



Review of Recent Periodical Literature

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Unless otherwise stated, all articles reviewed in this issue were published in 2019. The review is in five sections: ‘general’, dealing with essentially methodological pieces; ‘ancient and medieval’, covering the period before about 1540; ‘early modern’, relating approximately to the years 1540–1800; ‘nineteenth century’; and ‘twentieth century’. Some articles straddle more than one period; these are generally reviewed in the section covering the earliest period with which they deal. Within each period, articles are listed in alphabetical order of the first author’s name, except where two or more articles on closely related themes are reviewed together.

General

D. Worthington, ‘Coastal history in Scotland’, *History Scotland*, 19(2), pp. 40–9.

This article is an examination of the importance of the coast in Scottish history. It is based on a lecture given in Inverness in August 2018, which in turn draws on Worthington’s research into the Moray Firth as a region (see his paper reviewed in *Local Population Studies* 101 (2018), p. 65). The key question he asks is whether ‘local, coastal topography has strengthened correspondence and neighbourly, bilateral interaction around coasts or whether a relative lack of opportunity to show agency ... has created competition over resources and militated against coastal adjacency in the human sense’ (p. 49). In other words, does living near a coast draw people together or does it push them apart? The paper is replete with examples drawn from all areas of Scotland.

J. Edwards and S. Ogilvie, ‘What can we learn from a race with one runner? A comment on Foreman-Peck and Zhou, “Late marriage as a contributor to the industrial revolution in England”’, *Economic History Review*, 72, pp. 1,439–46.

J. Foreman-Peck and P. Zhou, ‘Response to Edwards and Ogilvie’, *Economic History Review*, 72, pp. 1,447–50.

In *Local Population Studies*, 103 (2019), pp. 85–6, we reviewed an article by Foreman-Peck and Zhou in which they argued that late marriage for women was a key driver of the English industrial revolution, as it allowed women to accumulate more human capital before marriage. Edwards and Ogilvie claim that Foreman-Peck and Zhou do not show this, first because their model does not allow any alternative ways for human capital to grow other

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than late female marriage (hence the ‘race with one runner’ in the title of their paper); and, second, because they do not adequately explain why other European countries in which the female age at marriage was as late, or later, than it was in England did not experience the same economic growth. Edwards and Ogilvie go on to argue that in England, women’s opportunities for economic activity were greater than they were in other European countries, because institutions (such as guilds) were less able to restrict the role of women.

In the second paper, Foreman-Peck and Zhou present a brief response in which they defend their model.

Ancient and medieval

J.M. Bennett, ‘Married and not: Weston’s grown children in 1268–1269’, *Continuity and Change*, 34, pp. 151–82.

J.M. Bennett, ‘Wretched girls, wretched boys and the European Marriage Pattern in England (c. 1250–1350)’, *Continuity and Change*, 34, pp. 315–47.

These two articles are based on evidence from the Lincolnshire manor of Weston, which was part of the Spalding Priory estate. The first looks at the position of the adult offspring of Weston’s serfs in a particular period, and classifies them according to whether they were still at home, settled in an ‘adult role’, or in an intermediate situation. By ‘adult role’, Bennett means holding land, being married (possibly with children), being employed, or being in the Church.

The second paper expands upon the evidence from Weston to develop a thesis of the European Marriage Pattern (EMP) of late and non-universal marriage in England in the century before the Black Death. Bennett argues, first, that the EMP existed at this time, even if it may have fallen into abeyance between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, it existed because land hunger and overpopulation had driven down living standards so that it was difficult for many people to acquire the resources—notably land—which were a prerequisite of marriage for most individuals. Far from the EMP being associated with a population living comfortably within its means, as the Malthusian preventive check would have it, marriage in the period 1250–1350 was limited by the very poverty and insecurity of existence for a large proportion of the rural population.

B. Lambert, ‘Double disadvantage or golden age? Immigration, gender and economic opportunity in later medieval England’, *Gender and History*, 31, pp. 545–64.

The period after the Black Death is often thought to be one of high real wages and an improved standard of living for working people. This extended to women, who found increasing opportunities in a tight labour market. In the paper, Lambert asks whether these improved opportunities extended to the immigrant women listed in the fifteenth century alien subsidy returns. It turns out that these women only rarely had independent occupations, and the overwhelming majority were listed as servants. It seems that immigrant



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women did suffer the ‘double disadvantage, doing worse than both immigrant men and native women.

Early modern

G. Alfani and M. Percoco, ‘Plague and long-term development: the lasting effects of the 1629–30 epidemic on the Italian cities’, *Economic History Review*, 72, pp. 1,175–201.

Economic historians have become interested once more in the effects of the Black Death on the economy of medieval Europe. They have paid less attention to effects of plague in the early modern period. Alfani and Percoco argue that the plagues of the seventeenth century are well overdue a revisiting by the economic historians of Europe. The authors have compiled a new dataset to investigate the consequences of the plague on the early modern Italian economy.¹ The data combines estimates on plague mortality rates for 56 Italian cities in the period 1575–1700 from a variety of primary and secondary sources. There were four ‘plague waves’ in early modern Italy, with the epidemics of 1629–1630 and 1656–1657 being the most severe. With mortality rates of around 400–500 per thousand they were also much more deadly than those in northern Europe. The effects of these epidemics were not evenly distributed in geographic terms, but concentrated in the northern cities. This meant they had a devastating effect on the merchants and skilled workers in luxury manufacturing that was the strength of the region’s economy. The econometric analysis in this paper suggests that the plague of 1629–1630 had a permanent negative effect on the urban population, urbanisation rates and growth rates in the north. This, the authors argue, may be the origin of Italy’s relative economic decline in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

R.C. Allen, ‘Class structure and inequality during the industrial revolution: lessons from England’s social tables, 1688–1867’, *Economic History Review*, 72, pp. 88–125.

Robert Allen provides a new re-working of the social tables of eighteenth-century England originally compiled by King, Massie and Colquhoun. The object is to provide new estimates of the size and incomes of the major social classes in this period, and how they changed over the course of the Industrial Revolution. Allen identifies six classes: the landed class, the bourgeoisie, the lower middle class, farmers, workers and, finally, the poor. A change on previous studies has been to remove servants from the households of the landed and farmers and move them into the category of workers. The findings are not that surprising to those who know England in this period. In terms of size, the landed class remained steady whilst the numbers of farmers declined. The bourgeoisie, lower middle class and the workers all expanded significantly. The number of poor tripled

¹ Available to download here: <http://didattica.unibocconi.eu/mypage/index.php?IdUte=49642&idr=19703&lingua=eng> [accessed 23 November 2020].





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in the eighteenth century, but fell in nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, the landed class and the bourgeoisie saw the greatest gains in income. Then in the early nineteenth century, it was the lower middle class and farmers who made the greatest income gains. It was only in the 1840s-1860s that the working class saw their incomes and consumption rise in a meaningful way. Inequality, as measured by the Gini coefficient, rose in the second half of the eighteenth century due to the concentration of income gains among the landed class and bourgeoisie. It only fell as working class incomes rose in the 1840s and 1850s.

J. Barry, 'The organization of burial places in post-medieval English cities: Bristol and Exeter c. 1540–1850', *Urban History*, 46, pp. 597–616.

This article compares the changing organisation of burials in two West Country cities: Bristol and Exeter. For most of the period, Barry identifies a strong conservatism at work. Organisational structures laid down by the medieval church persisted through the early modern period. In both cities, the authorities carried on with inner-city burial for as long as possible, leading to an intensification in the use of space in and outside churches. Disease epidemics and the Civil War did produce short-term changes, but the Reformation had surprisingly little effect. The major changes, and differences between Exeter and Bristol, came from population growth and the strength of non-conformity. Exeter, with its slow population growth and smaller non-conformist community, was able to accommodate burial within its existing churches. Bristol, with a faster growing population and large non-conformist congregations, needed new parishes and private provision.

G. Clark and N. Cummins, 'Randomness in the bedroom: there is no evidence for fertility control in pre-industrial England', *Demography*, 56, pp. 1,541–55.

F. Cinnirella, M. Klemp and J. Weisdorf, 'Further evidence of within-marriage fertility control in pre-transitional England', *Demography*, 56, pp. 1,557–72.

In a paper reviewed in *Local Population Studies*, 101 (2018), p. 71, Cinnirella, Klemp and Weisdorf claimed to find evidence of birth control in early modern England using the pooled data from the 26 Cambridge Group family reconstitutions which formed the basis of E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen and R.S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580–1837* (Cambridge, 1997). In fact, they made two claims. The first was that couples engaged in parity-dependent fertility control within marriage; the second was that fertility responded to economic shocks in a way that was consistent with voluntary fertility control. In their paper, Clark and Cummins argue that the first of these claims is based on a flawed statistical model and cannot be sustained. They back this argument up with a considerable weight of analysis, including a test of Cinnirella *et al.*'s model on a simulated population. Clark and Cummins also assert, though with very little evidence, that Cinnirella *et al.*'s second claim does not stand up. In their response, Cinnirella *et al.* present alternative statistical models which demonstrate the existence of parity-dependent control



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and which are robust to the criticisms of Clark and Cummins. What are we to make of the conflicting claims? This reviewer [AH] concludes that Cinnirella *et al.*'s second claim is not compromised by Clark and Cummins's critique. Their first claim, however, is much more seriously damaged. It is true that Cinnirella *et al.* do find evidence of parity-specific birth control using alternative statistical methods, but the effects are quite small and the extent of this control was probably limited. This seems to make sense. To argue that there was no birth control at all in pre-industrial England seems an extreme position to take. There is likely to have been birth control to an extent, and some of this might have been parity-specific. But it was probably confined to small subsections of the population or to times and places where economic conditions were severe. Birth control was not widespread in the way that it became widespread in the late nineteenth century.

R.J. Davenport, 'Infant-feeding practices and infant survival by familial wealth in London, 1752–1812', *History of the Family*, 24, pp. 174–206.

This article addresses the causes of the decline in European urban mortality from the late eighteenth century. It examines whether changes in infant feeding practices among social classes around the mid eighteenth century may have led to an improvement in infant mortality. Davenport uses parish records from St. Martin in the Fields to undertake a family reconstitution. In this parish the baptismal fee books have survived and record the street address and names of the parents, as well as the actual the date of birth. The sextons' burial books also survive from 1752 and record cause of death, age at death, and street address of the deceased. This allows for relatively robust record linkage, including the ability to discern the social class of families. Birth interval analysis suggests artificial feeding of infants and rural wet nursing declined among the upper classes in the second half of the century. Breast feeding practices were converging across classes. Event history analysis indicates that infant mortality was initially high among the upper classes, but declined in this period to converge with that of the lower social classes. The author concludes that changes in breastfeeding practices did have an impact on infant mortality, but other factors such as smallpox inoculation may have been as important in driving infant mortality down.

J. Dyer, 'The role of boys as domestic servants, 1760–1830', *History*, 104, pp. 630–48.

Little has been written about the role of boys as domestic servants in Georgian England. This paper starts to address this gap. Dyer considers three issues. First, what proportion of domestic servants were boys? Although it is hard to give a precise figure, something like one in five seems a reasonable estimate. If we consider the children sent by the London Foundling hospital into domestic service, the proportion of boys was higher, close to one in three. Second, boys were employed in different tasks from girls. These tasks (such as running errands, or acting as a postilion) often allowed them considerably more freedom and opportunity for social interaction than was available to most girls.



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Third, boys tended to be employed in higher status households than girls. Dyer concludes by emphasising that boys formed a distinct group within the servant population. They ‘carried out duties which might overlap with those of female workers, but which were, for the most part, designated as tasks for a boy. ... They undertook the work of adult males but could also carry out or could not escape work which older men shunned or which was hazardous for girls.’ (p. 647).

H. Esfandiary, ‘“We could not answer to ourselves not doing it”: maternal obligations and knowledge of smallpox inoculation in eighteenth century elite society’, *Historical Research*, 92, pp. 754–70.

A. Grant, ‘Ewell, Surrey: an enlightened village in the eighteenth century’, *Local Historian*, 49, pp. 239–41.

Esfandiary revisits the well-known case of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who introduced the ‘Turkish’ practice of inoculating against smallpox to eighteenth-century England. Montagu had success with women in her family and social circle who wished to protect their young children. However, the wider uptake of inoculation in England diverged significantly from the practice in Turkey. In Turkey people were inoculated in a simple procedure by non-medical specialists who used a needle with a relatively small dose of the live virus. In England, inoculation with live virus was reinterpreted through humoral theory by doctors. This meant that children were purged before inoculation and nursed afterwards. They also received much larger doses of virus in a more invasive procedure. Esfandiary uses diaries and correspondence to argue that the role of cultural beliefs and the attitude of upper-class mothers was crucial in shaping this hybrid practice. This pre-Jenner inoculation may have been new, but it fitted in well with existing understanding of humoral theory. Christian objections to the practice were also becoming weaker and less problematic for some. This meant that there was little conflict between mothers and doctors. This contrasts with interpretations of the later history of vaccination and other changes in the treatment of children, which have stressed such conflict.

Grant’s short article looks at the decision by the vestry of Ewell to inoculate its population in 1766. It both confirms and adds to Esfandiary’s argument. A wealthy resident of Ewell invited a well-known practitioner, Robert Sutton, to inoculate his six children. Sutton offered to inoculate all the children in the village if the main wealthy families would bear the cost for all. They agreed and it was carried out. The vicar did not object. Sutton had simplified his method, making it less invasive and requiring less confinement and nursing afterwards. This may have helped the take up of inoculation among labouring families, who needed to return to work. Participation was voluntary and 249 people were inoculated by Sutton with no recorded deaths. Changing Christian attitudes and concern for children are evident in this case, but so too are changes in medical practice and a more general interest in the health of the working population.





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C.M. Evans and A.E. Evans, 'Plague a disease of children and servants? A study of the parish records of St Peter upon Cornhill, London from 1580 to 1605', *Continuity and Change*, 34, pp. 183–208.

Evans and Evans examine the plague in the London parish of St Peter upon Cornhill. The records of this parish record the ages of the deceased, their names, occupations, head of household and location of burial. The article has two aims: first, to assess age and sex as factors effecting people's vulnerability to the plague; and, second, to see if deaths clustered in households. Evans and Evans find that there was an increase in mortality ratios among younger age groups (under 25 years), and this was driven partly by the presence of younger servants. However, differences in sex do not appear to have had a significant effect on mortality. Burials data show that deaths clearly clustered in households, although a substantial minority of burials (c. 36–40 per cent) could not be linked to the burial of another member of the same household. The household evidence suggests that the plague did not move uniformly through the parish but spread discontinuously, with some households being untouched by it.

S. Fox, '“The woman was a stranger”: childbirth and community in eighteenth-century England', *Women's History Review*, 28, pp. 421–36.

In this article, Fox uses the case of James Field, a poor man from Potters Bar in Hertfordshire, who was accused of the murder of his wife and new-born child, to illustrate how childbirth was seen as an event in which the local community had an interest. Although Field and his wife had lived in the village for years, they had not integrated into the local community, nor had they built up the normal links with their neighbours. When Field's wife suffered a medical emergency in childbirth he did not summon the neighbours immediately, but left matters until it was too late. Analysis of the witness statements at the resulting court case reveals the kinds of normal community expectations surrounding the births of children to community members. Fox summarises this by saying that '[i]n providing an arena in which the business of being neighbours could take place, childbirth played an active role in the creation of neighbourhood and community' (p. 432).

R. Gilboy, 'Crisis mortality in Civil War Oxford, 1642–1646', *Local Historian*, 50 (2020), pp. 2–20.

The population of Oxford increased dramatically between 1640 and 1643. The Royal Household moved there in October 1642, together with large numbers of the King's army and their wives and children. The arrival of the King and his entourage also encouraged many people up enter the city hoping to benefit from the additional demand for goods and services. Gilboy tries to measure the increase in population parish by parish. Unfortunately, he wants to use the increase in burials between 1630-1639 and 1643 to assess the likely increase in population (which amounts to an assumption that mortality is constant) but also to interpret the increase in burials as evidence of crisis mortality in the city. There are two unknowns here and he cannot measure them both. It is clear that the population increased, and it is clear that the number of burials increased. What is not clear,





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and what Gilboy cannot measure, is the extent to which the increase in burials was the result of the increase in population and the extent to which it was due to an increase in the death rate. The truth is that both happened. Later in the article Gilboy provides convincing qualitative evidence that the death rate probably increased substantially. Infections were brought to the city by travelling soldiers and others, and the overcrowded conditions in which the in-migrants lived promoted the transmission of infection within the city.

M.R. Hardy, 'The importance of Midsummer Day 1700', *Local Historian*, 49, pp. 317–29.

The importance of Midsummer Day 1700 is that this is when the Vagrant Removal Costs Act came into force. This study uses records from Devon to examine the effects of the Act, with an eye to aiding local historians using parochial and quarter session records. The main administrative change was that churchwardens lost responsibility for strangers, and parish constables took over. New documentation was generated by the Act and constables' returns increasingly became part of quarter session records. Examples of costs for removal paid for by the parish are given. For travellers, the risk of being treated as a vagrant increased, especially if you did not have a legitimate pass (as soldiers and sailors were supposed to have from 1744). Constables were instructed to treat vagrants more harshly than churchwardens had done. Interesting cases of strangers born in America are given; the parishes obviously had difficulties in returning them to places outside the system of English local government. Some churchwardens continued giving alms to travellers after 1700. Overseers' documents include examinations and removal orders, which can provide more details about a traveller's journey and life-history.

J. Harley, 'Pauper inventories, social relations, and the nature of poor relief under the old poor law, England, c. 1601–1834', *Historical Journal*, 62, pp. 375–98.

Harley continues his studies of pauper inventories, this time to understand the main dynamics of the practice of taking inventories under the Old Poor Law. The study uses 434 pauper inventories from Dorset, Kent, Norfolk, Lancashire, and Leicestershire/Rutland made between 1679 and 1835. Most paupers did not have their goods appraised, and those that did only experienced the practice for a relatively short time. Women were more likely to have their goods inventoried, although there was a noticeable increase in inventories of male-headed households in the late eighteenth century. Those subject to having inventories taken tended to be long-term recipients of relief, such as those receiving pensions for old age and infirmity. The legal basis for taking pauper inventories was disputed by contemporaries and the practice seems to have developed 'on the ground', arising from local concerns and values. Taking pauper inventories was more common in the south and east of England. Northern parishes generally tried to realise the monetary value of goods by forcing their sale. By contrast, before the 1770 Southern parishes were using inventories to help individuals obtain relief and keep their possessions. However, this changed as poor relief costs rapidly increased after 1770. Inventories became less common, but more 'negative' as a



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practice (some parishes branded goods, for example) reflecting the hardening of attitudes against the poor.

Previous articles by Harley on this theme include J. Harley, 'Material lives of the poor and their strategic use of the workhouse during the final decades of the English old poor law', *Continuity and Change*, 30, (2015), pp. 71–103; and J. Harley, 'Consumption and poverty in the homes of the English poor, c. 1670–1834', *Social History*, 43 (2018), pp. 81–104, reviewed in *Local Population Studies* 103 (2019), pp. 86–7.

J. Healey, 'Kin support and the English poor: evidence from Lancashire, c. 1620–1710', *Historical Research*, 92, pp. 318–39.

Having examined neighbourhood support for the poor (see J. Healey, '“By the charitie of good people”: poverty and neighbourly support in seventeenth century Lancashire', *Family and Community History*, 19 (2016), pp. 83–94, reviewed in *Local Population Studies* 99 (2017), pp. 99–100.), Healey turns to look at support from kin. This article uses pauper petitions to test Peter Laslett's hypothesis of 'nuclear hardship' among the English poor: that the prevalence of the nuclear household and weakness of kin ties, meant that the poor and vulnerable had to look to collective provision (usually the parish) to help in difficult times. Historians working with qualitative evidence have disputed this picture, arguing that local censuses and tax records tend to miss examples of kin-ties in action. Around 3,169 pauper petitions to the Lancashire Quarter-Sessions are used for mainly qualitative analysis. There is a good discussion of these sources, drawing out their strengths and weaknesses, which others will find useful. Ultimately, Healey finds that the nuclear hardship hypothesis is correct. Examples of kin support for the poor can certainly be found in the petitions; generally it was support in kind. Healey argues the evidence points to kinship as a 'latent network' that could be activated as part of the 'economy of makeshifts'. But most petitions resulted from the *failure* of kin support, and examples of neighbourhood support or begging are more common than positive mentions of kin. Tellingly, positive examples generally involved people who had been members of the same nuclear household, suggesting the limits of these networks.

M. Klemp and J. Weisdorf, 'Fecundity, fertility and the formation of human capital', *Economic Journal*, 129, pp. 925–60.

This is a lengthy and complicated article, which uses some of the family reconstitution data from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. However, its main conclusion is straightforward. Klemp and Weisdorf find that the children of couples with higher fertility were less likely to be literate, or to enter high status occupations, than were the children of couples with lower fertility. They interpret this as a trade-off between the *quality* of children (the amount parents could invest per child) and the *quantity* of children. It is important to recognise, however, that Klemp and Weisdorf's analysis does not show that couples *intentionally* reduced their fertility in order to invest more in each child. They show only that parents who had fewer children (because they had relatively

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low fecundity) were able to invest more per child, because their limited budgets had to be divided between fewer offspring. Of course, it may be that, over time, it became clear to the casual observer of society that children in small families tended to do better than children from large families, and this may eventually have encouraged some couples to restrict their fertility voluntarily.

D.C. McWhannell, 'Arbroath's mariners, shipbuilders, merchants and manufacturers', *History Scotland*, 19(5), pp. 34–9.

This paper describes the economic history of the eastern Scottish town of Arbroath from the eighteenth century, focusing on trade, fishing, shipbuilding and manufacturing. It is largely descriptive, but paints a clear enough picture of the rise and decline of the various industries.

D. Maund, 'Territory, core families and migration: a Herefordshire study', *Local Historian*, 49, pp. 221–9.

Maund's article is a study of 'core families' in Little Hereford, a parish in North Herefordshire, which borders both Worcestershire and Shropshire. Unlike the study of core families in Myddle by David Hey, Maund looks at labouring families rather than local elites or the middling sort. In the nineteenth century, the population was small (421 in 1881) and changed little in aggregate terms. However, there was significant population mobility. For example, 23 families left the parish between 1871–1881, with the same number moving in or forming new households. From the parish records and census enumerators' books, Maund identifies seven core families who were present from late seventeenth century to early twentieth century. The article focus on three families—the Maunds, the Rowburys, and the Bennetts—as good family history research is available to provide more detailed evidence. Surname analysis indicates that Maund and Rowbury are local names. Maund first appeared in the county in late seventeenth century, and over time became more concentrated around the basin of the River Teme. All three families left the parish by the early twentieth century, migrating to the wider Midlands, West Country and South Wales. It is shown that 'coreness' is created at a certain point in time and can come to an end. Core families also circulated within a region and were not totally static.

S.L. Newman, R.L. Gowland, and A.C. Caffell, 'North and south: a comprehensive analysis of non-adult growth and health in the industrial revolution (AD 18th–19th C), England', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 169, pp. 104–21.

S.L. Yaussy, 'The intersections of industrialization: variation in skeletal indicators of frailty by age, sex, and socioeconomic status in 18th- and 19th-century England', *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 170, pp. 116–30.

Two articles in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* examine differences in the health of the English population during the Industrial Revolution using skeletal remains.



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Newman, Gowland and Caffell look at the effect of the north-south divide on the health of children. They use the remains of 574 children and adolescents from six urban sites, c. 1711–1856. They find little difference in the growth patterns of bones and teeth, but do find high rates of pathology in skeletons from North Shields. These indicate a lack of Vitamin D, which may result from the regional climate or the presence of heavy industry. Yaussy uses skeletons from four cemeteries to examine the intersection of age, sex and class on health in this period. The discussion suggests understanding the combined impact of demographic and socio-economic variables is very difficult in bio-archaeology. The evidence does indicate, however, that middle aged men were more likely to have suffered injuries consistent with workplace accidents and wear and tear.

A. Rosevear, D. Bogart and L. Shaw-Taylor, 'The spatial patterns of coaching in England and Wales from 1681 to 1836: a geographic information systems approach', *Journal of Transport History*, 40, pp. 418–44.

This paper uses geographical information systems methods to chart the growth of scheduled coach services in England and Wales in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Rosevear and his colleagues distinguish three sets of services: long-distance services radiating from London, long-distance services between provincial towns, and short-distance 'commuting' services around London. The growth of the first set was rapid in the eighteenth century, but tended to tail off in the early nineteenth century. London was especially well connected to destinations in the south east and east of England. Much of the growth in travel to and from London was associated with recreational activity (to and from resort towns) or to and from military towns or ports. Coach services between provincial towns grew rapidly between 1790 and 1830, when a dense network of connections was built up centred on hubs like Birmingham and Manchester.

Nineteenth century

F. Bensimon, 'Introduction to the special issue', *Continuity and Change*, 34, pp. 1–14.

F. Bensimon, 'The emigration of British lacemakers to continental Europe (1816–1860s)', *Continuity and Change*, 34, pp. 15–41.

M. Harper, 'Obstacles and opportunities: labour emigration to the "British World" in the nineteenth century', *Continuity and Change*, 34, pp. 43–62.

J. Peltola, 'The British contribution to the birth of the Finnish cotton industry (1820–1870)', *Continuity and Change*, 34, pp. 63–90.

These four papers form a mini-special issue of *Continuity and Change* about British labour migration to Europe and the rest of the world during the industrial revolution. As Bensimon points out in his introduction, a lot has been written about emigration to North America and Australasia, mainly by English-speaking historians in those destination



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regions. Much less has been written about the smaller number migrants who went to continental Europe. The second paper in the set does much to address this gap. Bensimon describes the migration of lace workers and machine manufacturers from the Nottingham area to Calais and surrounding lace towns, such as Saint-Pierre. In 1841 there were 1,578 British-born inhabitants of Saint-Pierre out of a total population of 9,128. Initially the migrants exploited the technological advantage of British lace making, particularly of the mechanised sort, as machines exported to the continent required workers to operate them. Bensimon describes the economic networks they built up. Later, economic recession in 1848 encouraged many of the British-born lace workers to seek their fortunes in Australia.

Harper's contribution returns to the more familiar territory of British labour migration to what became the Anglosphere. Using three case studies: Scottish handloom weavers from the Paisley region in the 1820s, Scottish and Welsh coal miners, and the granite tradesmen of Aberdeen, she emphasises the following points about the migrants. First, the expectations of many were not matched by their experiences (especially true of the coal miners); second, there was a substantial amount of return migration (and even seasonal back and forth flows across the Atlantic in the case of the granite workers); and, third, the Methodist Church played an important role in assisting migrants, especially in making connections in the destination areas.

The final paper is a case study of the role played by British entrepreneurs in the development of the cotton industry in Tampere, Finland, and especially Finlayson's cotton mill. Although mainly about business and economic issues, it does discuss the changes in the number of foreign workers employed at the mill.

S. Bradley, 'Welcoming the New Poor Law: the Bromsgrove Poor Law Union, 1836–1847', *Family and Community History*, 22, pp. 200–21.

P. Carter, J. James and S. King, 'Punishing paupers? Control, discipline and mental health in the Southwell workhouse (1836–71)', *Rural History*, 30, pp. 161–80.

These articles are studies of aspects of the implementation of the New Poor Law. Bradley claims that Bromsgrove was an 'ordinary' Union, without special characteristics. The picture she paints is of a Union in which the Board of Guardians tried to follow the precepts laid down by the Poor Law Commission, while being realistic about the economics of admitting able-bodied men and their families to the workhouse. Like many Unions, Bromsgrove made use of the 'sickness' exception to pay outdoor relief. Another feature of the Bromsgrove Union was the generally good administration of the workhouse by the Master and Matron and their clear desire to do as well as they could by the inmates.

The article by Carter and his colleagues, focuses on the treatment of paupers in the workhouse, and the punishments handed out to young adults and persons of working age, using the example of Southwell in Nottinghamshire. The authors argue that workhouse punishments were not generally excessive. Those who were punished tended to be long-term inmates or the mentally ill, as these posed an ongoing threat to the good order of the



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workhouse. Workhouses had not, of course, been designed with the mentally ill in mind. The management and staff of workhouses were conscious that there was a risk that excessively harsh regimes might provoke rebellion. There was a kind of implicit contract between the poor law authorities and the poor: in exchange for fair treatment within the workhouse, the poor agreed to behave in a reasonable manner. Without such a deal, running workhouses in rural areas with limited staff would have been nearly impossible.

J. Chapman, 'The contribution of infrastructure investment to Britain's urban mortality decline, 1861–1900', *Economic History Review*, 72, pp. 233–59.

B. Harris and A. Hinde, 'Sanitary investment and the decline of urban mortality in England and Wales, 1817–1914', *History of the Family*, 24, pp. 339–76.

A. Hinde and B. Harris, 'Mortality decline by cause in urban and rural England and Wales, 1851–1910', *History of the Family*, 24, pp. 377–403.

C. Torres, V. Canudas-Romo and J. Oeppen, 'The contribution of urbanization to changes in life expectancy in Scotland, 1861–1910', *Population Studies*, 73, pp. 387–404.

Between 1861 and 1900 there was a modest decline in overall mortality in Britain, after a stalling in progress in the middle years of the century. There is increasing interest these days in the role of sanitary improvements in this decline. Urban areas had substantially higher death rates than rural areas, and the redistribution of the population from healthy rural areas to unhealthy areas slowed down the overall decline in mortality. However, this redistribution of the population meant that the decline in mortality in both rural and urban places was faster than the overall national decline would suggest.

In the first of these four papers, Chapman tries to account for the urban mortality decline by examining the relationship between investment in infrastructure and the magnitude of the decline. He finds that infrastructure investment accounted for up to 60 per cent of the decline in mortality in urban areas during this period, having an impact on deaths from both waterborne and airborne infections. His results seem plausible, and his main point that investment in sanitation was important will almost certainly stand, but there are reasons to be sceptical about the details. First, his measure of the amount of investment is outstanding loans, which means he cannot locate the investment in time. We do not know when the money was borrowed, and when it was spent. Second, mortality from some waterborne and airborne infections (for example typhoid and pulmonary tuberculosis) in rural areas moved in parallel with that in urban areas during the late nineteenth century, and it is quite a stretch to argue that the impact of investment in infrastructure would be the same in rural and urban areas.

Nineteenth-century commentators regarded the volume of loans taken out by local authorities for the purposes of investment in sanitary infrastructure as a key measure of the effort made to improve public health. In the second paper, Harris and Hinde provide a new history of these loans in the period between the Napoleonic Wars and World War I. Much



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of the paper is devoted to describing the many types of loans that were taken out, but the last part of the article examines the mortality decline in selected areas that ‘sought approval for a wide range of health-related ... loans’ (p. 366) and also performed well with respect to mortality decline according to R. Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000). The authors conclude that ‘there does not appear to have been a consistent relationship between loan values and mortality change in these areas’ (p. 369).

In the third paper, Hinde and Harris analyse the contribution of particular causes of death to the decline of mortality in England and Wales between 1851 and 1910. They use the dataset developed by Robert Woods and Nicola Shelton when preparing *An Atlas of Victorian Mortality* (Liverpool, 1997) to present new estimates of the contribution of different causes of death to mortality decline, but extend the analysis to 1910. They also examine trends in cause-specific death rates for urban and rural areas separately. Some of their conclusions confirm what is already known about the main contributors to the mortality decline (pulmonary tuberculosis, scarlet fever, water-borne infections and diseases of the lungs), but the extension to 1910 increases the importance of diseases of the lungs and reduces the overall role played by scarlet fever. There were substantial differences in the timing of the decline of mortality from different causes: scarlet fever and waterborne diseases had their greatest impact in between 1860 and 1880, whereas the decline in death rates from pulmonary tuberculosis was continuous and roughly at a constant rate in both urban and rural areas. There was a broad similarity between the chronology of sanitary investment and that of mortality decline, though more work is required on the exact linkages between the construction of sanitary infrastructure and the decline of mortality at the local level.

The fourth paper, by Torres and her colleagues, examines the redistribution effect for Scotland between 1861 and 1910. Robert Woods, *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000) argued that this slowed down the overall decline in mortality, and Torres and her colleagues find that this was true for Scotland as well throughout the period. However, the redistribution effect was insufficient to offset the mortality decline within urban areas, which meant that life expectation continued to improve. Within this overall picture, however, local areas had different trajectories

L. Darwen, D. MacRaild, B. Gurrin and L. Kennedy, ‘“Unhappy and wretched creatures”: charity, poor relief and pauper removal in Britain and Ireland during the Great Famine’, *English Historical Review*, 134, pp. 589–619.

C. Ó Gráda, ‘The next world and the New World: relief, migration and the Great Irish Famine’, *Journal of Economic History*, 79, pp. 319–55.

These articles add to the extensive literature on the Great Irish Famine. Darwen and his colleagues examine an hitherto neglected aspect of the treatment of the hundreds of thousands of Irish who migrated to England and Scotland: the use of the New Poor Law to ‘remove’ the Irish by sending them back to Ireland. They look at removals from Liverpool and Manchester, and from several Scottish countries including the cities of Glasgow,

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Dundee and Edinburgh. They show that the policy of removal was often harsh and uncaring, but that this has to be balanced against the enormous pressure that the poor law authorities in Liverpool and Glasgow, especially, were under. Most of those removed were sent to Dublin or Drogheda (from Liverpool) and Belfast and Londonderry (from Scotland). We know almost nothing about what happened to them after that, for most had originally fled rural areas in the west of Ireland. The paper also includes a description of the vast charitable infrastructure that sprang up in Lancashire to provide immediate sustenance to Irish refugees, especially those trying to move from Liverpool to places further inland in search of employment.

Ó Gráda is interested in whether assisted emigration could have mitigated the impact of the Famine. His paper starts by making the point that the Famine marked a break with the past: the agricultural and landholding systems were destroyed so there was no returning to the previous economic environment. Under such circumstances, emigration was a good solution to the poverty and the imbalance between population and resources created by the Famine, even when the emigration was of the better off (as was the case in Ireland). However, if schemes could have been implemented to assist the emigration of those who, in the event, were too poor to leave, the beneficial impact of emigration would have been much greater. Ó Gráda buttresses his case using evidence from two small assisted emigration schemes that did get off the ground. He shows that Irish assisted migrants to New York, even though they came from some of the poorest sections of Irish society, managed to make economic and social progress in the United States.

R. Davenport, M. Satchell and L.M.W. Shaw-Taylor, 'Cholera as a "sanitary test" of British cities, 1831–1866', *History of the Family*, 24, pp. 404–38.

In this long and complex paper, Davenport and her colleagues use death rates from cholera in the epidemics of 1831–1832 and 1849 as a test of the quality of the water in urban areas in Britain. One motivation for this is a desire to test the influential hypothesis that environmental conditions deteriorated in British cities between 1820 and 1850 (for this, see S. Szreter and G. Mooney, 'Urbanization, mortality and the standard of living debate: new estimates of the expectation of life at birth in nineteenth-century British cities', *Economic History Review*, 51, pp. 84–112). The results of Davenport, *et al.*'s analysis of cholera death rates suggest, first, that the quality of the water in some of the more rapidly growing northern manufacturing towns was not inferior to that in other places; and, second, that infants seem to have been protected to some extent from cholera epidemics. They conclude that this was because infants tended not to drink untreated water. The paper draws out some implications of these results. For example, water quality seems to have improved after 1850, but diarrhoeal mortality among infants may not have improved as a consequence. Efforts to improve water supplies were not likely to affect infants. This is consistent with the fact that infant death rates remained high until the last decades of the nineteenth century. Another corollary is that any deterioration in the quality of water in the period 1800–1850 probably did not lead to worsening infant mortality.

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C. De Bellaigue, 'Great expectations? Childhood, family and middle-class social mobility in nineteenth-century England', *Cultural and Social History*, 16, pp. 29–46.

Demographers tend to study social mobility quantitatively, by examining changes in occupational status at successive censuses. In this paper, De Bellaigue adopts a different perspective on the subject by examining the efforts made by a Lancashire cotton magnate, Robert Heywood of Bolton, to raise the younger members of his family (initially his nephews and niece and later his own children) and to see them securely established in the world. Central to De Bellaigue's argument is the idea that middle-class families like the Heywoods were more concerned with insuring against downward social mobility than with pursuing upward mobility. In the Heywoods's case this is not surprising, as from their position upward mobility came up against the considerable barriers of entry to the landed aristocracy, whereas downward mobility was a real threat. Yet it is an important point that may apply to families in other positions on the social ladder.

D. Green, D. Brown, K. McIlvenna and N. Shelton, '“The postman wears out fast”: retiring sick in London's Victorian Post Office', *London Journal*, 44, pp. 180–205.

Studies of occupational dangers and mortality variations in the Victorian era have largely focused on well-known hazardous occupations such as mining. But other occupations had their risks too. In this paper, Green and his colleagues make use of the records of the London Post Office pension scheme to describe patterns of sickness and early retirement on the grounds of ill health among the burgeoning number of postal workers during the Victorian period. Many Post Office workers retired early, with the average age at retirement being less than 50 years. The reasons for early retirement included orthopaedic conditions for those whose jobs involved walking long distances, but also mental conditions. The latter may have been brought on by many years working split shifts.

B. Harris, 'Parsimony and pauperism: poor relief in England, Scotland and Wales in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 39, pp. 40–74.

This article is welcome for two reasons: first, it compares poor relief in England, Scotland and Wales, and comparative work of this kind is still rare in poor law historiography; and, second, it deals with the implementation of the New Poor Law into the early twentieth century. Harris makes a detailed comparison of the number of paupers and expenditure on poor relief, both in workhouses and outside, in Scotland and in England and Wales, over the period 1860–1914. He shows that expenditure per head of the population in Scotland was lower than that in England, mainly because a smaller proportion of the population was in workhouses and less was spent on maintaining those in workhouses than was the case in England. Scots were also much less likely to receive relief at older ages. Harris explores the reasons why older people in Scotland benefitted less from the Poor Law than their counterparts in England even into the twentieth century. He suggests that one explanation which has perhaps received less attention in the literature than it deserves relates to the



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different ways in which the poor laws had been administered either side of the border. In Scotland, before 1845, it was hard for people to obtain the relief to which they were entitled, whereas in parts of England pauperisation was a normal feature of life for many of those on lower incomes. These administrative differences led to different expectations with respect to the poor laws which were slow to change.

G. Huws, ‘“The ceaseless labour of your life”: occupations and wages in Holyhead, 1841–81’, *Welsh History Review*, 29, pp. 562–93.

This is an analysis of the occupational data in the census enumerators’ books for 1841, 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881 for the town of Holyhead. Huws describes the position of the town as the port where rail passengers embarked on steamships for Kingstown (now Dun Laoghaire) in Ireland. He is interested in social mobility, in the extent to which the economic structure of the town changed over the period between 1841 and 1881, and in the wages paid in this rather remote locality. He finds that social mobility was possible, and gives several examples. However, despite this, the overall economic structure of Holyhead changed rather little over the period. The article includes an analysis of the wages paid in various sectors of the economy, with the general result that wages in Holyhead were comparable to those elsewhere in England and Wales.

J.A. Jennings, C.S. Sparks and T. Murtha, ‘Interdisciplinary approach to spatiotemporal population dynamics: the North Orkney Population History Project’, *Historical Life Course Studies*, 8, pp. 27–50.

The construction of historical demographic databases is currently very much on the research agenda. These tend to be of two types. The more common are nationally or internationally comparative databases derived from census or other official sources which permit researchers to analyse a limited range of demographic variables across a wide range of communities. Less common are those which integrate a variety of sources to provide a rich picture of a specific region. This paper describes an example of the second type: a multi-source, multi-disciplinary study of the six North Orkney islands of Westray, Papa Westray, Faray, Eday, Sanday and North Ronaldsay. The paper describes the many written data sources, both demographic and economic, that have gone into the database. Unusually, however, the database includes ethnographic and oral history data: the Project interviewed 87 per cent of residents of the area who were aged over 60 years when the data were being compiled (which was up to the year 2009). The paper also presents some preliminary findings, including evidence that some kind of extended family system was in existence, with related families living in adjacent properties.

J. Kelly, ‘“An unnatural crime”: infanticide in early nineteenth-century Ireland’, *Irish Economic and Social History*, 46, pp. 66–110.

This is a long and detailed article, charting the history of infanticide in Ireland across the first two thirds of the nineteenth century, with a focus on the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s. The





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number of infants killed by their parents (usually, but not always, their mothers) rose with the rise in population. The official statistics for deaths from ‘infanticide’ almost certainly underestimate the number as many infant deaths described as ‘desertion’ or ‘exposure’ were really infanticides. Until it was closed in the 1830s, the Dublin Foundling Hospital had kept the number of infanticides in check. Following the closure, the number of infanticides rose. However, since the death rate for infants taken into the Hospital had approached 90 per cent at times, the prospects of the infants themselves may have been little affected by the closure. Kelly argues that the censorious and strict moral climate in nineteenth century Ireland was a key factor in many mothers’ decisions to do away with their children. Single mothers faced ‘lifelong sanction’ (p. 109) in a culture with ‘a moral sensibility, guided by both evangelical religion and laissez faire economics, that extolled personal self-discipline’ (p. 109).

P. Montebruno, R.J. Bennett, C. van Lieshout, H. Smith and M. Satchell, ‘Shifts in agrarian entrepreneurship in mid-Victorian England and Wales’, *Agricultural History Review*, 67, pp. 71–104.

C. van Lieshout, H. Smith, P. Montebruno and R.J. Bennett, ‘Female entrepreneurship: business, marriage and motherhood in England and Wales, 1851–1911’, *Social History*, 44, pp. 440–68.

H. Smith, R.J. Bennett and C. van Lieshout, ‘Immigrant business proprietors in England and Wales (1851–1911)’, *Continuity and Change*, 34, pp. 253–76.

These three articles are all ostensibly about ‘entrepreneurship’ in nineteenth century England. The first paper, however, despite using the word ‘entrepreneurship’ in its title, is about changes to the structure of the agricultural workforce in England between 1851 and 1881. The availability of Integrated Census Micro-data for the censuses of 1851, 1861, and 1881 has allowed the authors to construct a database of farms showing their size in acres, certain details of the farmer and his or her family, and the number of workers he or she employed (if any) in each of those census years. They have supplemented this with a more limited database for 1871. This they use to analyse changes to agrarian employment over the intervening 30 years. Small farms always had relied on family labour or just the labour of the farmer. The threshold acreage at which farms became more likely than not to employ labour varied from place to place. It was rather small in the south and east of England, and in peri-urban areas where market gardening might have been a major activity. In the uplands it could be several times larger. After 1851, the employment of labour held up for about a decade, but then began to decline, as an increasing proportion of farmers relied solely upon the labour of themselves and their families. There were regional differences. In the south and east many farmers continued to employ workers, but they employed fewer of them. In the north and west there was a greater tendency for farmers to abandon hired labour altogether. The authors interpret their results as revealing the adaptability of farmers in the face of economic headwinds. The onset of the agricultural depression did not lead to the failure of farming or of farmers as a class.



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The second paper examines female entrepreneurship. The authors use a broad definition of ‘entrepreneurship’ which includes workers who are operating on their own account without employing assistants. This definition dramatically increases the proportion of entrepreneurs which were female compared with most previous studies, as it encompasses the thousands of women who worked as self-employed dressmakers and laundresses. The paper includes a long and useful discussion of the recording of female occupations in the nineteenth century censuses of England and Wales. The occupations of female entrepreneurs exhibited different demographic profiles. Dressmakers were commonly young and often unmarried, whereas other occupations, such as lodging-house keeper, were dominated by women in their 40s and 50s. Marriage, and even the presence of children, were not great impediments to women running businesses, as the work for many of these ‘own account’ operations could be managed to fit in with domestic and child care responsibilities.

The third article uses Integrated Census Microdata to examine the extent to which those born outside England and Wales were reported as self-employed or owners of their own businesses in the censuses of 1851, 1861, 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911. The paper begins with a discussion about how to operationalise the definitions of ‘self-employed’ or ‘owning one’s own business’ in the censuses (not a trivial matter, especially before the question about whether a person was an ‘employee’, ‘employer’ or neither was introduced in 1891). The authors then compare the entrepreneurial spirit among the native born and immigrants groups, showing that immigrants were more likely to be business proprietors than natives, and that there were differences between immigrant populations according to country of origin. They argue that this difference can be explained in fairly conventional economic terms by the ways in which migrants had been selected from the origin populations, the fact that it was hard for migrants to enter certain trades in England and Wales, the existence of networks among migrants that allowed them to raise capital, and the fact that migrant businesses were necessary to serve the migrant community with services and goods that were not widely available in England and Wales. They caution against explanations based on ‘national “cultures” that are difficult to evidence or measure’ (p. 272). The article includes a wealth of tables about the distribution of the non-native born population in each census and the demographic characteristics of immigrants.

D. Postles, ‘“Forty years on”: revisiting Shepshed and the transition to Industrial Society’, *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions*, 93, pp. 221–239.

Postles revisits David Levine’s study of the village of Shepshed, Leicestershire during the Industrial Revolution (D. Levine, *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism* (New York, 1977). He looks at what happened to the village in the second half of nineteenth century (Levine’s study finished in 1851). Postles shows that the later history of Shepshed blurs the boundaries between the two perspectives of ‘proto-industrialisation’ and ‘regional industries’. After 1850, it became an ‘industrial village’ as hosiery manufacturing passed fairly easily from outworking, to small workshops, to mechanised factory production. However,



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it was one of several large villages and small towns in Leicestershire that developed along this pattern, suggesting a strong regional dimension to the hosiery and knitwear industries. Demographic growth slowed down, and there was comparatively little in-migration. The development of factory production meant a reduction in the varieties of knitwear: Shepshed firms came to produce basic cotton goods. The pattern of an early age of marriage, long period fertility and large family size found by Levine, continued after 1851 among working class families. However, the number of multi-generational households fell. The factories clearly pulled in young workers and were notable for the strong presence of women. New occupations had opened up in Shepshed since 1851 based around quarrying but these were much more male and slightly older. At the same time, hosiery factories were not pulling in new workers from outside the locality. Instead, hosiery working was becoming concentrated within Shepshed families over several generations.

S. Purdue, 'Giving life and limb for empire: gender and occupational health in industrial Belfast, 1870–1914', *Irish Historical Studies*, 43, pp. 220–36.

Industrial accidents and other health consequences of work were a major cause of death and serious injury in the nineteenth century. This paper describes the dangers and risks inherent in the working environment in Belfast between 1870 and 1914. It focuses on the differing experiences of men, women and children. Children's work was increasing regulated during the late nineteenth century, but the regulation tended to focus on limiting the ages at which children could be employed, and the hours they could work, rather than reducing the risks of their working environment. Women were the focus of much legislative effort designed to improve their conditions. Men, on the other hand, were largely ignored, and their working environment in industries such as shipbuilding continued to be very dangerous into the early twentieth century.

G. Rawson, 'The accommodation, experiences and concerns of the mentally unwell poor in mid nineteenth century Leeds', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 91, pp. 144–61.

This article is principally a study of those who spent time in the West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum (WRPLA) during the mid nineteenth century. However Rawson includes some remarks about the care of the insane poor in the community, and about the operation of the poor laws in general in the vicinity of Leeds. On the latter topic, his main point is that there was substantial continuity of practice across the 1834 divide, so that for at least the first 30 years of the New Poor Law period, 'poor relief around Leeds ... remained ostensibly in the tradition of the Old Poor Law' (p. 145). Replete with case histories, the article discusses the causes of mental illness, including religious belief, family stresses and bereavement, and anxiety about poverty. The WRPLA was supposed only to cater for paupers, and there are examples of people being discharged on the grounds that they were not, or were no longer, paupers. However, it is clear that some non-paupers managed deliberately to make use of the WRPLA.





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P. Rotering, 'Family systems and fertility: western Europe 1870-1960', *Historical Social Research*, 44, pp. 293–323.

In this paper, Rotering asks whether there was an association between the level of fertility in western Europe during the fertility transition and family systems. The idea behind his research is that family systems in some sense reflect different cultures, so that attitudes towards childbearing and family limitation might be similar in populations with similar family systems. Rotering uses the classification of family systems devised by Emmanuel Todd which divides systems into authoritarian (stem and joint families) and non-authoritarian (nuclear families), and egalitarian and non-egalitarian (mainly reflecting partible or non-partible inheritance). Using the province-level data that were used by the Princeton European Fertility Project he finds no association between family systems and fertility. He discusses the possible reasons for this, including the possibilities that the Todd classification does not identify the key elements within different family systems that are associated with fertility, and that the family systems are not repositories of culture.

K. Schürer and J. Day, 'Migration to London and the development of the north-south divide, 1851–1911', *Social History*, 44, pp. 26–56.

The Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) from the censuses of England and Wales between 1851–1911 has enormous potential to transform our knowledge of the geography of the country in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This paper illustrates the kinds of advances that are achievable. Using the birthplace data in six of these censuses (1871 could not be used) Schürer and Day describe the characteristics of lifetime migrants to London. They confirm several of Ravenstein's famous 'laws of migration' (which were descriptions of the same phenomenon), and add new generalisations, such as the reduced distance travelled on average by migrants to London as the nineteenth century wore on. Although female migrants dominated in the middle of the century, the sex composition became more even towards 1900. In the second part of the paper, which is the really original section, Schürer and Day take advantage of the I-CeM to look at migration to London from the perspective of the origin places (that is, to compute the proportions of all those born in particular places who were living in London in 1851, 1861 and so on). This is something which has been impossible to do hitherto for all censuses apart from 1881, and difficult to do even for 1881. The results reveal a gradually hardening divide along a line between the Wash and the Severn estuary. South and east of that line, London's attractiveness was greater, and becoming more striking; to the north and west, the proportion of natives who were living in London was decreasing. There were exceptions, such as Cornwall and some parts of the Scottish borders, but the gradual emergence of this divide is unmistakable.

D. Tankard, '“A garden to every cottage”: cottage gardens and the nineteenth-century agricultural labourer', *Agricultural History Review*, 67, pp. 227–48.

The provision of gardens for agricultural workers' cottages was seen by Victorian social





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reformers as a key element in raising living standards among the rural poor, while encouraging thrift and self-reliance. This paper examines the extent to which the cottages of Sussex had gardens. In practice, gardens were provided in only a minority of places and, where they were provided, were smaller than recommended, and too small to provide vegetables throughout the year. The article includes some examples of agricultural workers' diets. It also explores the ways in which labourers and their families made ends meet.

N. Verdon, 'Skill, status and the agricultural workforce in Victorian England', *History*, 104, pp. 829–50.

The nineteenth-century agricultural labourers of England were regarded by some contemporary commentators as homogeneous, unskilled, unthinking, and unimprovable, characterised by 'inertia and backwardness' (p. 830). In this paper, Verdon continues work started by Alan Howkins to show that this was not the case. There were many different classes of agricultural worker, a notable cline separating those who worked with animals from those who were primarily cultivators. Wage differentiation, both between individual tasks and across workers' lifetimes, reveal reward for the acquisition of skills over time, and reflect the different levels of skill required for, and status ascribed to, different tasks. It was true, however, that this differentiation applied much more to male workers than to female workers. As the century progressed, mechanisation led to some agricultural workers acquiring new skills. Many government officials and Commissioners recognised the diversity of the rural workforce: the stereotype of 'Hodge' seems to have been promoted more by journalists and social commentators than it was in official documents.

Twentieth century

D.S. Connor, 'The cream of the crop? Geography, networks and Irish migrant selection in the age of mass migration', *Journal of Economic History*, 79, pp. 139–75.

It is often claimed that the mass migration of people from Ireland to the United States in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century acted as a 'brain drain' in denuding Ireland of its smartest and most dynamic individuals. People with 'get up and go' got up and went. In this paper, Connor provides evidence against this. He develops a record linkage method which is able to trace individuals from the 1901 census of Ireland to the 1910 census of the United States and the 1911 census of Ireland. He can therefore distinguish those who migrated from those who did not. His results suggest that those most likely to migrate were the sons of small farmers and of illiterate men. Migrants typically, therefore, had limited skills and qualifications. Emigration was encouraged by the existence of emigrant networks, a factor which was well described as long ago as 1995 in a paper by K. O'Rourke, 'Emigration and living standards in Ireland since the Famine', *Journal of Population Economics*, 8 (1995), pp. 407–21, and discouraged if there were alternative opportunities within Ireland.





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K.L. Swaffer, 'The politics of population: understanding Scottish emigration in a post-war, post-imperial context (part 1)', *History Scotland*, 19(4), pp. 28–37.

K.L. Swaffer, 'The politics of population: understanding Scottish emigration in a post-war, post-imperial context (part 2)', *History Scotland*, 19(5), pp. 40–5.

This two-part paper is about emigration from Scotland in the immediate post-war period (the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s). Swaffer notes that there has been a great deal of research into emigration from Scotland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (much of which has been reviewed in *Local Population Studies*), and that this has fostered a belief that emigration from Scotland ended in 1945. This is not so, and net emigration continued to be recorded into the 1970s and later. Swaffer's thesis is that emigration from Scotland after the War was associated with a lack of employment opportunities, and that the government in London was happy to allow this, as emigration was a natural solution to unemployment which substituted for regional policy. Rather than taking a serious interest in the Scottish economy, trying to create jobs and thereby discourage emigration, the Westminster government could get away with a policy of neglect, relying on emigration to keep Scottish unemployment rates within politically acceptable bounds. She then traces a political lineage from this policy of neglect to the demand for devolution and greater autonomy in the decades from the 1970s onwards.

