

impressive catalogue of mercantile, financial, and manufacturing linkages which is itself of considerable value for the relationships it illuminates, quite apart from its contributions to the present argument. The analysis demonstrates significant levels of commercial leadership and investment in virtually every field of Canadian industry, including iron and steel. Particularly interesting are the accounts of financial relations in the Quebec iron and steel industry, which describe the structural characteristics of finance and investment with unusual clarity. Inwood argues that within the primary iron industries, Canada possessed a "mercantile and financial capitalist class" which "was surprisingly aggressive". Many of the possibilities for industrial development "were [first] investigated by foreign investors and then abandoned, only to be promoted later by evidently risk-taking Canadian merchants, financial entrepreneurs and their bankers" (279).

It is impossible to do justice here to what is, for the most part, a complex, tightly reasoned argument displaying a strong appreciation for fine nuances. Readers may have some questions, owing to the size of the industry, as to the wisdom of posing general hypotheses on the basis of the behaviour displayed by the small number of charcoal iron manufacturers active in Canada. Profitability entailed complex calculations of cost benefit at the firm level, and it could be argued that there is no certainty that a significant percentage of entrepreneurs may not have acted in defiance of economic logic — although Inwood believes that the "characteristics peculiar to any of the small number of firms do not" nevertheless "undermine the presumption of individual maximization by investors" (126). In lieu of alternatives, the author can support assumptions of rationality only by asserting that no clear opposing evidence exists and, perhaps more convincingly, by the accumulation of anecdotes that strongly suggest activity guided by a secure grasp of the economic variables. Because the body of the book consists largely of densely reasoned analytical argument rather than straightforward narrative, readers interested in a general overview of the industry will be greatly disappointed. On a more serious level, survival of the industry through the lean years of 1870 to 1890 is less thoroughly explained than subsequent prosperity. A commendable caution sometimes blunts some of the most provocative attacks on conventional wisdom. And one study of one decidedly small industry cannot alone revise basic assumptions about nineteenth century Canadian industry (not that this was the intention). The findings are nonetheless powerfully suggestive.

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M.E. James — *Society, Politics and Culture. Studies in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Pp. vii, 483.

The essays that M.E. James has collected in *Society, Politics and Culture* have, with one exception, been published before. Indeed, half of them were published by the Past and Present Society, either in their journal or in their special supplement series and four others have appeared in regional historical publications. Only the last essay, on the Essex revolt, is new. The publication of this collection is especially timely. The dominant Eltonian interpretation of the politics of Henrician England has been subjected to serious revision by David Starkey and others; J.J. Scarisbrick has cast new and valuable light on the Reformation, especially its social dimensions; and historians of sixteenth-century politics finally are treating the "minor" Tudors as major political figures. Thus, the republication of the James' essays, which constitute most of his writings, is particularly welcome.

The publication of this retrospective collection provides the opportunity to examine the author's historiographical development over the period 1966-83. His earliest works, published in the mid-1960s, were three essays focused on the magnates of the Henrician North: "Change and continuity in the Tudor north: Thomas first Lord Wharton" (Chapter III), "A Tudor magnate and the Tudor state: Henry fifth earl of Northumberland" (Chapter II), and "The first earl of Cumberland (1493-1542) and the decline of northern feudalism" (Chapter IV). But their significance lay less in the

personal and public histories of magnates, both ancient and *nouveau*, or in regional history of the North than in an analysis of the disintegration of the dominance of the traditional aristocracy in the face of expanding state power and the rise of new men. A fourth, thematically related essay, "Two Tudor funerals" (Chapter V), was published in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* in 1966 and is doubtless the least well-known of James' work. This small gem analyzes the broader social and political significance of the specific heraldic symbolism displayed in the funerals of Lords Dacre and Wharton; the former of an ancient northern family, the latter a parvenue first creation. In his analysis of their funeral pomp, James epitomized much of what he had developed in the first three essays.

James next wrote two essays in the early 1970s on Tudor rebellion: "Obedience and dissent in Henrician England: the Lincolnshire rebellion, 1536" (Chapter VI) and "The concept of order and the Northern Rising, 1569" (Chapter VI). Having examined the seismic changes occurring in the North during Henry's reign from the perspective of individual magnates, James examined the transformation of their personal and class frustration into regional rebellion. But the clues to the importance of these studies of rebellion and of his changing emphasis lie in his titles. Where the Henrician rebellion in Lincolnshire illuminated problems of obedience and dissent, qualities that were both personal and collective in nature, the Elizabethan Rising twenty years later dealt with order, an objective measure of political health. In 1569, order was not subverted by the leaders of movements or by political ideologues but by bruised and offended honor.

The last two republished essays, originating in 1978 and 1983, "Ritual, drama and social body in the late medieval English town" (Chapter I) and "English politics and the concept of honour, 1485-1642" (Chapter VIII), seem superficially to have little in common. They do, however, possess a striking thematic symmetry. Where the first examined the projection of the corporate identity of the citizens of medieval English towns through the vehicle of civic ritual and religio-civic play cycles, the second anatomized the concept of honor from the Tudor accession to the Civil War, a concept that promoted the divisive characteristics of subjective worth and aristocratic class consciousness. The study of honor, originally a small book running to more than 100 pages, was written just after James wrote his monograph *Family, lineage and civil society: a study of society, politics and mentality in the Durham region, 1500-1640*. They shared two new departures for James: his adoption of the Tudor-early-Stuart period as an interpretive unit and his self-conscious incorporation of *mentalité* as a major theme of his work.

"At a crossroads of the political culture: the Essex revolt, 1606" (Chapter IX) is the only new essay in the book. Its analysis of the particular transformations epitomized in the abortive Essex *coup d'état* grew out of James' lengthy study of honor. But here he raises the power of his focus to develop a case study located in the long continuum 1485-1642 at the crucial turning point when the honor-cult was dealt a lethal blow by Essex. During the early seventeenth century, James argues, honor reappeared in class-defined political terms in the House of Lords.

James' assessment of Essex turns on his identification of the Essex Revolt as the "last honour revolt: and as such the conclusion of a series and a tradition which recedes far back into the medieval period" (416). The failure of the revolt is all the more interesting because it marked the signal personal and moral failure of its leader, "a paradigm of honour" in the 1590s. When Essex was condemned, the earl made a dramatic volte-face:

He admitted the falsity of the stand he had taken at the trial, denounced his associates, and made a total and abject confession of all his faults. Repudiating honour, he identified himself with the religio-providentialist view of the state on which the legitimacy of the Elizabethan regime had always rested. (417)

It is to understand the attitudes of Essex and his associates and to identify some of their inherent weakness that lead to this abject failure, that James turns his attention.

Honor had, by the end of the sixteenth century, come face to face with an "established Protestant providentialist state religion" (418). Personal honor had to give way before the majesty of

God's appointed queen. Essex's resistance to such a monarch was by definition the irreligious act of a Catilan possessed with a high-insatiable thirst for power. The queen was the icon and substance of religion and order; Essex epitomized irreligion and subversion. And the failure of his values was not to be found in his failed conspiracy but in his own eleventh-hour acceptance of the providentialist ideology.

Essex and his circle were self-conscious anachronisms for whom fifteenth-century architecture (434) and antique patterns of behavior served as models, and who found in the military culture (429) a style of living and an ethical construct that resonated with their sense of personal honor. Lineage was a paramount issue with them as it was thought to be aristocratic blood that carried the "innate qualities ... of rule and dominance" (432). They distrusted the urban and the urbane and their opposition to the rôle of lawyers suggests an antipathy similar to that in France between the "robe" and the "sword." (429-30)

Regardless of his personal charisma and the strong bonds of his patronal following, Essex was dependent upon the queen for the resources of his patronage and he was inextricably a part of the state system that he despised. In short, on the eve of the revolt that would bear his name, Essex was of the same "divided mind and uncertain purpose" that characterized many of his associates and allies (442). It was the persistence of this tension that led, first, to the abject confessions of his co-conspirators and, by the end of his trial, to Essex's spectacular reversal. "Essex's bold stance in terms of honour had already acquired an aura of brazen falsehood and absurdity. His own disillusionment followed" (457).

By the 1620s, the Essexian faction had been reconstituted under the leadership of Southampton and then of the restored third earl. Much of their behavior was consonant with that of the original Essexians but the vehicle through which it was expressed was no longer a personal clientele but, instead, the peerage as a political entity: the House of Lords. From the platform that Parliament provided them and within the playing rules of the political establishment they pursued the honor of their class; it was, indeed, their political agenda. In concluding this essay, James brings his analysis to a conclusion with a telling observation.

On 12 July 1642 it was not any community of honour but the members of the two houses of Parliament who were called on 'to live and die with the Earl of Essex'. The politics of honour had been overshadowed by the politics of principle and ideological commitment. (465)

This is an interesting idea that must be considered in conjunction with Professor Russell's recent works in which the absence (or presence) of ideology on the eve of Civil War plays so important a part.

With this collection of essays M.E. James has enriched the literature of the period generally coterminous with Tawney's *Century. Society, Politics and Culture* provides a welcome opportunity to examine the methodological and historiographical development of a distinguished historian through nearly twenty-five years of his productive career.

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Hartmut Kaelble — *Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Gesellschaft: Eine Sozialgeschichte Westeuropas 1880-1980*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1987. Pp. 194.

The cosmopolitan traveller feels pity (often mixed with disdain) for the North American who returns with stories of his or her "European" vacation. Fourteen days, as many countries, it's all a blur. The one clear impression is that things were very, very different from things back home. Now Hartmut Kaelble tells us that this homogenized Europe exists not only in the minds of befuddled North Americans, but also for the "average European" (*Durchschnittseuropaer*), at least in the western