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## Review of recent periodical literature

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Unless otherwise stated, all articles reviewed in this issue were published in 2011. The review is in four sections: '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 relate to more than one of these periods: they are usually reviewed in the section covering the earliest period to which they relate. Within each period, articles are listed in alphabetical order of first author's name, except where two or more articles on related themes are reviewed together.

### Ancient and medieval

K. Bailey, 'Medieval Kingsey and Tythorp, 1086–1335', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 51, 169–88.

M. Page, 'Town and countryside in medieval Ivinghoe', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 51, 189–204.

These two papers examine individual parishes and communities in Buckinghamshire, providing insights into landholding practices and economic change over time. Bailey uses Domesday Book, the Hundred Rolls of 1255–1279 and the Lay Subsidies of 1327 and 1332 to examine changes in the ownership of the manor of Kingsey and Tythorp, the management of its field systems, and the way in which the local landscape was organised. The Lay Subsidies of 1327 and 1332 provide comparable lists of taxpayers for the two years which appear to show a decrease in the number of taxpayers, and a 'significant turnover of names' (p.178). The assessments also provide insight into the sizes of holdings, relative wealth of tenants, and the amount of crops and livestock they owned.

Page focuses upon the development of Ivinghoe, a manor belonging to the bishops of Winchester, across the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Fluctuations in land transfers recorded in the Winchester pipe rolls illuminate both changes in mortality patterns and possible periods of change in estate administration. The location of Ivinghoe in relation to other towns and production centres made it an increasingly important meeting place for traders. Receipts from tolls levied on taverns in the village by the bishops of Winchester reflect their desire to profit from this, as does their successful application in 1318 for the formal establishment of a market. The growth of trading opportunities perhaps also

accounts for the sub-letting of properties in Ivinghoe, a practice which was no doubt widespread, but which is unusually well documented in the pipe rolls.

J.-P. Bocquet-Appel, 'When the world's population took off: the springboard of the Neolithic Demographic Transition', *Science*, 333, 560–1.

This short article by Bocquet-Appel appeared in a special issue of *Science* on the theme of population. It provides an insight and overview of the Neolithic Demographic Transition (NDT). Bocquet-Appel describes how the NDT coincided with the movement from foraging to farming, which allowed a higher calorific diet among sedentary farmers, resulting in better maternal health and increased fertility. However, the development of villages and other settlements, along with the domestication of animals, also created ideal opportunities for disease and subsequent rises in mortality. Sedentary settlements and villages also provided the impetus for economic and political changes. As Bocquet-Appel shows, the NDT very much mirrors the circumstances described for the Contemporary Demographic Transition (CDT) in Western industrialised societies: in the former increases in fertility were followed by increases in mortality, whereas in the CDT a decline in mortality was followed by a decline in fertility.

B.M.S. Campbell and C. Ó Gráda, 'Harvest shortfalls, grain prices and famines in preindustrial England', *Journal of Economic History*, 71, 859–86.

This paper uses new data on grain prices and yields to assess the extent to which famine was a threat to the population of England in the pre-industrial era. The data relate to three periods, 1268–1480, 1750–1850 and 1884–1939. During the medieval period, the famine of 1315–1316 stands out as the most serious episode. However, an even more prolonged shortfall in yields was observed in 1349–1351. This did not produce the same impact on living standards as the 'great' famine of 1315–1316 because it coincided with the Black Death, which reduced demand (and was probably associated with the reduction in yields). The permanently reduced population after the mid fourteenth century meant that yield shortfalls had a much lower impact on real wages than they had during the earlier period. The analysis then demonstrates that by the eighteenth century the volatility of yields had diminished, and the price elasticity with it. The authors explain this as the result of a range of causes, including increased market efficiency, the introduction of a welfare system to distribute food in the event of scarcity, and the slow population growth of the early modern period. Though there were subsistence problems in 1727–1729 and 1740–1742, England had largely eliminated the threat from famine by the early seventeenth century.

K. Carlton and T. Thornton, 'Illegitimacy and authority in the North of England, c. 1450–1640', *Northern History*, 48, 23–40

Carlton and Thornton examine contemporary attitudes to illegitimacy in the north of England, most particularly among elite members of society. They show that illegitimacy

was not necessarily the disabling condition that is often assumed for the medieval period, and provide numerous instances of illegitimate children marrying well, inheriting money and lands, and holding important offices, all of which opportunities were seemingly dependent upon the social acceptance of illegitimacy in this area. Illegitimate offspring were recognised by their wider kin network, including grandparents, and in some instances were provided for or placed under the care of their parent's spouse. The names chosen for illegitimate children often seem to have overlapped with those chosen for legitimate offspring, perhaps as a result of having been given a forename with significant family associations. Carlton and Thornton suggest that the description in wills of children as being 'bastard' or 'base-born' may have been made in part to differentiate them from legitimate offspring of the same name rather than as a derogatory term. Carlton and Thornton suggest that attitudes to illegitimacy in the north of England may be linked to variations in religious and social norms associated with the Reformation and political changes.

J. Connor, 'Profession and death at Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, 1207–1534', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 131, 277–90.

Connor provides a brief but detailed description of a manuscript compiled by Thomas Cawston from c.1454, which lists the names of monks entering Christ Church Canterbury in the period 1207–1534. The article uses the toponymic surnames of the monks to analyse their geographical origins. The brief discussion of monastic origins is interesting, and the appendices are a useful source of specific information. However, *Local Population Studies* readers interested in the Christ Church monks will find much more detailed analysis of this and other relevant sources in J. Hatcher's article 'Mortality in the fifteenth century: some new evidence', *Economic History Review*, 39 (1986), 19–38, in which he makes a detailed assessment ~~of mortality, life expectancy and cause~~ of death within this community. See also M. Connor (trans.) *John Stone chronicle: Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, 1417–72* (Kalamazoo, 2009).

W.S. Deller, 'The first rite of passage: baptism in medieval memory', *Journal of Family History*, 36, 3–14.

Drawing upon the testimonies of over 10,000 jurors in proof of age cases for the period 1246–1432, this article focuses upon the 2,000 or so cases in which the rite of baptism is used as means of remembering and proving age. Deller illustrates the way baptisms were arranged, conducted, and remembered. Celebration was an important part of the baptism, not only in giving thanks for the safe delivery of the child, but also in purposely creating a collective memory of the event and ensuring its commemoration through feasting and gift giving. The examples in the paper highlight the speed with which baptisms took place, the role of midwives in proclaiming the event and carrying the child to church, and the motives behind the choice of godparents. The evidence given by bystanders to the baptism

also illuminates the importance of the church building itself as a meeting place, in which conversation and business were frequently conducted even while services were being conducted. The role of the father in the rite of baptism is made clear, but Deller is surprisingly silent about the absence of the mother.

J. Hart and N. Holbrook, 'A medieval monastic cemetery within the precinct of Malmesbury Abbey; excavations at the Old Cinema Site, Markey Cross', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 104, 166–92.

This site report includes data on medieval skeletal remains uncovered during excavation of a monastic cemetery within the precincts of Malmesbury Abbey. Radiocarbon dating suggests the cemetery was in use between the mid twelfth and late thirteenth centuries. In total 91 burials were discovered, although it seems likely that the cemetery may have extended beyond the limits of the excavation. The greater than average proportion of male burials is typical of monastic sites, although the presence of female burials and those of children indicate that the cemetery was also used by the local lay community. The remains included at least one case of likely tuberculosis, and one of scurvy. Other pathological evidence includes degenerative age- and work-related conditions such as arthritis, and injuries related to occupations such as animal husbandry and craft working (including possible shoemaking).

J. Healey, 'Land, population and famine in the English uplands: a Westmorland case study, c.1370–1650', *Agricultural History Review*, 59, 151–75.

Healey's enjoyable and engaging article tests A.B. Appleby's picture of rural change in the north of England, and the implications of population growth, migration into marginal lands, subdivision of holdings, and land hunger. In *Famine in Tudor and Stuart England* (Liverpool, 1978) Appleby used these factors to explain the devastating effects of famine in the north of England. However, Healey shows through micro-level study of seven townships in Westmorland that a more complex situation was being played out. While natural population growth can be identified, Healey's analysis of rental structures suggests that the numbers of customary tenants were in fact stagnant or falling after 1560, but these tenants appear to have held more land than Appleby believed. Settlement of marginal lands by poor migrants was prevented by tight control of the local land market, which included regulations against enclosure and subdivision. Consequently it appears that population growth must be accounted for by an increase in subtenants, who generally remain unrecorded, and it was among this group that the effects of famine were most acutely felt. Healey provides a nuanced picture of the complex relationships between land, population and famine in this area of Westmorland, and highlights the need to investigate these relationships more fully to better understand famine within its economic and social context.

R.M. Karras, 'The regulation of sexuality in the late Middle Ages: England and France', *Speculum*, 86, 1,010–39.

Using church court records of London and Paris, Karras explores and compares the regulation of sexuality across England and France in the late medieval period. The focus is upon cases of non-marital or extramarital sexual misconduct, the means by which such activities were reported to and prosecuted by the courts, and the family and household structures within which such behaviours took place. Though the fact that cases came before a court often resulted from their being unusual or contentious in some way, the evidence presents some striking differences between both social conventions and apparent terminologies on the two sides of the channel. Accusations of non-marital sexual behaviour appear to be less common in Paris, but the Paris courts were concerned to pursue these ambiguous relationships, perhaps with a view to forcing the formalisation of clandestine marriages and long term pseudo-marriage arrangements. In contrast, the London courts seem to have been more concerned in policing prostitution, although this may be a product of different prosecuting structures within the two countries, with prostitution more likely to be tackled by city authorities in France rather than ecclesiastical courts. Karras also investigates the family and household structures within such behaviours took place. Apparent differences in the prevalence of life-cycle service between London and Paris indicate fewer servants in Paris, generally of lower status. Karras suggests this made them more likely to arrange their own marriages and make decisions about sexual conduct, whereas servants in London experienced a greater level of moral supervision from their masters who were acting *in loco parentis*.

L.K. Little, 'Plague historians in lab coats', *Past and Present*, 213, 267–90.

For much of the last 30 years, there has been an intermittent debate among historical demographers, zoologists and others about whether the disease which caused the Black Death was what we know as plague—that is, the disease caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis* which was demonstrated to be the pathogen causing the nineteenth-century epidemics of plague in east Asia. Little's article describes the research undertaken by molecular biologists on skeletal remains from the burial sites of putative victims of plague aimed at extracting evidence of *Yersinia pestis*. It charts how such evidence was first obtained from victims of the Marseille epidemic of the 1720s, and how (in the face of sometimes scornful scepticism from those who denied that plague was the cause) the volume of evidence gradually increased until it demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that the traditional interpretation that plague was the cause of not only the Marseille epidemic, but the fourteenth-century epidemics in much of Europe and even the earlier 'plague of Justinian' is correct. However, there are suggestions that different strains of *Y. pestis* were active, a fact which might have been responsible for historical and geographical variations in the characteristics and virulence of the disease. Little condenses a great deal of dense, and sometimes impenetrable, scientific literature into a clear and easily

understood narrative of academic enquiry, making it possible to follow the developments in this field over the last few decades and to place them within the context of historical research and debate.

L. Rollason, 'Medieval mortuary rolls: prayers for the dead and travel in medieval England', *Northern History*, 48, 187–223.

Rollason presents a fascinating account of the methods by which medieval religious communities organised and obtained prayers for their members upon their deaths. Such prayers were essential to ease the sufferings of the soul in purgatory. A *breviator* was employed by the priory and charged with responsibility for touring religious houses across the country to inform them of the death of a Durham prior. The *breviator* would take with him a mortuary roll containing a letter informing its readers of the death of the individual in question. A number of blank membranes of parchment appear to have been attached below, upon which the *precentor* of the various religious houses visited would respond with a written commitment to pray for the dead. The Ebchester-Burnby roll examined here contained 637 such responses from houses of various monastic orders throughout England, and is used to investigate the extensive and complex routes travelled by the *breviator*. The practice must have created a great deal of traffic and communication between medieval religious institutions.

M. Simon, 'Of lands and ladies: the marriage strategies of the Lords Lovells (c.1200–1487)', *Southern History*, 33, 1–29.

In this article Simon examines the motivations and circumstances behind the marriages of the Lords Lovells, and the degree to which the fortunes of this family fluctuated as a result of its marriage choices. Recent historiographical trends have tended to make such examinations of single families less fashionable, but the lack of published literature on the marriage practices of untitled peers makes this study all the more warranted. Simon shows how the Lovell family were successful in ensuring the survival of their line and increasing the fortunes of their family through marriage. This success appears to have come as much through luck as by judgement, with a number of Lovell wives inheriting their fortunes by chance and after they had married into the Lovell family. Simon also examines the importance of providing for widows, their decisions in relation to remarriage, and the age of male heirs at their succession.

E.D. Spindler, 'Youth and old age in late medieval London', *London Journal*, 36, 1–22.

Spindler's article uses legal evidence to examine two distinct phases of the life cycle for medieval London men, both of which are characterised by their effect upon individual independence, influence and social place. Among youth, apprenticeship could be a period of isolation, with migrants to London cut off from the support networks of home. This led to dependence upon the apprentice-master and exposed the apprentice to a variety of risks and instability. At the other end of the age-spectrum, petitions for

exemption from jury service suggest a gradual and recognised process of aging, during which time an individual voluntarily surrendered influence and independence through withdrawal from active civic involvement. In the majority of cases, exemption was granted on the grounds of old age (notionally defined by statute as 70 years of age), rather than ill health. Age-related exemptions peaked in 1400–1430, and Spindler suggests that those born between 1330 and 1360 who survived to adulthood may represent ‘one of the strongest and healthiest generations that London had ever seen’ (p. 18), in that the plague epidemics of the fourteenth century provided a severe selection mechanism by which the frailer members died off in their youth.

S. Sweetinburgh, ‘The social structure of New Romney as revealed in the 1381 Poll Tax returns’, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 131, 1–22.

This article presents a fascinating and detailed summary of data from the 1381 Poll Tax return for New Romney. The 1381 taxation levied payments upon communities that were to total an amount equivalent to 12*d.* per person, excluding only those deemed to be paupers and those under the age of 15. However, the amount actually paid by each household was means assessed, with more affluent members of the community paying more than 12*d.* to subsidise poorer individuals who paid a smaller amount. The surviving return for New Romney gives information about the members of each household liable to pay the tax within each ward of the town, and the amount for which each household was assessed. Sweetinburgh’s tables include a ward by ward breakdown of household size, relative wealth (assessed by the amounts paid per household), sex ratios (including the proportions married, single, and in service), and the composition of households. Nuclear households predominated, being generally modest in size and with relatively high proportions of older children remaining in their natal home. Sex ratios are compared to those previously determined for other selected towns, so that the experiences of this Kentish town can be set within a broader medieval context.

Deborah Youngs, ‘“For the preferment of their marriage and bringing upp in their youth”: the education and training of young Welshwomen, c.1450–c.1550’, *Welsh History Review*, 25, 463–85.

Using a combination of testamentary evidence, proceedings of Chancery and Star Chamber, and apprenticeship records from Bristol, Youngs examines the forms and functions behind the education and training of medieval Welsh women. She highlights examples of young women sent to live or work with relatives, or receive training as apprentices in particular crafts or domestic tasks. Opportunities for education and training seem to have been greater in England, and movement across the border to take advantage of such opportunities seems to have been preferred. While small in size, the sample of female apprenticeship records examined for Bristol also highlight the degree to which existing networks of family and trade connections were used to secure training opportunities for women.

## Early modern

A.M. Allen, 'Conquering the suburbs: politics and work in early modern Edinburgh', *Journal of Urban History*, 37, 423–43.

R.D. Oram, 'Waste management and peri-urban agriculture in the early modern Scottish burgh', *Agricultural History Review*, 59, 1–17.

C. Shepherd, 'Agrarian and settlement characterisation in post-medieval Strathbogie, Aberdeenshire, 1600–1760', *Rural History*, 22, 1–30.

These three papers deal with the social, economic, and landscape history of Scotland. The challenge of suburban growth was a difficult one for early modern town governments, especially when it came to labour regulation. Allen's article uses the minute books of the Edinburgh metalworkers' guilds to describe the political conflicts that this growth threw up. By the 1660s, he points out, Edinburgh had bought political superiority over its suburbs; this encouraged the capital, rather than trying to stop work in the suburbs, merely to control it.

Oram's interdisciplinary article will be of interest to local and landscape historians, and to those who want to understand how urban populations interacted with their surrounding environment. It reviews recent geo-archaeological work on the topsoils found around Scottish burghs, and collates this with a documentary study of 16 towns from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. It finds a long process of soil deepening and enriching in the areas surrounding post-medieval burghs, a landscape change, Oram claims, that is as significant as both woodland clearance in the Neolithic and Bronze ages, and 'Improvement' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The source of this improvement was the purposeful use of urban middens, including human waste, as a fertilizer.

Shepherd, meanwhile, argues against the view that Aberdeenshire suffered agricultural stagnation from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and that 'pre-Improvement' agriculture was both backward and characterised by a ubiquitous 'infield/outfield' settlement pattern. His evidence, which comes largely from a series of massive estate rentals, suggests that there was a clear distinction between arable- and livestock- (both cattle and sheep) producing settlements, and that these had clearly distinctive topographies, with livestock communities being highly dispersed, arable ones considerably more nucleated. There seems to have been a shift away from traditional mixed farming and towards arable production over the period.

R.C. Allen and J.L. Weisdorf, 'Was there an "industrious revolution" before the industrial revolution? An empirical exercise for England, c. 1300–1830', *Economic History Review*, 64, 715–29.

Studies of living standards usually assume that the working year was broadly constant, so changes in real wages meant real changes in the material quality of life. This article turns



the argument on its head, taking living standards as constant and assuming that families worked enough to maintain what they considered a decent standard of living. This leads to some interesting conclusions. The fifteenth century is confirmed as a 'golden age' for labour, with working years short and a considerable labour surplus. There were, however, two periods when the number of days worked must have increased if living standards were to remain constant: from 1540 to 1616 and from 1750 to 1818. The figures produced this way can then be compared to extant estimates of the working year. These show that, for rural agricultural labourers in the south, the number of days required and the number actually worked were remarkably similar. Indeed, it may well be the case that by 1800 rural women and children were being forced to work harder so the family could earn enough to survive. By contrast, for building workers in London from the seventeenth century onwards, the number of days actually worked was increasingly higher than those required. By about 1750, the London builder was working twice as many days as he needed to in order to keep his family in a decent manner. Thus, any industrious revolution, or consumer revolution, by the authors' calculations, was strictly an urban phenomenon. It is fascinating stuff, though we should of course remember the strong evidence for increased consumption by the rural middling sorts, such as the yeomen whom Shepard and Spicksley (see the article reviewed below) found to be such major beneficiaries of economic growth in the early modern period. Perhaps rural labourers did not share in this industrious revolution, but there were certainly some in the countryside who enjoyed considerable improvements in their material comforts which could well have come from working harder.

B. Allison, 'Henley's major inns in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *Oxoniensia*, 76, 55–79.

R. Kelly, 'A city parish in the English Civil War: St Aldate's, Oxford, 1642–6', *Oxoniensia*, 76, 39–53.

Allison offers an interesting piece of local detective work. Her article is a partial offshoot of research undertaken by the Oxfordshire *Victoria County History*, and uses probate inventories to reconstruct the history of four high-status inns in the inland port town of Henley, as well as the families who ran them. The inns were lucrative, and their owners often of considerable wealth.

Kelly discusses the impact of the Civil War on St Aldate's parish in Oxford. As the Royalist capital, Oxford bore the impact of war more than many towns, and in St Aldate's the conflict brought hardship for many. She discusses a fascinating document compiled by the lawyer Edward Heath, listing those in the parish refusing to do their allotted work digging the town's defences. When Heath went out collecting fines for non-compliance on 23 June 1643, many defaulters were conveniently out, while others refused to pay up, one wife replying that 'when the king paid her husband, then he should pay'. In January 1644, Heath listed the strangers in the parish, showing that the parish was severely

overcrowded with some 408 'strangers' (that is, persons who were not locals) crowded into 74 houses.

M. Anderson, 'Guesses, estimates and adjustments: Webster's 1755 "census" of Scotland revisited again', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 31, 26–45.

Several historians have made use of the 1755 'census' of Scotland to estimate population change, and even birth and death rates. The so-called 'census' was compiled by Alexander Webster on the basis of responses to a letter sent to clergymen throughout the length and breadth of the land, asking them to estimate the population (or, in some cases, the number of persons examinable on the catechism). Anderson presents a thorough assessment of the accuracy of Webster's work, focusing on issues such as the conversion of the number of examinable persons into the total population, the extent to which the numbers returned were rounded to the nearest 10, 50, 100 or 1,000, and the differential geographical coverage of Webster's data. He concludes that Webster's total population of 1,265,380 should be interpreted with caution, but that the true population of Scotland was probably between 1.15 and 1.35 million. The methods Anderson employs will be of use to historians evaluating the accuracy of population information provided by similar ecclesiastical returns in England and Wales for the pre-censal period (for example the Bishop's Visitations of parishes in Hampshire of 1725 and 1785 (W.R. Ward ed., *Parson and parish in eighteenth-century Hampshire: replies to Bishop's Visitations* (Winchester, 1995)).

W.C. Baer, 'Landlords and tenants in London, 1550–1700', *Urban History*, 38, 234–55.

J.F. Field, 'Charitable giving and its distribution to Londoners after the Great Fire, 1666–1676', *Urban History*, 38, 3–23.

J.F. Merritt, 'Contested legitimacy and the ambiguous rise of vestries in early modern London', *Historical Journal*, 54, 25–45.

A. Wareham, 'The hearth tax and empty properties in London on the eve of the Great Fire', *Local Historian*, 41, 278–92.

These four papers all study early modern London. Landlords, tenants, and their relationships with one another have been stock subjects for rural historians for generations, but there is hardly any similar work on urban communities, so Baer's article is hugely welcome. There were tens of thousands of landlords in early modern London, and around three quarters of the capital's households were leaseholders, with an estimated gross rental flow in the 1690s of nearly £1.6 million, so the relationship was central to urban social relations. Many landlords held multiple properties, and the renting out of dwellings was a major source of income for many.

Field describes the campaign to raise money to aid the victims of the Great Fire of London. The Fire left 13,200 houses in ruins and 100,000 people homeless, so understandably London itself made an unusually small contribution to the collection (though it was still

the highest *per capita*). The total raised was nonetheless large, reaching almost £16,500, around twice the money collected to rebuild St Paul's. Interestingly, gifts from urban parishes which had themselves suffered fires were higher than those in towns which had not. The money was only distributed slowly, which suggests that London had the ability to deal with much of the devastation without outside help; moreover, the money was generally used later to shore up parochial finances rather than meet the immediate subsistence needs of the poor. The distribution of money to parishes also matched the geography of urban poverty rather than that of destruction.

Parish vestries, being governments in miniature, have been seen as critical foci of early modern state formation, and they first grab the historian's attention in pre-Civil War London. Merrit argues that vestries were more powerful than usually assumed, but also that their roles and rights were more hotly contested. In particular, their relationship with the church authorities was complex and potentially difficult, not least because they presented effective means of getting things done, including the implementation of both puritan preaching and Laudian ceremonialism.

Wareham, meanwhile, argues shows that nearly 30 per cent of London properties were reported as empty in the Lady Day Hearth Tax returns for 1666. In some cases this might have been a form of passive resistance to the tax, but other possible factors could have included an attempt by the wealthy to avoid the plague, making sure they were out of town before summer.

N. Boberg-Fazlic, P. Sharp and J. Weisdorf, 'Survival of the richest? Social status, fertility and social mobility in England, 1541–1824', *European Review of Economic History*, 15, 365–92.

Gregory Clark's controversial thesis that wealthy households had more children than poor ones, and that this also helped 'middle-class values' percolate through pre-industrial English society through natural selection, looks set to generate much ink. This thought-provoking article uses Cambridge Group family reconstitution data to test the hypothesis of a positive correlation between wealth and child-bearing. It shows that, in the static population of the 26 reconstituted parishes, fathers recorded as labourers and servants produced around one 'reconstituted' child on average fewer than wealthier social groups, after accounting for survival to age 15 years. Their data, the authors confidently assert, 'confirms the first part of Clark's hypothesis, that wealthier social classes had more surviving offspring than their lower-class counterparts'. Poorer women married for the first time at over two years later than those in the gentry, merchant and professional classes until the end of the seventeenth century, though the difference narrowed after that. Birth intervals were slightly shorter amongst the wealthy, though this is put down to the simple fact of their marrying at an earlier, more fertile age, rather than the use of wet-nurses.

It would be wrong to deny that there is *any* evidence for the 'survival of the richest' in early modern England, whatever one thinks of the 'middle-class values' hypothesis, and

this article gives a useful quantitative analysis of an old dataset. But there are problems with the analysis of Boberg-Fazlic and her colleagues. Perhaps the biggest is the well-attested fact that labourers in pre-industrial England were considerably more mobile than the established gentry and farmers. This increases the chance of missing births amongst this group. Illegitimacy was higher among labourers, too, and although the illegitimacy ratio rarely topped one in twenty, the selective social background of bastards means that they need inclusion. And what actually happened to the 'surplus' sons and daughters of the middle classes? In the model presented here they became husbandmen and labourers, gifting the 'lower orders' with their genetic bounty of hard work, thrift and non-violence. But might it not be equally plausible that large numbers of them migrated to London where, of course, many fell ill and died?

D. Bogart, 'Did the Glorious Revolution contribute to the transport revolution? Evidence from investment in roads and rivers', *Economic History Review*, 64, 1,073–1,112.

Bogart takes a statistical approach to the question of the economic impact of the Glorious Revolution. Focusing on the long run story of investment in transport infrastructure—in this case river navigation and turnpikes—the article offers new data, distinguishing between proposed and completed investment, that show a clear turning point around the early 1690s. This, Bogart argues, was a product of two impacts of the 1689 revolution: 'the lessening of conflict between the Crown and Parliament', and the 'firm establishment of Parliament as the main regulatory authority'. The statistics are robust and interesting, but the grasp of Stuart political history is a little weak. The author, for example, confuses dissolution with prorogation, and the statement that the offer of the crown to Cromwell in 1657 signified a 'possible return to absolutism' should raise eyebrows. More problematic, the argument seems to be that it was the supremacy of Parliament as a regulatory body from 1689 that was the critical developmental factor at play, but this was not a necessary consequence of the Revolution. Rather, Parliament's ascendancy arose out of the need for a robust financial settlement to underpin King William's continental war. Thus, the author's argument about the criticality of regular parliaments is stronger than his claims for the economic impact of the Revolution itself.

D.I. Callaghan, 'The black presence in the West Midlands, 1650–1918', *Midland History*, 36, 180–94.

This paper forms part of a special issue of *Midland History* on histories of ethnic minorities in the Midlands. Callaghan discusses evidence of black men and women in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire from the Civil War to 1918, recently collated by a local volunteer group. The article follows the historical usage of the term, which considered anyone who was not white as 'black' (including, for example, James Bryan of Victorian Worcester, a 'native of the East Indies' and a 'Hindoo'), so the net is widely cast. So far, 246 black individuals have been discovered for the period, the majority from the period after 1800. It appears that the country house practice of keeping young black

domestic servants was waning by the 1770s, which is taken to suggest that slave owners' confidence that the law would support them in their possession was diminishing. In the nineteenth century, black men (and the surviving records *are* mostly for men) can be seen occupying various walks of life, with Callaghan offering some interesting discussion of their employment as prize-fighters and as performers on stage.

K. Carlton and T. Thornton, 'Illegitimacy and authority in the north of England, c. 1450–1640', *Northern History*, 48, 23–40.

Carlton and Thornton look at the political ramifications of elite illegitimacy from the middle of the fifteenth century to the Civil War, asking whether bastardy rather than 'bastard feudalism' was the bigger problem in the North. A survey of some 876 wills of the northern gentry and nobility produces 96 containing references to illegitimate children, with a slightly greater proportion in the wills of the nobility than the gentry. This, the authors postulate, suggests 'a combination of a greater propensity to father, willingness to acknowledge, and capacity to support illegitimate offspring'. The most common relationship was of a father providing for his child or children. Male illegitimate children of the elite, it is shown, could go on to accrue considerable wealth and influence in the region, and a number of powerful officeholders were bastards.

C. Chamberland, 'Partners and practitioners: women and the management of surgical households in London, 1570–1640', *Social History of Medicine*, 24, 554–69.

M. Hailwood, 'Sociability, work and labouring identity in seventeenth-century England', *Cultural and Social History*, 8, 9–29.

Chamberland focuses on the wives of barber surgeons in London, arguing that the 'collaborative nature and broad practical scope' of surgery meant that all members of the surgeon's household were involved in the trade in some sense. Thus, surgeon's wives 'regularly navigated the blurred boundaries between domestic and occupational space of the early modern household'.

Hailwood's article treats us to the 'micro-politics of company', and the 'politics of participation in alehouse company'. He argues that plebeian attitudes to sociability, or 'company' as it was usually termed, can be most usefully analysed through the study of depositions combined with broadside ballads. There is some interesting material here about the cultural identities deployed by ordinary men. They seem to have lauded those who drank heavily but still paid their tab, and there is some evidence of suspicion aimed at the 'curmudgeons' who thriftily stayed at home, saving money while others would happily 'laugh and be fat'. It is not really about politics though, even in the wider meaning of the distribution and negotiation of power. It is about cultural and occupational identity, and there was surely a lot more to that than the 'politics of company'. Thus, this is an interesting piece of social historical research which is held back by its historiographical baggage.

M. Clark, 'Resistance, collaboration and the early modern "public transcript": the River Lea disputes and popular politics in England, 1571–1603', *Cultural and Social History*, 8, 297–313.

M. Clark, 'The gentry, the commons, and the politics of common right in Enfield, c. 1558–c. 1603', *Historical Journal*, 54, 609–29.

N. Whyte, 'Custodians of Memory: Women and Custom in Rural England, 1550–1700', *Cultural and Social History*, 8, 153–72.

The historiography of custom and rural popular politics had a good year in 2011. Discussing the dispute surrounding the River Lea Navigation scheme in 1580s Middlesex, which led to apparently severe rioting and sustained sabotage, Clark argues persuasively that interested gentry could co-opt the language of subordination, in this case poverty, as a 'public transcript'. The case thus complicates the stereotyped picture of subordinate groups deploying techniques of 'everyday resistance' against more powerful ones. Rather, it should be re-emphasised that popular politics brought the possibility of sustained collaborative action that cut across social boundaries.

Clark also offers a useful case study of the politics of common rights in Enfield, which provides more evidence of shifting social allegiances based upon immediate economic interest, and the varied role of the gentry in disputes over common resources. Again, such disputes cannot simply be characterised as pitting landlords against tenants, for the latter were a differentiated group with a wide range of interests. Clark's Enfield landlords attempted to exploit the commons in three main ways: by over-charging, by building new tenements on the waste, and by enclosure. Interestingly, in the case of new cottages, the Duchy Court of Lancaster (which had equity jurisdiction over the area) prohibited cottage dwellers from grazing their beasts on the waste, rather than decreeing sanctions against the landlords who *built* the cottages in the first place.

Finally, Whyte points out that discussion of the transmission of rural and agrarian customs has tended to focus on the role of men, usually old men. This is understandable, as the vast majority of equity court depositions—the bread and butter of such studies—contain the testimony of men. Her article shows that women as well as men could be custodians of local knowledge.

R. Davenport, L. Schwarz and J. Boulton, 'The decline of adult smallpox in eighteenth-century London', *Economic History Review*, 64, 1,289–314.

P. Razzell, 'The decline of adult smallpox in eighteenth-century London: a commentary', *Economic History Review*, 64, 1,315–35.

Davenport and her colleagues identify a rapid decline in smallpox between 1760 and 1780 in the London parishes of St Martin in the Fields and St Dunstan's, Stepney. This decline occurred principally among adults, with the result that deaths from smallpox became increasingly concentrated among children aged under five years, the age pattern of deaths

from smallpox becoming similar to that from measles. They attribute this change to the increasing infectiousness (and perhaps virulence) of the dominant smallpox viral strain in England. Before the rise in infectiousness, many of those brought up in rural areas did not contract smallpox as children, and were vulnerable to the disease if they migrated to London as adults. Afterwards, there was more chance that rural children would experience the disease and be immune as adults, reducing the susceptibility of the adult migrant population of London.

Davenport and her colleagues also accept that inoculation may have played some part in the decline of adult smallpox in London, a point taken up by Razzell in his response. Razzell argues, on the basis of evidence from the parish of St Mary Whitechapel, that the decline of adult smallpox was more gradual than Davenport and her colleagues suggest, taking place over a 50-year period starting in 1760. He favours an explanation based chiefly on the increasing use of inoculation, which not only reduced mortality from the disease in London, but also reduced the incidence of smallpox in 'the provincial areas of southern England, which were the main reservoirs of adult smallpox in London' (p. 1,333). A substantial part of Razzell's paper is devoted to the history of inoculation in London in the late eighteenth century.

J.R. Edwards, 'Accounting education in Britain during the early modern period', *Accounting History Review*, 21, 37–67.

T. Leunig, C. Minns and P. Wallis, 'Networks in the premodern economy: the market for London apprenticeships, 1600–1749', *Journal of Economic History*, 71, 413–43.

P. Wallis and C. Webb, 'The education and training of gentry sons in early modern England', *Social History*, 36, 36–53.

Recent research into London apprenticeship continues to produce interesting findings. Edwards describes some of the ways accounting practices were learned in early modern times. Accepting that much training was done 'on the job', the article shows the important role played by academies (often dissenting), by private tutors, and written manuals. Such tuition was primarily aimed at males.

Leunig, Minns and Wallis study the majority of surviving records of apprenticeship in 65 London companies between the onset of the seventeenth century and the middle of the eighteenth. This gives data for 118,000 apprentices and 42,000 masters. They argue that personal relationships did not have a major role in the recruitment of apprentices, as the latter typically had no identifiable tie to their master in terms of geography, kinship or occupational background. Thus the London apprentice market is characterised as 'strikingly open', something with important implications for the long-run history of British economic development.

Wallis and Webb take five heraldic visitations from four counties and link them to all surviving records of London apprentices, plus records of university matriculations and of

the Inns of Court, creating a sample of over 2,000 gentry sons. Roughly as many gentry sons entered London apprenticeships as went to one of the universities, challenging assertions that few elite younger sons entered the trades. This was even the case in Westmorland, far distant from the capital. As we would expect, gentry sons entered into the higher-end apprenticeships, but it is striking that none of the sample who became apprentices appeared in the records of either the Inns of Court or the universities. Interestingly, the younger a son was within the family order, the more likely he was to take up an apprenticeship and—generally—the less likely he was to go to university or to one of the Inns (though if he did go to university, conversely, the more likely he was actually to take a degree).

S. Flavin, 'Consumption and material culture in sixteenth century Ireland', *Economic History Review*, 64, 1,144–74.

Faced with a the poverty and economic backwardness of sixteenth-century Ireland, and hence a severe lack of sources such as wills, inventories and business papers, this article turns to English customs accounts to gain an insight into Irish material culture and consumption. Using the records from the port of Bristol (whose main Irish trade was with the south-east of the country), Flavin finds a dramatic increase in the range of goods imported to Ireland over the course of the century, but particularly from the 1570s. This increasing diversity was not a response to an increase in the overall value of the trade (which declined significantly towards the end of the century); it also predated the foundation of the Munster plantation in 1586–1587, and the arrival of the English military, suggesting that the migration of English settlers was not the initial cause. Rather, it resulted from an increased prosperity that was native to Ireland, and partly a product of remarkable price stability in the later sixteenth century.

M. Fulford, J. Batcheller, C. Caple, J. Firth and D. Richards, 'A child's burial in unconsecrated ground in early modern Dorchester, Dorset', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 45, 307–12.

L.M. Toland, 'A growing indifference? Somerset Baronet burial requests, 1580–1785', *Southern History*, 33, 30–53.

The remains of a child in unconsecrated ground were discovered in Dorchester in 1937, and were assumed at the time to be of Roman date. It is now clear that they are more recent, which points to two intriguing questions: why was it orientated north–south rather than east–west, and why was it buried in unconsecrated ground? Nonconformity is one possible explanation, but Fulford and colleagues suggest that in a town like Dorchester, with its well-known puritan leanings, an 'illegitimate child of a well-to-do Protestant household', presumably that of the Churchills who owned the plot, might end up buried in such a fashion.

Toland uses the burial requests of 12 families of the Somerset baronetcy to question the argument that the early-modern gentry were increasingly unconcerned about where their



bodies were laid to rest. The families she studies, however, seem to have cared deeply about their final resting places, willing that they be buried in parish churches, within family vaults, and generally near relatives (most often spouses). (See the article by McDermott published in this issue).

M. Harrington, 'The Earl of Derby and his tenants: sales of Royalist land during the Interregnum revisited', *Economic History Review*, 64, 1, 195–217.

This article argues that the sale of Royalist lands had a more far-reaching impact on English society than has been thought. Harrington's work on the Stanley family, earls of Derby and very much part of the north-western super-rich, broadly supports Joan Thirsk's influential article ('The sales of Royalist land during the interregnum', *Economic History Review*, 5 (1952), 188–207) on the subject, noting that the gentry provided the majority of purchasers. But Harrington refines Thirsk's work somewhat, suggesting that first hand purchasers played more of a role in the redistribution of Royalist land than has been thought. Moreover, some first-hand purchasers may have been motivated by what Harrington describes as 'ideological interests in a long-term redistribution of land'. Finally, Thirsk underestimated the role of tenant purchasers who were much more able to capitalise on their landlords' woes than has been thought.

B. Harris, 'Cultural change in provincial Scottish towns, c. 1700–1820', *Historical Journal*, 54, 105–41.

Culturally, most provincial Scottish towns were moribund for several decades following the union of 1707. However, starting in about 1770, they underwent a half-century long transformation, which included the foundation of libraries, reading rooms, music clubs and freemasons' lodges; the construction of theatres and rooms for dances; and the institution of race meetings. In this article Harris charts this cultural florescence through a study of the experience of c. 20 towns, ranging from Cromarty and Inverness in the north through Brechin, Dunfermline and Cupar in the east to Irvine, Kilmarnock, Ayr and Dumfries in the south and west, and including the major centres of Perth and Dundee.

P. Hoskin, S. Sandall and E. Watson, 'The court records of the diocese of York 1300–1858: an under-used resource', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 83, 148–63.

J. Sharpe and J.R. Dickinson, 'Coroners' inquests in an English county, 1600–1800: a preliminary survey', *Northern History*, 48, 253–69.

Hopefully, Hoskin, Sandall and Watson's short piece will attract the attention of *Local Population Studies* readers, for they describe a source that is of rich use to social historians. The records of York diocese present the largest set of ecclesiastical court papers in the country. They have recently been catalogued on-line, and the authors discuss their use for the study of medieval defamation, sixteenth-century religion, seventeenth and eighteenth century education, and marital discord in the nineteenth century. The case studies they highlight, of dancing vicars who skipped through the churchyard and kissed young

maids, and of schoolmasters so drunk they could not stand up or who dropped their trousers in the street, are wonderfully lively. They are also, of course, a mere scratch on the surface of the possible.

Another set of northern sources is described by Sharpe and Dickinson, who give an introductory survey of the coroners' records for the county of Cheshire from 1600 to 1800. The Cheshire records are especially fruitful because the palatinate county also boasts surviving assize records for its Court of Great Sessions in a largely unbroken sequence from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. It appears that the vast majority of homicides indicted at the Court of Great Sessions had already been subjected to a coroner's inquest, and thus the records can be used to support the finding (which Sharpe himself reported some time ago) that the palatinate showed a considerable drop in violent crime after the middle of the seventeenth century. This bolsters Sharpe's argument that there was large fall in violence during the seventeenth century. The potential for using these records not just for the history of criminal violence, but of local office-holding, justice, even everyday life, is huge.

R.W. Hoyle, 'Who owned Earls Colne in 1798 ... or how to squeeze more from the Land Tax', *Local Historian*, 41, 267–77.

The Land Tax assessments of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have been under-used by local and demographic historians, frustrated at their inability to yield unambiguous information about the ownership and occupation of land at the local level. In this paper Hoyle suggests exploiting a hitherto unused set of the Land Tax documents which can furnish this kind of data. The documents in question are the records of redemptions of the Tax around the turn of the eighteenth centuries, whereby those liable to pay the tax could, through a single payment, buy their way out of future liability. Many larger landowners took advantage of this, and the resulting records allow historians to identify both all the landowners in a particular parish, and all the parishes in which an individual owner held land. The method is applied to the parish of Earls Colne in Essex, and one important result is that what appear to be smallholdings of land in Earls Colne were often part of a larger portfolio of holdings in a range of parishes, including parishes adjacent to Earls Colne. Contiguous areas of land owned by the same person could stretch over several parishes, so that working on a parish basis is likely to lead to an underestimation of the size of the average holding.

C. Leivers, 'Family and community in early modern England: a study of Selston, Nottinghamshire, 1550–1699', *Family and Community History*, 14, 41–56.

Leivers provides an old-fashioned study of will-making in the small Nottinghamshire village of Selston (population around 500) from 1550 to 1699. He finds that the seventeenth century brought a greater concentration of bequests within the nuclear family, and a decline in the proportion of testators who gave to non-family members. It also brought a decline in the frequency of gifts to the poor and to parish works. Widows were generally

provided for not just with the third of the residual goods that was customary in the Province of York, but often also with the lease of their husband's farm or tenement. Most bequests were in cash, followed by animals, and there is a suggestion that bequests to children were more generous than those to more distant relatives or non-kin. Executors were almost always kin: just 11 out of 140 individuals named were non-kin, and some of these may well have been related by marriage. A considerably smaller proportion of witnesses were related to testators, though, with clergy, yeomen, and the more substantial husbandmen making up the majority. Even so, the gentry and clergy had virtually disappeared from the will-making process by the second half of the seventeenth century. This, Leivers suggests, supports the notion that rural society was becoming more polarised.

A. Longcroft, 'New insights into vernacular architecture: a view from the flatlands of East Anglia', *Local Historian*, 41, 105–20.

Longcroft reports on two research projects run by the Norfolk Historic Buildings Group. The work focused on New Buckenham and Tacolneston and has 'transformed our understanding of the chronology of building at vernacular level in the county'. There is some interesting material about the development of chimneys and roofs from medieval to Georgian times. The most important phases of rebuilding appear to have been 1450–1530 in New Buckenham, whilst that for Tacolneston corresponds very well with W.G. Hoskins' 'Great Rebuilding' of 1570 to 1640.

G. Newton, 'Infant mortality variations, feeding practices and social status in London between 1550 and 1750', *Social History of Medicine*, 24, 260–80.

Newton produces estimates of infant mortality in London between 1550 and 1750, comparing family reconstitutions from the City parish of Cheapside with the semi-rural suburb of Clerkenwell. She finds that the levels of infant mortality in the two parishes were similar, which argues for the 'high exposure potential' model in which newcomers, both migrant and infant, are the main victims of long-term pools of infection. She also notes that birth intervals in Cheapside were 'abnormally short', strongly suggesting that mothers were putting out their babies to wet-nurse; this was in contrast to Clerkenwell, where intervals lay near the national mean. The evidence suggests that there was a developing custom for home wet-nursing or artificial feeding amongst London's middle-class from around the beginning of the seventeenth century. This led to an increase in infant mortality.

H. Newton, "'Very sore nights and days": the child's experience of illness in early modern England, c. 1580–1720', *Medical History*, 55, 153–82.

Demographic historians are, of course, very much interested in sickness, but they rarely stop to imagine what it actually *felt like* to be ill in the past, so this article on sick children is very welcome. Although illness was inevitably a time of suffering and pain, Newton

suggests it could also bring spiritual fulfilment: affliction was a benevolent gift from the Lord, which 'cleansed the soul of its impurities and helped convince the Christian of his or her salvation'. Focusing on three aspects of sickness—physical pain, the role of providence, and the fear of death—the argument is that illness was not 'a wholly miserable experience'. There are huge problems with sources, not least that the majority are written by adults, and there is the usual problem that Puritan males are over-represented. Nonetheless, this is a fascinating study.

P.R. Rössner, 'The 1738–41 harvest crisis in Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 90, 27–63.

Although this is primarily an economic study, Rossner's paper will be of interest to historical demographers both for the evidence it provides about the extent of the crisis of 1738–1741 in Scotland, and for its closing remarks about early modern subsistence crises in general. The crisis of 1738–1741 was not the only crisis of the eighteenth century: grain prices rose to levels almost as high four times between 1750 and 1780. However, its geographical extent, the range of economic sectors it affected, and its likely long-term impact on the Scottish economy, mark it out as the most serious of the century. Rössner charts its impact in meticulous detail. He notes that to have a major impact, the harvest had to fail for two or more consecutive years (in this case 1739 and 1740, and perhaps 1738). If intervening winters were unusually severe, as was also the case in this crisis, the ingredients for a catastrophic event were in place.

A. Shepard and J. Spicksley, 'Worth, age and social status in early modern England', *Economic History Review*, 64, 493–530.

This important article introduces new source material for assessing the distribution of wealth in early modern England, namely the self-descriptions of 'worth' given by witnesses in church court suits. An extensive methodological discussion establishes that witnesses supplied monetary estimates that 'were loosely reliable gauges of their wealth as evaluated for the assessment of credit'. These assessments were normally based on movables and not real estate, but their broad social coverage, and the fact they come with attached occupational and age data, means they are an extremely useful source for recapturing something of the economic structure of the period. The sampled depositions suggest that overall mean 'worth' quintupled in real terms between the 1550s and the 1680s, though the upward trend of *median* worth was less marked, and it showed a trough in the late sixteenth century. The most pronounced growth in wealth was among those styled as yeomen: their 'worth' improved tenfold in real terms between 1550–1574 and 1625–1649. The mean worth of the gentry increased sevenfold in real terms, confirming that the period was a happy one for those with a tradable surplus of agricultural produce. Although the mean worth of husbandmen grew significantly, their median wealth rose only slightly, and an increasing proportion of them declared themselves of little or no worth, or dependent on labour, suggesting this group was

polarizing. Growth was regionally differentiated: the yeomen of the cereal-producing regions of the south east enjoyed the greatest prosperity; in the north the growth was less dramatic, and the median worth of yeomen there actually dropped after the Civil War.

Perhaps most interesting are the data on wealth across the life-cycle. People seem to have been wealthiest in their late 40s and early 50s across the period, but appear to have been better able to sustain their wealth into old age by the post-Civil War period. The 'inverted U' curve of life-cycle wealth which we expect in modern Britain was a characteristic of yeomen and those in trades and crafts. Husbandmen experienced a much flatter curve, as they found it much harder to accumulate wealth.

K. Sneath, 'A consumer revolution in Huntingdonshire?', *Local Historian*, 41, 229–38.

Sneath writes not just of Huntingdonshire but also of Yorkshire, looking at probate inventories in the two counties from 1600 to 1800. The article argues that high-end consumer goods, notably clocks, knives and forks, and items associated with tea and coffee, only really began to appear in any number in the eighteenth century, and that the period after 1750 was crucial. In Huntingdonshire in the second half of the eighteenth century, an impressive 46 per cent of inventoried labourers had clocks, suggesting that a 'consumer revolution' was just then starting to impact on poorer members of society. He finds that where one lived was a greater influence on their possession of high-end consumables than how much wealth one had. In particular town-dwellers seem to have been much more likely to possess such goods than country folk (see also the paper by Allen and Weisdorf reviewed above).

J. Stobart, 'Who were the urban gentry? Social elites in an English provincial town, c. 1680–1760', *Continuity and Change*, 26, 89–112.

This is a study of the urban gentry of Chester in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Chester was then the prosperous trading, religious and administrative centre of a substantial rural hinterland, having ceded its status as the region's major port to Liverpool following the silting up of the River Dee. Stobart uses probate inventories to establish the number and identity of individuals styling themselves as gentry or holding civic positions commensurate with that status. He then examines the social networks within which these persons were enmeshed. The results indicate that the urban gentry of Chester were not a distinct group, but comprised a diverse set of individuals well connected both to the rural landed gentry and to tradesmen and merchants within the city—indeed the distinction between the trading and merchant class and the 'gentry' was often blurred. What perhaps united the gentry and distinguished them from other groups was their cultural capital, or their valuing of 'established symbols of taste'. Their contribution to civic life, though, depended far more on their extensive social networks.

D. Tankard, 'The regulation of cottage building in seventeenth-century Sussex', *Agricultural History Review*, 59, 18–35.

Cottage-building is a comparatively poorly understood aspect of English rural history, though it is often subject to assumptions and myth. This article takes as its starting point the well-known statute of 1589, which ordered that no house was henceforth to be built without having (what was, in the land-hungry reign of Elizabeth, an increasingly unrealistic) four acres of land attached to it. It then explores the local implementation of the law through a case study of seventeenth-century Sussex. The Elizabethan act went against an earlier statute of 1550, which had protected cottagers holding three acres or fewer, reflecting an increasing concern about poverty in the late Tudor commonwealth. Many cottages were evidently tolerated, and not just those with official approval under the terms of the poor laws; or they stood unmolested for years before being presented. And they were not necessarily mere hovels either, for there is evidence of considerable outlay on new cottages. There is, it seems, no evidence that anyone in seventeenth-century Sussex believed that putting up a cottage overnight gave them the legal right to keep it.

C. Thomas, "'Not having God before his eyes": bestiality in early modern England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 26, 149–73.

This is not, perhaps, a topic that readers of *Local Population Studies* usually encounter, but given that population historians are essentially studying sex and death, and since bestiality was a form of sex that carried a penalty of death, it ought to be of some interest. Indeed, it has been suggested that the demographic conditions of early modern England, with late marriage and restricted sexual opportunities for young, single men (not to mention the large number of farm animals) made bestiality a relatively widespread activity. The concept of the dignity of animals was hardly developed, so in a sense it was seen as a victimless crime, but it was nonetheless viewed as a gross abomination against human decency: a crime of species pollution. This was apparently a development of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for in medieval times it was probably seen as little worse than masturbation. Nonetheless, although bestiality was widely condemned in print literature, actual prosecutions were rare. It was largely a male offence, though it did crop up in pamphlets in association with female witches. It is also worth speculating that the lack of prosecutions might not necessarily reflect a lack of concern about bestiality in society, but rather a belief that, despite its seriousness, it was rarely considered to merit the harsh punishment decreed by statute.

J. van Lottum, 'Labour migration and economic performance: London and the Randstad, c. 1600–1800', *Economic History Review*, 64, 531–70.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the passing of European economic primacy from the Dutch Republic to England. This article compares the role of labour migration in the two countries, focusing on the heavily urbanised Randstad area of Holland and on London. It finds that up to the 1670s both areas benefited from a 'highly elastic labour

supply that reacted strongly to demand impulses stemming from the two economies'. However, the Randstad area lost its elastic labour supply after then thanks to competition from nearby towns that were also growing quickly, such as Copenhagen and Hamburg. By contrast, London's migrant pool was largely drawn from areas in which there was little competition from other major towns: indeed, even the growing towns of Birmingham and Manchester drew most of their migrants from areas which did not compete directly with the capital. It is interesting that the study presented here of migration to the Dutch Republic, covering the seventeenth century, hardly mentions religion and says nothing of war. Were these not important push factors in the 'iron century'?

J.L. van Zanden, 'The Malthusian intermezzo: women's wages and human capital formation between the late Middle Ages and the demographic transition of the 19th century', *History of the Family*, 16, 331–42.

Why did fertility rise in England during the eighteenth century? And why was population growth in England between 1750 and 1850 so much faster than that in other European countries? Van Zanden has an intriguing and persuasive answer. He argues that a crucial driver was the economic position of women. After the Black Death and the population declines of the fourteenth century, real wages for women rose relative to those of men, as there was a general shortage of labour. This contributed to the development of the European pattern of late and non-universal marriage which, van Zanden argues, involved the effective substitution of quality for quantity of children through a Malthusian preventive check. However, in the eighteenth century, as population growth accelerated, the demand for labour fell and women (being marginal workers) suffered more than men so that their wages declined relative to those of men. This tendency was reinforced in England by the replacement of family farms by capital-intensive agriculture, which further depressed women's wages. Micro-economic theory suggests that where women's earning power is limited and families rely mainly on the earnings of men, it makes sense to substitute quantity of children for quality, so that fertility will be high.

S. Williams, 'The experience of pregnancy and childbirth for unmarried mothers in London, 1760–1866', *Women's History Review*, 20, 67–86.

This paper uses the records of about 100 infanticide cases heard at the Old Bailey between 1760 and 1866 to examine the experience of childbirth of unmarried mothers. At times gruesome in its detail, the paper paints a bleak picture of the attempts by these women to conceal their pregnancies and the parturition of their babies. While many of the women described in the paper had a horrific time, since they are selected because they were accused of killing their babies they were possibly among the most desperate cases, so caution should be exercised in inferring from this sample to the population of unmarried mothers as a whole. Though it seems unlikely that the situation of the 'average' unmarried mother was comfortable, it may not have been quite as grim as that of the women Williams has studied.

A.J.L. Winchester, 'Personal names and local identities in early modern Cumbria', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 11, 29–49.

This article uses personal names recorded in the Protestation Oath of 1641–1642 and the Hearth Tax of the 1660s and 1670s to consider the topography of local identities in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North of the Sands—collectively the area we call 'Cumbria'. He tests a statement of John Housman from the end of the eighteenth century, namely that there were three distinct sub-regions—the Borders, the Lowlands and the Lake District—finding that there was indeed little surname overlap between the three. Analysis of forenames, on the other hand, suggests that these blocks could nonetheless be connected as part of wider cultural zones.

G. Wyatt, 'Early modern Thanet: a closed or open society? Evidence from a study of marriage making and marriage horizons, c. 1560–c. 1620', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 131, 373–92.

Wyatt discusses marriage patterns on Thanet in the time of Elizabeth and James I. Parish registers suggest the Isle was enjoying natural growth in the period, and there is also evidence for migration there from across the country. The population was mostly comprised of yeomen, husbandmen, labourers and servants, but with a number of gentry and men in maritime occupations. Church court depositions reinforce the point that marriage was more than just a private matter between individuals. Marriage license allegations show that Thanet was by no means a completely isolated, enclosed community. Finally, there is plenty of evidence of remarriage among widows and widowers.

## Nineteenth century

P. Atkinson, 'Family size and expectations about housing in the later nineteenth century: three Yorkshire towns', *Local Population Studies*, 87, 13–28.

This article compares fertility in the three towns of Bradford, Leeds and Middlesbrough between 1861 and 1901. Fertility was lowest, and declined fastest, in Bradford; and was highest, and declined most slowly, in Middlesbrough. Atkinson suggests that one reason for the difference is expectations about what constituted a respectable house in which to raise a family. He argues that in Bradford, the culture permitted these expectations to rise, and with them the costs of housing. In Middlesbrough, by contrast, a male-dominated culture associated with heavy industry accorded a low priority to housing quality, with the result that the average family found its housing costs rising more slowly.

C. Bailey, "'I'd heard it was such a grand place": mid-19th century internal migration to London', *Family and Community History* 14, 121–40.

The availability of searchable lists derived from late nineteenth-century censuses has made possible the linkage of individuals across time and space. This method was first



employed some years ago by Edgar and Hinde in their study of the migration of the stone workers of Purbeck to London (M. Edgar and A. Hinde, 'The stone workers of Purbeck', *Rural History*, 10, 75–90), but has been rather little used since. It is here employed to look at migration from Devon, Norfolk and Sussex to London. Bailey looks at male migrants aged 21 years in 1851, comparing those who migrated before 1851 with those who migrated between 1851 and 1861. She finds differences in the composition of the migrants between the three counties (the largest group of Devon and Norfolk migrants was from artisan families, whereas in Sussex, the largest group was from agricultural occupations). In addition, certainly in the case of Devon and Norfolk, migrants were drawn from those parts of the counties which were most accessible to the capital.

P. Carter and N. Whistance, 'The Poor Law Commission: a new digital resource for nineteenth-century domestic historians', *History Workshop Journal*, 71, 29–48.

Many historians, both amateur and professional, will be aware of the vast bulk of Poor Law Commission records held at The National Archives at Kew. A major portion of this collection consists of the MH12s, or the records of conversations and interactions between the Poor Law Commission and the Poor Law Unions throughout the country following the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. There are 16,741 bound volumes of these! Carter and Whistance describe a pilot project which has digitised 105 of these volumes and made them available electronically. They indicate the kinds of topics covered by the archive, which include the treatment of workhouse children, industrial relations, health and medical treatment, migration and the day-to-day operation of the New Poor Law in every locality in England and Wales.

V. Crossman and D.S. Lucey, "'One huge abuse": the Cork Board of Guardians and the expansion of outdoor relief in post-famine Ireland', *English Historical Review*, 126, 1,408–29.

The New Poor Law period in England saw an ebb and flow of the extent of outdoor relief as local and national practice changed. However, most commentators are clear that a substantial quantity of outdoor relief survived the Poor Law Amendment Act. In many parts of Ireland, by contrast, outdoor relief virtually ceased after the famine, despite the grievous extent of poverty. In this paper Crossman and Lucey consider the debate about outdoor relief in Ireland after 1850, emphasising its greater complexity. For aside from the well-known arguments about the relative cost of the two forms of relief, and the extent to which each discouraged idleness and fecklessness, in Ireland the debate took on a political hue, with Unionists and Nationalists lined up on opposite sides (Nationalists favouring outdoor relief, Unionists not). The paper is illustrated with a case study of the Cork Poor Law Union.

J. Ehmer, 'The significance of looking back: fertility before the "fertility decline"', *Historical Social Research*, 36, 11–34.

S. Szreter, 'Theories and heuristics: how best to approach the study of historic fertility declines?', *Historical Social Research*, 36, 65–98.

Population historians are currently engaged in a bout of reflection about the state of research into the decline of fertility. For the past 20 years or so, at least since the publication of J. Gillis, L.A. Tilly and D. Levine eds, *The European experience of declining fertility, 1850–1950: the quiet revolution* (Oxford, 1992), many historians have rejected monocausal accounts of the decline of fertility in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in favour of developing multifactorial explanations, often place-specific.

In his lengthy paper, Szreter reflects on this intellectual journey, summarises where he thinks we are, and suggests some promising avenues for future research. He rightly describes the important contribution he himself has made, especially in collaboration with Kate Fisher. His suggestions for the future are that we focus on the history of sexuality, the role of changes in religious belief and the practice of religion, the distinctive fertility patterns of minority groups, the relationship between fertility and health and disease, and the relationship between education and fertility. Importantly, he advocates a mixed-method approach, combining quantitative and statistical analysis with qualitative work. There are many sensible and well-argued points here, though for this reviewer [AH] Szreter still underemphasises the potential insights of micro-economic analysis and trying to elucidate the ways in which couples think rationally and sequentially about their fertility as part of a wider attempt to do the best for themselves, given the constraints of their economic and social situation.

Ehmer's paper is a valuable reminder that in order to understand the fertility decline, we need to examine fertility before the decline. He describes the deficiencies of demographers' concepts of 'natural' and 'controlled' fertility, arguing that the idea that the fertility decline was brought about by the adoption as a new idea, or a new form of behaviour, of fertility control is flawed. Fertility in pre-industrial societies was frequently below the natural level and was controlled by a variety of mechanisms, including late marriage, abstinence and prolonged breastfeeding, the extent of which varied over time in the same population, often in response to the need to restrict fertility.

H. Ewart, "'Coventry Irish": community, class, culture and narrative in the formation of a migrant identity, 1940–1970', *Midland History*, 36, 225–44.

Ewart examines the extent to which the Irish migrants to Coventry in the mid twentieth century assimilated into the general population, yet constructed their own distinctive identity as 'Coventry Irish'. Most migrants came to work in the engineering and motor industries in a period when factory jobs were plentiful. Hiring and firing in many factories was done informally by foremen or shop stewards, many of whom were Irish themselves.

Getting a job, therefore, involved making the right contacts, often through frequenting the right public houses and clubs. The Irish migrants were overwhelmingly Catholic, but the Catholic Church encouraged assimilation into the host population, so that by the end of the century only vestigial Irish institutions remained, such as the charitable 'county societies'.

This, like the paper by Callaghan reviewed above, is part of a special issue of *Midland History* on the history of ethnic minorities. Other contributions deal with the experiences of other minority groups, including Jews and those from the Indian subcontinent.

J. Foster, M. Houston and C. Madigan, 'Irish immigrants in Scotland's shipyards and coalfields: employment relations, sectarianism and class formation', *Historical Research*, 84, 657–92.

The thesis of this paper is that the extent to which social, political and economic life became pillarized in nineteenth-century Scotland depended upon the strength and attraction of alternative forms of organisation. The paper compares two pairs of adjacent communities where there was a strong Irish presence: Coatbridge and Airdrie in Lanarkshire, and Govan and Kinning Park on the south bank of the Clyde. In the shipbuilding communities of Govan and Kinning Park, the over-riding social divide was between workers and their employers. Trade unionism was strong and active, and the shared experience of trade union activism blurred and diminished the sectarian divide. By contrast in the ironstone and coal mining towns of Airdrie and Coatbridge, the decline of trade union activity after a major defeat in an industrial dispute in 1856 allowed space for the denominational and sectarian organisation of social life.

C. French, 'The Good Life in Victorian and Edwardian Surbiton: creating a suburban community before 1914', *Family and Community History*, 14, 105–20.

Suburbs have garnered a bad press. As they developed in the late nineteenth century, they were castigated as being tedious, self-centered places, in which middle-class families lived in isolation, each looking inward towards its own fireplace rather than outward towards its neighbours. Worse, the fact that men could escape the monotony by travelling to work in the city centres whereas their wives were confined to their own houses strained gender relations; and the very existence of suburbia highlighted the social divide between it and the overcrowded slums inhabited by the poor. In this paper, French takes issue with this caricature by subjecting the most stereotypical example of all, Surbiton in Surrey, to critical analysis. He finds that whereas Surbiton was characterised by a high population turnover, this did not prevent a myriad of community organisations arising which encouraged the population to interact and combine for mutual benefit. Far from being composed of atomised domestic units, close to one another geographically but otherwise far apart, Surbiton had a well-developed sense of community evidenced by the many sports clubs, and artistic and cultural societies.

C.J. Griffin, 'Parish farms and the poor law: a response to unemployment in rural southern England, c. 1815–35', *Agricultural History Review*, 59, 176–98.

The desperate plight of the rural poor in many parishes of southern England in the immediate aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars is well known. Rather little research, however, has been done on the ways in which individual parishes sought to manage their own unemployed and underemployed labour, and almost nothing has been written on the use of parish farms. These were normally small farms, often vacated as a result of the agricultural depression, which were taken over by the parish and operated with the labour of the otherwise unemployed. They were most common in the Weald of Sussex and Kent (where the availability of suitable small farms was greatest and there were some successful examples to follow), but were to be found in Berkshire and Hampshire too. While they were not universally a panacea for hard-pressed Boards of Guardians, they did in some places form a cost-effective way of relieving the poor. The paper includes a list of all the parish farms so far identified in the counties of Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire.

A. Gritt and P. Park, 'The workhouse populations of Lancashire in 1881', *Local Population Studies*, 86, 37–65.

During the past 12 years, *Local Population Studies* has published several articles examining the populations of English workhouses during the second half of the nineteenth century. This is the latest contribution on the topic, which breaks new ground in that it considers the population of large workhouses in the northern industrial areas, whereas almost all the previous studies have focused on rural workhouses in southern and midland England. Gritt and Park examine the workhouses of Lancashire, and show that the nature of the paupers enumerated in workhouses at the 1881 census varied between rural and urban areas. Workhouse populations in rural Lancashire had many similarities to those of other rural areas further south. But in the large urban workhouses females outnumbered males in the working age groups, and the predominance of males among the elderly population was greatly reduced. Children under 15 years also formed a smaller proportion of the inmates of big city workhouses than they did in most smaller places and, among these children, boys outnumbered girls.

B. Harris, M. Gorsky, A. Guntupalli and A. Hinde, 'Ageing, sickness and health in England and Wales during the mortality transition', *Social History of Medicine*, 24, 643–65.

In this paper Harris and his colleagues revisit the question of whether morbidity (or ill-health) was increasing at the same time as mortality declined. They start by discussing the views of contemporary commentators on the question, focusing especially on the reports and analyses of actuaries such as Francis Neison and Alfred Watson. Most of these contemporaries believed sickness rates were rising. Harris and his colleagues subject their data to a critical re-interpretation and conclude that the extent of this increase may have been exaggerated. Sickness rates are very sensitive to the age composition of the population contributing exposure to the risk of becoming sick, which makes comparison of rates drawn

from different data at different points in time complex and difficult, especially where these data relate only to population aggregates. To reinforce this conclusion, they use individual-level data from the Hampshire Friendly Society (HFS) to examine trends in sickness rates between 1870 and (about) 1920. The HFS data show that, although aggregate reported sickness was increasing, this increase was almost entirely explained by the changing age composition of the members of the Society. Age-specific sickness rates changed very little.

M. Hawkins, 'The impact of the Grand Junction Canal on four Northamptonshire villages, 1793–1850', *Northamptonshire Past and Present*, 64, 53–67.

Using census and parish register data, Hawkins examines the demographic evolution of the villages of Blisworth, Grafton Regis, Weedon and Yardley Gobion following the construction of the Grand Junction Canal in the 1790s and 1800s. The population of all four villages increased much more rapidly than the population of Northamptonshire as a whole, and much of this increase was due to migration. Blisworth and Weedon diversified, with Blisworth becoming a port and Weedon the site of a Royal Ordnance Depot. By contrast, Grafton Regis and Yardley Gobion remained predominantly agricultural. The paper contains useful tables detailing the occupational structure and the birthplaces of the inhabitants of the four villages in 1841 and 1861.

E.H. Hunt and S.J. Pam, 'Agricultural depression in England 1873–96: skills transfer and the "redeeming Scots"', *Agricultural History Review*, 59, 81–100.

The heavy clay lands of Essex were devastated by the agricultural depression at the end of the nineteenth century, as the growing of cereals became uneconomic. It has been thought by many, on the basis of early and mid twentieth-century work, that the farms in these areas were rescued from dereliction by Scottish migrants from Ayrshire and other areas, who brought with them new farming skills, diversified into milk production and adopted a style of farming which required much less labour input than East Anglian 'high farming'. In this paper, Hunt and Pam analyse this interpretation in detail, using information from the census enumerators' books and other sources. They show that, while it is true in part, and in some places, much of the story of the 'redeeming Scots' is a twentieth century myth. Scottish farmers tended only to arrive from the 1890s onwards, and were preceded in some areas by migrants from the West Country whose contribution has been largely ignored by previous research. While the Scots did bring some new and improved farming practices, the adaptability and ingenuity of Essex farmers also played a major part in ensuring that the agriculture of the region eventually responded positively to the changed economic climate.

J.A. Jennings, J.W. Wood and P.L. Johnson, 'Household-level predictors of the presence of servants in Northern Orkney, Scotland, 1851–1901', *History of the Family*, 16, 278–91.

This article looks at the factors associated with the employment of living-in servants in northern Orkney during the second half of the nineteenth century. The number of such servants was in decline during this period but, even in 1901, 14 per cent of those aged 12–30 years were enumerated as servants living in the house of their employers. The

propensity of households to hire servants was associated with the ratio of consumers to producers in the household, a high ratio going with a low propensity to hire, though the direction of causality is not clear. Farms with a higher valuation not surprisingly were more likely to hire servants. The authors found evidence that the factors associated with the decision to hire male and female servants were different, suggesting that female and male labour were not substitutes.

C. Jones, 'Disability in Herefordshire, 1851–1911', *Local Population Studies*, 87, 29–44.

The nineteenth-century census enumerators' books (CEBs) include a column in which disabilities were recorded. The exact nature of the disabilities listed varies from census to census. Most of those using the CEBs have regarded this column as an interesting curiosity, but not worth serious analysis: the proportion of people for whom a disability is recorded is small, and the information was thought to be unreliable. In this paper Jones shows that not only is the information more reliable than was hitherto believed, but that the advent of searchable databases containing individual-level CEB data makes it possible to study all those in, say, a county, for whom a disability was recorded, and to link these persons across censuses. The choice of Herefordshire for this study is based on the availability of a (unique?) post-enumeration survey of those who reported a disability in the 1861 census. This provides fascinating additional detail about the nature and duration of the conditions giving rise to the disabilities reported. Jones's paper is valuable not only for the analysis of the social, familial and economic position of disabled persons, but also for its pathbreaking methodological contribution.

P. King, 'Urbanization, rising homicide rates and the geography of lethal violence in Scotland, 1800–1860', *History*, 96, 231–59.

This paper continues King's challenge to the conventional history of homicide in western countries, which holds that homicide rates underwent a largely uninterrupted decline between the end of the Middle Ages and the mid twentieth century. Using data for Scotland in the early and mid nineteenth century, King argues that there was an abrupt and substantial rise in rates of murder and culpable homicide taken together. This rise paralleled a similar rise in England in the first half of the century, but, unlike England (where rates peaked around the 1830s) this rise in Scotland continued until after 1850. The second part of King's paper links the history and geography of homicide rates to demographic patterns, arguing that homicide rates were associated with rapid urbanisation and the arrival in Scotland's burgeoning cities of waves of migrants from the rural north and from Ireland.

D. Moody, 'Whiteparish 1841: some dynamics of a rural parish', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 104, 237–50.

Using data from multiple sources, including the 1841 census enumerators' books, tithe maps and schedules, the Land Tax returns and parish registers, Moody is able to construct

a detailed picture of the demography, economy and society of the Wiltshire village of Whiteparish and the surrounding countryside. Land in Whiteparish had gradually become concentrated in fewer hands during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but there were still a dozen or so owners of more than 100 acres, and many more owners of small plots and cottages. The occupational structure of the parish was typical of a rural community in southern England at that time. Migration was common, with females being more mobile than males (again, this confirms what we know of other villages in the same region at that time). A particularly innovative analysis examines the extent to which residents had kin living not in their own household, but in other households within the parish. The results are striking, with 83 per cent of households having 'first order kin' within the parish. This is a much higher figure than has been found for other parishes in southern England (for example Hernhill in east Kent (see B. Reay, 'Kinship and the neighbourhood in nineteenth-century rural England: the myth of the autonomous nuclear family', *Journal of Family History*, 21 (1996), 87–104) or Melbourne in Cambridgeshire. Moody attributes this to a juxtaposition in Whiteparish of factors favouring high kin density: notably economic insecurity, and the 'open' characteristics of the village which allowed it to grow haphazardly through the construction of new houses.

M. Murphy, 'Changes in family and kinship networks consequent on the demographic transitions in England and Wales', *Continuity and Change*, 25 (2010), 109–36.

M. Murphy, 'Long-term effects of the demographic transition on family and kinship networks in Britain', *Population and Development Review*, 37 (supplement), 55–80.

The first of these two papers was actually published in 2010, but has been held over so that it can be reviewed alongside the second paper. The two papers describe the results of an investigation into how kinship patterns have changed in Britain since the mid-nineteenth century using the SOCSIM micro-simulation model. The research aimed to assess the changing proportions of people with particular numbers of kin, and especially living kin, of different types. This, of course, is an increasingly important issue in the light of the pressure on social care budgets. An enormous amount of care is presently undertaken by relatives, and it is likely that kin will be called upon to do more care in the future as local and national government budgets diminish. The first paper concludes that kin availability is sensitive to demographic trends; that the twentieth century has seen 'an ageing of generational relationships: events that formerly occurred early in life are being pushed back ... such as the experience of one's parents' deaths, or ... the age of becoming a grandparent' (p. 131); and that divorce and repartnering has complexified kin relationships.

The second paper looks at changes in the average numbers of living kin and at the experience of particular cohorts. Methodologically, the two papers are innovative in that they are one of the best examples so far of intergenerational demography, a mode of analysis that looks at the implications of demographic change over several generations.

Usually these implications are complex, and can only be sensibly studied by simulating population evolution using models calibrated either with real historical data, or by assuming demographic rates. Such models are not new to population historians. One of the earliest examples of the use of such simulation to answer an important demographic question was K. Wachter, E. Hammel and P. Laslett, *Statistical studies of historical social structure* (London, 1978), in which it was shown that the stem family system was incompatible with the observed household structure in England and Wales and the prevailing mortality rates.

O. Purdue, 'Poverty and power: the Irish Poor Law in a north Antrim town, 1861–1921', *Irish Historical Studies*, 148, 567–83.

In the late nineteenth century, Ballymoney was a small but successful town in north Antrim. This paper analyses several aspects of the administration and operation of its workhouse. Unlike many areas of Ireland, in Ballymoney the merchant class wrested control of the operation of the Poor Law from the landed interest early on in the life of the New Poor Law. This led to a more radical attitude towards the admission of women to the administrative cadre and a great concern to keep costs to minimum. The paper charts the evolution of the workhouse population over the second half of the nineteenth century. The workhouse came to be used by the poor as one of several ways of getting by. It was also used by women with child, who took advantage of its 'lying-in' facilities.

G. Savage, 'They would if they could: class, gender and popular representation of English divorce litigation, 1858–1908', *Journal of Family History*, 36, 173–90.

Popular opinion had it that divorce in the second half of the nineteenth century, following the 1857 Divorce Act, was the preserve of the aristocracy and certain other well-defined and slightly scabrous groups such as those working in the arts and entertainment industries. In this paper, Savage shows that this was a misconception brought about by selective reporting of the proceedings of the English Divorce Court in the popular press. In reality, many of the cases which came before the Court were legally aided *in forma pauperis*, and others involved labourers and others of humble standing. Among these poorer petitioners, however, it was relatively harder for the wife to initiate proceedings. To have a fair chance of being able to bring cases, wives had to have independent means (as did many of the wives of aristocrats) or their own earnings (as did women in the entertainment industry).

R. Schwartz, I. Gregory and T. Thévenin, 'Spatial history: railways, uneven development, and population change in France and Great Britain, 1850–1914', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 42, 53–88.

This comparative study of the relationship between the construction of the railway network and the economic geography of Great Britain and France is of interest to population historians because of the new light it casts on the relationship between access



to railways and rural depopulation. It has often been asserted (usually without much evidence) that the penetration of the railways into rural areas hastened out-migration to the cities, and was therefore positively associated with the rate of rural depopulation. In this paper, Schwartz and his colleagues demonstrate that, for both Great Britain and France, this was not so. Proximity to a railway tended to slow down the rate of out-migration from rural areas, mainly because it allowed rural communities access to rapidly expanding urban markets and thus gave a boost to the local economy. This reviewer [AH] has always been sceptical of the idea that impoverished rural dwellers tended not to leave the countryside until they could travel by train, and this study demonstrates that this view is false.

P. Shipley, 'Old wealth or new money? The landed classes of mid-Victorian Leicestershire', *Leicestershire Historical and Archaeological Society Transactions*, 85, 139–54.

Shipley uses the 1873 Return of Owners of Land to examine the extent to which the landowners of Leicestershire at that time were composed of men who had made their money in industry, commerce or the professions, as opposed to those who had inherited their wealth. He finds that among the lesser landowners (1,000–2,000 acres) there was a fair sprinkling of 'new money', but that the greater landowners were overwhelmingly still the old landed families of yore, who could trace their wealth and estates back for generations. Often these greater landowners had other lands, and lived, outside the county, a situation which provided openings for those with 'new money' to take on social, political and administrative roles within the country and thereby enhance their social status. Movement up the hierarchy of landowners was a slow business, however, and even those who had amassed large fortunes in industry or commerce would typically not be able to buy their way in a single generation into a position at the top of the county's social pyramid.

A. Tindley, "'Actual pinching and suffering": estate responses to poverty in Sutherland, 1845–86', *Scottish Historical Review*, 90, 236–56.

The enormous Sutherland estate covered a vast area of sparsely populated crofting land in the north of Scotland. It was exceptional for two reasons: the marginality of the environment in which its tenants lived, and the wealth of the Duke of Sutherland. The latter meant that the estate was able to be generous towards its tenants in times of crisis, especially so in the nineteenth century because it was trying to expunge from its memory unsuccessful estate clearances, by which it had forcibly removed crofters to coastal locations on the basis that there they could engage in fishing as an alternative means of getting a living. The former, however, meant that poverty was an ever-present risk for many tenants. This paper describes how the estate tried to manage the relief of poverty in the years following the potato famine of the 1840s. Various policies were tried, including the construction of a Poor House (along the lines, and for much the same reasons, as Union Workhouses had been built in England in the 1830s) and land reclamation. None of these

was especially successful. Concerned about its reputation following the clearances, the estate was unwilling to go too far down the road of denying relief to the able-bodied poor by applying a strict workhouse test. Moreover, the vast extent of the estate meant that transporting tenants to the Poor House was extremely expensive compared with relieving them in their own homes. Ultimately the harshness and fragility of the environment proved insurmountable problems to the aim of alleviating and reducing poverty.

## Twentieth century

J. Beckett, 'W.G. Hoskins, the Victoria County History, and the study of English local history', *Midland History*, 36, 115–27.

This paper describes the intellectual disagreement between W.G. Hoskins, who was attempting to redefine the aims and practice of local history so that it became the history of ordinary people and their relationship to the land, and those who upheld the traditional view of local (or parish) history as consisting mainly the history of the church, and benefice, and the manor. Representing the latter was Ralph Pugh, General Editor of the Victoria County History (VCH) in the 1950s. Beckett describes Hoskins's efforts to persuade the VCH to embrace economic and social history, which culminated in the publication of the topographical volume of the Leicestershire VCH on Gartree Hundred (J.M. Lee and R.A. McKinley eds, *A history of the county of Leicester, Vol. V, Gartree Hundred* (London, 1964)), in which many of the parish histories include specific subsections on economic history. The positions of Hoskins and Pugh eventually converged, and Hoskins was successful in persuading the VCH to allow parish histories to include economic and social material.

S. Bruce, 'Methodists and mining in county Durham, 1881–1991', *Northern History*, 48, 337–55.

Using membership records from Methodist churches and numbers of Anglican Easter Day communicants, Bruce analyses the percentages of the population of certain areas of county Durham who were adherents of both denominations. In the lead mining areas of upper Teesdale in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Methodism was at its height, with over 25 per cent of the population being members, and perhaps another 25 per cent having some connection with the local chapel. Later, after the lead mines declined, miners moved to the west Durham coalfield, and their support of the chapel declined too, with around 10 per cent of the population claiming membership in the first decades of the twentieth century. Finally, as the west Durham coalfield was exhausted, mining became concentrated in the coastal areas of the county, and here Methodism was much weaker, with fewer than one in 20 of the population being members, and Anglican adherents numbering roughly twice as many as Methodists. Bruce explains the differences between the three areas in terms of the status of evangelical religion (strongest in Teesdale, weakest in east Durham); the strength and nature of the alternative culture to the chapel (an alternative which was collective and socialist, sitting uneasily with the individualistic theology of Methodism); and

an unintended consequence of Methodism, which was that adherents were more likely to be upwardly mobile socially, which meant moving out of mining.

I. Gazeley and A. Newell, 'Poverty in Edwardian Britain', *Economic History Review*, 64, 52–71.

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I. Gazeley, A. Newell and P. Scott, 'Why was urban overcrowding much more severe in Scotland than in the rest of the British Isles? Evidence from the first (1904) official household expenditure survey', *European Review of Economic History*, 15, 127–51.

Both these papers make use of a new source of household budget data, a sample of budgets collected by the Board of Trade in the summer of 1904. In the first paper, Gazeley and Newell present estimates of the proportion of British households in poverty. Only part of the Board of Trade's sample survives, and the surviving budgets are not representative of the British population as a whole (Scotland is grossly over-represented among the survivors). Gazeley and Newell therefore weight the surviving sample to match the distribution of wages for adult men in the 1906 Board of Trade earnings enquiries. The outcome is that 'about 23 per cent of people in urban working households and 18 per cent of [working] households' were in 'absolute poverty'; including non-working households raises this proportion to 26 per cent of all households (p. 69). These estimates use the poverty line recommended by A.L. Bowley and A.R. Burnett-Hurst in *Livelihood and poverty* (London, 1915). They are higher than those obtained by Rowntree for York, and 'in the upper part of the range that Bowley found in northern towns before the First World War' (p. 69). This may be due to the fact that Gazeley and Newell's sample includes lower wage parts of the country, such as Scotland, Ireland and southern England.

The over-representation of Scotland in the data is useful when it comes to the second paper, which deals with the excessive overcrowding in Scottish towns and cities compared with those in England and Wales. Gazeley and his colleagues use the survey to explain this in terms of two main elements. First, strict Scottish tenancy laws meant that eviction was a constant threat, and perceived to be so even by those with regular and reasonably secure incomes, which resulted in Scottish working families being reluctant to take on larger and higher rental properties as their incomes increased. Second, Scottish culture was more sympathetic than that of England and Wales to communal living and the sharing of facilities which was necessary in houses with only two or three rooms. Thus, although they lived in more overcrowded conditions, Scottish families spent a smaller proportion of their income on rent than did those living south of the border. There is evidence from the Board of Trade budgets that they spent some of the money they saved on rents on food.

T.J. Hatton, 'Infant mortality and the health of survivors', *Economic History Review*, 64, 951–72.

The influence of infant and early childhood health on well-being has produced a voluminous literature in recent years. In this paper, Hatton uses data on the heights of children aged 6 to 13 years in 20 British towns from 1920 to 1950 to test two hypotheses:

first, that high levels of infant mortality led to the selection of healthy individuals, as frail infants did not survive, and consequently a decline in infant mortality actually reduced the average well-being of survivors; and, second, that high levels of infant mortality reflect a poor health environment which resulted in permanent damage to the health of those who were forced to endure it. He finds no support for the first hypothesis, but modest support for the second. The improvement in infant mortality in early twentieth century Britain was responsible for an increase in the average height of six to nine year olds of 0.55 centimetres per decade, or about a quarter of the observed increase.

E.L. Jones, 'The establishment of voluntary family planning clinics in Liverpool and Bradford, 1926–1960: a comparative study', *Social History of Medicine*, 24, 352–69.

In this contribution, Jones compares Liverpool, where an independent birth control clinic was established in the 1930s, with Bradford, where provision did not appear until 1960. In Liverpool, potential hostility from the local authority was not relevant because the clinic was an independent operation which was able to draw on support from other institutions, notably academics in the University; and the birth rate in the city was well above the national average, suggesting a latent demand for family planning. By contrast, in Bradford the local authority's support was not forthcoming (largely because two prominent members were Roman Catholic), the city's birth rate was already below the national average (which led to influential people questioning the need for a clinic) and the Family Planning Association (FPA) operated clinics in nearby places like Shipley, which many Bradford women used, and which the FPA believed might suffer were a new clinic to be opened in Bradford.

D. Killingray, 'Immigrant communities and British local history', *Local Historian*, 41, 4–12.

In this review article, Killingray advocates the study of the local history of Britain's immigrant communities, which he says has been neglected in the past, particularly so far as twentieth century history is concerned. In pursuing the history of these communities, local historians will need to interact with other disciplines which have a tradition of studying their life and culture (for example anthropology, sociology and geography). Oral history is likely to be important, so they will need to learn to communicate with members of the immigrant populations (or to employ as fieldworkers people who can so communicate). Finally, the history of immigrant populations would be greatly enriched were members of those communities themselves to write their local histories. This will mean a change in the style and tone of immigrants' studies of themselves, so that the work becomes more reflexive and critical.

J. Liddington and E. Crawford, "'Women do not count, neither shall they be counted': suffrage, citizenship and the battle for the 1911 census", *History Workshop Journal*, 71, 98–127.

By searching for members of suffragette societies in the on-line database for the 1911 census, Liddington and Crawford evaluate the effectiveness of the census boycott advocated by the suffragette movement. They found a higher proportion of the women

they searched for than they expected, suggesting that the census boycott was less effective than some historians of protest have supposed, and participation was greater in London, where anonymity was easier to secure, and the political temperature higher, than in the provinces. One possible reason for the lukewarm response to the boycott call was that the additional questions on marriage and fertility were publicised as necessary to improve the welfare of women and children. Refusal to answer them was decried as a 'sin against science', creating a moral dilemma for those prominent in the women's rights movement.

M. Luddy, 'Unmarried mothers in Ireland, 1880–1973', *Women's History Review*, 20, 109–26.

P. Thane, 'Unmarried motherhood in twentieth-century England', *Women's History Review*, 20, 11–29.

Although covering a period from 1880, these articles primarily concern attitudes towards, and the treatment of, unmarried mothers and their children in the twentieth century. Luddy describes the ways in which Irish society 'kept the unmarried mother and her child an outcast' (p. 123). Policy was aimed clearly at separating such 'fallen' women from the mainstream of 'respectable' Irish society, and at providing for their children, if possible, a home in a conventional family. Initially, they were confined to workhouses, where they formed a substantial proportion of the inmates. In 1925 many workhouses were re-designated as County Homes, and for the next few decades these and a range of charities provided accommodation for illegitimate children and their mothers. The mortality rate of these children was three times that of legitimate children, and many of those who survived were informally adopted. Only rarely was an unmarried mother able to keep her child. Of course, some unmarried mothers (or pregnant single women) made the journey to England, but they were not well received there, or well regarded by the Irish authorities who maintained that they gave Ireland a bad name. It was only in the 1960s that attitudes towards single motherhood began to change in Ireland.

The situation facing unmarried mothers in England is charted by Pat Thane. Her paper moves chronologically through the twentieth century but is careful to note that there was no simple evolution of attitudes or government policy. Things were generally easier than in Ireland where ostracism was the rule, but their situation varied over time until the 1970s, when greater openness became the norm.

D.R. Stead, 'Economic change in south-west Ireland, 1960–2009', *Rural History*, 22, 115–46.

In the 1960s, the far south west of Ireland was a rural backwater: isolated, unproductive, overwhelmingly agricultural, and with many houses without electricity or modern water supplies. Depopulation, which had been a feature of the area for many decades, was continuing. Stead describes how this situation changed over the next 30 years or so. Employment in the service sector grew, and the depopulation reversed. Even so, growth was greatest in the more accessible parts of the region, and the highly peripheral peninsulas of the far west still struggled in relative terms.