
Review of Recent Periodical Literature

William Farrell and Andrew Hinde

Unless otherwise stated, all articles reviewed in this issue were published in 2020. 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

T. Fox, ‘Numerical approaches in local history’, *Local Historian* 50, pp. 122–6.

In this short article, Fox demonstrates that very simple numerical methods, which can be implemented with pencil and paper, can provide additional insight into historical processes. These methods can be as simple as drawing a graph of the data. His examples are drawn from poor law records in Surrey, Berkshire and Bedford. Readers who are daunted by mathematical and statistical methods should be reassured by what he has to say.

C.G. Pooley and M.E. Pooley, ‘Moving home and changing lives: diary evidence for the study of migration and mobility’, *Family and Community History* 23, pp. 136–48.

Most of this paper consists of a discussion of the impact of a short-distance move in northern Lancashire on the life of a single individual, making extensive use of her diary. The final section includes some general remarks about the use of diary evidence in migration and mobility studies, which expand upon those made by the same authors in ‘Life writing as a source for local population history’, *Local Population Studies* 103 (2019), pp. 64–75. One issue is that the actual moving process is time-consuming, so that it is precisely at the point when people are mobile that diary entries may be most cursory.

M. Szołtysek, B. Ogórek, R. Poniak and S. Gruber, ‘Making a place for space: a demographic spatial perspective on living arrangements among the elderly in historical Europe’, *European Journal of Population* 36, pp. 85–117.

The living arrangements of older people have attracted considerable attention in recent

years. One avenue of research has involved the comparison of these living arrangements across household formation systems: for example, to test Peter Laslett's 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis (whereby a lack of familial support for older people in nuclear family systems is associated with the growth of collective forms of provision such as those under the Poor Law). In this paper, Szołtysek and his colleagues attempt a pan-European comparison of the living arrangements of older people, measuring these in terms of the proportion of older people living with at least one ever-married descendant and the proportion living without any relatives. Data for Great Britain come from the 1881 census. The results confirm elements of the long-held view that north-west and eastern Europe were different. Great Britain is not an extreme case of the nuclear family system, but is definitely within that system, and is geographically homogeneous. The authors then try to account for some of the geographical patterns in their data by regression models including a range of social, economic and demographic variables. These do 'explain' a considerable proportion of the variation, but some geographical patterning remains. Great Britain, however, is noteworthy for its absence of unusual geographical clusters of residential patterns of older people. It behaves much as expected: a country in which the nuclear family system is well embedded, but not in an extreme way. Of course some might argue that, at least in England and Wales, 1881 was not a typical year, and marked some kind of a high water mark of co-residence of older people with relatives.

E.A. Wrigley, 'The interplay of demographic, economic and social history', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 50, pp. 495–515.

This is one of a series of essays commissioned to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. In it, Wrigley advocates trying to understand major demographic, economic and social changes by considering the inter-relationships between phenomena as promoting feedback, positive or negative. Thus, for example, rapid urbanisation could not have happened without improvements in agricultural productivity but, by removing people from the land and making rural labour more expensive, it also stimulated further improvements in productivity. This is an example of positive feedback, but feedback could also be negative, as with Malthus's preventive check. The article includes a discussion of why England's economic and demographic history diverged from that of continental Europe during the early modern period.

Ancient and medieval

S. Baxter, 'How and why was Domesday made?', *English Historical Review* 135, pp. 1,085–131.

Over the decades historians have debated the reasons for the compilation of Domesday Book. This paper is a new interpretation, based on an analysis of a manuscript in Exeter Cathedral Library which, although it covers only a few counties in south-west England, is the earliest surviving manuscript of the survey. The article traces the process by which Domesday was created, from the initial plans to the final versions which we now know as the Great and Little Domesday Books. One conclusion from this exercise is that it was

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feasible to have carried out the entire process (taking the survey and then writing up the results) over the years 1085 to 1087, although it would have required a highly impressive degree of organisation and administration. Baxter inclines to the view that the compilers of Domesday were capable of such administrative feats. As to the reasons why Domesday was created, then the evidence suggests that the aim of King William was to extract as much tax (geld) from the land as possible. This necessitated establishing which of the barons held each piece of land and the terms under which each piece of land was held. The year 1085 was convenient to undertake the survey as, by chance, the King and almost all the landholders were present in England. In exchange for allowing the King to establish the potential to tax each piece of land, the barons obtained security of tenure.

M. Forrest, 'The Court of Common Pleas and Dorset occupations in the fifteenth century', *Local Historian* 50, pp. 54–70.

The records of the Court of Common Pleas have become available online in recent years, making this source more accessible to historians. Forrest explores how they could be used to study occupations in the later medieval period, particularly for counties that have few poll tax returns, wills or borough records. Dorset is such a county and provides the case study. Forrest provides the reader with useful source criticism and a clear explanation of his method for extracting and coding occupations, using the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure's primary, secondary, tertiary (PST) system. The Court of Common Pleas heard cases relating to debt or damages that exceeded 40 shillings. It tended to attract cases where the two parties lived in different places and local courts were not appropriate. It therefore had a bias towards those, such as artisans, dealers and the gentry, who were involved in urban commerce or who owned substantial property. Only one per cent of cases involved servants or labourers. Forrest's first conclusion is that the records cannot be used reliably to estimate the occupational structure of a county. What they can be used for is to understand the spatial distribution of occupations. There was an inland concentration of occupations such as butchers and innkeepers, whereas the clergy and gentlemen were more evenly spread. The larger towns had a bigger share of luxury crafts, such as pewterers and glovers. Textile occupations were concentrated along the river networks, revealing the importance of fulling in cloth production. Change in occupations over the century suggests that Dorset's urban economy remained stable or expanded, in line with the growing prosperity of south-west England.

W.M. Ormrod, 'England's immigrants, 1330–1550: aliens in later medieval and early Tudor England', *Journal of British Studies* 59, pp. 245–63.

W.M. Ormrod, 'Enmity or amity? The status of French immigrants to England during an age of War, c.1290–c.1540', *History* 105, pp. 28–59.

Studies of people of French origin living in England often begin with the Huguenots of the late sixteenth century, but Ormrod's papers are about migrants in the fourteenth,

fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The first paper describes a database that Ormrod and his colleagues have created from the records of the alien subsidy tax which was levied between 1440 and 1487, and other documents ‘including protections, denizations, and confirmations of fealty, dating from between the beginning of the Hundred Years ... [War] ... in the 1330s and the middle of the sixteenth century’ (p. 247). Aliens were most numerous in the southern counties of England and in the Scottish borderlands, with very few in the north Midlands and the counties bordering Wales. In some towns, notably Southampton and Bristol, more than 10 per cent of taxpayers were aliens. The paper also describes the occupations of aliens (more than half were described as ‘servants’) and the attitudes of the native population to these incomers.

The second paper is about those of French origin who came to live in England during the later medieval period. During much of this time, kings of England ruled parts of France, but were at war with other parts. French immigrants thus had a complicated potential status. Ormrod examines, principally, the legal aspects of this, showing that the French had a unique position, different from that of other ‘aliens’; that the options open to French migrants depended on their economic status; but that even migrants from the lower social and economic classes could be welcomed, especially when they were filling gaps in the labour market.

R. Podd, ‘Reconsidering maternal mortality in medieval England: aristocratic Englishwomen, c. 1236–1503’, *Continuity and Change* 35, pp. 115–37.

Using a sample of high-status Englishwomen from the royal families and those related to them, supplemented by data from the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and certain gentry families who have left records, Podd assesses maternal mortality. The women in the sample typically had their first child when they were aged between 15 and 20 years (probably at a younger age than the population as a whole), and their last pregnancy that went to term at an average age of about 28 years. Maternal mortality was low, being around one per cent for each birth if stillbirths are excluded, which was very similar to the rates recorded for the early modern period. The view, often stated in the literature, that childbirth was highly dangerous for medieval women, is not borne out by this evidence. Some women did die in childbirth, however, and the most common risk factor was high parity (for example women bearing their sixth or subsequent child).

Early modern

G. Alter, G. Newton and J. Oeppen, ‘Re-introducing the Cambridge Group family reconstitutions’, *Historical Life Course Studies* 9, pp. 24–48.

Many readers of *Local Population Studies* will be familiar with the dataset of 26 parishes for which family reconstitutions were carried out by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, and reported in E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen and R.S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580–1837* (Cambridge,

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1997). This article describes the data base, and re-introduces it as stored in a new data handling format, called intermediate data structure (IDS). The principle behind IDS is that it allows maximum flexibility in the storage and sharing of historical data, so that when researchers make data available in this form, they can be shared with and used by other researchers for almost any valid analysis. IDS is designed to preserve the information in and the structure of complex data files without doing anything to the data that precludes or compromises future analyses. There is a cost to this flexibility, in that data in IDS format usually need further manipulation before useful analysis is done. In the case of family reconstitution data, it is hoped that researchers who have written code to perform specific data manipulations on the IDS versions of the data will make this code available publicly. In this paper, Alter and his colleagues also discuss the use of family reconstitution data to analyse fertility within marriage, focusing on the choice of which marriages to include. They note especially that decisions about which marriages to include should not be made on the basis of information gathered when children were born or baptised. This can lead to estimates of fertility within marriage that are much too high, since high-fertility marriages are more likely to supply date information based on the birth or baptism of children. This has implications for some debates about marital fertility in pre-industrial England (see, for example, the paper by Clark, Cummins and Curtis reviewed below).

S. Beale, 'Military welfare in the Midland counties during and after the British civil wars, 1642 – c.1700', *Midland History* 45, pp. 18–35.

This article examines the effects of the civil wars in the Midlands by documenting the welfare provided to those maimed, widowed and orphaned by the conflict. Beale uses both the work of the county committees and the less studied role of the Quarter Sessions. Welfare primarily took the form of pensions, but some one-off payments were also made. People had to petition the authorities to receive relief and some proof of military service was required. At least 166 Parliamentary soldiers and 95 widows petitioned the Quarter Sessions in the Midlands. Most petitioners were from the rank and file, rather than officers. Soldiers received higher pensions than widows at an average 43 shillings a year, which was similar to other regions. This system lasted for several decades after the wars ended: some people were still receiving pensions in the 1710s.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this specialist welfare was its politicisation. In the 1640s and 1650s only Parliamentary victims could receive war pensions or gratuities and they were administered by parliamentary county committees. Royalists had to rely on parish poor relief instead. After the Restoration, the situation changed: now Royalist victims could petition for war relief, and Parliamentarians began to be denied it. More pensions began to be paid out to soldiers than widows in this period, and more variation in provision by county appeared. Relief often depended on regular attendance at Anglican church services. The politicisation of relief and its longevity suggests, for this reviewer [WF], that practices of the local state helped to maintain the social memory and divisions of the civil wars. Beale suggests that more research could be done to identify the relief paid to soldiers and widows by parish.

T. Brook, 'Comparative pandemics: the Tudor–Stuart and Wanli–Chongzhen years of pestilence, 1567–1666', *Journal of Global History* 15, pp. 363–79.

It is common in North America and Europe to compare the spread of Covid-19 from China to the rest of the world to the spread of the plague in the medieval period. Brook makes the point that this narrative is rarely heard in China: partly because of national sensitivities, but also because the history of disease has not established itself as a subfield in Chinese universities. This article attempts to make up for the lack of Chinese studies by comparing the experience of, and responses to, the disease epidemics in the province of North Zhili (the province that contains Beijing) to that of England from 1567 to 1666. Data from gazetteer reports suggests that North Zhili saw 26 epidemics in this period, 10 of them 'severe'. This is similar to the number of epidemics experienced by England in the same period: the Little Ice Age is suggested as the cause. Whether the epidemics in China were all caused by the plague is currently unclear. Chinese authorities saw epidemics mainly as an administrative problem requiring redeployment of doctors and income support for the populace. By contrast, the English state took a more multifaceted approach combining public health measures, maintaining public order and seeking spiritual forgiveness. At the popular level Brook sees more similarities, with ordinary people in both places becoming fearful and turning to prayer and ritual. Later in the period, the idea of 'contagion' began to enter Chinese discourse, but the interest in why and how pestilence spread was greater in England.

G. Clark, N. Cummins and M. Curtis, 'Twins support the absence of parity-dependent fertility control in pretransition populations', *Demography* 57, pp. 1,571–95.

There has been a recent debate on whether the population of England exhibited fertility control before the demographic transition. Different historians have analysed the same data (the reconstitution data set compiled by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure) and reached different conclusions. Readers who are interested in the debate should consult the papers by Cinnirella, Klemp and Weisdorf reviewed in *Local Population Studies* 101 (2018), p. 71, and by Clark and Cummins, and Cinnirella, Klemp and Weisdorf reviewed in *Local Population Studies* 105 (2020), pp. 139–40. In this contribution, Clark and his colleagues examine what happened when couples in preindustrial populations had twins. They argue that, if couples had a desired family size and the knowledge and ability to control fertility, parents who happened to produce twins would compensate by having fewer births later on. If, however, couples had no target family size, but believed that the number of children they would have was 'up to God', the fact that they produced twins would not affect their future fertility behaviour. By examining the Cambridge Group's reconstitution data, as well as other data from preindustrial populations in France and Canada, they conclude that fertility control was largely absent from these populations. Having twins did not materially affect a couple's future fertility.

D. Gallardo-Albarrán and H. de Jong, 'Optimism or pessimism? A composite view on English living standards during the industrial revolution', *European Review of Economic History* 25, pp. 1–19.

Trends in the standard of living in England between 1750 and 1850 have been the subject of controversy for decades. This new analysis of the topic makes use of a composite indicator of human well-being involving material living standards, health (as measured by the expectation of life at birth), working time and population inequality. The results suggest that well-being fell between 1760 and 1800 and rose between 1800 and 1850, such that by 1850 well-being was modestly higher than it had been in 1760. Closer inspection reveals that the decline in well-being between 1760 and 1800 would have been greater had mortality not fallen, and that the rise in well-being after 1800 was largely driven by rising material living standards. These results are consistent with an earlier literature summarised by A.J. Taylor, *The Standard of Living in Britain in the Industrial Revolution: Debates in Economic History* (London, 1975).

K. Gibson, 'Mothering illegitimate children in late eighteenth-century England', *Past and Present* 246, supplement 15, pp. 117–44.

There is a wealth of literature on illegitimacy and its consequences for the poorer sections of society, often based on poor law records. This article complements these studies by focusing on what happened when the rich and influential fathered illegitimate children. Gibson examines this both from the perspective of the birth mothers and the stepmothers, basing her argument around a small number of cases that she examines in detail.

R. Gillespie, 'Climate, weather and social change in seventeenth-century Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, section C* 120, pp. 253–71.

R. Hoyle, 'Shrewsbury, dearth, and extreme weather at the end of the sixteenth century' *Agricultural History Review* 68, pp. 22–36.

Two articles were published in 2020 looking at the role of weather on food supply and population in the early modern period. Both take aim at influential books, but come to rather different conclusions. Gillespie challenges Geoffrey Parker's sweeping picture of the very damaging effects of the Little Ice Age in *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 2013). Gillespie argues that not all early modern societies faced the same problems from climate change, and that seventeenth-century Ireland provides a striking counterpoint to the main trends across Eurasia. Most importantly, its population grew as others stagnated or fell. Gillespie suggests several explanations. Ireland experienced far fewer major disease epidemics (seeing the plague only once in the century). The Irish diet had a greater emphasis on meat and dairy products compared to grain, making it less vulnerable to dearth in grain. Ireland was a very rural society with

only Dublin to act as a major 'urban graveyard'. Finally, it was less commercialised with a low level of market dependency among the population. The point is brought home by comparing how two different regions, Connacht and Ulster, dealt with the harvest crisis due to very bad weather in 1673–1674. It was the more commercialised Ulster that fared worse. Gillespie concludes that it is the nature of a society, and the kind of response to harvest failures it is capable of, that determines the effects of extreme weather events.

Hoyle comes to a different view. In a short but punchy article, he takes aim at early modern historians' reliance on Amartya Sen. In *Poverty and Famines: an Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford, 1982) Sen argued that it is the distribution of resources that determines whether or not a famine occurs. Hoyle suggests that in the case of Shrewsbury in the 1580s and 1590s it was harvest failure that was the primary cause of dearth, with the pattern of distribution exacerbating the situation. The urban chronicle of Shrewsbury is used for qualitative evidence about the weather and its effect on agriculture. Two periods of storms, flooding and persistent wetness caused harvests in the region to be much reduced, with prices doubling or more within a year. The town authorities were very concerned by the situation and bought extra grain from the wholesale market to maintain supplies. Shrewsbury's role as the main distribution centre for Welsh cloth played an important role here, as it was able to raise significant money and buy from far outside its region, eventually purchasing Baltic grain, shipped via Bristol. The importance of understanding the role of weather over multiple years on the pattern of the harvest and its effects on prices is well made. The ability of the town authorities to act quickly and with some effectiveness is convincing. Historians should clearly link these two stages for a full analysis of dearth situations. However, in this reviewer's [WF] opinion the importance of commercial power for the city authorities' response may lead sceptical readers back to Sen's perspective.

A. Glaze, 'Sanctioned and illicit support networks at the margins of a Scottish town in the early seventeenth century', *Social History* 45, pp. 26–51.

In Scotland, the Kirk ran the parish poor relief system. It was run well, and was able to provide direct and indirect relief for those in need. However, receiving support was dependent on having a good reputation, a personal quality the Kirk had considerable powers to police. Inevitably, a divide between the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' poor grew up. Glaze looks at how the undeserving coped with being denied poor relief. The case study is Canongate, then effectively a suburb of Edinburgh with a mixed population and a reputation as the capital's red-light district. Female landlords and households of two or more single women often fell under suspicion of immoral behaviour. Informal and illicit support networks grew up among those with questionable reputations. This often took the form of 'harbouring' (that is, taking into one's household) others under investigation by the Kirk or excluded by the mainstream of society. Heads of households could be fined for doing this, and the fines were used to pay relief to the deserving. Some took in those to whom they were related, others took in people who offered to work for them or pay rent. Glaze maps the social networks of women accused of harbouring fugitives and people of

poor reputation. These show a mix of family and kin ties, and a kind of reciprocity between people jointly implicated or accused of immoral behaviour. These ties could provide support over several years.

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

This article was reviewed in *Local Population Studies* 105 (2020), pp. 142–3.

M. Hailwood, 'Time and work in rural England, 1500–1700', *Past and Present* 248, pp. 87–121.

J. Whittle and M. Hailwood, 'The gender division of labour in early modern England', *Economic History Review* 73, pp. 3–32.

These two articles present results from the project 'Women's work in rural England, 1500–1700: a new methodological approach'. The project uses court records from the south-western counties of England to collect observations of 4,300 work tasks between 1500 and 1700. The sources and methods used are discussed in more depth by Whittle and Hailwood in *Local Population Studies* 96 (2016), pp. 66–71. In the first article, Hailwood provides another revisionist take on E.P. Thompson's classic article 'Time, work-discipline, and industrial capitalism', *Past and Present* 38 (1967), pp. 56–97. His angle of attack is to look at rural people's understanding of time and its relation to work. Most witnesses used phases of the day, light events (such as sunset), or social events to denote time. However, around 40 per cent of the evidence used 'o'clock' to mark the time, suggesting a significant level of clock time awareness. This probably came from the spread of the mechanical striking of church bells in English parishes. The patterns of the working week and working day are considered. Saturday was the busiest day, typically a market day in small rural towns. 'Saint Monday' was not widely observed, and people were not strict Sabbatarians. A broad working day is reconstructed: most people started around 8 a.m. and finished between 5 and 6 p.m., with at least an hour for lunch around noon. However, it is clear that work carried on through the evening. Seasonality did not have much effect on this pattern and people worked by moonlight, candlelight and firelight. Taken together, this evidence suggests that early modern people worked hard to a regular daily and weekly pattern. This was driven by the demands of commercially-orientated households, and the specific requirements of agricultural work. What may have been different from factory work was the greater autonomy rural people had over their tasks, rather than time discipline itself.

In the second article, the authors use the data to examine women's participation in the economy and how gendered work may have been in this period. Due to an over-representation of men providing witness statements in the court materials used, they apply a multiplier to produce the final estimates. They find that women participated in all areas of the economy. Whilst their work was generally lower skilled and lower paid than men, their working time was not dominated by housework and care work as sometimes thought. Such work was also not the exclusive preserve of the family. They argue that the strongest use of

their evidence is in understanding the gendered division of labour within economic sectors. Here they find that, whilst agriculture and commerce were more flexible in dividing tasks between men and women, craft work did have a clear gender division. Exactly why this was the case remains hard to explain fully: the authors suggest that the divide roughly translates to crafts with legal apprenticeship (male) and those without (female), but the lack of guilds in the countryside and weak enforcement of apprenticeship across England make this stark division puzzling. The findings are compared to previous studies of Germany and Sweden showing strong similarities. Whittle and Hailwood conclude that the differing patterns of women's work suggest that there is not a single cause behind the gendered division of labour in this period.

D. Harrington, 'An example of the Kent parish returns listing contributions received for the distressed Protestants of Ireland, 1642: those for Elham', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 141, pp. 331-5.

The author is transcribing all the Kent returns prompted by the 1642 Act for the relief of distressed Irish subjects, issued in response to the rebellion of the previous year. He provides an example for the parish of Elham which records all those in the parish who donated money to the relief fund, and the amount they donated.

K. Heitman, 'Authority, autonomy and the first London Bills of Mortality', *Centaurus* 62, pp. 275-84.

This is the second article reviewed that seeks to use history to shed light on our current situation with COVID-19. Heitman uses the history of the London Bills of Mortality to draw out the features needed for effective use of public data during an epidemic. These are: making data available to all adults with minimal restrictions; appropriate numeracy skills among the adult population to interpret the data; and allowing adults to use the data to make their own informed choices. Publishing official data also helps to limit the spread of misinformation.

J. Humphries, 'Girls and their families in an era of economic change', *Continuity and Change* 35, pp. 311-43.

The use of working-class autobiographies to illuminate social and economic activity in the past is now well established. However, the vast majority of the autobiographies examined hitherto have been written by men. In this paper, Humphries reports on a project through which she has assembled a smaller, but still substantial, collection of women's autobiographies, supplementing them with similar information from interviews with women in Royal Commission reports, oral history data and a few other sources. Her attention focuses on the differences between women's experience and that reported by men. It is clear that women's occupational choices were much more restricted than men's, with domestic service dominating. The women were also more critical of their fathers than men were, complaining about their lack of engagement with family life, although there was some

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sympathy with the long hours men were compelled to work, especially during the period from about 1780 to 1850. Families were ‘reliant on their male heads for economic support, and this system entrenched as places of work became increasingly separated from homes, and more formalised and regulated, while hours lengthened’ (p. 336). Many of the autobiographies describe growing up in families with overworked and overburdened mothers, and express apprehension about the prospect of pregnancy, especially repeated pregnancies. Finally, a number of the testimonies mention sexual harassment and abuse, and it is likely that the prevalence of this is underestimated.

M. Mant, ‘“A little time woud compleat the cure”’: broken bones and fracture experiences of the working poor in London’s general hospitals during the long eighteenth century’, *Social History of Medicine* 33, pp. 438–62.

How effective were pre-modern hospitals in healing the sick? Mant looks at the experience of the labouring poor admitted to four London hospitals with fractures. Surgeons in the eighteenth century knew that fractures could heal through bone growth around the break. Closed fractures were treated in a straightforward manner using a splint on the broken limb and allowing time for the fracture to heal. Compound fractures were seen as more difficult to treat and were often amputated. Patients with fractures of the limb typically spent around two or three months in hospital. The vast majority were healed and discharged. Closed fractures of the skull or spine needed longer stays and were much more likely to be fatal. Admissions for fractures of the limbs increased over the century. The majority of male patients with fractures were described as labourers and this may be related to the increasing risks of occupational injury in a large commercial city.

A.T. Robertson, ‘The contribution of freemasons to social and economic development in North Worcestershire c.1760–1824’, *Midland History* 45, pp. 55–74.

Freemasonry and its relationship to the economic and social life of provincial communities is an under-researched area. In this contribution, Robertson looks at the membership and activities of the masonic lodges in Bewdley, Dudley, Kidderminster and Stourbridge. He shows that freemasons contributed to the development of the region surrounding these towns in three areas: agricultural innovation, investment in transport infrastructure, and industrial development. Masons were also philanthropists, in particular giving grants to fund educational institutions.

S. Shave, ‘The land agent and the old poor laws: examining the correspondence of William Spencer in Sapcote, Leicestershire’, *Agricultural History Review* 68, pp. 190–212.

Shave investigates the role of the land agent in the last decades of the Old Poor Law, using the correspondence of William Spencer. Spencer managed estates in Leicestershire for an absentee landlord, and also took over much of his master’s responsibilities for parish relief. He applied his financial acumen and administrative skills to good effect in supporting a

project to build a workhouse. He knew and worked closely with the poor law guardians, but had a more difficult relationship with local magistrates. Spencer was well informed about Gilbert's Act and the wider regulatory context; he also kept in touch with developments in other poor law unions. His involvement in running the poor laws did not make him more sympathetic to those in distress and he displayed many of prejudices of the rural elite of the period. This article demonstrates clearly how the professional and managerial class shaped rural society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

L. Shields, J. Jomeen, W. Smyth, and D. Stanley, 'Matthew Flinders senior (1751–1802): surgeon and "man-midwife"', *Journal of Medical Biography* 28, pp. 115–20.

Matthew Flinders (the father of Captain Matthew Flinders who circumnavigated Australia) was a surgeon and 'man-midwife' in Donington, Lincolnshire. He left good records of his work, which have been published by the Lincoln Record Society in M. Beardsley and N. Bennett (eds) *'Gratefull to Providence': the Diary and Accounts of Matthew Flinders, Surgeon, Apothecary and Man-Midwife, 1775–1802*, vols. 1 and 2 (Lincoln, 2008 and 2009). Flinders was part of the transition from female midwives to male doctors supervising childbirth. The authors highlight the profitability of his midwifery business, suggesting that this was a strong motivation for male doctors to move into this area of practice. However, Flinders only used forceps for 3 of the 44 births he attended in 1775, suggesting that innovations in midwifery associated with surgeons were limited in their use.

K. Siena, 'On courtroom dramas and plot twists: typhus in eighteenth-century London', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 94, pp. 590–601.

This piece is a reflection on the applicability of Charles Rosenberg's model of epidemics (see C.E. Rosenberg, 'What is an epidemic? AIDS in historical perspective', *Daedalus* 118 (1989), pp. 1–17). The chosen application is to typhus in eighteenth-century London, and Siena's main point is that the definition of an epidemic depends not just on the change in the number of cases, but on who was infected. Typhus was commonplace in jails in eighteenth-century England (it was often called 'jail fever') and this largely went unremarked upon. But on the few occasions when prisoners brought into court rooms infected jurors and court officials, the disease became a cause for general concern. As Siena notes: the disease 'loomed large in the public imagination whenever it threatened to strike the respectable, yet the mundane reality of typhus caused far less stir' (p. 599) because it was affecting lives who were considered less 'worthy' and who, in the eyes of many, had contributed by their own actions to their elevated risk of contracting the disease.

J. Stephenson, 'Working days in a London construction team in the eighteenth century: evidence from St Paul's Cathedral', *Economic History Review* 73, pp. 409–30.

This article compliments Stephenson's previous study of real wages among building workers, which was reviewed in *Local Population Studies* 103, (2019), pp. 90–1. That article presented

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strong evidence that current estimates of real wages needed to be revised downwards. This follow-up study tackles the annual number of days worked by building workers, important in current estimates of the standard of living and levels of industriousness. For example, Robert Allen's estimates of living standards assumes a 250-day working week for male workers. Stephenson presents evidence that this is a significant overestimation. Very few men on the St Paul's construction site worked that many days in a year. The most skilled men worked an average of 200 days, but across all skill levels the average was 139 days. Work was seasonal with a clear reduction of activity between January and March. When men were on site, they worked hard: a working day of 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. and a five- or five-and-a-half-day week was common. There is no evidence of observing Saint Monday or similar practices. The implication is that current series for living standards need to be revised downwards. Estimates of industriousness need to find 'extra days' for building workers if they are going to carry on using their wages as data. This article is usefully read alongside the study by Hailwood reviewed above. Together they demonstrate the best evidence is found by examining work in the context of sector, time and place.

C. Tait, ' "Kindred without end": wet-nursing, fosterage and emotion in Ireland, c. 1550–1720', *Irish Economic and Social History* 47, pp. 10–35.

Tait looks at evidence for fostering and wet-nursing in post medieval Ireland. The author's interest is in the role of these practices in sustaining 'fictive kinship' in this period, and how they were being used by different ethnic communities. A variety of qualitative evidence of wet-nursing is found among the gentry and middling classes. The fostering of children was being used by the Gaelic gentry to maintain alliances into the mid seventeenth century. It was viewed with suspicion by the authorities for creating clients of local lords and the resulting networks were often mobilised in aristocratic disputes. Gaelic, Old English and New English families all used wet-nursing and fostering with their children. This could cut across ethnic divisions and Tait provides evidence that New English families were placing their children with Catholic families. Some of these children and nurses were attacked or taken hostage in the 1641 rebellion. This article is a good example of how the 1641 depositions can be used as a source for social history.

B. Waddell, ' "Verses of my owne making": literacy, work, and social identity in early modern England', *Journal of Social History* 54, pp. 161–84.

Waddell looks at the role of literacy in shaping identity and social mobility among the middling sort. He uses the notebooks of Joseph Bufton, a clothier from Coggeshall, Essex as his source. Although Bufton was described as a clothier, was literate (and even well read) both he and his father moved uncertainly between the status of journeymen and master over their adult lives. Literacy served several functions: it was a practical means to keep financial accounts; a spiritual means to work at being 'godly'; a way of documenting economic knowledge; and a way of asserting occupational identity as a tradesman. Waddell

sets Bufton's uses of literacy in the wider context of artisans and tradesmen of the period. The practical and identity-forming aspects of literacy went hand-in-hand for many, particularly those involved in corporate and guild life in provincial towns. Although historians have often stressed the social polarisation around literacy, this middling group was interested in creating fraternity and community through writing and reading.

Nineteenth century

O. Akgun, A. Dearle, G. Kirby, E. Garrett, T. Dalton, P. Christen, C. Dibben and L. Williamson, 'Linking Scottish vital event records using family groups', *Historical Methods* 20, pp. 130–46.

This article derives from a project which ultimately aims to link individual-level data from the entire population of Scotland from 1856 to 1973. It tests an approach to record linkage which is based on the family reconstitution methods used by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. The results seem satisfactory, but need to be compared with those based on other methods.

L. Antoine, K. Inwood, C. Minns and F. Summerfield, 'Selection bias encountered in the systematic linkage of historical census records', *Social Science History* 44, pp. 555–70.

When linking individual records from one historical census to the next, the subgroup of persons for whom unique links can be identified is usually not representative of the total population. One reason for a failure uniquely to link a person is that multiple potential links exist. This is frequently the case, for example, for persons with common names. A way of expanding the number of fields used in the linkage, and hence to increase the proportion of the population that can be linked uniquely, is to use ancillary information about other household members (such as the names of spouses or offspring). This process is called the *disambiguation* of links. A question arises as to whether disambiguation reduces or increases the representativeness of the resulting linked sample. In this paper, Antoine and her colleagues analyse nineteenth-century Canadian census data and show that disambiguation can both increase and decrease representativeness depending on the variable being considered but that, overall, it makes rather little difference. It does, however, substantially increase the size of the linked sample, which has obvious advantages for statistical analysis. Towards the end of the paper, the authors make some remarks about the applicability of disambiguation to British historical census data.

A. Arnold-Forster, 'Mapmaking and mapthinking: cancer as a problem of place in nineteenth-century England', *Social History of Medicine* 33, pp. 463–88.

This article discusses aspects of the work of Dr Alfred Haviland, who drew detailed maps of the distribution of cancer mortality in England and Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century, using cause of death data from the Registrar General. Haviland was

interested in the environmental correlates of cancer, and he conceived of it as being produced by rural environments rather than urban ones. This is interesting, as it distinguished cancer from the infectious diseases which were concentrated in urban areas. Cancer was already being seen as a cause of death with post-industrial characteristics.

B.J. Ayres, 'Community and identity: late Victorian navvies', *Family and Community History* 23, pp. 169–81.

Quite a lot has been written on the railway navigators, or 'navvies' that constructed the railways during the railway mania period of the 1840s and the subsequent two decades. However, less is known about their history towards the end of the nineteenth century. By that time, major construction projects were fewer, living standards were higher, and legislation and regulation meant that living conditions had dramatically improved. Ayres describes the railway navvies and their families working on two projects: the Great Central Railway and the Manchester Ship Canal. He describes the communities within which they lived, and the nature of the forces binding these communities together.

C. Beardmore, 'The Marquis of Anglesey: working and social relationships on a Dorset estate (c. 1812–1844)', *Rural History* 31, pp. 135–50.

Rather little is known of the history of tenant farmers in the early nineteenth century compared with the history of the working classes or landowners. In this paper, Beardmore uses the records of the Marquis of Anglesey's Dorset and Somerset estates to paint a picture of the management of such lands during the difficult years following the Napoleonic Wars. Central to the story is the steward of the estates, William Castleman. Castleman's interactions with the tenant farmers show that these men were not passive in the face of economic difficulty, but many showed initiative in trying to have their rents reduced or rolled over. In this they were aided by the fact that land was difficult to let, so if a tenant farmer quit or was evicted it was possible that the holding would lie idle for some years. Castleman was a firm but fair man, who tried to balance the interests of the Marquis and those of the tenants, while coming down very firmly where he believed a tenant was genuinely out of order.

D.H.L. Brown, D.R. Green, K. McIlvenna and N. Shelton, 'The beating heart of the system: the health of postal workers in Victorian London', *Journal of Historical Geography* 68, pp. 75–85.

D.R. Green, D.H.L. Brown and K. McIlvenna, 'Addressing ill health: sickness and retirement in the Victorian Post Office', *Social History of Medicine* 33, pp. 559–85.

During the late nineteenth century, the Post Office kept meticulous records of the health of its employees. The records were mainly introduced as part of the pension scheme. They give the reason that an employee was pensioned off and include details of periods of sickness during active service with the cause of sickness.

These two papers are companion articles to the one by the same authorial team reviewed in *Local Population Studies* 105 (2020), p. 151. The second of them presents a general analysis of the data. Post Office employees were generally in poor health: more than half took their pension before the standard age of 60 years on account of ill health. Morbidity among the employees of the Post Office rose over the late nineteenth century as has been found for other groups in other studies. This was a real rise, and not due to a change in the composition of the workforce. The kinds of conditions that Post Office workers suffered from included conditions like foot and joint problems which might be associated with walking long distances, and eye problems arising from years of trying to read addresses in dimly-lit sorting offices. However, it is not easy to show that these conditions were more prevalent among Post Office workers than among the general population.

Post Office workers in urban areas suffered from worse health than those working in the countryside. Urban workers were much more likely to retire early on the grounds of ill health than their fellow employees in rural districts. In addition to a general urban penalty, the data suggest that working in London was a factor in generating periods of ill health. The first paper examines this in more detail. The work for the Post Office in London was especially onerous: particularly demanding was a requirement that split shifts be worked in the early morning and the afternoon, which led to workers being deprived of a decent night's sleep for long periods.

J. Caine, 'The migration patterns of male residents in four Lincolnshire settlements in 1851', *Family and Community History* 23, pp. 182–99.

Caine takes the list of males living in four Lincolnshire parishes in 1851 and attempts to trace them in the censuses of 1861 to 1901, and other documents such as ships' passenger lists. She finds, as expected, that males who were heads of household in 1851 were less inclined to migrate than were males who were the sons of heads of household, and very much less migratory than unattached males. However, she does not find a tendency for these men to migrate to places higher up in the local urban hierarchy. The parishes she studied were agricultural, and the out-migrants tended to move to similar occupations in other rural areas, or to more distant towns and cities. Particularly striking was the lack of movement to the county town of Lincoln.

L. Darwen, D.M. MacRaild, B. Gurrin and L. Kennedy, '“Irish fever” in Britain during the Great Famine: immigration, disease and the legacy of “Black ‘47”', *Irish Historical Studies* 44, pp. 270–94.

Following their paper reviewed in *Local Population Studies* 105 (2020), pp. 149–50, the same authorial team tackles the subject of epidemic typhus, or 'Irish fever' that was brought into many parts of Britain by the migrant populations who fled the Great Famine. The paper notes that the descriptor 'Irish fever' was accurate, in that the disease was concentrated among the migrants, so that its incidence followed the routes they took. This meant that it

affected many towns in Britain as migrants moved inland, and was not just confined to the main west coast ports of entry. The authors discuss how concern about the disease influenced perceptions of the Irish among the host population of Britain, arguing that the association with fever ‘made the Famine generation more pronouncedly and consistently outcast than any other wave of Irish arrivals’ (p. 294).

R.J. Davenport, ‘Urbanization and mortality in Britain, c. 1800–50’, *Economic History Review* 73, pp. 455–85.

H. Jaadla, E. Potter, S. Keibek and R. Davenport, ‘Infant and child mortality by socio-economic status in early nineteenth-century England’, *Economic History Review* 73, pp. 991–1,022.

This first of these important papers presents new data on the evolution of mortality in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. Readers of *Local Population Studies* will be aware of the debate over the worsening of urban mortality in the second quarter of the century. Simon Szreter and Graham Mooney argued that the urban infrastructure was overwhelmed by rapid population growth and that it was not until competent urban administration arrived on the scene around 1870 that mortality decline in cities resumed (see S. Szreter and G. Mooney, ‘Urbanisation, 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 (1998), pp. 84–112). Robert Woods ‘The effect of population redistribution on the level of mortality in nineteenth-century England and Wales’, *Journal of Economic History* 45 (1985), pp. 645–51, maintained that urbanisation would naturally have led to a worsening of mortality as people moved from healthy rural areas to unhealthy towns. Davenport’s new evidence tends to support the interpretation of Woods rather than that of Szreter and Mooney. She shows, first, that the worsening of mortality in the 1830s and 1840s was largely seen in mortality in early childhood; second, that it was a rural phenomenon as well as an urban one; and, third, that it was also observed in many other industrialising populations, such as those in the north-eastern United States. A key reason was the emergence of a more virulent version of scarlet fever, which raged for about four decades from 1830 to the 1870s before declining. The decline of scarlet fever mortality in England and Wales is easily identifiable from the cause of death data published by the Registrar General, but its rise is not so easy to spot as it largely predates the period for which comprehensive cause of death data are available. Nevertheless, Davenport makes a good case for regarding it as a major reason for the increased mortality in cities and elsewhere in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The second paper examines the mortality of infants and children by father’s occupation, as recorded in the Church of England baptism registers in the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure’s family reconstitution parishes between 1813 and 1837. The authors consider various schemes for ascribing a position in the social and economic hierarchy to the reported occupations. None of these is perfect, and the

establishment of any consistent association between social and economic status and the mortality of children is bedevilled by the fact that the children of men described as 'labourers' had consistently low risks of death. Setting 'labourers' to one side and looking at the remaining occupations reveals a weak association between status and mortality. However, this begs the question of why the children of 'labourers' did so well. One obvious explanation is that most of these 'labourers' were, in fact, agricultural labourers and lived in healthy rural environments. This has some truth but, Jaadla and her colleagues argue, is not the whole story. Another factor seems to have been the longer periods of breastfeeding that the children of 'labourers' enjoyed.

N. Durbach, 'Dead or alive? Stillbirth registration, premature babies, and the definition of life in England and Wales, 1836–1960', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 94, pp. 64–90.

The registration of stillbirths was not required in England and Wales until 1926. When it came in, as this paper argues, its purpose was not primarily to inform public health but to deter infanticide and facilitate the prosecution of those who were believed to be killing their children shortly after birth and then claiming that the murdered children were stillborn. Consequently, the legislation focused on defining what constituted independent life outside the womb, drawing the definition of independent life as broadly as possible so as to minimise the scope for 'passing off' live births as stillbirths. Durbach's paper describes the consequences of this decision in terms of disagreements with the medical profession as to what constituted independent life. Another issue was that the legislation considered babies born after pregnancies of fewer than 28 weeks' duration not to be capable of independent life, so their births and deaths did not have to be reported if they died very shortly after birth. The stillbirth registration legislation thus only applied to those born after 28 weeks. Of course, determining the duration of pregnancy is an inexact science, which led to further conflicts between the Registrar General and the medical profession.

R. Ford, 'Controlling contagion? Watercress, regulation and the Hackney typhoid outbreak of 1903', *Rural History* 31, pp. 181–94.

Watercress was regarded as a very healthy food in late nineteenth century London. Widely believed to be grown in fresh running water from chalk streams, it was imbued with a healthy rural aura. In fact, much of London's watercress was grown closer to the capital in water contaminated by sewage and even the watercress grown in the countryside was not always free from harmful bacteria. Nevertheless, when watercress was implicated in a typhoid outbreak in Hackney in 1903, the healthy image of watercress discouraged the authorities from taking action. This article demonstrates, therefore, that the 'urban penalty' in nineteenth-century England fuelled perceptions that could have complex and ramifying effects on public health policy.

E. Griffin, 'The value of motherhood: understanding motherhood from maternal absence in Victorian Britain', *Past and Present* 246 (supplement 15), pp. 167–85.

Placing a monetary value on domestic work has always been difficult and continues to be so. In the nineteenth century, domestic work was regarded as women's responsibility, and men were dissuaded by the culture from taking it on, so the cline between waged and unwaged work amounted to a division of labour by gender. In this paper, Griffin uses evidence from autobiographies to assess the value of women's domestic labour by studying families where the mother departed, either because she died or (more rarely) because she deserted her husband and children. Fathers whose wives were no longer present in the household almost never took on the domestic duties themselves. They boarded their children out with relatives, appointed paid or unpaid housekeepers, or remarried. Only rarely were these arrangements satisfactory from the children's perspective. Children especially missed the 'emotional labour' or 'worry work' that their mothers had performed, acting as friends, counsellors and shoulders to cry on.

R.J.P Harris, 'Building regional identity: social and cultural significance of railways for Cornwall in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *Journal of Transport History* 41, pp. 254–77.

H. Reeves, 'The place of peripheral "railway towns" in transport history', *Journal of Transport History* 41, pp. 458–68.

These two articles are both about the relationship between the railways and their communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Harris argues that the railways in Cornwall acted in two somewhat opposing ways. First, they encouraged the county to market itself to tourists as an alternative to warmer continental destinations, and one with an added Celtic mystique. But, second, they were instrumental in facilitating the massive out-migration and emigration from the county between 1860 and 1940.

Reeves asks: what constitutes a 'railway town'? Historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are aware of places such as Swindon and Crewe where railway employment dominated the economy. But most railway workers did not live in places like Swindon and Crewe, and there were many towns where the railway was a major employer, but not dominant. Reeves argues that a study of these places might provide a more representative picture of the place of railways in the British economy than studies of the traditional 'railway towns'. She illustrates her paper with the examples of Didcot in the south Midlands and Shildon in north-east England.

H. Jaadla, A. Reid, E. Garrett, K. Schürer and J. Day, 'Revisiting the fertility transition in England and Wales: the role of social class and migration', *Demography* 57, pp. 1,543–69.

This paper presents a new analysis of fertility change in England between the 1840s and 1911 using individual-level data from the Integrated Census Microdata Project. The analysis

is based on children aged under five years living with their married mothers at the time of the enumeration. A novel feature is the incorporation into the analysis of data on lifetime migration of the wives under investigation. In addition, the authors revisit the association between social class and fertility decline, using the same social groups as the Registrar General: classes I–V (professional and managerial, intermediate non-manual, skilled manual, semi-skilled manual and unskilled manual), and separate classes for textile workers, coal miners and agricultural labourers. The results largely confirm what was already known about the decline of fertility by social class. The decline began among professional and managerial workers and textile workers; unskilled workers and (especially) coal miners had high fertility and a late decline; and social differentials in fertility widened during the early stages of the transition. A new finding is that women who had migrated (within England and Wales) longer distances from their places of birth generally had lower fertility than women who had remained living closer to their natal communities. This was true of all social groups except for textile workers. The authors attribute this to postponement of marriage and starting a family among migrants, though they also discuss the implications of this for the spread of information and communication networks.

C. McCabe, 'Charwomen and Dublin's secondary labour force in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', *Social History* 45, pp. 193–217.

According to the 1901 census, there were 1,493 charwomen (cleaners who went into other people's houses) in Dublin city. This is almost certainly an underestimate, as the nature of charring was that it was casual, often temporary and almost always part-time work. This article is about the characteristics and the lives of Dublin's charwomen. Unlike domestic servants, charwomen were normally aged over 30 years, with more than a quarter being aged over 50. More than half were widows, and had probably been forced out to work by the death of their husbands, as the Poor Law provided only very meagre support for widows. For the same reason, many charwomen were heads of household, and these households formed some of the poorest in the city. The children of houses headed by charwomen were frequently in need of assistance from charities and the Poor Law, or the help of neighbours in the tenement blocks where many lived. As McCabe writes in her conclusion, the typical demographic and economic profile of charwomen was that they were 'middle-aged to elderly women, living in a single room in an insanitary tenement. They had few possessions, lived in dire poverty, and their only employment option was to char, the lowest-paying work available' (p. 215).

A. Reid, H. Jaadla, E. Garrett and K. Schürer, 'Adapting the own children method to allow comparison of fertility between populations with different marriage regimes', *Population Studies* 74, pp. 197–218.

This paper is a technical one about measuring fertility within marriage using data from the censuses from 1851 to 1911. A common method used to achieve this is the own-children

method, which relies on matching women who could potentially have reproduced during a period before each census with the children they actually produced. Commonly the method is applied only to married women and legitimate children, and the paper demonstrates why this is the case, as it is much more difficult to match the children of unmarried mothers to the women who bore them. A problem with using the method to estimate the fertility of married women is that some assumption has to be made about how long women have been married in order to estimate exposure within marriage. At younger ages (especially below 25 years) the resulting estimates of age-specific marital fertility rates are highly sensitive to the assumptions being made about marital duration, and the fact that women may be selected into getting married because they became pregnant. The paper presents a range of possible assumptions about the duration of marriages and applies them to data from the 1911 census. The authors recommend that comparisons of the marital fertility of subgroups of the population are based only on married women aged 25 years and over. This seems sensible, as the results suggest that none of the proposed assumptions produces satisfactory estimates when faced with the challenges of estimating marital fertility at ages under 25 years.

R. Rodger, 'Making the census count: revealing Edinburgh 1760–1900', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 40, pp. 134–48.

This article is actually a plea for the Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) project to make available to the general public the full census data including names, without the need to apply for a special licence. Rodger laments the fact that the available data are anonymised and presents examples from Edinburgh of the kinds of research that are only possible with access to the names. Unfortunately, one of the examples consists of a study of the evolution of naming practices over time (a study which, self-evidently, needs names), and the other describes a project which, so far as this reviewer [AH] can make out, could equally be carried out with anonymised data. The article also downplays the effort required to digitise the census data, and the critical nature of the deal between the I-CeM project and FindMyPast.

S.J. Taylor, 'Children, poverty and mental health in rural and urban England (1850–1907)', *Rural History* 31, pp. 151–64.

This paper is about the children who were admitted to pauper lunatic asylums in the second half of the nineteenth century. The data come from asylums in Manchester, Birmingham, Northamptonshire and the three counties of Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Hertfordshire. It turns out that many children who went to such institutions did not come from poor families (though they were not rich, either). They did, however, come from families who were under pressure, either because they had many children, or because of the death of a parent. Boys were more often sent to asylums than girls, possibly because girls (even those with mental health issues) could be more useful domestically than boys.

E.A. Wrigley and R.M. Smith, 'Malthus and the Poor Law', *Historical Journal* 63, pp. 33–62.

This paper forms part of a special issue of the *Historical Journal* entitled 'Malthusian moments'. In it, Wrigley and Smith revisit the often-researched question of whether the Speenhamland system under the Old Poor Law, in which outdoor relief payments were related to the size of a poor man's family, actually had any impact on demographic behaviour. Previous attempts to examine this question have mainly focused on fertility behaviour, but Wrigley and Smith note that central to Malthus's opposition to this aspect of the Old Poor Law was that it would encourage early and 'improvident' marriages. They use the 1851 census, which allows a detailed examination of marital status by age and sex and take advantage of the fact that the Speenhamland system of allowances operated only in part in England. They show that, among those cohorts marrying during the period when the Speenhamland system was in operation, the proportions ever married in 'Speenhamland counties' did not differ from those in other counties. Indeed, the difference was greater among those who married after 1834, when the Speenhamland system was abolished. Their conclusion is that Malthus was mistaken in his belief that the Old Poor Law encouraged early marriages among those who could not afford to have children.

X. You, 'Women's labour force participation in nineteenth-century England and Wales: evidence from the 1881 census enumerators' books', *Economic History Review* 73, pp. 106–33.

X. You, 'Working with husband? "Occupation's wife" and married women's employment in the censuses in England and Wales between 1851 and 1911', *Social Science History* 44, pp. 585–613.

The availability of individual-level census returns for the censuses of England and Wales between 1851 and 1911 is certain to stimulate new research and generate a rash of articles. The first of these articles actually uses the 1881 census, the individual-level data for which have been available for some time, to examine local and regional variation in women's labour force participation. You produces many maps of the proportions of all women, married women and widows working in regular employment. Two areas stand out: the textile regions of Lancashire and adjacent areas of Yorkshire, and the lace-making and straw-plaiting region of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire. You then shows that the demand for labour was the main determinant of women's labour force participation in any region or locality; although supply side factors (such as the presence of children within the household) did have an effect, they caused the participation rates of women with different characteristics to vary about an average level determined mainly by demand factors. Taking migration into account does not lead to a need to re-assess this conclusion.

In the second paper, You examines the common practice of census enumerators to write, in the column headed 'rank, profession or occupation' the words 'X's wife' against women married to men in occupation X. The paper shows clearly that such designations tell us very little about what the women so described did and, in particular, whether they actually assisted or worked with their husbands. This applies to women described as

‘farmer’s wife’, even though many farmer’s wives are thought actively to have participated in the running of their farms. In some enumeration districts, the enumerator described all married women as ‘X’s wife’ in this way, whereas in about 35 per cent of enumeration districts, no married women were so described. It seems as if the personal preferences of enumerators were the main determinant of the use of the form. This conclusion may come as no surprise to older readers of *Local Population Studies* who spent many hours transcribing census enumerators’ books in the days before digitisation. You suggests that ‘[i]ndividual enumerators’ idiosyncrasies in the enumeration of “occupation’s wife” [were] likely to be the product of Victorian domestic ideology’. This was clearly sometimes the case: this reviewer [AH] has transcribed census enumerators’ books for enumeration districts where the ‘rank, profession or occupation’ column for every married woman contained the entry ‘domestic duties’.

Twentieth century

B. Brabin, ‘An analysis of the United States and United Kingdom smallpox epidemics (1901–5) – the special relationship that tested public health strategies for disease control’, *Medical History* 64, pp. 1–31.

We can expect to read many analyses of historical epidemics over the next few years. This is an account of the smallpox epidemic of 1901–1905 in Liverpool, which also struck the United States port city of Boston around the same time. The disease was probably transmitted back and forth between the two cities by sea. The article includes a description of the actions taken by the public health authorities in the two cities. In Liverpool, where opposition to vaccination was muted, a strategy of contact tracing and ring vaccination was introduced. This rapidly brought the epidemic under control and paved the way for similar successful policies in other environments later in the century. In Boston, opposition to vaccination was stronger, so it took longer for the authorities to gain control over the disease.

M. Coleman, ‘Protestant depopulation in County Longford during the Irish Revolution, 1911–1926’, *English Historical Review* 135, pp. 931–77.

Coleman charts the decline of the population of Church of Ireland, Presbyterian and Methodist adherents during the period before, during and immediately after the Irish Civil War of the early 1920s. Depending on which area of the county is being considered, a decline of between 30 and 50 per cent was observed. Coleman argues that the withdrawal of the British directly affected the Presbyterian community more than the other two groups. The explanation of the population decline was, however, quite complex. The Church of Ireland suffered through its membership not reproducing itself naturally; all three Protestant denominations also lost individuals who wanted to marry a partner from within the same tradition but could not find a suitable partner in the county. Sectarian violence or the threat of violence associated with the Civil War did play a part, but this was

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not the only, or even the major cause. Protestants who remained tended to be those with long family ties to the area, or who were economically embedded securely within their local communities.

S.A. King and P. Jones, 'Fragments of fury? Lunacy, agency, and contestation in the Great Yarmouth workhouse, 1890s–1900s', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 51, pp. 235–65.

Although the title of this paper suggests it deals with the last decade of the nineteenth century, the emphasis of the paper is on the period after 1901. It is the latest of Steven King's attempts to show that the New Poor Law was not a juggernaut simply doing things 'to' the poor which the latter were powerless to resist. In this paper he examines the treatment of lunatics within Great Yarmouth workhouse. Great Yarmouth Union was certainly not known for its sympathetic treatment of the poor, and early in the New Poor Law period had been the subject of scandals and inquiries. Nevertheless, by the turn of the twentieth century this period was behind it, and workhouse 'inmates had developed an arena within which they could exercise initiative even as they were subject to the workhouse regimen' (p. 264). Much is made in the paper of the case of one inmate, Lorina Bulwer, who left a set of embroidered samplers containing text commenting upon her life in the workhouse and upon the other inmates.