

miss the Protector as being "in the grip of a millenarian trance", Worden yet sees it as "the resolution of a prolonged private spiritual drama." What Worden is recognising in these words is the impossibility of our having a definitive biography of Cromwell until the patient research of Underdown, Aylmer and Worden

himself into the politics of the period has been synthesised with the insights into Cromwell's mind offered by R. S. Paul and Christopher Hill. No more shall we see the English Revolution whole until sunbeams have been united to lumps of clay: and not even the most powerful ultra-violet lamp will achieve *that*.

Monuments to Whom?

The State of Industrial Archaeology—By KENNETH HUDSON

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL, *Industrial Archaeology*, is ten years old. Volume 1, Number 1 contained articles on early fulling stocks in Gloucestershire, a Wiltshire paper mill, charcoal-burning in the New Forest, the Bristol Coalfield, the Port of Southampton, company museums, industrial archaeology in Belgium and the plans for an open-air museum in the North-East. Volume 10, Number 4 dealt with the history of William Wilson Dickie and Sons, the East Kilbride firm of implement makers and agricultural engineers, Alfred Holt and the Lancashire plate-way scheme, the development of the insulators used for overhead transmission lines, the Museum of Technology for the East Midlands, industrial buildings in Upper Silesia. The first editor was a West Country journalist and lasted five years. The second, a Scottish academic, is still there. Fifty pages of articles, fifteen of notes and news and a dozen or so of book reviews are regularly and faithfully produced every three months. All the well-known figures in British industrial archaeology have contributed, at one time or another, in exchange for a fee of six off-prints. It is to be found, on the publisher's oath, in university libraries and public libraries from Sydney to Moscow, and from Naples to Dundee, and it has always covered its costs. Volume XI is to have a bigger page, just like the real archaeological journals. Yet Mr Philip Riden, of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, is not satisfied.

Writing in a recent number of *Antiquity*,¹ Mr Riden, who is an industrial archaeologist of the strict Baptist wing, set out his current worries about the subject. "Why," he demanded, "has 'industrial archaeology' [the quotation marks are his] not received the scholarly recognition accorded medieval and post-medieval archaeology? Why has *Industrial Archaeology* not joined

Medieval Archaeology and *Post-Medieval Archaeology* as an important outlet for archaeological research?" It is clear that for Mr Riden, and no doubt for many of his colleagues with whom he has to talk, eat and hold up his head day by day, nothing exists unless it has received scholarly recognition. It must be worrying for him to be associated with something which, "after more than a decade of energetic activity", still has "so little to offer the historian", something which has a popularity it has done nothing to deserve. This last fact, one feels, is what really bothers Mr Riden, and he puts his finger neatly and accurately on the centre of his trouble when he notes that "however weak academically 'industrial archaeology' may be, a large and enthusiastic readership has sprung up during the last ten years for books on the subject." They are, of course, misguided and deceived, conned by unscrupulous publishers and hack authors into believing that they are reading real food.

Antiquity is a serious publication, but this does not necessarily mean that we should take Mr Riden as seriously as he takes himself. Industrial archaeology may or may not be a "subject." It may or may not be a fit bed-fellow for classical archaeology, medieval archaeology and the rest of the academic clan. Its potentialities as a 'discipline' may be limited. But, if one trend is sadly clear over the past ten years, it is the widening gulf between those sensual sinners who see industrial archaeology as something to be enjoyed and those who are determined to make it proper material for Ph.D.s. This is, of course, a perfectly normal process. There are those who chatter in French and write novels and make love in it, and those who spend a lifetime studying French prosody and prepositional use. But, even so, the movement to academise industrial archaeology is more than usually sad, for reasons that are worth exploring.

¹ XLVII, 1973.

ONE IS THAT this Puritanical determination to squeeze the life and the happiness out of industrial archaeology has already crossed the Atlantic. Salt water has proved no barrier to the infection, although it is too early as yet to see how far it is likely to spread.

America's converts to the gospel of Industrial Archaeology have shown strong signs of sympathy with the clinical approach, which allows machines, bridges, steam-engines and factory buildings to be studied and talked about in an atmosphere from which all feelings, politics and values appear to have been rigorously and officially excluded. "We are," declared Ted Sande, President of the American Society for Industrial Archaeology, at its first Conference in 1972, "the only group whose concern for our industrial heritage stresses both interdisciplinary cooperation and the international essence of industrial activity. These qualities are evident in the very composition of your Board of Directors, which contains representatives from the fields of anthropology, archaeology, architectural history, history of technology, and historic preservation. Although each of these separate disciplines has its own professional organisation, we alone bring all of them together in a mutual attempt to understand the nature of the industrial past." There is, it will be observed, no social historian on the Board, no artist, no

poet. Academically, it is all very respectable and scientific, with hard, crisp edges. On both sides of the Atlantic, Industrial Archaeologists of this pure breed are capable of locating, recording and conserving the monuments of technology with all the detached fervour of dedicated collectors of birds' eggs or antique furniture. It is, it seems, the object itself that commands devotion. The human associations that may cling to its edges are unnecessary and disreputable, mere mud that stops the chariot-wheels of science from turning.

The Communist countries are in some difficulty about industrial archaeology. On the one hand, it is politically correct to hold industrial monuments in high regard, because of their links with the toil and struggles of the workers. Marxism clearly demands that old mines, factories, kilns, canals and saltworks should be valued for the human effort that went into building and operating them. Yet, pulling strongly in the opposite direction, is the never-to-be-missed fact that academics have great prestige in Eastern Europe, especially in the Soviet Union and East Germany, and, as good academics, they like to keep their boundaries, their disciplines, defined with unmistakable clarity. It is consequently possible for one of Europe's greatest and most enthusiastic industrial archaeologists, Otfried Wagenbreth—a man of remarkable humanity, as well as an excel-



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lent scientist and mining historian—to write about the technical monuments of his native Germany and of the surrounding countries as if they had nothing to do with people at all.² The Russians have solved this problem in a very Russian way, by ignoring industrial archaeology completely and keeping the nation's eyes firmly on the present and the future.

IN BELGIUM, where industrial archaeology is finding support and interest of almost British proportions, Fate has been exceptionally kind in providing, as the national guide, prophet and spur, the kind of man who has so far been missing elsewhere. Dr Georges van den Abeelen, scholar—his doctorate is in archaeology—executive member of the Board of the Confederation of Belgian Industries, and enthusiast for simply walking round cities with a dog, a notebook and a camera, in order to find out and record what more traditionally-minded investigators have missed, has been responsible more than anybody else for launching the Belgian Survey of Industrial Monuments and for persuading the universities to take an interest in it. In a recent publication³ he has explained the tactics which he believes it is important to follow during the critical early years—and he has, of course, the successes, failures and, no doubt, follies of the British experience to guide him.

"I belong to that stubbornly naïve category of people," he writes, "who believe every human science should keep away, so far as possible, from every kind of philosophical and political involvement. And I am convinced that a young science, a science which is trying to discover its identity, should be particularly determined about this, if it wants its credentials to be accepted." There is a difficulty here, however, and Dr van den Abeelen is well aware of it. In order to

² See, for instance, his recent and thoroughly documented article, "Zur Pflege der technischen Kulturdenkmale in der CSSR und in der VR Polen", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar*, 20 Jahrgang, 1973, Heft 2.

³ "L'archéologie industrielle: pourquoi?" *Mémoires et Publications de la Société des Sciences, des Arts et des Lettres du Hainaut*, 84e Volume, Mons, 1971-1973.

⁴ *The Iron Bridge*: A short history of the first iron bridge in the world. *Coalbrookdale*: A walk through Coalbrookdale, to explore the historic buildings and sites. *The Hay Inclined Plane*: How tub boats were raised and lowered between the Shropshire Canal and the Coalport Basin. *David and Sampson*: A pair of blast-furnace blowing engines. *Blists Hill Open Air Museum*: A guide to the site and exhibits. *The Tar Tunnel*: A one thousand yard tunnel under Blists Hill. *The Unnatural History of Blists Hill*: A guide to the plants and wildlife of the museum site.

⁵ *The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire*. BY BARRIE TRINDER. Phillimore & Co., £4.50

get the essential and urgent work of industrial archaeology done, one cannot rely only on the universities. One needs the labour of the amateurs as well. The aim must therefore be to secure the cooperation of scholars and coolies ("d'erudits et de coolies").

The mandarin attitude cannot succeed under modern conditions. Scholars are not sufficiently plentiful to do all their own prospecting and donkey-work, and coolies have to be persuaded and treated as equals, because they are volunteers. There is no money to pay them. It is therefore not a luxury to present industrial archaeology in a way that appeals to more than a small group of academics.

ONE LOOKS THEN with particularly keen interest at the publications of Britain's newly established museums of industrial archaeology, at Ironbridge in Shropshire and at Beamish in County Durham. Both museums have so far concentrated on booklets, but there are, we are told, books to come. During 1973, Ironbridge launched the first seven in the series.⁴ Designed by Robin Wade and Jane Sampson, they are admirably written and illustrated, and it is no surprise to learn that they have sold very well. Many thousands of people all over Britain must as a result now have some understanding of what industrial archaeology is about. These booklets, one might say, are part of the broad base of a pyramid, the apex of which will consist of the scholarly works to be written by Mr Philip Riden and his fellow academics. Without such a base, the apex would be in a distinctly uncomfortable situation.

It is curious, and probably significant, that none of these booklets mentions people at all. The workers on whom Coalbrookdale depended remain totally submerged and out of sight. The technical history is excellent, but there are no clues to the size and growth of the local population, or to wages, health, apprenticeship, shops, or anything else which formed part of the living community. Before too long there will probably be booklets which deal specifically with such matters, but at present visitors to Ironbridge come away well informed about what the Museum's Director, Neil Cossons, has called "the technological innovations pioneered here between 1700 and 1870", but very ignorant about the way the people who put these innovations into practice lived and worked.

Three of the seven booklets, and part of the fourth, have been written by Barrie Trinder, who is the leading authority on the industrial history of the area and whose book, *The Industrial Revolution in Shropshire*, was published last year.⁵ Reading this book, one has the feeling that Mr Trinder is really much more interested in

machines and technical processes than in people and that, for him, the Industrial Revolution was a kind of circus of machines, performing without human aid or interference. The same impression is given by Heinemann's beautiful symposium-with-pictures, *The Archaeology of the Industrial Revolution*.⁶ It has been said of this book that it sets a new standard for industrial archaeology photographs. What it actually does is to set a standard for colour photographs. Eric de Maré's black and white pictures in *The Functional Tradition in Early Industrial Building* (1958) are unsurpassable. This book certainly demonstrates the immense advantage of having one sensitive and professional photographer to take everything required for a particular book. The uniformity of style is very pleasant.

YET HERE, as in Barrie Trinder's book, one has the feeling that the contributors, knowledgeable as they are and well as they write, are for some reason frightened or ashamed to hint that there were people around during the Industrial Revolution. One longs for even a picture of a graveyard to remind us that these steam-engines, railways and mills did not build themselves, stoke themselves and repair themselves. Whose monuments, in fact, are they? It is surely meaningless to talk of "technological change" and "industrial monuments." People, not steam-engines, have monuments. What "technological change" really means is not merely engineers' bright ideas and investors' money, but the use of new equipment, new tools, new materials and new techniques by individual people, as part of the business of earning a living. The workers who learnt, often slowly and with considerable difficulty, the new skills and attitudes required of them are an essential element in what we are accustomed to label, far too glibly, "technology" and "technological change."

If we decide to preserve, or, more probably, to do no more than record a particular factory or canal or mill, we are, I believe, committed to finding out as much as we can about the people who built and equipped it, with their own hands, and who worked in it. It is their monument, just as much as it is of the architects, engineers, financiers and others connected with it. We must learn to think of industrial archaeology in this democratic way if it is to become, not a donnish pastime, but part of the cultural heritage of a whole nation. Exactly the same is true of castles, cathedrals, great houses and other traditionally fashionable and cherished types of monument. It is as absurd and unfair to talk of Wren's St Paul's as of Brunel's Great Western Railway.

⁶ *The Archaeology of the Industrial Revolution*. Edited by BRIAN BRACEGIRDLE. Heinemann, £7

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HAVING SAID THIS, it is refreshing to find that the new guide book⁷ to the Museum of the North-East at Beamish has something very rare and daring on its cover, a man, an elderly man sitting by the fire in a miner's kitchen. Beamish was established in 1970, "to study, collect, preserve and exhibit buildings, machinery, objects and information, illustrating the historical development of industry and the way of life of the North of England." Within such a context, industrial archaeology—and Beamish is full of industrial archaeology—has some point and meaning. Isolate it and it becomes dangerously arid.

There are those, blessed with a strong imagination, who can bring the dead bones of the past alive without help from museum curators or anyone else. Others need a little encouragement, and it is interesting to see what Beamish feels it can usefully offer them. This is, one remembers, an open-air museum and almost everything there—cottages, trams, a railway station, shops—is brought to the site from other parts of the North-East and reassembled on a carefully planned layout. These buildings, we are told, "are to be furnished or equipped as they once were, thus enabling the visitor to imagine himself experiencing a moment in history." Some examples of this "historic experience" are given. "A pitman's cottage could give girls an opportunity to try baking bread in the coal-fired oven, letting the dough rise in front of the fire. Or wash-day could be experienced, heating water in the side boiler and using a posser and mangle." As a change from this, there is "the opportunity to use a 1920s classroom with uncomfortable long bench-seated desks, old black-board, ink-wells and abacus." Eventually, pit-sawing, butter- and cheese-making, candle-making and rope-making are to be added to the list. In every case, the equipment used is genuine. The museum is sure this is essential if the aim of increasing historical awareness and understanding is to be realised.

Surely this is what industrial archaeology must be aiming at, if it is to have significance at all? On the face of it, Mr Riden would seem to agree. "The ultimate aim of the subject," he believes, "is to assist in the understanding of the process by which our industrial economy and society has evolved." But what does he, or Mr Bracegirdle or Mr Trinder, mean by "understanding"? Is it a purely intellectual affair, or does it go beyond this, so that one feels what it was like to be a foundry hand, or a boatman, or a woman with a broken leg or ten children, in Coalbrookdale in 1800? Is it, we may not unreasonably ask,

⁷ *Beamish*, 1973.

academically respectable for an industrial archaeologist to feel the past? Or, for the sake of his

reputation, must he send his heart to sleep and confine his activities to his head?

Romans & Germans

English Views of European History—By JOHN BOSSY

ENGLISH HISTORIANS may have their faults, but at least they do not support an orthodoxy. Here are three different books. They cover a span from ancient Athens to the scientific revolution of the 17th century, and range from the plains of material life to the wilder shores of occult speculation. What they have in common is dissatisfaction with the framework of political history (classical and modern) as it was constructed in 19th-century Germany; on the other hand, they are all in various ways more indebted to German academic traditions than to any others. None of them seems particularly impressed by recent historiographical developments in France, if one may judge by their hostility to quantification—"current number fetishism" as one of them calls it—and the sketchiness of their maps. They also have in common a high regard for the English language and for the virtues of brevity.

As one whose last contact with ancient history dates from twenty years ago, I shall hardly rate as a professional critic of M. I. Finley; just as well maybe, to judge by some of his footnotes. That said, I must say that his *The Ancient Economy* gripped from the first page.¹ What is on the first page is a discussion of the classical sense of the word "economics" as social, not economic in our sense at all: the science of the domestic sphere. It retained this meaning until the 18th century, and not surprisingly if, as Finley says, the primary object of "oeconomics", transmitted by the Romans as the *familia*, remained the basis of European society until the same period.

This clarification is a guide to the theme of the book, which is the inapplicability of the science of "economics" as now understood to the realities of the ancient world. In the modern sense, the ancient world *had* no economy; classical authors did not think in "economic" terms, not because they were too snobbish or *littérateurs*, but because there was no such subject for them to think about. Why? Because what

kept people alive was the "oeconomy", not the economy. Barring the civilisations of the Near East, which Finley excludes from his discussion even where, as in Egypt, they were brought within the bounds of the Roman Empire, domestic self-sufficiency was both the ideal and the practice; the Empire was in no sense an economic unit or "world market", subject to booms and slumps or demographic crises or price revolutions which may be revealed by quantitative investigation, nor to class conflicts on the conventional model.

So much for Rostovtseff. So much, I think, for Pirenne. And so much, I have a feeling, for Braudel as well. Finley's range of reference and comparison is so wide that I cannot believe his lack of a mention of Braudel is quite accidental: a Finley-Braudel contest for the heavyweight championship of the Mediterranean is something I should go a long way to see. (If he is limbering up for this, I think Finley might reconsider his view that the Mediterranean is "no place for nomadic peoples", and he may be vulnerable to a Braudelian comment about historians whose view does not reach more than a short distance above sea level. There must have been some events up there, even in the ancient world.) But I would not wish him to have been distracted from his superbly conducted argument as it proceeds from his general statement of position to particular exemplifications in respect of the upper-class milieu, slavery, landlord-peasant relations, the city and the state.

It is certainly some kind of a tribute to Christianity that Finley's ancient society looks so different without it: no qualms about the solid merit of wealth, no notion of sin, "little sympathy and no pity" for the very poor. All this, though, if I understand him, was the reverse side of an idea of property which distinguished Greeks and Romans from older civilisations and provided the basis on which could be erected Cicero's ideal of the leisured, liberal man. He takes this ideal as genuinely representative, objecting rather tartly to suggestions that it did not really govern behaviour or formed a feeble disguise for entrepreneurial ambitions.

¹ *The Ancient Economy*. By M. I. FINLEY. Chatto & Windus, £3.50.