial workers, mill workers in Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing did not drop out of the wage labour force after marrying. Moreover, unlike industries in which men's work and women's work tended to be segregated, mill work in the *Nord* was not rigidly sex-segregated. All of these conditions, plus traditions of community sociability which also integrated men and women, Hilden argues, helped to shape women's labour and political consciousness in the period of socialist organizing in the *Nord*. Indeed, in an industry with relatively low levels of unionization, it is all the more significant that women, even if they made up a minority of union members, nonetheless counted for 20 to 28 percent of union members and in one case, 67 percent of union members in a predominantly female sector, after the turn of the century.

In the early stages of its development, Jules Guesde's *Parti Ouvrier français* (POF) attracted women, both because of a platform which addressed issues of particular concern to working women, and partly thanks to efforts of female socialist organizers such as Paule Minck, Louise Michel, and Léonie Rouzade. But local socialists' commitment to women proved to be short lived. Declining support for the POF among workers who were subject to pressure from their employers, the impact of economic crisis in the late 1880s and early 1890s, and the party's increasing focus on winning elections, all led them to court male workers (women could not vote) and soft-pedal if not ignore their potential female constituents. By the turn of the century the Guesdists had seemingly lost interest in women, a situation that was only worsened by the deaths of prominent women organizers, Minck and Michel. Nor did this situation change with the unification of socialist tendencies in France in 1905. The split between socialists and syndicalists that was institutionalized at the CGT (General Confederation of Labour) Amiens Congress the following year caused the socialists in the *Nord* to turn their attention to matters other than the plight of women workers. As for the revolutionary syndicalists, although they did attempt to recruit women and encouraged women to form unions, in the *Nord* where the textile unions remained in the hands of the Guesdists, they exercised virtually no influence among women textile workers.

The Guesdists' failure to mobilize working women in the *Nord*, as Hilden points out, was not only due to a lack of female leadership or to the priority that the Guesdists gave to electoral politics. It was also due to the absence of a coherent theoretical analysis of the place of women in the socialist project. Socialist leaders were never able simultaneously to address women's needs as wage workers and their needs as wives and mothers. Had they been able to accord the rights of gender an equal place with the rights of class, they might have been more successful in integrating women fully into their movement.

It is perhaps inevitable that a study of the complexities of gender politics

should raise almost as many questions as it attempts to answer. Given that women's contribution to the family economy was vital, as Hilden shows, how does one explain the enormous swings and variations in male rank and file worker's support for and solidarity with women workers? How did the integration of men and women workers within the mills (or the absence of a rigid gender division of labour) influence union politics? Hilden's observation in her conclusion that women felt more comfortable in all-women's groups seems curious in light of her emphasis on the integration of men and women in work and community in the early chapters of the book. How does one explain the continued unionization of women after the turn of the century, in a period when socialists not only turned a deaf ear to women's concerns, but actually began to speak against women's wage work? Surely women's continued membership in the unions suggests (as does their quite active participation in strikes up to World War I) that women acted quite independently of the pronouncements of socialist leaders for or against women's work. Finally, Hilden, writing with all the insight of late twentieth century feminism, is understandably critical of Aline Vallette's (the only woman to sit on the national council of POF, from 1883 to 1899) analysis of a "separate but equal" status for socialist women and Valette's defence of women's domestic roles. Yet one wonders whether nineteenth century working-class women who struggled to balance domestic activities with their wage work would have so readily rejected their domestic roles in favour of their poorly paid, dangerous, and exploitative jobs in the textile mills. Hilden may be guilty of imposing a late twentieth century feminist perspective on women for whom mill work was most likely a necessity that was not especially welcome.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Hilden has sharpened our understanding of the difficulties women faced within the socialist movement as male leaders progressively marginalized them in trying to establish a constituency among male workers in the *Nord*. This part of the story is, regrettably, not new. But by taking it to the level of a particular industry and locality, Hilden has shown local gender politics mirrored the politics of gender at the national level. In this respect, *Working Women and Socialist Politics* stands as a good complement to Charles Sowerwine's broader national study of women and socialism, *Sisters or Citizens? Women and Socialism in France Since 1876* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) and makes an important contribution to the study of women and the European left.

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E. MORAWSKA, *For Bread with Butter. The life-worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1948.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

This genre, "historical sociology", represents the narrowing of the gap between history and sociology. It also shows how the coordinated use of the approaches of these two disciplines can further the understanding of the development of complex social processes. The theme of the book: a reconstuction of the life worlds of peasant-workers from East-Central Europe to Johnstown, Pennsylvania, by tracing their new environment, from the turn of the century to the outbreak of the Second World War.

The characters are all so-called "new immigrants", an ethnically mixed group made up of Slovaks, Hungarians, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Poles. Their original economic and social milieus were more or less the same and for native Americans they were all "Hunkies". This gives the justification for their examination together in one group. Yet, a practical consideration also played a part in this decision: in Johnstown at the turn of the century, these ethnic groups did not exist in such numbers that a reasonable database could have been made out of the quantitative sources for individual analysis. The author's criteria for the grouping are persuasive. However, there is no doubt that the handling of the eight ethnic groups as a single group restricts the scope of questions for examination and inevitably leads to oversimplification.

The work makes use of the diverse types of historical sources, from various contemporary documents: "to weave a tapestry of a variety of data to reconstruct the 'thick territory' of the everyday lives of the people who inhabited it." About 100 pages of this 400 page book are made up of notes and references to historical sources. For the analysis of the data she relies on that sociological theory of modernization and organizational principle which emphasizes the multifaceted nature of the transition from traditional economy and society to modern industry and the dialectical interplay between the old and the new ways and approaches.

Morawska turns her attention primarily to the cultural and psychological consequences of economic and social change on the people. She attempts to detail within the framework of a changing world and changing reality what social and cultural experience these East-Central European peasants brought with them to their American environment and what additional experiences they acquired once there. Whithout denying the "push" factors in the motivation for overseas mass migration, she lists new characteristics which appeared in the peasant attitudes of turn-of-the-century East-Central Europe: the broadening of attitudes and the recognition of the possibility of alternatives. These were shown in the spread of mobility and one of its most promising variations, emigration to America.

Johnstown (a medium-sized city in the hills of western Pennsylvania, smoky, busy, noisy, a town of ironworkers and miners, "Pittsburgh in minia-

ture") was a good choice to show one of the characteristic types of new environment of the East-Central Europeans. The company paternalism, the segregation according to race especially in the unskilled occupations, the organizing of the new workforce through informal kinship networks into the mills and coalmines, testified to the degree in which the economic and social environment provided by the town restricted the opportunities of the newly arrived.

In this situation, the traditional reliance on the family collective and the continuing interpenetration of kin/ethnic and work/occupational spheres in the lives of the immigrants had a two-fold purpose, emphasized Morawska: defensive survival tactics and the facilitating of "particularist achievements". Through the quantitative data on job mobility, wages, house-acquisition and on the education of the immigrants' children, Morawska shows how the families which settled permanently in Johnstown advanced economically and socially, though slowly and unspectacularly. This way was characterized by the "now better — now worse" sort of vacillation and the constant feeling of insecurity it produced. By the Second World War, however, the immigrant generation — and even more so their children — regarded their environment as home.

The book is characterized by excellent analytical work but especially noteworthy is the seventh chapter in which Morawska reconstructs the internal social stratification in the East-Central European communites in Johnstwn as it emerged in the beginning of the century and crystallized in the subsequent decades. She paints a lifelike picture of the value system of the immigrants as differing from that of the native Americans and of those changes which appeared in their children in the 1930's.

The impressively detailed analysis of the everyday experiences of the East-Central Europeans who had settled in Johnstown is full of thought-provoking views and facts and enriches our knowledge of the typical characteristics of the formulation of the American working class and mainly of the colorful transitional process from the traditional economy and society to modern industry.

A historian could conceivably object to the overtly bold handling of the sources in a few cases and come to different interpretations and estimates from the same data. For example, one might have been more careful in the laying out of the spread of mobility of East-Central European peasants, with consideration to those striking differences which relate to mobility within a region which show up from area to area and from ethnic group to ethnic group. One might also have made the directions of the continental migrations as well as the borders of the countries at the time clear on the maps (35pp) in order more plainly to delineate "internal" and "external" migration. Greater emphasis might be given to the desire of the immigrants to remain only temporarily in America and how this affected their strategies of adaptation.

These critical observations, however, cannot overshadow the value of this outstanding personal and scholarly achievement.

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E. M. SPILKER, *Der Wirtschaftsraum zwischen den Wirtschaftsräumen: Eine Studie über ausgewählte Kreise der rechtsrheinischen u. oberhessischen Mittelgebirgslandschaft im Zeitalter der Industrialisierung von 1830 bis 1914*, Kolner Vortrage u. Abhandlungen zur Sozial —. Wirtschaftsgeschichte,Heft 38, Kōln 1986, pp. 3-218.

Germany's industrial take-off occurred in the period covering the first half of the XIXth century and the first decades of the following century. Without wishing to enter into the old and probably insoluble controversy as to when industrialisation really began, whether in the thirties or rather in the forties and fifties, it should be noted that although changes in the methods and relations of production had already started to make themselves felt towards the end of the XIXth century (and, according to some authors, even earlier, in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries), a series of political-institutional obstacles prevented a more rapid and broader development. It should not be forgotten that Germany, like Italy, achieved political unity very much later (definitively in 1871) and that therefore as a result, in the absence of a single decision-making centre, the economic measures adopted by the various states differed in content and in their objectives. A good example of this is illustrated by the course not only of agrarian reform but also in the subsequent and complementary abolition of corporative ordinances and, in general, of restrictions to economic activity (Gewerbefreiheit). The emancipation of peasants, the necessary premise for any further transformation of economic structures, was taking place not only much later compared to other European states, but also very slowly, covering a period of almost two centuries (from the early part of the XVIIIth century to the end of the XIXth century, and in some cases dragging on into the XXth century). The genesis and enforcement of the law on the *Gewerbefreiheit*, had a likewise troubled passage differing from state to state: it was introduced towards the end of the XVIIIth century by the French in the occupied German territories, and then enforced, though not always in a uniform way, in the other states, beginning with Prussia in the period 1807-10 (the Chancellor Hardenberg was one its major champions) and ending with Bavaria in 1868.

These differences in timing and in the ways the State intervened naturally affected the economies of the German states before unification, accentuating the pre-existing conditions of advantage (or disadvantage) of some areas in relation to others. This diversity in social and economic situations, leaving aside the difficult judgement as to the role played by the various states in local development (which still constitutes a very debatable issue), could not be eradicated by one simple stroke at the moment of the formation of the National State. As the Italian example illustrates, the process of unification in modifying the general picture only complicated the solution of economic problems of certain areas.

In such a complex and many-sided geo-political context, the contribution that local and regional studies can bring to the reconstruction of German industrial development is clearly evident. Historians, researching the premises

and the causes of the "Industrial Revolution", have usually concentrated their interest on those areas which first participated in a decisive way in this process. Just as important, however, even if in a negative capacity, are the events of those centres which, unable to keep pace with the rapid rate of development, found themselves in a position of inferiority compared to the rest of the country.

The area under consideration in Ernst M. Spilker's study gives us, in fact, an example of delayed industrial development. The example is especially significant if one considers that this area at the beginning of the XIXth century was by no means backward. Geographically defined by the Rhine, the Ruhr, the Fulda and the lower Main, this region had in fact developed its economy in the course of centuries primarily in the extraction of iron minerals, of which the subsoil was abundant, but also with the textile sector, even though this was organised according to a pre-industrial mode of production. The main activity remained, however, agriculture and the phenomenon of "double employment", symptomatic of an economy in the early stages of manufacturing development, was extremely widespread. As the author has also underlined, the region's economic structure was — in spite of its being still traditional — quite varied, and, moreover, not far away from the main industrial nuclei of the period. Nevertheless it was unable to meet the challenge at the moment of the definitive transformation into an industrialised economy.

Spilker's interest in the socio-economic events of this area and of its smaller centres seems justified, therefore, above all if one considers the absence of historiographic works dealing with the history of the region as a whole.

The author has divided the volume into two parts. The first deals with the analysis of the area as a whole and sets out to single out the main features of its economic structure and at the same time to outline its specific demographic and economic development. The second part, instead, focuses on the events of three specimen centres (Altenkirchen, Hersfeld, Wipperfurth) chosen to illustrate three different ways of growth, coexisting in the same geographic context.

According to a now approved model of interpretation, Spilker sees the main cause of the area's delay in industrialisation in the bad network of communications, especially railways. The high cost of transport, negatively affecting the costs of production, on the one hand rendered the existing plants uncompetitive and on the other hand discouraged new installations.

The situation was further aggravated by the increased competition of foreign products which, especially in the textile sector, forced many companies to close or at least to go back to an artisanal level of production. The specific dynamics of the various sectors, textile, mining, agricultural, are described by the author with a wealth of data in the section dealing with the three specimen areas, which, nevertheless, over and above the differences in the timing of reaction, seem to mirror what has been observed for the region as a whole: namely a tendency to lose ground even in the sectors where previously they excelled. Although Spilker just hints at a possible explanation for this phenomenon, described and illustrated by diagrams and tables, he seems to suggest that added to the

objective difficulties (bad transport, growing foreign competition, scarcity of capital), there was also the incapacity of the local propertied classes to carry out the necessary transformation of the productive system. To quote a favourite term of M. Weber's, one could speak of an absence of "capitalistic spirit" which impedes the investement of available capital in activities other than those traditional. This is a crucial point considering that it is now widely accepted that in the phase of German industrialisation there was no shortage of capital but rather of the will to take risks in investing it. Perhaps this point deserves to be more emphasised and not just referred to briefly in the conclusion.

The two theoretical-descriptive chapters are followed by a detailed statistical appendix which seems to constitute the most significant and original part of Spilker's work. The numerous tables set out are the result of a thorough and certainly painstaking work in collecting statistics which cover manifold aspects of the economic and social life of the small centres of the area in quéstion. Using unprinted statistics from disparate sources, Spilker has in fact succeeded in providing a very complete picture and the data presented will certainly be useful for future research and investigation. In this sense, the volume constitutes a valid contribution to the reconstruction of German industrialisation and it is a shame that amidst so much wealth of data there is not a deeper, less descriptive qualitative analysis.

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R. TILLY, *(ed.) Beiträge zur Quantitativen Vergleinchenden Unternehmensgeschichte*, Stuttgart Klett-Cotta, 1985, pp. V, 203.

This volume contains the papers given at a colloquium on comparative and quantitative industrial history held at the University of Münster in October 1983.

With the exception of the editor's opening essay, all the contributions are concerned with quantitative studies on different aspects of European industrialization. However the different empirical subjects are related by the emphasis given to methodological questions.

The issues and alternatives raised in the principal papers are followed by critical commentaries from different scholars, which serve as a stimulus to discussion. Only the eight main contributions will be considered.

The first of these is R. Fremdling's study of the obstacles to technological innovation in the early phases of industrialization, based on a comparative analysis of the English and Continental iron and steel industries in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries. Fremdling shows in particular how the failure of attempts at technological innovation in France (at Decazeville) and Germany (in Upper Silesia and Thuringia) owed more to general gaps in levels of economic development between these countries and Britain than to more specifically technological factors.

The questions of the different rate of development between Britain and Germany is also dealt with by W. P. Kennedy and R. Britton who give special emphasis to the financial aspects of the problem. In their work they set out to examine the various causes of Britain's difficulty after 1870 in keeping pace.

The importance of the finance structures for industrial development is also discussed by W. Feldenkirchen in an essay which, analysing the financing of the major chemical and electrical companies in Germany at the beginning of the century, underlines the relations between financiers and enterpreneurs.

The essay by M. Daunton and M. Wagner is also concerned with finance, and contains a comparative analysis of two major public sector enterprises, the British Post Office and the Austrian Postsparkassen-Amt. The comparison reveals both the different financial structures of the two enterprises and also the difference between public sector institutions in the two countries.

The essay by H. Kaelbe and T. Pierenkemper are more concerned with the social and sociological aspects of industrial development. The first examines the social background and aspirations of a group of leading German businessmen in an attempt to test the validity of the thesis that the upper middle classes in Germany underwent a process of "feudalization", in the sense that they accepted and imitated the values and life-style of the aristocracy, and that this strengthened the political alliance between the Junkers and big business.

T. Pierenkemper's essay examines the stratification, the professional training and the incomes of those employed in the leading German industries in the period 1880-1913. The essay is an important contribution to the already extensive bibliography on the German middle classes reflecting their growing importance in German politics and society from the 1880s to the crisis of the Weimar Republic and to the Nazi seizure of power.

In his introductory essay, Richard Tilly suggests that there are four golden rules to follow in writing the history of industry: it should be a) deductive, b) macro-economic, c) quantitative, d) comparative. As R. Schuren remarks in his comments on Tilly's proposals, this marks a major step forward and establishes a broad and sweeping panorama in place of the narrow perspective adopted conventionally by the "Historical School" which always approached industrial history through detailed individual case-studies. But no matter how valid in theory these precepts are, it is also important that they should not be applied mechanically. The value of theory and hypothesis lies in defining more precisely the field of inquiry, but theory also grows out of empirical research. There are moments when induction is as valid as deduction. Similarly it is not always the case that the macro-economic perspective is the most suitable, and more detailed studies are in many cases still essential before it is possible to formulate broader theories and generalizations. It also goes without saying that no matter how much can be learned from quantitative research, there are still many aspects of economic history that cannot be quantified but cannot be ignored either.

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