
REVIEWS OF BOOKS

G. ALIBERTI, *Mulini, mugnai e problemi annonari dal 1860 al 1880*, Florence, Giunti, 1970, pp. 400.

The need for greater basic knowledge in order to relate the debate on the nature of the economic development of unified Italy to a historical background which was changing and often contradictory has often been voiced. The present volume provides one of the richest responses to such demands.

The molinary industry was by no means destined to become a leading sector in Italian economic growth, yet it provides an exceptional perspective of the agricultural world, the keystone of the nation's backwardness, and also provides a great deal of information on a further fundamental economic restriction which was clearly connected with the former — the high cost of primary necessities, the resulting constriction of the market, and the aggravation of the problem of creating some relationship between the working classes and the State which was not one of mistrust, resignation or direct but aimless conflict. But in addition to the central research topic, the volume is also remarkable for its general structure. It is published by the « *Centro per la storia della tecnica in Italia del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche* ». The study is not restricted to molinary techniques, but provides an overall picture of the industry and of the problems of economic policy which its backwardness caused the ruling classes and political groups in Italy in the period of change-over from the *Destra* to the *Sinistra*. Aliberti's book in fact provides the example of an approach which is quick to draw social and political implications from technical and economic problems, and which restores unity of meaning, both in complexity of appearance and possibility, to historical fact.

To turn to the author's thesis, the volume is divided into three parts. In the first (« *L'industria molitoria italiana nel primo ventennio di vita unitaria* » - 'The molinary industry in Italy during the first twenty years of Italian unity') the author attempts to relate the technical and productive backwardness of the industry to the economic situation, in particular to the conditions of agriculture and the market, and to the relations between town and countryside. The general features of the industry are its dispersion and technical backwardness. Thousands of tiny workshops which were scattered over the countryside in search of water to drive their machinery, ground corn in ways that had changed little since Adam. The peasant would bring his corn to see it transformed into undistinguished grades of flour before his very eyes, prejudiced and mistrustful of the miller, who was himself a typical figure of Italian agriculture, often cunning and opportunist, frequently speculating on the grain entrusted to him and a usurious money-lender. Within his restricted world, all the peasant's hatred and desire for revenge and social redemption was directed against the miller. This then was a productive operation born over the centuries with agriculture itself, and so perfectly enmeshed in the latter and inaccessible to the advent of machines, that for the peasant it was something impersonal and beyond his control, yet protected by its dispersity and its backwardness. The industry's fate in fact followed in equal step with that of agriculture itself, which, on the whole, and over huge areas, remained static and uncoordinated with the elements of economic growth or with a market which, in many respects, was unified only in terms of customs legislations.

But if the basic feature of Italian economic growth was its lack of organization, and its sectorial divisions of productivity and geography, it is true that the molinary industry did not escape varying and contradictory internal conditions. These are described by the author in a brief but deft and fundamental sketch. He argues that these contradictions were most evident in the South, the great grain producing areas where the highly backward conditions of the industry throughout the provinces contrasted with the high degree of concentration and modernity in the area around Naples. This was an area of considerable importance, but rather than the vanguard of a general process of advance it was isolated, its development being 'deeply intertwined' with surrounding under-development.

The situation in other regions was different. In the Veneto the general structural backwardness found no counterpart in efficient concentration, as was the case in Naples. In Tuscany, agriculture was based on the *mezzadria*, which although static was well-balanced and capable of creating a considerable consumer demand, and this gave the small mills a quite different economic importance. They produced flour for the share-croppers, were run by skilled artisans who took pride in their craft and were able to make it seem doubtful

that they could ever be replaced by machines which would prove equally efficient in terms of the particular requirements of the area.

In Lombardy, although there were well organized millers and mill workers, they fought for improvement, not in a narrow guild-centred sense as elsewhere, by trying to remove the basic causes of the industry's underdevelopment, but it was in Emilia that a clearly progressive situation was to be found. Here, on the basis of an agriculture already undergoing a capitalist process of modernization and of a market which was rich in incentives, important large productive units were being established, which were part of the pattern of medium scale enterprises, generally undertaking not only the milling of grain, but also preparation of rice and hemp. In contrast to Lombardy where the milling of cereals and the preparation of rice were still kept apart, the result was that « the importance of the expansion and development of rice and hemp growing — which also demanded the adoption of processing plants, — was reflected in the molinary sector and stimulated its development » (page 79). This was a situation which we find repeated in the principal enterprises of the sector, such as the *Società dei molini anglo-americani di Collegno*, whose structure Aliberti describes without, unfortunately, giving much information on « those individual capacities for capitalist initiative and rationalization which even in the molinary industry constituted factors which cannot be disregarded in the start and consolidation of industria transformation » (page 128).

To conclude, then, this was an industrial sector whose structure was weak and unbalanced, and hence fully participated in the agricultural backwardness of huge areas of post-unification Italy; areas in which the grist tax had a disruptive influence, even if in the long run the crisis into which it threw the smaller undertakings was to clear the ground for the larger enterprises which were financially and technically better equipped, and hence more suited to operate in the new circumstances and to establish themselves. The second part (« *La questione del macinato* » - 'The question of the grist tax') concentrates on these developments. It is full of often original suggestions which are supported solidly both by reasoning and fact, and attempt not so much to relate men and things in a scale of values but rather to extract from factual evidence a real awareness of historical causes. This is particularly evident in the pages concerning the financial policy of the *Destra*, in those on the attitudes of the *Sinistra* to the problem of the grist tax and the importance given the institution of the 'grist tax inspectors', that is to the degree to which they, as a separate body from the State bureaucracy, should have guaranteed the correct application of the fiscal provision. But the greatest merit of these pages, as well as their originality, lies in treating the grist tax not simply as a problem of financial policy, nor solely in terms of its consequences for the poorer classes, but as a cause of important modifications within the molinary industry and, to some degree, as a verification of the conditions of backward-

ness described in the earlier part. Government legislation meant that the millers had to collect the tax from the peasant on the quantity of grain ground, and pay it to the State. This was assessed by a gadget, the notorious *contatore* (meter), which recorded the number of revolutions of the millstone. The immediate results were injustice, inequality, material error, and preoccupation with the facilities of payment obtained from competing millers, and many mills, finding themselves trapped between the fiscal designs of the inspectors and the disorganized, impotent fury of the masses who saw their traditional and immediate enemies, the millers, as the cause of this serious worsening of their most basic standards of living, were forced to close down.

We have mentioned the results of this process above. To make the author's opinion more precise, however, one must add that the molinary industry, — which came out of the crisis potentially in a better position to respond to the stimuli provided by the country's limited and contradictory economic progress — being an « activity which overall was not highly productive » was « as a result in need of a form of incentive different from those of a compulsory nature caused by the application of the tax, » (page 229) and while « the application of the grist tax certainly created a series of major difficulties for the molinary industry », « the final positive effects, in the sense already mentioned, which it produced, were more the result of differing abilities of individual enterprises to react to the imbalances introduced into the traditional order, than a direct result of the provisions » (page 230). Seen in these terms, the institution of the grist tax takes us back to the ruling classes and the political groups who held sway in post-unification Italy, although we can do no more than mention them here.

The third part (« *Tra liberismo e protezionismo; il problema annonario* » - 'Between free trade and protectionism; the problem of food supplies') examines the findings of the Pepoli commission, which was set up in the early 1880s to investigate the causes of high bread prices. This in many respects confirms the picture drawn in the previous parts, and at the same time enriches it further, especially with regard to the allied bread-making and baking industry, and the obstacles presented to any effective unification of the grain and food-stuff market in Italy by the monopoly established on many of the urban markets by molinary enterprises which were unable — for reasons which we have already noted — to reach out to other relatively close markets. The Pepoli commission was set up in the new climate which marked the advent of the *Sinistra*. It concluded by proposing — largely in conformity with the interests of the cereal producing sector — a reduction in the freight charges made by shipping and railway companies. The proposal was not taken up however, not only due to the importance of the interests which it might have effected, but because the hour of doctrinaire liberalism was on the wane, just as the almost exclusively agricultural Italy which had emerged from the Risorgimento. Major changes foreshadowed by the tariff of 1878 were in the

air, and the traditional land-owning classes did not delay in adopting their ideological armoury, nor did they fail to take up the position which would maintain them — although in association with certain industrial groups — at the head of the State, in the protectionist coalition which carried Crispi to power.

The general problems of economic development and the political — parliamentary dialectic in united Italy came together then in a way which reflects their complexity and interdependence. Guided by Aliberti's research, the economic life of an apparently minor Italy composed of bakers, millers and peasants, becomes a litmus paper of a certain economic and social structure, and of a ruling class who entrusted to the future problems no less trying and difficult than those which they inherited from the past.

BIAGIO SALVEMINI
University of Bari

P. CERNOVODEANU, *England's Trade Policy in the Levant and her exchange of Goods with the Romanian countries under the latter Stuarts (1660-1714)*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1972, pp. 157.

Part I of this book is entitled 'English commercial pursuits in the Eastern Mediterranean and South East Europe'. It gives a general introduction to the Levant company and its rivals, restrictions imposed on the foreigner by the Ottoman empire, and in particular details of attempts to get the Black Sea open to west European vessels. More interesting, but disappointingly brief, there is a section on the impact of English penetration into the economy of the Ottoman empire. It is suggested that contact with England, France and Holland hastened the economic decline of the empire, but apart from details of counterfeit coin importation and smuggling, very little evidence is advanced to support the theoretical assertions.

Dr. Cernovodeanu is the first to admit that his access to English archival material was limited to 'some microfilms' (p. 19, n. 15) and that this had 'hindered us from presenting an all-round analysis of the economic relations, sometimes insufficiently studied in this book'. One feels that any failings on this score are largely the result of the absence of channels through which an industrious Rumanian scholar can get advice on which documents to select. It is clear that access to the figures available for the Turkey trade in British Museum Add. MS 36785 and Public Record Office Customs 3 and the Levant company material in State Papers 105 and 110 would have greatly improved this whole section. The English reader will find some of the author's remarks about the nature of the Restoration in 1660 a little strange. His observation that the leaders of the company changed after 1660 in that 'the big merchants were gradually replaced by persons who, though having connections with

trade, were, however noblemen... ' (p. 24) follows A. C. Wood's, *A History of the Levant Company*, Oxford, 1935, p. 206 (which remains his chief English source of information) but misses Wood's corollary that 'As the social status of its occupants thus rose the governorship was slowly converted from an active executive position into a dignity largely honorary and titular'.

The second and longer part of the book deals in more detail with English and Scottish commercial relations with Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania. English scholars have been so transfixed by England's maritime success in this period that very little attention has been paid to overland trading. With the exception of the section on Transylvanian trade where some most interesting material is produced from the Sibiu State Archives, most of the evidence is drawn from printed primary material (and one gets the impression that many important Rumanian archives have been published (p. 18)). The reader must stand deeply indebted to the author for his voluminous footnotes with such comprehensive citations of articles in E. European languages (with the titles translated into English), which taken together make an invaluable guide to the literature on these principalities at this time.

The author brings out the importance of English cloth in E. Europe at this period, and one is particularly grateful for his efforts to give some comparative costs for a suit made of English cloth, the price of which would buy in Transylvania between 42 and 84 sheep and in Moldavia 29-36 (pp. 107, 112) which only goes to underline his point that a boyard's clothes could cost between 16 and 1,118 times the price of those of ordinary people. This in itself emphasises the fact that demand for English cloth was limited to the upper classes and this resulted in a heavy balance of trade deficit in the 1660's when imports from the Empire were more than twice the value of cloth exports. Because of an ambiguous footnote in Wood (*op. cit.*, p. 102, n. 1) Dr. Cernovodeanu (p. 34) is misled into stating the import figure for 1668-9 of £ 466,703 as the cloth export figure and vice versa for the figure for exports (£ 191,458). He thus changes a balance in Turkey's favour of £ 275,245 into a dramatic deficit which may have unnecessarily coloured his views for the destructive nature of contact with the west for the Ottoman Empire.

Secondly he brings out the dramatic effect of warfare and the anarchic social structure of much of Eastern Europe on the economic life of the three inland principalities in question. Dr. Cernovodeanu stresses the important part played by Greek and other Balkan middlemen who in Transylvania were organised into mercant companies about which one would gladly know more. The section on the Scottish potash traders in Moldavia (pp. 70-85) emphasises these difficulties made worse by the fact that 'they were not members of some big association such as the Eastland Company, the Muscovy or Levant Companies, able to efficiently protect the interest of their traders' (p. 63). The warfare in the period under discussion effectively eliminated overland

competition through Poland of the Dutch and Scots, and decimated maritime competition of the Dutch and French leaving the Levant company members in a commanding position. Ironically this was only achieved at a time when the Levant company was coming under increasing competition with the East India company over many imported goods, with the result that at the end of the period under discussion cloth exports were still about the same as at the beginning, but imports were nearly halved in value.

A. R. MICHELL
University of Hull

J. GOY - E. LE ROY LADURIE (eds.), *Les Fluctuations du Produit de la Dîme. Communications et travaux du premier congrès de l'Association française des historiens économistes* (Paris 11-12 January 1969), Paris-La Haye, Mouton, 1972, pp. 396.

Ever since R. Baehrel and E. E. Le Roy Ladurie, in their respective studies of Lower Provence and the Languedoc, demonstrated the importance of tithe statistics in the study of agricultural production and its fluctuation in the modern period, they have been used more and more by economic historians. The 1969 Congress provided an initial clarification of the problems which arisen and of the results achieved.

A fundamental factor emerges — the need for a precise knowledge of the instrument used. All tithe statistics can only be used once a range of problems which determine the interpretation of the resulting graphs have been defined. These include for example the problem of whether or not uncultivated land was included in the tithed territory. The « sins » to be avoided can be summarized under four headings: *a*) The method of collecting the tithe — direct collection is always the safest, but also the rarest (as far as ecclesiastical accounts go). If this is not the case the function of the collector, of the village curé (the *novalles*) and their development needs to be established; *b*) The coverage of the tithe (which was often less than 10%) must be ascertained, as well as its constancy or mutations over various periods. In the case of mutation it is necessary to specify the changes which occurred and then draw up a graph related to a fixed coverage. Some tithes were related to cultivated areas and not to harvests; *c*) The tithed area. Was it fixed, or did it vary with areas of cultivations? Only when the second condition obtains do tithes provide a picture of the development of overall production; *d*) Changes in cultivation — for example the expansion of crops not accounted for in the tithe may lead to a decrease in tithes exacted on grain, without at the same time implying a decrease in total agricultural production, (this happened for example in certain Burgundian villages in the 18th century as a result of a major expansion of vines).

One may well ask whether all these separate problems do not in fact disguise a more general problem relating to the tithe itself. Were they the descendants of the original ecclesiastical tithes of the Middle Ages (this was often the case in France) or were they the rents in kind exacted on ecclesiastical lands that were leased out, and then later abusively assimilated with tithes (in Sicily and much of Southern Italy, for example, many of the tithes were in fact ecclesiastical equivalents of lay « *terraggi* ». The debate on tithes in the Kingdom of Naples in the second half of the 18th century revolved around the fundamental distinction between ecclesiastical tithes and tithes of « *dominio* ».)

But there is a second point to be considered — the historical evolution of a feudal right which was often fiercely contested by village communities. In Alsace the culmination of this process was the introduction of fixed tithes which bore no relationship to harvests. Many of the parishes in the Kingdom of Naples did better still in succeeding in commuting the real tithe on harvests for a fixed tithe in money, exacted on each hearth. From then on all connection with harvests was lost. While it is clear that peasant protest against tithes succeeded in influencing their weighting, G. Freche's statement that « rather than a fixed incidence on agricultural production, tithe revenue reflects the political and religious relationships between the tithed and the Church », holds good only in extreme cases. No account record for the modern period is wholly valid and any imprudent optimism must be discarded as well as any irrevocable condemnation. It is not any single graph, but rather a series of consistent graphs which provides valid information.

These initial results relate in particular to France, and, so far, have established a chronology of agricultural production. A whole range of graphs which have been drawn up illustrate a general trend which can be summarized as follows: *a*) Between 1280 and 1340 the curves show an increase which was rarely exceeded thereafter; *b*) the plague of 1348 and the disturbances of the 14th century account for a distinct and prolonged decline in tithe revenues — in the Lower Paris region this was about 40% until 1370, although it continued until 1420-30 or even 1450 in some regions, before levelling out at between 50% and 75% of the figures for the early 14th century, *c*) universally there was a marked recovery from about 1450 up to 1550-70 — the period of the Renaissance. Above all this was a period of recovery, yet by the mid-16th century production in some areas rose to levels not to be found again until the mid-18th century, *d*) finally there is a collapse, graphically represented as a distinct « saw-edge », which witnesses the crises of the 17th century. In the first place the wars of religion and the tithe « strikes » brought about a decline in the graphs. This was followed by a recovery which reached a new peak around 1625. In the mid century there was a further crisis affecting in particular the regions involved in the Fronde disorders, then another peak toward 1660-80, culminating in a renewed crisis at the end of

Louis XIV's reign. The 17th century was also marked by major regional differences — an example is provided by Alsace which was seriously affected by the Thirty Years War, but which then followed a path quite independent of other French regions.

Around 1720 the «18th century advance» began; although the advance was, to some extent, only relative, and although the tithe graphs exceed the peaks of the 13th and 16th centuries, the real advance was restricted to certain regions (Cambrasis and the North as a whole) and contrasts with the larger number of cases that experienced a recovery rather than a real growth. So the «agricultural revolution» is reduced to more modest dimensions, while the notion of a time honoured peak, of a maximum which agriculture was unable to exceed right up to the end of the 18th-19th centuries, seems to hold good.

But these findings seem to require some comment. What is at stake in studying the development of agricultural production is the mechanics of growth and take-off, in which the «agricultural revolution», in so far as it created a permanent increase in productivity, should be the centre-piece. That this revolution did not take place in the modern period, that it was in the 18th century confined to a restricted number of regions, may be all well and good. But were there no per capita increases in revenue outside effective increases in production? For many countries the 18th century was also a century which witnessed the passing of agricultural production from the hands of the privileged to the peasants and the bourgeoisie. For the majority of the population there was an increase in income at the cost of another class without any further increase in yields or any «agricultural revolution». But such a departure considerably increases internal demand — resulting from consumers who were hardly pitiful beggars — and in stimulating production may well have led, step by step, to real growth.

GERARD DELILLE

Italian Institute for Historical Studies, Naples

T. ISEMBURG, *Investimenti di capitale e organizzazione di classe nelle bonifiche ferraresi (1872-1901)*, Florence, La Nuova Italia, 1971, pp. 187.

The author's aim seems to be to discern among the various example of land reclamation examined the economic and social problems to which they are related. As the land reclamation studied is in the region of Ferrara in the last decades of the 19th century — that is in an area crucial to Italian social history up to the Fascist period — this leads the author to tackle problems of general importance in terms of Italian economic development, together with the means and outcome of the conflict between the classes involved.

In addition to a preface which outlines the main problems on which the study touches, and an Appendix dealing with various aspects of Ferrara's

economy and society in the period, the volume is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter there is a brief description of « irrigation in the lower Ferrara plain in the second half of the last century ». In the second the author describes « the organization of agriculture in the old lands prior to mechanical reclamation », referring to the areas which had been cultivated before the reclamations of the 1870s, and she attempts « to illustrate the aspects of the latter which already showed a capitalist character », (page 22). After studying various aspects of the agrarian scene and of agricultural techniques the author, following suggestions made by such scholars as ZUCCHINI (see *L'agricoltura ferrarese attraverso i secoli*, Rome, Volpe, 1967, which summarizes her numerous articles on the subject), DAL PANE (cf. *Agricoltura ed industria agraria in Emilia nell'ultimo secolo*, in « L'economia italiana dal 1961 al 1961 », Milan, Giuffrè, 1961), SERENI (in particular see his *Note per una storia del paesaggio emiliano*, in « Le campagne emiliane in epoca moderna », Milan 1957) Iseburg states that « although they did not rival the radical innovations of the Lombardy plains which produced the *cascina*, the land-owners of Ferrara made great efforts to effect some economic reorganization in order to guarantee an increase in income, which the increasingly bitter competition arising from the agricultural revolution — in other parts of Italy and Europe — made indispensable » (page 24). She also states that « even in the 18th century a tendency to change the organization and structure of the economy can be observed, which implies a situation of gradual development » (page 26-27).

In the author's view this process of gradual but persistent productive advance can be explained in terms of conditions of production in the *boaria* contract, which slowly replaced share-cropping contracts and excluded the agricultural labourer from the administration of a farm, reducing him basically to the level of a wage earner. Following PONI, (see his *Gli aratri e l'economia agraria nel Bolognese dal XVII al XIX secolo*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1963, pp. 66-68) Iseburg sees the *boaria* contract as a weapon in the land-owners' hands which, in giving them full control over both the farms and the labour market, constituted a step forward in the development towards capitalist relations of production. On the other hand, Roveri, following Righini and Zucchini, sees it as a « pauperized and suffocated form of share-cropping », which had been introduced in the latter not « in conformity with productive development, ... as in the case of the Tuscan *mezzadria* around the end of the century which Sereni saw to be the cause of its transformation », but rather as a result of the progressive decline of the *mezzadria* itself. (cf. A. ROVERI, *Socialismo e sindacalismo nel Ferrarese (1870-1915)*, in « Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea », voll. XV-XVI (1963-1964), pp. 174-4. See also the same author's *Dal sindacalismo al fascismo. Capitalismo agrario e socialismo nel Ferrarese (1870-1920)*, Florence, La Nuova Italia 1972); as for the preference shown by agronomists of the period

for the share-cropping contract, and the attempts of the upper class to re-introduce it — attempts which were unsuccessful in the late 19th century but often succeeded thereafter — Iseburg holds that they were not conducive of economic or productive improvement on the farms, which were in fact as a result drawn back to forms of precapitalist 'management, even though the contracts were suited to the aim of breaking the strength of the labourers' front by creating an 'interstice' of new small proprietors between them and the big land-owners (page 37, note). Clearly, however, this is a question with far-reaching implications, which the author herself argues can only be resolved by concrete research, of which we are still starved even today.

The real departure in the slow process of development of Ferrara's agriculture came however with mechanical land reclamation and the resulting reorganization of farming. Iseburg treats this in her third chapter which is perhaps the most original and interesting part of the study. She follows the fortunes of some of the major companies involved in the enterprise, the Valgallare and the Valle Volta companies, and in particular the largest of those involved, the *Società per la Bonifica dei Terreni Ferraresi* (SBTF) — (the latter has already been studied by Roveri, but here its activities are reconstructed and set in perspective in much greater detail). The most important consequences of the penetration of capital into the Ferrara countryside were those felt by labour. On the one hand the reclamation operations brought into being an intensive demand for labour and upset the equilibrium of traditional agriculture in the surrounding areas, causing the masses of small peasants who were seeking a less irregular and mortgage encumbered form of income to become divorced from the land. On the other hand, the greater scope of the enterprises and their greater contractual uniformity, as well as the absence of the conflicting interests of the different groups (*obbligati*, day labourers, *boari*) who made up the subordinate agrarian classes — conflicts which developed to the full under the share-cropping system — 'enabled in a short time the creation of strong solidarity and spontaneity among the oppressed class' (p. 77) and meant that the position of the Ferrara farm worker became similar to that of the Valle Padana labourer as described in a well known passage by PROCACCI (cf. *La lotta di classe in Italia agli inizi del secolo XX*, Rome, Editori Riuniti, 1970, p. 83) with strong corporative tendencies which the author points out, and which were to facilitate the penetration of Fascism.

In addition to PROCACCI and ROVERI both ZANGHERI (cf. the volume he has edited for the Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli: *Lotte agrarie in Italia. La Federazione nazionale della terra 1901-1926*, Milano 1960) and PRETI (*Le lotte agrarie nella Valle Padana*, Torino 1955) have studied this subject, but the merit of Iseburg's study lies in concentrating the analysis, unlike previous authors, on the years in which the movement came into being, the years prior to the foundation of the *Fedeterra*, the years of the peasant association,

providing interesting information and details on living and working conditions, on the forms of organization, on the areas in which the public works which were conceded to absorb the heavy seasonal unemployment were carried out, on the first labourers' 'cooperative societies', and finally on the struggles of 1901 which took on a wider scale in May of that year with the founding of the *Federazione provinciale ferrarese delle leghe di miglioramento* (Ferrara provincial federation of the leagues for betterment).

Working from this broad and stimulating analysis the Author presents her conclusions in the Introduction, but many of them are highly arguable. Giving as reasons the speculative nature of the intervention of the joint-stock companies in the land reclamation operations together with the absence of technical innovation in the resulting enterprises, Iseburg denies that there was any 'local development which became distinct from the general national situation' (p. 4). Quite apart from the problem of reaching any generalization on the 'national situation' which might be valid for the whole of Italy, especially in the field of agriculture which, as elsewhere, was highly variegated and lacking in uniformity, it seems that this judgement might be quite the reverse if, instead of pursuing 'capitalist efficiency' (p. 3) which becomes a largely mythical concept when one considers the practical means and the myriad of contradictions in which Italian capitalism was taking shape and developing, one analyses on the other hand the *possibilities of development* already inherent in the agriculture of Ferrara — possibilities which made it quite distinct from the Sicilian latifondo, which remained immobile no matter how times and men changed, and also from the more dynamic Apulian small-holding (for this see F. DE FELICE, *L'agricoltura in Terra di Bari dal 1880 al 1914*, Milano, Banca Commerciale Italiana, 1971). A much broader examination and a more precise collocation with the mass of problems facing the working class movement in Italy — especially as we are no longer short of major studies on this subject — would be needed however to sustain the distinction which the author draws between the Ferrara farm labourer, who in her words was *sottoproletarizzato* (p. 2 - although even on the basis of what the author herself states, the Ferrara labourer seems hardly to justify the term) but also possessed of considerable 'revolutionary potential' (p. 3), on one hand, and the reformist policy of the socialists on the other 'which from the very beginning of the class struggle dominated the often more progressive force of the labourers' (ibid.). To both of these the 'subsequent spread of revolutionary syndicalism' and also the 'weakness of the Ferrara working class movement when faced with Fascism' can be traced in part. (ibid.).

The study is then in many respects of great interest, but perhaps raises more problems than it settles. But this basically is one of the functions of any historical study.

BIAGIO SALVEMINI
University of Bari

I. S. KOROPECKYJ, *Location problems in Soviet industry before World War II: the case of the Ukraine*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1971, pp. 219, tables 27, refs. 175.

For decades now, sufficient attention has been paid neither to the location variable in economic analysis nor to the geographic and locational dimensions of socialism and communism as translated through principles into practice. This book is a very welcome addition to the literature since it attempts to fill these two serious gaps in knowledge among western social scientists.

Based on a thorough investigation of source material, Koropecyjk describes the structural changes in Ukrainian industry resulting from Soviet development and location policy. He relates the efficiency of investment distribution among industries and regions to both Soviet location theory and policy and to their practical expression in the role of the Ukrainian Republic in Soviet industrialization generally. Efforts in developing the eastern regions of the U.S.S.R. restricted Ukrainian growth and slowed overall Soviet industrialization: this, however, was a necessity on account of defence needs. Imbalances arose between branches of industry both within the Ukraine and between its industry and that of other Soviet regions. The author examines the specific location problems of eight groups of industries: iron and steel, coal, electricity, engineering and metal-working, chemicals, food, light and other industries. With regard to coal industries, Soviet location theory had to evolve its own new philosophy since western theory, based on Alfred Weber, was of little help. Location strategies varied between industries not only in response to their siting requirements, but also to the investment funds made available and to the ranking of the Ukraine for development priority vis-a-vis other Soviet regions. Appendices describe the derivation of the output index for Ukrainian industry and analyze the strategy of developing steel industries in the Urals and Kuzbass in preference to the Donbas.

The book is evidence of very competent research work. It is, of course, in retrospective, primarily a study in what might be termed spatial economic history, given its basic preoccupation with questions of location choice and comparative regional costs of production and transport. Particularly useful are the sections on Soviet location principles, although I feel that Koropecyjk would be the first to claim that these hardly constitute a socialist *theory* of location. As this reviewer has argued elsewhere, too many practical conflicts between the principles and between the decision-making interests were, and are still, involved for such a theory to emerge on that basis (see « Aspects of Spatial Behaviour in Planned Economies », *Papers, Regional Science Association*, XXV, 1970, pp. 83-108).

Koropecyjk's discussions of Soviet views on Weber's *Theory of the location of Industry* are stimulating and form a fascinating documentation in itself, especially in the light of two points. First, it is the current reviewer's

contention that Lenin may have had contact, either directly or indirectly with Weber's work, and took cognizance of the fact, particularly in formulating the principles for locating production near raw materials and for minimizing social effort in production. Second, recently Soviet interest in Weber's work has revived and this has led to its reappraisal: gone is the ideological rejection of his theory that was current in the 1930's.

This book, then, is an important contribution to the understanding of Soviet location strategy, and indeed of any socialist policy modelled on that of the U.S.S.R., as for instance in Eastern Europe or China. Its reading public should thus extend far beyond those interested in the economic history of the U.S.S.R. to embrace those interested in Communist systems generally.

F. E. IAN HAMILTON

The London School of Economics and Political Science

M. MAŁOWIST, *Croissance et regression en Europe XIV^e-XVII^e siècles. Recueil d'articles*, Paris, 1972, Cahiers des Annales n. 34, pp. 228.

Marian Małowist belongs to a group of Polish medievalists who attempt to analyse not only the history of their own country as a unit of history in general, but also try to encourage in Poland an interest in the history of other countries and to criticise the validity of the deeply rooted opinion regarding the exceptional nature of Polish historical development. Moreover, they endeavour to prove to their foreign colleagues that European medieval history did not come to an end at the Rhine or the Elbe, as all that occurred along the Vistula and the Odra, or on the Baltic coast, or even in the Balkan peninsula, exerted significant influence on the economic and socio-political structures of Western Europe.

Małowist is the disciple of Marcei Handelsmann, who held seminars on the history of the early-medieval Franks at the University of Warsaw; he also initiated close cooperation between the Warsaw medievalist school and French historians. However, the problems which attracted the young historian differed from those which interested the professor. Małowist was neither concerned with the Franks nor with the political history of the 19th century, which soon became the main subject of Handelsman's seminar. What really interested Małowist was the history of medieval trade. Irrespective of what issues he studies this subject remains the true passion of his life, to which he always returns. The reviewed book also deals with the history of medieval trade; there is one essay which deals with the history of guilds, but that also is a topic closely connected with his main interest. Among the other subjects examined by Małowist, there are the following: political history (especially in the second half of the 15th century), the history of guilds (clothmaking in particular), the history of geographical discoveries, the colonization of Africa and the history of African societies.

In the postwar period Małowist pioneered a great deal of research undertaken in Poland. He participated, for example, in studies on the origins of the Polish state; he contributed by illustrating Poland's various trade connections with other European countries. He also initiated the study of history of Polish guilds in the 14-17th centuries. As supervisor of a group of students he made them use data which had never been utilized before. Thus, the influence of Baltic trade on Central European socio-economic structures — a problem which had been discussed for a century — was for the first time studied in terms of the world economy during the period of geographical discoveries and colonial expansion. Małowist also started the study of West African history in Poland. He published two monographs and several papers on the subject, and supervised the studies of a group of students specializing in African problems.

This rather lengthy introduction to the main subject is necessary for a proper evaluation of Małowist's book, which has now been published in Paris. It does not provide details of all the scholar's work, nor does it even reflect all his achievements in the field of the history of trade, which started with an essay on trade relations between Poland and Flanders,¹ published in 1934, and a book on trade in Stockholm in the mid-15th century, published in 1935. The title of the present book does not reflect the contents. The first essay deals with the early medieval period, but it is only the author's introduction which gives the reader a true picture of its contents. Małowist outlines all problems which are discussed in the book and locates them on the Baltic coast, calling the Baltic the « Mediterranean of North Europe » where at that time all cultural, economic and political contacts between North and South, as well as East and West, crossed. The comparison between the Baltic and the Mediterranean makes it possible to see not only certain similarities but also some differences in the effects of the Mediterranean heritage from the ancient world which greatly speeded up the development of that area as a whole.

The economic problems of the Baltic area in the early Middle Ages, i.e. in the 10-11th centuries, are examined in the first essay, which was originally published in 1948 and is therefore the earliest in the whole collection. Even today however it constitutes a splendid balance to Adolf Hofmeister's³ political history of the Baltic area in the early Middle Ages. Its greatest merit is perhaps the parallel and proportional examination of the economic conditions

¹ *Le développement des rapports économiques entre la Flandre, la Pologne et les pays limitrophes du XIII^e au XIV^e siècle*, « Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire », X, 1932.

² *Foreign Trade of Stockholm and Swedish foreign policies in the years 1471-1503*, Warszawa 1935.

³ A. HOFMEISTER, *Der Kampf um die Ostsee vom 9 bis 12 Jahrhundert*, Third edition, Darmstadt 1960.

of all the Baltic countries. It is therefore superior to similar Swedish and German studies, as they misrepresent the importance of Slavic and Baltic countries. Małowist describes trade and cultural relations between the Baltic countries, as well as their contacts with more distant economic centres. The essay has been accepted by Polish archeologists as a starting hypothesis for their research on Baltic trade in the period.

The second essay on the late medieval period in Central Europe was written in 1965 while the author was preparing a general economic history in the 14-15th centuries. Małowist had been concerned with the « 14th-century crisis » much earlier (1953), when he tried to discover a decisive cause for the differences in economic development between Eastern and Western Europe of later periods.⁴ Pointing out that Central Europe, unlike its Western part, underwent a period of a very rapid, though uneven, economic development, he put forwards a thesis that there existed three zones of development, running parallel in a direction from west to east, namely: (1) the Baltic area, (2) the lowlands, and (3) the hilly region, which included Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, Little Poland and northern Hungary (i.e. today's Slovakia and Transylvania). Links between these areas and the South were rather weak, as can easily be seen from their trade structure. The same period is treated in the next essay, which is based on the author's paper (read in Prato in 1970) on Central Europe as a cloth market for Western producers (Flanders, Brabant, the Netherlands, England).

The essay on the economic aspects of the return of Eastern Pomerania to Polish authority was written in 1954 in connection with its 500th anniversary. In 1454 Prussia, ruled with a firm hand by the Teutonic Order, revolted and applied for Polish administration. The essay, however, is not merely an occasional publication to commemorate the anniversary. Its inclusion in the French edition after eighteen years is due to its permanent value. Małowist's principal object was to discover the cause of the sharp conflict between the German patriciate of the Prussian towns and the Order, which had resulted in their decision to liquidate the latter. Małowist came to the conclusion that the cause lay in their reaction to the Order's economic policies and its abuse of authority in protecting its own trade and so increasing its own chances in competition with other exporters of grain. He also pointed to the importance of Poland's relations with other Baltic ports in the export of grain and forest products, and to the increasing importance of the Vistula as the major export route for bulk cargoes. Gdańsk, lying on the estuary of the river, made use of its position and soon became the richest port on the Baltic coast. The benefits from trade induced Prussian towns to seek union with Poland. It is, therefore, quite clear why such towns as Gdańsk and

⁴ *Crisis of feudalism in the 14-15th centuries in the light of latest researches* (in Polish), « Kwartalnik Historyczny », LX, 1953, N. 1.

Toruń, situated on the banks of the Wistula, were to lead the revolt and later finance Poland's war with the Order over Prussia. This essay shows how the former west-east pattern of trading areas changed then due to the export of bulk cargoes. In consequence Poland was in the 15-16th-century internally more closely integrated than ever before.

The subject of the next essay on Dutch expansion in the Baltic during the 14-15th centuries is the increasing importance of Prussian towns and of their hinterland. It is known that the Prussian towns, i.e. Gdańsk, were the first to break the Hanseatic hegemony and to establish relations with the Dutch. Soon the Netherlands became the chief, almost monopolistic, importer of grain and exporter of West European cloth to and from Poland. The essay, the longest one in the collection, is an excerpt from Małowist's book on the West European cloth industry in the 14-15th centuries⁵ and constitutes the final section of the chapter devoted to cloth production in the Netherlands. The problem becomes even more clear when the whole book is read; but even in the abridged form, it is very interesting and valuable for the western reader. In comparison with the earlier works of Daenell and Vogel,⁶ the problem is more fully developed not only because Małowist's approach is broader but also because he points to the links between trade and the development of production. The analysis of the market for Dutch cloth in the 15th century in the Baltic countries is also worth attention. This question predominated in relation between the Dutch and the Hanseatic League, and its contribution to Dutch expansion on the Baltic was quite probably properly evaluated for the first time in Małowist's book, published in 1954, almost simultaneously with that of N. W. Posthumus,⁷ who fully confirmed the Polish historian's arguments.

Reference to the same problem can also be found in the next essay on Baltic trade and the commodities exported to the West, chiefly by the Dutch, in the 15-16th centuries. Together with the grain trade Małowist discusses the rather neglected problem of the export of forest products, mainly different kinds of timber. He traces what happened to them then and analyses their utilization in the Netherlands and their importance for Dutch towns, the shipbuilding industry as well as for trade (reexport to Spain, Portugal, Morocco, and even America).

Burghers of the major ports, especially those living in Gdańsk, were the chief partners of the Dutch in the Baltic countries. But the Dutch sought

⁵ *Studies on the history of guilds during the crisis of feudalism in Western Europe in the 14-15th centuries* (in Polish), Warszawa 1954.

⁶ E. DAENELL, *Blütezeit der deutschen Hanse*, II, Berlin 1906; E. DAENELL, *Holland und die Hanse im XV Jahrhundert*, « Hansische Geschichtsblätter », 1903; W. VOGEL, *Geschichte der deutschen Seeschifffahrt*, I, Berlin 1915.

⁷ *De Oosterse handel te Amsterdam. Het oudst bewaarde koopmansboek van een amsterdamsche vennootschap betreffende de handel op de Oostzee 1485-1490*, Leiden 1953.

direct contact with the grain producers and the dispatchers of forest products, i.e. with rulers, who owned the vast landed estates, and the gentry. The next essay, completed in 1956, deals with the trade policies of the Baltic gentry throughout the 15-16th centuries, i.e. during the period when this class had a decisive political influence and could predominate over the townspeople. Despite certain successes over the hinterland towns the gentry failed to subordinate the sea port or eliminate them from the trade with the Dutch.

The second last essay, on the development of Polish guilds in the 14-15th centuries, is slightly different. Although connected with trade the approach is from a somewhat different angle, as it discusses the negative influence of imports on the expansion of Poland's native guilds. Material was collected during extensive research on Polish guilds, undertaken by a team of scholars led by Małowist.⁸ The findings allowed him to sum up (in 1957) certain facts, to determine along what lines guilds had expanded and discover the factors which had stimulated or inhibited their development and finally led to their decline in the 17th century (certain guilds had been affected by the crisis even earlier).

A characteristic feature of Małowist's research is his belief in the existence of close links between the guilds in the towns and the countryside which provided them their most important market. The increasing oppression and pauperization of the peasants from the second half of the 16th century onwards was, in his opinion, one of the main reasons for the collapse of these guilds.

In this case also the essay has retained its full importance; the problem of mining, which is treated marginally by the author, was later developed by a former student Mrs. D. Molenda.⁹

The final essay (1962), although short, raises the huge problem of the origins of the political expansion of European countries in the 15th and 16th centuries. Małowist starts with an analysis of the social foundations of Spanish and Portuguese expansion in Africa and America, and seeks an analogy in Polish expansion in Eastern Europe. He then discusses the causes of the Swedish offensive along the Southern Baltic coast, as well as those of the Russian conquest of Siberia and the south-eastern territories as far as the Volga-Don frontier. He believes that the gentry, seeking both economic and political power, were the driving force behind these movements. The demographic factor, that is a rapid increase of population in Europe in the later part of the 15th century, worked in their favour as well. The author contrasts the expansion of the gentry, which gave temporary political successes

⁸ The monographs cover the following topics: the woollen industry, metallurgy, rural crafts, building, lead and silver mining, glass production. Special monographs were devoted to guilds and trades in Gdańsk and Nowy Sącz.

⁹ *Metal extraction in the Silesian and Cracow mining districts up to the mid-16th century* (in Polish), Wrocław 1963; *Lead-ore mining in the Silesian and Cracow mining districts in the 16-18th centuries* (in Polish), Wrocław 1972.

to states with a relatively low level of economic development, with that in highly developed countries — the Netherlands, England, France — which took place much later, as if in the second stage of the process, leaving their predecessors without any benefits whatsoever derived from their previous conquests. Sketching the picture of 16th century Europe using a comparative method Małowist presents two models of expansion and connects them with the specific socio-economic structures in particular countries. Further research will prove the validity of these models, especially as far as the adjustment of particular countries to given conditions is concerned. Doubts may arise for France, whose structure does not fit the commercial-industrial model.

The problems dealt with in this collection shew clearly the importance of Central Europe, and the Baltic area in particular, for a complete understanding of European history in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. This has been done not merely by appealing to the common sense of the Western historians who often persists in ignoring the achievements of their Eastern colleagues, but above all by showing the harmful effects of such an attitude. The book may help to break the barrier and develop interest in the history of Central, Northern and Eastern Europe.

Finally, I would like to point out that Małowist belongs to a relatively small group of socio-economic historians who do not merely abstract from political history¹⁰ but are aware of the influence both aspects exert on one another. While constructing his models Małowist never forgets historical reality and always places facts in the context of similar phenomena, drawing comparisons between them at the same time. Irrespective of the fact that the book does not contain a single statistical table or a diagram (due to the author's mistrust of medieval statistics, which — he maintains — distort reality) it is comprehensive and modern in the best sense of the word.

B. ZJENTARA
University of Warszawa

P. MELOGRANI, *Gli industriali e Mussolini (Rapporti fra Confindustria e Mussolini dal 1919 al 1929)*, Milan, Longanesi, 1972, pp. 325.

The author of this study has already tackled the complex problem of the relations between industrialists and fascism in a long essay that appeared in the review «Nuovo Osservatore» in 1965. He now re-examines it in this study on the basis of a wide range of documents drawn predominantly from the political and technical press and from the official records of the *Confederazione Italiana dell'Industria* for the period from 1919 to 1929.

¹⁰ He wrote a monograph on the political history of the 15th century, *Caffa, the Genoese colony in the Crimea and the Eastern problem 1453-1475* (in Polish), Warszawa, 1947.

Beginning with an analysis of the *Confindustria's* attitude to fascism before the march on Rome, the author goes on to single out some crucial moments in the relationship between the industrialists and the new regime. After analysing the reaction of Italian industrial circles to the murder of Matteotti and the events preceding the signing of the Palazzo Chigi pact, the author examines the continuing, and particularly difficult, confrontation between the *Confindustria* and the fascist trade union movement; this lasted for more than five years, and its outcome can be considered as favourable, on the whole, to the *Confindustria*, in so far as the Corporations were not put into effect and nor did the fascist trade union movement succeed in penetrating the factories by obtaining the recognition of the trustees. Melograni pays particular attention to another important episode in the relations between industrialists and fascism connected with the policies of monetary revaluation in force between 1926 and 1927, which were judged by the industrialists, in open opposition to Mussolini, as too extreme. There emerges a far from idyllic picture of the relationship between industrialists and fascism; on the contrary, it was fraught with conflict, and Italian economic and financial forces were in no way instrumental in putting into practice the policies of fascism. In at least one case, in the decisive episode of the march of Rome, the author observes that « it was not the *Confindustria* that manipulated Mussolini from behind the scenes, but rather Mussolini that manipulated the *Confindustria* » (p. 39).

The reader will undoubtedly conclude from this book that the industrialists were sometimes perplexed by some of the actions of the new regime, and that in any case the support that Mussolini obtained from the *Confindustria* was given, at least initially, to guarantee order in the factories — for protection, that is, first against the old trade union organization and then against the ambitions of the new fascist trade union movement. But having said this, it should be mentioned that such an interpretation should be accepted with extreme caution, even if it is often convincing in the light of the documents used by the author, for the whole subjects of the relations between industrialists and fascism has yet to be studied in its economic context, (that is to say, reconstructing the development of Italian industrial structures and the development of fascist economic policies) and there are some obscure points which Melograni's analysis does not always succeed in illuminating because of the particular approach the author has adopted.

For example, the first part of the study contains no detailed description of Italian industry at the end of the First World War. The author warns the reader that he wishes to limit his study to examining the decisions of the *Confederazione Italiana dell'Industria*, because it is difficult to find adequate documentation for individual industrial sectors, and also because the positions adopted by the *Confindustria* represent a constant point of reference for all Italian industrialists. In fact, while acknowledging the lack of studies

on the history of industry for the period under discussion, some basic questions on the composition and activities of the Italian industrial world could at least have been tackled in a preliminary way, especially as there has recently been no lack of studies that have examined — as that by Caracciolo (*La crescita e la trasformazione della grande industria durante la prima guerra mondiale*, in « Lo sviluppo economico in Italia », Milan, 1969) — although for a limited period of time, some aspects of the structural changes in Italian industry. On the other hand, Melograni himself, after observing that in 1922 the industrialists' attitude to the rise of fascism was no different to that of the entire Italian political class, acknowledges that at the time of Matteotti's murder the reasons for the differences of opinion between the *Confindustria* and the regime were economic, and that the split that occurred in the industrial world on that occasion is to be understood as « not so much separating the large from the small industrialists, as distinguishing between different sectors of production (p. 96). Now it is precisely from this point of view that Melograni's book is not always sufficiently exhaustive. One would look in vain for an explanation of the composition of the Italian industrial class during the first years of fascism, not only from the sociological point of view (in this respect the remark Einaudi made in 1924 « the new generation that emerged during the war... cannot raise itself to the level to which previous generations had managed to climb after a long apprenticeship » (p. 77) could have been developed), but also from an economic point of view, by considering the effects of the appearance and development of new forms of industrial production (like the electrical and chemical industries), and the resulting changes in traditional economic interests in Italian industry, on the formulation of *Confindustria* policy. On the other and, on the subject of fascism in power, the analysis of the effect of the fascist economic policies on the development of Italian industry is of no great depth for the author restricts himself to reminding the reader that between 1922 and 1925 there was a marked economic development in the country, which was certainly encouraged by De Stefani's financial policy, but he does not examine either the ways in which these policies were effected nor their results.

There are certainly a number of gaps which mean that the debate begun by Melograni remains largely open, but these derive from his approach rather than from any lack of critical analysis by the author.

PAOLO FRASCANI
Oriental Institute of Naples

Oxford Economic Atlas of the World, London, Oxford University Press, 1972, pp. 239.

This is a superb reference atlas that should stand beside the *Times Atlas of the World* and the U. S. Geological Survey's *The National Atlas of the United States* on the reference shelf of any serious student of world affairs.

It presents clearly a large amount of economic and associated information for the 1960's for the whole world (or on many maps, most of it). It has a comprehensive index to points and areas of economic importance; and its statistical supplement repeats in tabular form much of the mapped data country-by-country. At \$ 25.00 it is a bargain to the scholar and pundit, although it probably is too expensive, unfortunately, for assignment as a classroom text or as a casual gift.

The problems and choices inherent in the preparation of this atlas, here in its fourth edition and much improved, must have been difficult, even more so than in the case of a general reference atlas like the *Times Atlas*. Clarity, comprehensiveness, timeliness, and usefulness, *inter alia*, compete and are confronted simultaneously with gigantic data problems at the world scale of reliability, comparability, and coverage. *The Oxford Economic Atlas of the World* meets these contradictions with what appear to be awareness, understanding, and some industry; but the reader must be quite clear about the editors' particular choices of content and presentation in order to use the *Atlas* effectively. Some of their decisions and the consequences are discussed below.

By and large, the maps are clear and legible. By showing major subdivisions of large countries in the base map and using frequent point identification and many insets, nothing intended to be seen cannot be. A compromise has had to be reached between emphasis on economic activity at points, with flows between them, and emphasis on pattern among countries — the building blocks of world economic relations. The latter has perhaps been subordinated too much to the former, but if one knows where a particular country is, he certainly can see what goes on in it economically and where it stands on some absolute scales of economic performance.

A major problem in the mapping of quantitative data is to design the maps in such a way that generalized impressions of areal relationships, in various degrees of detail, can be derived from the same map that provides exact measures at points or in flows for both information and comparison. On this score, the *Atlas*, through a dexterous mixture of scales, circles and triangles, dots, flowbars, and pie-section symbols, colors, and shading, is satisfactory. Population distribution, for example, is shown by dots but with circle scales for towns over 100,000. Frequently against a background of such dot patterns, other variables such as GNP *per capita* are mapped, and where clusters of circles have overlapped heavily and contain multiple-sized units, both insets and differentiating colors or shading are employed to distinguish among them, as in the case of air communications among cities.

Another problem or goal in data mapping is the presentation of large combinations of data on one map to facilitate complex correlation and pattern recognition by the reader. A case where the *Atlas* succeeds nicely

at this, not jeopardizing generality of pattern and specificity of measurement, is the map « Direction of Trade » (p. 81). The volumes of imports and exports are shown for each country, to and from each region, side-by-side in pie-halves. A view of *balance* as well as direction and density of trade thereby is achieved for countries and regions.

The *Atlas* is organized into thirteen clusters of maps with headings such as Environment, meaning physical features and conditions, Crops, Energy, Minerals and Metals, Manufacturing Industries, Demography, Disease, Society and Politics, and Surface and Air Communications. The category Society and Politics picks up stray indicators such as Income, Education, Employment, Blocs, Trade, and Mass Communications. The Manufacturing Industries section has four of eight complex maps devoted to various chemicals.

The *Atlas* is not comprehensive as to world economic activity, nevertheless. It ignores most consumption to dwell on production. It does not show investment or anything to do with finance, economic policy apart from foreign aid and economic blocs, or economic services. The Environment section has nothing on resources use or human environmental impacts. A section entitled Demography has nothing on race.

But to a large extent these lapses are understandable. First, this is a reference atlas, not an analytical treatise. Where data are not widely available on a topic, the topic has been left out. Second, while data on consumption, investment, and services are generally less readily available and reliable than those on production anyway, the reader must have been intended by the editors to infer these largely from the production, trade, and population maps, with the help of the, in places, extensive notes (as on energy). It is unfortunate, however, that there are no maps on military powers, or land tenure. And as services are now the most important economic sector, by employment, in the United States, with Europe moving that way, to ignore their distribution, whose correlation with population, population density, or even GNP *per capita* is hypothetical at best, is a disservice.

Data mapped in the *Atlas* are mostly for the period 1963-65. Comparative data for 1953-55 are provided in tables where appropriate. Official sources are used almost exclusively. Comparability among mapped subjects is possible in the metric system. But there are two drawbacks to effective use now. First, for population, figures are used from the most recent censuses available in 1968. For China this meant that of 1953, rather than a more recent (and more realistic) estimate such as appears in the statistical summary. And for no country are the 1970-71 censuses, hopefully the best ever for many of them, employed. Second, the « Surface Communications II » map (p. 85) uses flowlines proportional in width to tonnage per nautical mile for trade as of March, 1967 — just three months before the Suez Canal was closed, seemingly forever. This map is of historical interest only. The maps of production, employment, and disease, by contrast, are timely.

How useful is this *Atlas*? Does it tell one what he wants or needs to know? This is an excellent and precise reference on world areal distributions of natural products production and the manufacture of chemicals, with trade in them, and on some other measures of economic activity, such as computer use and production, diseases, and educational levels. Its usefulness on these matters, though, is impaired by the awkward binding that necessitates balancing the tall book horizontally to read and make comparisons among maps. The absence of printed transparent overlays inhibits intersectoral comparisons. And worst, with the exception of population distributions, mentioned above, there are hardly any maps which show complex relationships, ratios even, among economic and other indicators (as differentiated from relationships of intra-sectoral phenomena, which are shown nicely).

These deficiencies might have been neutralized, moreover, in the text (to which admirably large and convenient space is devoted), but are not. The notes, for the most part, speak to the subject matter of the maps — description perhaps better sought elsewhere — instead of to the maps *themselves* and the distributional patterns on them. This is a lost opportunity. Comments on problems of mapping the data, deficiencies, compromises, pitfalls in interpretation, types of correlations and conclusions that could be drawn, and above all the spatial configurations the maps display, would have been interesting, useful, perhaps invaluable. Even a straightforward international and/or inter-city factor or cluster analysis and mapping of the results would have been most enlightening, especially as the major work in the field, Ginsburg's *Atlas of Economic Development* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), is now quite dated. That work might also have been emulated by the mapping of some significant variables, by country, according to more complex and useful categories, such as ranking around a world mean. The very great issue today, of poor versus rich countries and their competitive needs, is almost obscured, and certainly not well illuminated here.

Yet, the *Atlas* does tell a specialist in the subjects noted above most of what he wants to know, given the constraints of official data availability and the goal of world coverage. For example, on employment he may see population related to economically active population, the latter broken down into five employment categories, all figures by country (but with China, Afganistan, Guyana, and some African areas missing). Areal associations, as well as international comparisons, can be made for these 1966 figures far easier than is possible by perusal of the *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, their source.

And with all that, generalization of some world macroproblems is facilitated, whereas it often is obscured by tabular presentation, to say nothing of official and journalistic accounts. Take comparison of the U. S., Western Europe, and Japan. The size of the American economy as a unit overwhelms the senses on almost every page. Given the country's size and high degree

of self-sufficiency, its problems in the world economy, as contrasted with those in Europe and Japan, in many senses definitely are small. Japan emerges as highly dependent on trade in many commodities, and Western Europe pathetically deficient for example in copper. A view of the economic resources and power of the EEC in comparison with its apparent competitors, suggests a host of opportunities for economic trade-offs among its component countries, and world economic power beyond that of the sum of its constituents in the past.

This returns us to the deficiencies of this economic atlas and of such atlases generally. Its disassociation of economic information, areally or otherwise presented, from many significant political and social data, from historical sequence and future projection analysis, and even from current estimates where official figures are lacking gives it less utility as a tool for understanding the complicated reality of the world economy than would have been possible. Hopefully, more analysis, as well as improved data, will appear in the next edition. Meanwhile, a fine reference is at hand that, in addition, should provide hours of enjoyable browsing and stimulation toward thinking on a world scale, through the coherent presentation of a vast amount of important information.

JAMES OSBORN

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
Santa Barbara, California

G. V. RIMLINGER, *Welfare Policy and Industrialization in Europe, America and Russia*, New York - London - Sydney - Toronto, John Wiley & Sons, 1971, pp. XI-362.

This study provides an extremely important attempt to use sociological generalization in a historical context. The study is based on the model formulated some time ago by T. H. MARSHALL (*Citizenship and social class*) and then by R. BENDIX (*Nation-Building and Citizenship*) and develops in concrete terms the ideas relating to the construction of a modern system of social security in advanced societies, repeating the general approach of those studies to the relationship between public authorities and social relations.

The text is divided into three parts. In the first part those countries in which welfare policy developed in a traditional liberal setting during the pre-industrial period and the early years of industrialization, as in the cases of England, France and the U.S.A., are examined. In the second part different models of social security which have been established in the modern world, on one hand in the traditional liberal-democratic societies, and on the other in the Soviet Union, are examined.

Finally in the third part the author moves on from the historical context to analyse the aims and approaches to welfare in the setting of different economic systems — that is to say, the way in which techniques of social security can, in different ways, be built into both a free market economy and a planned economy, or even into a mixed economy.

While the first two parts are essentially historical, in the third and final part the author attempts to typify different approaches in terms of the economic and political targets by which a system of social security may be guided. In this sense there is no incompatibility between welfare policy and different types of economic system. The problem is to distinguish different objectives and to plan suitable instruments to attain the desired objectives. The first consideration arising from this research concerns the analysis of the changing nature of needs; that is to say, the way in which they change from a pre-industrial society to one which is characterized by an advanced degree of industrialization. In this form of analysis the parameters most often considered are not in fact quantitative, but the ideologies which underlie principal values.

The author's analysis of the 'ideology of poverty' in the mercantilist period and during the industrial revolution is very informative. In the same way the historical situations which the author examines (and of these, the remarks on Bismarkian Germany are particularly exemplary), clearly show the way in which the classification of 'poverty' should not be tied to, or simply identified with, a situation of material indigence, but should rather be defined as a situation of specific relationships, in which the social subjects feel the need to free themselves from the needs which condition the life of the individual, and to achieve historical realization through the domination of these same needs. In this sense freedom from need leads, on one hand, to an analysis of the structure of the system of needs, and, on the other, to an analysis of the ways in which the process of emancipation of subordinate classes was in fact brought about in historical terms. For example, the abolition of the Act of Settlement, while establishing the principle of freedom of movement throughout the national territory, also allowed industry, as a result of the free circulation of labour, to benefit from a low-priced labour force and so from higher profits.

In addition Rimlinger emphasizes the dependance on the type of political system, in the sense that welfare policy is normally a function of the latter. The author argues that democratic governments are the slowest in introducing measures of social security, because the governments themselves result from a highly complex system of balances between various social groups. On the other hand, totalitarian systems are able to plan with greater certainty the moment for accomplishing such measures, because they are in a position to assert the real or imagined interests of the collectivity against any opposition. But the examples the author provides to support such an argument, from

Bismark's Germany to post-1917 Russia, only seem to validate it in phenomenological terms. He holds, in fact, that in countries governed by authoritarian regimes the antagonisms between various social groups are reduced, or can at least be controlled. But all this, for either of the examples quoted, would not seem to be historically the case.

A further variable, which the author considers to be decisive, in the development of a system of social security, is the part played by economic factors. While previous considerations see welfare policy as a function of a political system, they are now examined as a function of an economic system. In this case the examples are more convincing. The 'Poor Laws', for example, indirectly constitute a policy of employment which suited the stage of capitalist accumulation.

Finally the author emphasizes the role played by 'ideas' and the way in which they influenced the construction of a modern system of social security. But here it is not always clear whether the author refers to the development of ideas in a way which is historically accurate and critical, or simply to the leading ideological movements. It is not by chance that the terms of reference range from Tocqueville to Marxism, for it is true that ideas never have influence in their own right, nor even an autonomous existence of their own. In a certain sense they constitute conceptual vehicles which different social forces adopt and use in attempting to achieve their own ends. In this sense it would be better to examine the formation of the structure of public opinion which filtered, drew to attention, and subsequently resolved, problems of welfare policy.

This is a field of study which, in very general terms, J. Habermas has proposed with his « Strukturwandel der Oeffentlichkeit », which makes it possible to assess, on a non-idealistic basis, the importance which these same movements have had in the formation of the various elements which constitute the middle-class public.

GIOVANNI MUTO

Faculty of Maritime Economics, Naples

D.R. RINGROSE, *Transportation and Economic Stagnation in Spain, 1750-1850*, Durham, N.C., the Duke University Press, 1970, pp. XXV-171.

David Ringrose has accomplished an interesting and significant piece of research with this book. To summarize briefly, he details the organization of Spain's transportation industry in the eighteenth century, including the users of land transportation services, the commodities transported, and the pattern of movement of those items. He then surveys the types of transport available (mainly ox-drawn carts and pack animals) and their seasonal availability, the nature of the individual transporter's organization, the contracts used, and so forth. With this as a backdrop, Ringrose discusses transport prices and changes in those prices over time. After analyzing

associations of transporters (which occurred only among the carters) and the government's relationship to the transport industry (which amounted to giving subsidies to carters in the form of extensive grazing rights, guaranteed winter pastures at fixed rates, and exemption from tolls and other exactions in return for preferential treatment in supplying various governmental demands for transportation), he presents the hypothesis that by the end of the eighteenth century a serious bottleneck was developing in the supply of transportation. Population was expanding rapidly and the large stock of pack animals could not be drawn off into providing transport services, for it was committed to the agricultural sector. Moreover, the carters were unable to increase adequately their supply of services, for they were losing grazing privileges and other royal support because of increasing population and a consequent « land hunger, changing attitudes about land ownership, and conflicting government land policies ».

Thus, « since transport is vital to economic growth, the limitations of the traditional transport structure, coupled with the lack of real alternatives, helped to create an absolute ceiling for the level of development in Castile. This ceiling remained present for over fifty years, creating a degree of stagnation and backwardness unmatched in Western Europe » (p. 133).

It is with this attempt to explain changes or lack of them in Spain's economy that Professor Ringrose's efforts less than satisfy. He asks the transportation system to bear too large a burden for the unsatisfactory way Spain's economy developed relative to the economies of her European neighbors. This reviewer believes that he over-emphasizes the negative influence of transportation facilities on economic growth and under-emphasizes the negative effects of other critical factors such as the unfortunate nature of Castile's soil, climate, topography (which were the real causes of the relatively small agricultural output per acre), and the dispersed, rural population. Professor Ringrose is not unaware of these fundamental weaknesses in Spain's resource endowment, but when he treats his hypothesis he appears to imply improvements in transportation alone would have allowed substantial economic development.

Nor is his use of economic growth unambiguous in this context. It could mean merely an increase in agricultural output per person or it could mean an increase in manufactured relative to agricultural output with a consequent increase in total output per person. Ringrose does not say. If by some magic Spain had received a sudden, costless improvement in transportation facilities early in the nineteenth century, what would have occurred in Castile? Most likely there would have been some increase in regional specialization, an increase in exports of agricultural items and raw materials in which Spain had a comparative advantage, and an increase in imports of manufactured items in which other European nations had comparative advantages (for example, English textiles, which, incidentally, competed success-

fully against the Spanish items in Madrid in the eighteenth century despite transportation costs). Even with the advent of the railroads in the late nineteenth century industrialization failed to occur, and there is no reason why it would have been brought about by transportation improvements had they occurred in early nineteenth century even without cost.

Other analytical ambiguities of minor importance appear in the book. For example, if demand for transportation increased, why did the quantity supplied of transportation fail to rise if not in the traditional at least in some modified form? For example, an increase in demand should have made transporting more profitable, thereby inducing carters to substitute grain-eating mules for straw-eating oxen. This would have released carters from dependence upon the increasingly scarce pastures and would have allowed them to carry at least part of the animal's food with them. Moreover, Ringrose's use of the term « specialization » is confused. He reasons (p. 56) that specialization in agricultural production was forced upon Castile by the « poverty of her agrarian resources. Many areas which produced surpluses of wine or olive oil, for example, were dependent on grain brought from other regions for even a minimal level of existence » (p. 56). But societies richly endowed in resources, as well as those poorly endowed, specialize in producing items in which they have comparative advantages and then exchange some of those supplies (not « surpluses ») for items in which others have the comparative advantage — more of all items are produced when regions engage in specialization in production and exchange. The miserableness of agrarian resources did not force Spain's various regions into specialization.

Professor Ringrose is at his best when he describes the transportation system in all of its organizational ramifications. Clearly, he has spent many long days in numerous Spanish archives uncovering the myriad details he so admirably presents in this book. Ingenuity in searching for clues, willingness to undergo long frustrating periods deciphering old manuscripts in ill-equipped, poorly organized archives, and equally long periods of putting the jig-saw puzzle together into a well-written book are most admirable talents. Aside from the above analytical reservations, this is an extremely useful and welcome addition to our stock of knowledge on Spanish economic history.

J. CLAYBURN LA FORCE
University of California, Los Angeles

E. SHORTER, *The Historian and the Computer: A Practical Guide*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971, pp. VIII-149.

In recent years growing numbers of historians have recognized the value of electronic data processing equipment, statistics and quantitative methods as research tools. As yet, however, most historians are without the training

or experience necessary to make effective use of these resources. This small book is intended as a partial remedy for this situation. It is designed as a practical introduction to the application of computers, and quantification more generally, in historical investigation and is intended for historians without experience in the use of these tools. The book provides a brief and now somewhat dated review of illustrative applications of computers and quantitative methods to historical research, and succeeding chapters are devoted to principles of coding, data processing procedures and resources, and to brief conceptual explanations of some basic statistical techniques. An appendix provides examples of data formats and coding conventions that have been employed by three historians in their research.

The author is an historian who has extensive and successful experience in the use of computers and quantitative techniques, and the book is consistently marked by a sound, common sense approach. The question of whether historians who seek to employ computers in their work must learn computer programming is realistically faced and answered in the negative. The importance of rigorous accuracy in the preparation of historical data for computer analysis is stressed, and the author appropriately cautions the unwary that research employing computers and quantitative methods tends to be very substantially more expensive than research employing conventional methods. Great pains are taken to reassure the suspicious reader that computers and quantification will not in themselves « dehumanize » history or lead to the adverse consequences that some historians have feared. On the other hand, the author also warns, perhaps without sufficient emphasis, of the frustration, erroneous findings and trivialities which these devices can produce when misused by the thoughtless and uninformed. The historian who has even minimal experience with computers and quantitative techniques will find little here that is new or instructive. The book will prove useful, however, as introductory reading for students, as a means for the neophyte « quantifier » to learn enough to converse with reasonable intelligence with technicians, and as a source of information for the more conventional historian who merely wishes to learn a bit of what the world of quantitative history is all about.

While the book goes far toward achieving the author's purposes and is a useful contribution, it also has several limitations, two of which can be mentioned here. Many of the problems encountered by historians in the application of computers and quantitative methods to historical studies have also been encountered by students of the social and behavioral sciences and at least partial solutions found. Historians, however, are frequently inclined to view problems of historical data analysis as unique and peculiar to the historical discipline. Thus they fail to capitalize effectively upon the experiences and achievements of other fields. The author of the present volume would have performed a valuable service if he had devoted greater attention to systematically noting more of the many informative methodological works

in other disciplines from which historians could profit. It would be unfortunate if his failure to do so worked to encourage misplaced disciplinary patriotism and to reinforce the parochial view of the problems of historical data analysis which too many historians now hold.

The author, moreover, is apparently intent upon convincing historians of the ease with they can employ computers and successfully conduct quantitative research. The point is sometimes seriously overemphasized. It is true that, as a consequence of the widespread availability of «canned» computer program packages, virtually any historian can employ many of the most complex analysis procedures. But the hazards of uninformed use of such procedures are many, and sophistication and genuine expertise are necessary to realize fully the research benefits of computers, statistics and the related tools of quantification. Indeed, an informed review of applications of quantification by historians would amply demonstrate the reality of these hazards and would reveal, as well, that as yet historians outside the field of economic history have employed quantitative approaches in only the most elementary and unimaginative ways. It is surely time that historians take quantification seriously and acquire, or at least encourage their students to acquire, the training that is necessary to allow fully effective, innovative and reliable use of these new tools. It should be recognized that this book is a useful, elementary introduction to the use of computers and no more. Neither this book nor any other brief «how-to-do-it» guide is sufficient to prepare historians to realize the value of quantification for the study of history.

JEROME M. CLUBB
Center for Political Studies
The University of Michigan

