REVIEWS OF BOOKS

W.-R. BAUMANN, *The Merchants Adventurers and the Continental Cloth-trade* (1560s-1620s) by Wolf-Rüdiger Baumann. Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1990.

Dr Baumann prefaces his book with a quotation from a great English historian, George Unwin (of Manchester School); "in the history of English commerce there are few subjects more important and none more attractive than that of the Merchant Adventurers." It is intriguing that he should have chosen this great trading organisation for special praise when, in his other writings, Unwin was so critically consistent about the Adventurers' role in English, to say nothing of German, economic development. They were at the heart of the blazing controversy between Unwin and William Cunningham, the Cambridge divine who founded the Cambridge school of Economic History but resolutely followed the Berlin school of historians (he had studied in Germany) in expressing his admiration for the contemporary German school in their belief in the importance of the action of the State in the formation of economic policy.

Dr. Baumann wastes no time in making clear his belief in the value of the Adventurers' contribution to the economic development of Germany. He accordingly hands the accolade to the Company for its contribution to both Germany and England in the process of economic development, administering in so doing a rap over the knuckles to the free Traders amongst the English historians, and the German nationalist historians like Hagedorn, Hapke and Hartung and a number of others who used German economic history as a weapon in the service of German nationalist propaganda against Britain in the pre-1914 war battle of ideologies.

To make clear his devotion to historical objectivity, Dr. Baumann throws in (p. 1) an attractive little squib regarding the correct usage of nomenclature which should leave many (perhaps most) English historians who have written on the Adventurers uncomfortable. "I follow the usage of the English Gov-

ernment and the Company itself — *Merchants Adventurers* —." Thus in this first trial apprenticeship in research, Dr. Baumann makes clear his regard for strict accuracy and his preference for objectivity over rhetoric...

In his first chapter he goes on to untangle the arcane obscurities which have confused so much writing on the exact structure of the Company, in particular its motives for shifting its central mart round northern Europe, from Antwerp to Middelburg, then to Emden, Hamburg and Stade. He follows this with a masterly chapter on the evidence pointing to the penetration of the German cloth markets by the English exporters of worsteds and kerseys. 'In the town of Hildesheim, the young gentlemen arrived for a patrician wedding all wearing "grey English trimmed with black satin".' (1535)

The next chapter will be of particular interest to English readers. It deals, in minute detail, with the processes of finishing and dying the English imported cloths which were developed by the entrepreneurs and workers in the Continental centres (Bremen, Hamburg, Cologne) as they increasingly equipped themselves with dye houses, vats, coppers, pestles and mortars where the dye stuffs were ground, prepared and applied. Bright colours — reds, greens, yellows, orange etc. — are prominent in the account books of the dyers of Cologne, Nuremburg and other centres. In the earlier period, woad, often locally grown, found itself confronted with indigo imported by English, Dutch and Portugese merchantmen. Saffron and brazil then came on the scene and with them came fresh new colours and new chemical problems, to say nothing of environmental problems arising from the pollution of fishing grounds as these were steadily ruined by 'caustic materials' used by the cloth dyers. There is nothing new in the phenomenon of industrial pollution.

These technical chapters on the finishing of the raw cloth are, to my mind, unequalled in their detail and clarity, derived from the author's extensive and scrupulous analysis of the records of a wide sweep of individual entrepreneurs. This is a major contribution to an explanation of the structure of the European cloth market of which the Merchants Adventurers formed basis, the supplying half of its materials.

Local German records are also Dr. Baumann's main source for a biographical list of the English merchants trading in Germany in the late XVIth and early XVIIth centuries. In all, he records some ninety merchants. His list not only identifies their identity and provenance but also the scale upon which they traded and the amazing variety of goods they handled for import and export, the profits and sometimes losses they made, their debts, family connections and personal complications. They were of varied status. Some, like Carollus Fort... "the noble and best Englishman, living at the sign of the Golden Goose, Nuremburg" were of gentry stock. Another of the same class was William Smith, also resident at Nuremburg but educationally the product of Brasenose College Oxford. He was later to be famous as a genealogist and expert in heraldry and history. Lesser men of lower status were Hum-

phrey Spencer, who dealt in horses at Stade, or William Walker of Nuremburg, who privily sold 'outside the gates' packs of cloth smuggled in from Lucca. (They may therefore have been silks). The lists are a good example of Dr. Baumann's extremely exact use of municipal archives and personal papers, German and English, which bring to life the multifarious streams of commerce which form the broad framework of his book.

For centuries observers have tried to evaluate the barrage of mixed praise and criticism which greeted the commercial activities of the English Adventurers in Germany. Much of it was unfavourable and even abusive. In 1597, the Leipzigers complained bitterly about the nature of English competition "which in general is very harmful to these lands." Many commentators took a similar line, though where the Adventurers came as buyers rather than as sellers, the story could be very different. The year after the Leipzig critics had spoken, the merchants of Augsburg judged "there would be untold damage here if all trade with the English were banned."

Everything depended on how local opinion judged the situation. Significantly, the weavers of Augsburg benefited handsomely by the export of some 400,000 guldens worth of fustians by the Adventurers. They were finished in Augsburg and exported to England and other countries. Even larger values of fustians were exported from Emden to England. Dr. Baumann's verdict? It is questionable whether Emden or Stade would have experienced the boom they enjoyed, nor Hamburg its great strength and expansion as an international seaport without the activities of the English Company.

As with Augsburg, so with Munster, Osnabruck, Chemnitz and other places which were now or later to become famous for their linen manufacture. The Adventurers brought with them the enormous benefits of expanded export trade from Germany. This was also boosted by the arrival in Germany of very large numbers of enterprising traders from the Low Countries. Their movement resulted from the growth, very vigorous in the 1590's, of the great commercial cities of the Netherlands. They were attracted to Germany, however, by the Anglo-German expansion of the cloth trade, another example, as Dr. Baumann points out, of how the English trade which they brought over with them contributed to the "numerous impulses for economic growth" which they created.

This leaves only one single area of international trade for adverse criticism. Dr. Baumann singles out what he considers was the excessive currency speculation during the notorious *kipper und wipperzeit*. This raging speculation in money may well have helped to destabilise the German market to a harmful extent. Otherwise, however, "if Germany had been deprived of these factors (i.e. the heightening of commercial and industrial activities by the Merchants Adventurers) Germany's international expansion would have suffered severe negative effects, and economic growth would have been slowed down."

Thus Dr. Baumann makes his mind up very emphatically in favour of the

Merchants Adventurers. Elsewhere he makes the case for further study of the Adventurers' activities crystal clear.

"My interest (he writes) lies not so much in outlining the status quo as in pinpointing the processes of development... the present work contributes to the understanding of a certain phase of economic development in Germany... characterised by initial mercantilistic efforts and by the beginning of capitalistic forms of enterprise. It demonstrates in the case of one item of commerce (i.e. cloth) the international interconnections of trade on the Continent and contributes to our knowledge of the economic interdependence of England and Germany" (p. 3).

He is to be congratulated on a brand-new study of an old subject, refreshingly full of new material and challenging ideas. It refutes some ancient legends and is replete with new statistical and biographical detail. No student of the phenomena of economic growth and change in Dr. Baumann's area and period (and some outside it) can afford to neglect this impressive monograph. It promises well for a new round of truly international economic history amongst the new generation of historians as they dispense with the caricatures and distortions which made up so much of the work of their predecessors in the age of nationalisms.

CHARLES WILSON
Cambridge University

PH. D. CURTIN, *Death By Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 1989.

In the nineteenth century, Europeans declared themselves owners and governors of the lands of non-white, "heathen" others, and when these others resisted, Europeans were "forced into lawful war" in the name of civilization. They brought their religious laws and state: if necessary they could decimate the "others" legally and morally, with a righteous conscience.[1] European soldiers enforced this "civilizing process." Curtin's primary interest lies in the Europeans soldiers who went to defend church and state on foreign soil, those who carried out the decimation when necessary. Most soldiers were temporary migrants; therefore they are very different from the permanent European migrants who settled in these areas.

Europe sent soldiers overseas for imperial expansion, and kept others at home to protect and broaden the domestic borders. They kept careful records of the health of both groups, and they published these records in printed annual reports on the health of the army. For much of the nineteenth-century tropical world, military health records are the earliest quantifiable guide to

[1] See RUSSEL THORNTON, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*. University of Oklahoma Press 1987.

the history of diseases of the European soldiers. The descriptive presentation of these data is a valuable source of information.

Curtin defines the principal patterns of European military death from disease in the tropical world, and discusses why these patterns changed overtime. Chapters two and five examine the contemporaneous ideas about tropical hygiene and medicine, whereas chapters three and six discuss the application of these ideas in the military. The early sections of the book deal with the period up to the 1860s. The later sections deal with the period 1870s to the beginning of the First World War, the transitional decades when scientific medicine became a major influence.

Curtin provides an excellent discussion of the health and mortality of European soldiers who migrated out of their childhood disease environment in the XIXth century. He summarizes the epidemiological significance of his study by noting that "epidemiological theory suggests that people moving as adults to a new disease environment will suffer for lack of immunities they would have acquired in childhood (6)." However, he notes that some environments resulted in a mortality improvement for some European soldiers, for example New Zealand and Tahiti. In New Zealand between 1859-1863 deaths from accident and battle exceeded deaths from disease, a situation that may be unique in European warfare of the nineteenth century. However, this improvement was at the expense of the health of the aboriginal population. Curtin notes: "The native population declined from about 100,000 to 200,000 in the late eighteenth century to 42,000 in 1896. A similar decline took place throughout the Polynesian world, mainly from virgin-field epidemics of tuberculosis, pneumonia, venereal, and gastrointestinal infections (16)."

Curtin is best in giving us the historical context of the diseases and the development of medical knowledge among the different European medical communities. He provides much less information when he develops statistical procedures to measure these changes in medical practice. For example, his D + I index is a category which supposes to measure deaths and invaliding, referring to soldiers who were sick and sent home to Europe. Curtin combines these two categories, the living and the dead to gain a better view of the mortality. However, what he actually does is confound the statistical reality of the mortality picture. If they died upon arrival in Europe then they were no longer part of his statistical population. If he wants to include all ex-soldiers then the problem is magnified statistically.

However, Curtin provides a major contribution to historical knowledge. By analyzing the mortality rates and causes of death of British and French troops in the tropical areas in the nineteenth century, he demonstrates the contribution of improvements in hygiene and tropical medicine to the mortality of European soldiers. The book is an important study for understanding the history of European imperial expansion.

ANTONIO MC DANIEL
University of Pennsylvania

L. De Rosa, *L'avventura della storia economica in Italia*, Bari, Laterza, 1990, pp. VIII-222.

"At a moment", writes the author in the preface, "when economic history is entering the faculties of Letters and Philosophy and taking its place alongside the other historical disciplines with autonomous dignity, a profile of the long and complex travail the discipline has undergone in elaborating its content — during which it has gained an increasingly wider and more characteristic and more singular role — may be interesting from several points of view." The Laterza volume, which brings together a series of essays published in recent years, "sets out", continues De Rosa, "to trace the course both from an international and internal standpoint."

Having read the work and taken account of all our notes and comments, we can truly assert that the author has succeeded in carrying out a well-argued and ample examination of the cultural and institutional moments both in Italy and internationally which have seen the birth of economic history and its emergence as an autonomous discipline, with its own teaching and scientific corpus. The course, or rather the travail, of its emergence in the scientific and academic world has neither been easy nor comfortable. In order to appreciate this one cannot ignore its origins and the various cultural connotations it has come to assume over time.

De Rosa's position regarding both its origins and its content is plain and clear. Economic history, he writes, is the child of the industrial Revolution and concerns the historical changes of the material basis of individual and social existence. Its origin, therefore, is not noble but plebian in a Machiavellian way, being tied to the unique and unrepeatable event of the English Industrial Revolution by which a material and mass-oriented dimension of society upset and undermined old and consolidated social equilibria. Ennoblement and the establishment of economic history as an academic discipline was the result of a constant and laborious critical and methodological effort, enabling it to grasp the historical changes of the material basis of individual and social existence in their real dimension. This appears to be the fundamental contribution of economic history to our knowledge of what has happened historically. In its birth, growth and emergence, economic history has testified to the events and upheavals of the industrial society in its unfolding and flowering, from which it originated and for which it has begun to elaborate the first meagre interpretative categories.

In this work of interpretation and arrangement of empirical material, economic history is not alone. It moves and coexists alongside political economy. At times, the close connection with political economy has produced moments of intense and valuable coexistence which has achieved — particularly in A. Smith's work — the almost impossible goal of perfect fusion between historical analysis and economic reflection regarding the evolution of the laws of the historical process; at other times such cohabitation has given

rise to misunderstandings and generalisations in which the historico-factual dimension of economic events has been lost. The issues of this very close correlation between economic history and political economy are clear to the author throughout the work which starts by considering the moment in which the first great enlightened thinkers — above all Hume — began to lay the foundations of the economic interpretation of human events and goes on, after Smith and Ricardo, to look more closely at the German historical school in the phases of the young-and-old schools of economics, at its diffusion, assimilation and adaptations in America and England, at its ramifications in Italy and France and finally at Italian economic historiography. The negative aspects of this correlation for historical research are rightly pointed out. These include the pretensions of the free-trade doctrine to assume a universal and generalised role in historical development, in which empirical and concrete realities are indicated as subjects of universality, as in English economics; the scarce utility or even sterility for economic history of Bastiat's claim to base the laws of economics definitively on a harmonious laisser-faire; the equal sterility of the abstractness and of the generalisations to which Ricardo's thought had been conducted. Within this context, the criticism of German historical culture — and of List, above all — acknowledged the deep contradiction in the transfiguration that the universalism of the free-trade theory underwent when it "justified" England's power and commercial dominion over other countries. Such criticism called for greater flexibility in theorising about economic development when considering countries and states which differed from England or from Bastiat's France and which were to pursue different paths in the process of industrialisation.

Even with the evident limits of the young and old German school of history, economic history had, in fact, now penetrated the academic world, becoming an ideal subject for seminars and research and a compulsory part of university teaching and of the cultural formation of educated people. Yet it was the great English economic historians, who were not without a certain Marxian sensitivity to the relationship between history and environment, and who had, moreover, been formed in contact with the teaching and research of Schmoller's young German school of history, that economic history came to acquire its own content and autonomy.

Here De Rosa reconstructs with special attention the English historians' various conceptions of economic history, their criticism of the young German school, the definitive establishment of economic history in England with Tawney, Unwin and Clapham, about whom a moving portrait by Ashton — "*Ricordo di quattro storici inglesi dell'economia*" (in "Moneta and Credito," n. 54, 1986) we have recently read — and its encompassing a plurality of problems deriving from the complexity of social life together with the first attempts to use the mathematical method.

In this expansion of economic history's thematic and methodological horizons, with important contributions from the French school of the

Annales and of historians such as Simiand, its establishment and acclimatisation in Italy also seems worthy of attention. Here the author traces with due emphasis the course of economic history, its emergence as an autonomous discipline with respect to the great economico-juridic school and to commercial disciplines, and lastly the defence of its laicisation which Barbagallo conducted in polemic with Fanfani's equally meritorious work.

This important insight into our cultural life is accompanied by an acute examination of the history of Einaudi's "Rivista di Storia Economica" and of Luzzatto's collaboration with the same. Here it is not so much the specific question about the methods and tasks of economic history which is considered — an issue not dealt with by Einaudi at the time of the journal and which was probably left to Luzzatto, according to De Rosa's plausible thesis — but rather a question directly related to it, that is the question as to what was meant by the adjective "economic." With incomparable subtlety, Einaudi posed the problem about the relationship between economics and history and about the role of historical research in relation to political economy. Yet it appears to me that this question received no definite answer: there probably remained a certain reluctance in Luzzatto and others to accept "the logic of the laws of modern economy" as intended by Einaudi.

There is no doubt, however, that although the contributions of the journal to economic history were scarce, it did make a significant contribution to the diffusion of economic history in Italy with the journal "Nuova Rivista Storica," which was firstly directed by Barbagallo and afterwards by Luzzatto. Thus, with the opening of international centres and institutes dedicated to its study, economic history has come to assimilate and produce its own new themes and problems of periodisation. Among these, those of the most evident ideological importance have, according to Kula, thrown doubt onto traditional periodisation.

In this context, De Rosa's volume is a precise and clear delineation of the contemporary era and of the beginnings of the economic process of industrialisation in Italy, which have their origin and demarcation in the Industrial Revolution. As a result of this revolution the English and afterwards the European and world scenes changed completely, among other things giving rise to an increase in the population of Europe and of Italy in particular, which, writes the author, was alone sufficient to determine a different model of growth from the one Cipolla described for the pre-industrial era. It is this perspective of historical research and of historiographic awareness, adopted constructively by a large number of Italian historians and by the author of the present volume, which in our opinion can provide the co-ordinates of a history of Italy in the context of the varied and differentiated process of European and world industrialisation.

De Rosa's historiographic position appears to me to be explicit and transparent: the vision of the origins of economic history, the concept of economic history and the periodisation of the origins of contemporary history we

have just alluded to, are some of its central and fundamental points. These provide the basis not only for the examination of the difficult beginnings, growth and establishment of economic history but also for the wide debate about Italian, medieval and contemporary historiography, spanning from 1945 to 1985. Beyond the single and punctual observations about the works being examined, there emerges a general criticism of the not-so-recent theories concerning the application of mathematics to economic history. If we have not misunderstood, this does not mean non-acknowledgment of the contribution mathematics can make to historical research, but rather concern that economic history retains all that is valid in what it has achieved for the enrichment and awareness of human activity in society, that is to say that it retains its dimension of historical knowledge of the events relating to the changes of the material basis of individual and social existence. This — together with the revindication on behalf of the economic historian to practise the laws of economics — approaches a conception of economic events which is a far cry from the static neo-classical vision of economics and much nearer to a fine definition of economic history which has an old but still relevant flavour to it.

GIAMPAOLO PISU
University of Cagliari

A.R. EKIRCH, *Bound for America. The transportation of British convicts to the colonies, 1718-1775*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987, pp. XVI-277.

Between 1718, when the British parliament passed the Transportation Act, and 1775 some 50,000 convicts were transported to the north American colonies. Of these 36,000 were English, 13,000 Irish and a few hundred Scots. This adds up to as much as one quarter of all British emigrants to colonial America during that period. Previously this involuntary movement was treated as a peripheral curiosity: convicts were, in the words of a 1766 description, "a special class of servants... between peasants and slaves" (153). One of the many virtues of Roger Ekirch's book is to bring convict transportation into the mainstream. He has produced a lively, extremely wide-ranging and very readable book from which historians of eighteenth-century Britain and America will benefit enormously.

Its strengths lie in three areas. First, the extensive use of manuscript sources, mostly from England and America but also from Ireland and Scotland. Second, Ekirch studies convict migration both from the viewpoint of the country which sent them on their unwilling way and that which, no more willingly, received them for their seven-year term. In this respect, the approach is similar to David Cressy's *Coming Over* (1987). Ekirch begins with the origins of the Transportation Act. He discusses the organisation of

transportation (shaped by "private profit rather than penal policy"), the numbers and social background of convicts, their often dreary life and work in the Chesapeake (where most ended up), their effect on colonial crime rates, and the lacklustre fate of those who escaped or were freed to return to England. He concludes with comments on the effects of the American Revolution on transportation policy. The third merit is the marvellous use of human detail from criminal documents, newspapers and pamphlets. Ekirch paints a charitable and sympathetic picture of convicts, but has a fine eye for quotations which bring alive violence, hardship and rootlessness. Descriptions of urban criminality and of prison life prior to departure are particularly evocative. The viewpoints of convicts, their victims, employers, observers and the authorities who dealt with them are woven together into a genuinely fascinating description.

The social and economic background on both sides of the Atlantic is, perhaps necessarily, brief and over-simplified. This book is not meant to be as sophisticated as David Galenson's *White servitude* (1981) but there are times when the context so thoughtfully provided is not extensive enough. Three examples will suffice. First, one can fine-tune Ekirch's speculations about the motives for the Transportation Act. English real wages were rising steadily in this period and demand for labour was buoyant. Revised estimates show net migration from England falling steadily during the later seventeenth and all of the eighteenth century. It is therefore unlikely that the *overall* economic climate was making poverty and poverty-driven crime more of a problem. Cultural and ideological factors, both undergoing profound changes in 1680-1720, were probably more important than other considerations. Second, Ekirch bemoans the lack of "family ties" among convicts compared with both free whites and black slaves. One would have to say that since "the typical malefactor cast for transportation... was a young male labourer driven by economic necessity" (p. 58), single, and drawn disproportionately from London and its vicinity, he would probably have had no more of "a semblance of family life" than an urban apprentice or servant in Britain or America who did not become a convict. Third, the argument about declining mortality rates is based on figures for London transportees 1718-36 (11% fatalities on the voyage) compared with Bristol 1770-5 (2%). London was distinctive in harbouring endemic smallpox during this period and was a particularly unhealthy environment, especially for recent arrivals who were particularly susceptible to conviction for crime. The comparison may therefore be between different environments rather than time periods and if a decline in mortality did occur it may have been because of autonomous changes in disease rather than because of better conditions on the voyage.

If there is a problem with this book it is that certain aspects of Ekirch's case seem to be overstated and others are not fully substantiated. For example, it is too much to say that early eighteenth-century "England had lost control over its criminals" (18). Here, and elsewhere, the author accepts liter-

ary evidence too easily. Transportation may have been "a major innovation in the administration of justice" (223) as far as England goes, but, as Ekirch acknowledges, it was simply an extension of the well-established Scottish practice of banishing criminals from a locality or from the realm. Furthermore, certain arguments are less convincing. The implicitly quantitative phrase "more than a few" is used on several occasions to describe patterns of behaviour when the evidence does not really allow any concrete conclusions about typicality to be reached. A more exact criticism, which highlights the problems in the sources, can be levelled at the claim that convicts were not significant contributors to colonial crime. One set of statistics for Kent county, Maryland shows that convicts made up 41 of 601 accused people. Another, for Westmoreland, Virginia shows that 9 of 50 alleged felons in more serious cases were convicts. If 10% of adults males were convicts in the Chesapeake and adult males were disproportionately represented among serious offenders this would mean convicts were more likely than other people to be prosecuted in county Westmoreland (pp. 166, 171-6). Ekirch has done a good job with scrappy and imperfect sources, and he is probably right that there was no convict-led crime wave in the colonies. But a closer analysis and more attention to source problems is needed.

These remarks are meant to highlight how much there is still to know about the context from which transportees came and in which they lived and worked. They should not detract from the substantial achievement of this excellent book.

RAB HOUSTON
UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

D. ELTIS, *Economic growth and the ending of the transatlantic slave trade*, Oxford, University Press, 1987.

This book by David Eltis deals with the probable causes that led to the ending of the transatlantic slave trade. Central to this debate is the role of British economic and ideological goals for the ending of transatlantic slave trade. Specifically, it deals with British abolitionism which changed the course of economic history on three continents. It is an attempt to synthesize the process of abolition on three continents: the Americas, Europe and Africa.

David Eltis holds the opinion that free-labour ideology was the main cause that led to the end of the slave trade because of declining economic growth of the British economy. One can agree with the author on this point, but disagree as to the nature and cause of the ideological motivation.

The major issue in the debate on the early nineteenth-century slave trade is to explain why Britain reacted the way she did at a time of economic de-

cline by abolishing slavery and the slave trade while the correct economic decision would have been to step-up the trade. This has presented a problem which scholars from many disciplines have tried to explain. The argument is similar to the argument about the two sides of a coin (economy vs ideology); which is the more important. Eltis cannot cover all aspects of the issue, but he tries to do this by arguing that ideology was the main factor in the abolition of the trade. In fact the interaction between economy and ideology provides the best explanation as to why the transatlantic slave trade ended when it did.

By the late eighteenth century the British slave system was in decline, there was the problem of soil exhaustion, and competition from the French West Indies. The slave trade was interrupted with the independence of British North America, which reduced the importance of the English-speaking Caribbean to the British economy. At this point the British manufacturing sector had grown to the point where it required more markets than the slave colonies could provide. The British economy was no longer dependent on profits from the slave system for its capital needs and growth. And despite the sensitivity to price changes of slaves to African supplies, the price of slaves on the African littoral did not rise in the course of the nineteenth century.

In an attempt to deal with these points the author has made good use of statistical sources. He has matched facts with figures; and continued history and statistics in an admirable way. But the book could have been even better at the level of theory, if other aspects of British social history had been more fully explored. Certainly the significance of the relationship between coercion and economic growth goes far beyond the problem of economic growth. A look at class relations, interracial tensions within societies and other relevant aspects of the social structure would have been in order. David Eltis did put it well, that the British attack on slave labour could be seen as the first stage of an assault on trade barriers that reserved the British sugar markets for British plantations and restricted trade with the rest of the world. He notes that the unilateral abolition of slavery and the slave trade at the time that other European countries were still engaged in the trade, caused major structural changes in the British economy despite the fact that the economy continued to grow.

However, one may get the impression from this study that the British abolition of slavery and the slave trade was due to the "good nature" and "humanity" of the British people and their government. According to the author "by the nineteenth century they (the British) had become so convinced of its immorality and economic inefficiency that they were running an expensive one-nation campaign to suppress the international slave trade." But the main reason for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in Britain was not due to popular concern about the immorality of the trade but to the problem of class relations and the interracial population mix in Britain. The evidence

points in this direction. Higginbotham has shown that non-slave owners or traders were not opposed to the British slave system so that one cannot say one group in the society was calling into question the immorality of another engaged in the slave trade.[1] The participants in the slave trade came from all levels of English society.

According to Higginbotham, "the dependence of nonmerchant Englishmen as well as slave traders in this peculiar institution (slavery) created a broad-based and powerful opposition to all attempts to attack or limit slavery".[2] The main issue troubling the English was the rise of a slave population in England (racism). "Masters who returned to England from the colonies invariably arrived with retinues of personal slaves and many of these were sold or transferred into the permanent population of the British Isles. In 1764, the Gentleman's Magazine estimated that there were over 20,000 black slaves in London alone and that slaves were openly bought and sold in the center of London".[3] And above all, the British might have attacked the incidence of foreign slavery in England by prohibiting the temporary use of slaves in England by foreigners or the forced deportation of blacks from England into slavery in another country.

This, then, is an interesting book which contains a wealth of information that is very illuminating on one of the greatest dramas in human history.

BARNABUS I. OKEKE
Department of Public Health
City of Philadelphia

[1] HIGGINBOTHAM A., LEON JR., *In The Matter of Color, Race and the American Legal Process: The Colonial Period* (Oxford University Press, 1978).
[2] *Ibid.* p. 318.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 319.

R.H. TILLY, *Vom Zollverein zum Industriestaat. Die wirtschaftlich-soziale Entwicklung Deutschlands 1834 bis 1914*, München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1990, pp. 237, tables and diagrams in appendix.

Author of many monographies on German industrialisation, Richard Tilly has carried out an extremely valid operation of synthesis in this most recent book which, while providing the non-specialist with a very useful tool of reference (thanks also to the documentary, bibliographical, chronological and statistical appendices) meets the all too apparent need for much broader studies on the German economy in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Tilly's contribution does not adhere to the highly specialistic model of economic history invoked by some scholars (cf., for example, J. VON KREUDENER, *Die moderne deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte in den Gesamt dar-*

stellungen seit 1945, IN Geschichte u. Gesellschaft, 1984 (10), 2) but rather to the well-tested school of *Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* as is apparent from the title itself. It is a work of synthesis for various aspects: for the far-reaching nature of the subject, for the effort to summarise and assess the single themes of the state of research, for the way economic, social, and institutional variables are linked together, and for the adoption of an interdisciplinary approach.

The process of German industrialisation in the heroic period from the big spurt up to the first world war is seen as the result — as an explicit, tangible fact whose periodisation can be exactly defined — of a number of long-term changes in the economic and social structure. Using this as the central theme the author elaborates and draws together a sum of specific contributions on economic and social history in an original way (but avoiding holistic approaches, although he is very influenced by systemic approaches such as Wehler's *Gesellschaftsgeschichte* with regard to both method and contents); attention is focused on the interdependence between economic, social, institutional and cultural variables and between conjuncture, structure, and individual initiative.

Although in the title emphasis is put on 1834, the date of stipulation of the *Zollverein*, Tilly starts his history of German industrialisation from the great crisis of the 1840s. This crisis laid bare the tensions and disruptions in the socio-economic fabric connected with the emergence of phenomena such as "the expansion and commercialisation of agricultural production, the relationship between demographic growth and mass poverty, significant regional differentiations in the standard of living, the specificity of growth dynamics in the modern sector of the means of production, the unstable and far from homogenous character of the process of growth of capitalistic industry and lastly the complex relations between the conditions of the economy, protest potential, and state action" (p. 9). In a situation of marked demographic growth the decline of the protoindustrial structure together with a succession of bad harvests brought about a big increase in underemployment and a distinct worsening in living conditions, in one word, a state of «pauperism». The state responded to the mounting tide of discontent only after 1848 with welfare measures which signalled, from the financial point of view, the replacement of a rigid logic of balancing state budgets, and, at a juridic level, with the suppression of the still considerable vestiges of feudalism in the relationship between landowner and peasant.

The modern industrial sector, especially heavy industry, appeared not to have been affected by the crisis: the process of industrial growth was set in motion precisely in the 1840s. Tilly agrees with current periodisations of the take-off, placing emphasis on the force and autonomy of structural dynamics: not even the *Zollverein* counted for very much in practice but was more an instrument for the attainment of immediate financial advantages rather than the outcome of a vast political project or a determining factor of growth.

The instruments of economic policy which did have a decisive role in German industrialisation, stimulating the construction of the railway network and the growth of heavy industry were, rather, the encouragement of concessions and the liberalisation of coal mining. Railways and heavy industry were the *Führungssektorkomplex*, the leading sector of the German big spurt between 1840 and 1870, with its high rate of technical innovation, its sharp increase in productivity and its generative effects on the economy as a whole owing to the density of intersectorial relations. The state stimulated growth also by fixing the rules of the game for the banks which, in close conjunction with the interests of industry, played a role of great importance.

For Tilly the distinctive elements of the German path were the centrality of the state in the take-off phase and the intensity of links between economic factors and politico-institutional ones, and the close correspondence to Lewis's model of development based on labour surplus; emphasis is put on labour and on the social aspects of industrialisation. The sharp population growth and the crisis affecting traditional sources of income such as that deriving from proto-industrial activity, produced a substantial surplus in the labour force which first found an outlet in transatlantic migration and was afterwards absorbed by growing demand in industry where a wage squeeze acted as an incentive for investment and increase in productivity. The productivity increase in the agricultural sector, despite the favourable terms of trade, also helped to keep wages down. In this context the demographic variable acted as a transmission belt between economic and social dynamics, providing the conditions for the formation of a modern working class.

Overall, German industrialisation appeared to have already reached maturity by the time of German unification which, rather than representing a sharp break, was more the occasion for accelerating the evolution of the socio-economic structure through interventionism, protectionism and the «scientification» (*Verwissenschaftlichung*) of technological progress. The period up until the first world war was characterised by a demographic increase, a rise in per capita income and in industrial and agricultural productivity and a reduction in the relative weight of agriculture. These long trends mixed with the conjunctural ups and downs: special attention is given to the «great depression» from the mid-1870s to the mid-1890s, a period of crisis both in the primary sector and in the secondary-tertiary sectors following the great expansion and speculative euphoria of the preceding decade. The economic recession had psycho-sociological repercussions which in turn facilitated the diffusion of an anti-free trade ideology and influenced the switch to protectionist and interventionist policies in the 1880s. Attempting an assessment of the effects of these developments, one could say that the tariffs, which were sustained by high and composite interests and were the object of a wide debate over the industrial or agricultural physiognomy to be given to the German economy, helped large-scale industry but slowed up the modernisation of agriculture and did nothing to impede the significant intensification of

relations with the rest of the world and the dependence on foreign demand.

The social effects of these dynamics emerge clearly through two themes which have been the object of wide attention in recent German historiography: the social question, understood above all as a consequence of the process of urbanisation and as a problem of relationships between distribution of income, distribution of urban space and protest potential; and the entrepreneurial class. The rise of the big entrepreneur was directly related to the tendency towards industrial-financial concentration, the separation of ownership from enterprise, the emergence of scientific managers and in general to *Verwissenschaftlichung*. The process of scientification of production, in which institutional factors (state commitment with the multiplication of *technische Hochschulen* and financing of research) and cultural factors played an important role, is the central element, accounting for the great success of German industry in this period. This primacy, which was above all evident in the fields of chemistry and electricity, made Germany the leading power in the phase of the second industrial revolution and explains its highly positive specificity compared to countries such as Great Britain.

Overall, Tilly's work gives us a vivid general picture and a more thorough treatment of the numerous themes involved. If many problems are left open this is due to the approach which centres on the complexity of the interdependence between economic, social, institutional factors and to the inadequate literature available on many single subjects, a fact that emerges very clearly in the very useful bibliography set out in the appendix. While the process of German industrialisation is portrayed with great skill, the possibility of delineating a German path as an alternative to the classic path taken by England — which here too is taken as the most frequent reference for comparison — and of advancing a Gerschenkronian late-comer model of development (as well as the possibility of raising the *Sonderweg* problem again, which the author feels dutybound to refer to briefly at the end) appears to fade and take second place to the methodological task of explaining the complicated and unique constellation of economic and extraeconomic factors, as a result of which the German case becomes primarily a historiographical rather than historical paradigm.

COSTANZA D'ELIA
CNR Research Institute on
the Southern Italian Economy, Naples

A. SHENNAN, *Rethinking France: Plans for Renewal 1940-1946*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, 332p.

For over a quarter of a century, emphasis in studies of the twentieth-century modernisation of France has been placed on the continuities between

the Republics and the Vichy regime. As a rule, historians do not much like discontinuity. Their natural stock in trade is the seamless web, even a certain whiggish broadening down from precedent to precedent, the hunt for forerunners, unsuspected intimations, unperceived prodromes, unacknowledged reincarnations.

In the case of the remarkable renovation of France in the second half of this century, some large part of the basic economic success is attributed to the modernizers who had been present at least from the time of the 1914 war. Beginning to make themselves felt toward the end of the old Third Republic, they were first unleashed by (and generally unfazed by the nostalgic agrarianist propaganda of) the Vichy regime. Simultaneously, they flourished in the internal and external Resistances. They then worked their will even under the politically immobile Fourth Republic before coming into their own during the Fifth.

Andrew Shennan seeks to refine this view. In particular, he proposes the importance of the debates and the contradictory recipes that characterized political and bureaucratic players during the Liberation period and the months leading up to the establishment of the Fourth Republic in 1946. Acknowledging the reformist impulses of Vichy, he nevertheless suggests they were vitiated through association with failures of the National Revolution and the ill-fated policy of collaboration. On this reading, the Resistances marked the true beginning of institutional, political, and spiritual renewal, despite the internal divisions ('schizophrenia' even) which effectively proscribed laying out concrete programmes. Moreover, compounding the deep divisions among resisters within France, the essentially pragmatic approach of de Gaulle's increasingly variegated movement ('a broad church') similarly condemned utopian visions and postponed the shaping of choices. Renewal would be the product of confrontation and compromises in the arena of events after 1944.

The bulk of Mr Shennan's book is given over to examination of the ways in which were debated six 'themes of renewal': the constitution, imperial change, reform of education, the problems of class conflict and the birth-rate and social reform, and the remaking of the economy. It is here that he deploys his skills in disentangling the many commissions, committees, the reports and programmes that characterized the activities of reformers in his chosen years. Drawing on both the very substantial published litarature and newly accessible archives of the Resistance and Liberation experiences, he offers an admirably clear analysis of the innumerable schemes put forward by parties and individuals, showing how the play of circumstance, like the influence of foreign models, historical tradition and the dead hand of entrenched interest, altered, condemned, or sustained them in the search for a post-war national settlement.

The richness of his evidence amply supports his thesis that the renewal of France was an infinitely complex process of give and take, of the drama of

hopes too high and subsequent disenchantments too extreme. He insists on the fundamental conflict of the period, 'the collision of very strong but opposed forces... irresistible pressure for change [meeting] irresistible pressure for continuity' (p. 289). In this version of the search for national renewal, the familiar great men make their appearances, but surrounded now by a body-guard of lesser, forgotten, or altogether anonymous figures, whose contributions never caught the public attention and will not be recalled by popular history. Thus, to cite an obvious case, Jean Monnet appears here as one reformer among many, his ideas for the most part anticipated or shared by others, his methods reflecting those put forward by others at an earlier date. The success lay as much in the timing, the circumstances, the unforeseeable opportunities that opened up, as in his own capacities and the brilliance of the group round him. No doubt this may strike some readers as being a bit reductive, apparently unmindful of subtle personal capacities and political realities, but at the very least it challenges easy myths and provokes second thoughts.

In this sense, Mr Shennan concludes that the plans for renewal expressed a national 'act of will' to adapt to the century, given peculiarly sharp rhetorical form at the moment of the Liberation, but transcending that moment and embodying sometimes as powerful a reluctance to surrender the past as to go forward into the future. From a mass of often intractable materials, he has made a significant, readable and illuminating book about a twentieth-century success, a great national debate that had, all things considered, a happy outcome.

JOHN C. CAIRNS
University of Toronto

D. WORSTER, *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

The words «ecology» and «economics» both derive from the Greek *oikos*, meaning house or place to live. Throughout history, the ecological lives of animals and plants have been intertwined with the economic lives of the humans who share their homeland. The authors of this volume want us to think about that ancient relationship in a new context. Editor Donald Worster argues for a «planetary history», one in which politics and nation states become secondary to «the evolving relationship between humans and the natural world» (p. 6). Worster believes that the most important epoch of that history might be the modern era, roughly the period between Columbus's landing in the Bahamas and the American landing on the moon.

This five-century planetary history features an impressive cast of scholars from a variety of disciplines. Ester Boserup, a Danish expert on international

development, begins by showing that humanity's initial shift from food-gathering to agriculture was a gradual process, affected as much by health, technology, and the environment itself as by the desire for more food. Gustav Utterström recounts the impact of climatic change on Western Europe and Scandinavia, challenging economic historians to see price fluctuations and food shortages against an ecological backdrop of advancing glaciers and shorter growing seasons. Richard G. Wilkinson explains that the technological innovations of the English Industrial Revolution were really responses to ecological problems stemming from the population increase of the early seventeenth century.

With Columbus's accidental landfall in the Americas, other continents began to experience Europe's ecological stress. Alfred Crosby emphasizes the roles of plants, animals, and micro-organisms in the European takeover of the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand. Likewise, historian Richard P. Tucker chronicles some of the ecological effects of imperialism in India, while anthropologist Timothy C. Weiskel does the same for the Ivory Coast. To their credit, each of the three (Crosby perhaps less so than the others) understands that environmental change was not solely the work of European invaders. Rather, the authors see reciprocal relationships between natives and Europeans, relationships in which technologies and beliefs from both cultures meshed to produce the ecological transformation.

Dialectical change is a theme echoed in four essays concerning conservation. Exploding the "myth of the southern soil miner", geographer Carville Earle examines techniques by which Chesapeake tobacco growers and antebellum cotton farmers tried to preserve soil fertility. Arthur F. McEvoy surveys the history of the Californian fisheries, a history marred by the inability (or unwillingness) of lawmakers to understand the unstable oceanic ecosystem on which fishermen depended. Clayton R. Koppes' article on the American conservation movement and Douglas R. Weiner's intriguing piece on the Soviet Union offer readers the chance to compare environmental policies in those countries. Of particular interest are the ways in which the Russian scientific community used the conservation movement in an attempt to gain greater power and influence in Soviet society. Nature, it seems, can be manipulated for political as well as economic purposes.

As a manifesto for environmental history, this volume has no equal. A reader cannot help but be impressed by the wide array of related disciplines (geography, climatology, ecology, law, and anthropology) the authors bring to bear on human history. If, as Worster suggests in the appendix, environmental historians "must learn to speak some new languages as well as ask some new questions" (p. 294), these scholars have learned those lessons well.

But there is also something deeply troubling about these essays. Environmental history owes much to social history, a movement which eschewed great men in favour of ordinary folk. Yet is difficult to find any people (ordinary or otherwise) in this book. Only briefly (in Worster's introduction

and in Crosby's essay) do we get a sense of flesh-and-blood humans surrounded by living plants and animals. Instead, this is a volume in which people (along with their axes, ploughs, fires, diseases, and weapons) disappear into abstract notions of paradigms, settlement patterns, and population dynamics. Jargon-laden prose only compounds the problem. Weiskel turns imported crops into "exogenous cultingens". To understand Earle's innovative conclusions about southern farmers, a reader must wind through a theoretical labyrinth of "macrohistorical rhythms", "long wave theory", and "agricultural innovation diffusion" (pp. 179-92).

In another book on another subject, these difficulties might be more easily excused. But, as ecologist Raymond F. Dassman explains in his thoughtful concluding essay, our very survival depends on humans developing a new consciousness about the biological realm in which they live. Environmental historians can help develop that understanding. But to do so they must offer accessible, readable accounts of humans and the planet. Otherwise their message will fall only on the ears of specialists and issues crucial to humanity will become only fodder for stale academic debates. If that happens, economics may well triumph over ecology. And, as Dassmann suggests, there may be no one left to write the planetary history of the next five hundred years.

TIMOTHY SILVER
Appalachian State University