Review of recent periodical literature

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Unless otherwise stated, all articles reviewed in this issue were published in 2012. The review is in five sections: 'general', dealing with essentially methodological pieces; 'ancient and medieval', covering the period before about 1540; 'early modern', relating approximately to the years 1540–1800; 'nineteenth century'; and 'twentieth century. Some articles straddle more than one period: these are generally reviewed in the section covering the earliest period with which they deal. Within each period, articles are listed in alphabetical order of the first author's name, except where two or more articles on closely related themes are reviewed together.

General

R. Middleton, 'Historical statistics and British economic history: the British Historical Statistics Project (BHSP)', *Historical Methods*, 45, 103–18.

H. Southall, 'Rebuilding the Great Britain Historical GIS, part 2: a geo-spatial ontology of administrative units', *Historical Methods*, 45, 119–34.

These papers, published in the same issue of *Historial Methods*, deal with the production, assembly and publication of historical statistics. The first describes a project which will produce for Britain a five-volume set of historical statistics to mirror the *Historical statistics of the United States: millennial edition* (New York, 2006). *Local Population Studies* (*LPS*) has a direct interest in this project, in that two members of the Editorial Board are members of the British Historical Statistics Project team. For readers of *LPS*, it is likely that volume 1 of the proposed work, on population, will be of most interest.

The second article is the latest in a series of papers written by Southall to describe the Great Britain Historical Geographical Information System (GIS). He looks in a general way at how we might organise historical spatial information within a GIS framework. The issue with which he grapples is that historical spatial data are often identified by names, rather than by co-ordinates (consider, for example, the place of birth data in nineteenth-century censuses). The problem is to identify the location corresponding to the name given in the source. This is different from the usual GIS situation in which the basic information is a geographical co-ordinate, so that location is known, and the problem is to assign attributes to that co-ordinate.

Ancient and medieval

S.K. Cohn, 'Pandemics: waves of disease, waves of hate from the Plague of Athens to AIDS', *Historical Research*, 85, 535–55.

Disease outbreaks can provoke a range of reactions, and in this article Cohn assesses the links between pandemics and responses to them. He focusses upon the long-held assumption that epidemics sparked hatred, blame and recriminatory violence in past societies. The article is wide-ranging both in its temporal and geographical scope, examining evidence from Europe and the United States from ancient times to modern day. The reactions and responses to a range of diseases are considered, including plague, influenza, syphilis, cholera, yellow fever and AIDS. Cohn's main argument is that pandemic disease and social discord seem, in fact, to be rarely linked. Individual examples of violence towards particular social groups can undoubtedly be found, for example in the pogroms against the Jews in Europe following the arrival of the Black Death. However, Cohn demonstrates that these examples are exceptional, and in some instances might represent deliberate attempts on the part of a regime to justify violence towards a minority 'other' that were already the target for oppression and victimisation. Indeed, epidemics could in fact have the opposite effect, bringing different social groups together in search of interventions and actions that might help prevent or alleviate their impact on the community at large. This is a thought-provoking and fascinating article, all the more so for its novel comparison of such diverse disease outbreaks across time and place.

C. Dyer, 'Poverty and its relief in late Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 216, 41–78.

Despite the absence of state-implemented poor relief in the late medieval period, this article demonstrates the awareness of poverty and the importance of charity in England at that time. Dyer highlights the changing economic circumstances of this period, and the impact of these changes upon the poor and charitable provision. Through analysis of testamentary evidence from 1430–1530 he describes the means by which the poor and needy were catered for before the implementation of the Poor Laws. Public awareness of poverty is evident, along with a common sense of obligation to assist those less fortunate. Much of the charitable provision had links to the spiritual concerns of the testators, with acts of charity being one means through which people might obtain relief for their souls after death. These acts might take the form of payments of a penny to those attending the funeral of the deceased in return for prayers for their soul, or larger donations of money or property to support local almshouses, hospitals and other institutions that assisted the poor. While it might be argued that such donations were the expected norm for medieval testators, Dyer highlights numerous examples of bequests being made to local charities or specific individuals known personally to the deceased, indicating genuine concern for the poor and needy. One of the most interesting aspects of this article is the discussion of the mechanisms through which bequests were honoured and charity was administered. Dyer

demonstrates the importance of the village and the parish within this process. In sum, then, this article demonstrates that the awareness of poverty, and the local administrative mechanisms needed to provide for the poor were in place long before the introduction of the Poor Laws of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

J. Garrett, 'Spiritual kinship, godparenthood and proofs of age of heirs to Northumberland estates, 1401–1472', *Northern History*, 49, 185–201.

This article examines evidence derived from proofs of age as a means of assessing bonds of godparenthood in medieval Northumberland, particularly the motivations behind the choice of godparents and what such choices might reveal about social relationships in this period. The proofs of age were part of the inquisition *post mortem* process, in which the heirs to property held directly from the Crown had to prove they had reached the age of majority in order to have their lands released to them. Godparents were not referred to systematically in such records, but sometimes appear incidentally within accounts presented by witnesses to baptism as a means of attesting the age of the individual. As Garrett discusses, proofs of age are therefore not without their difficulties as a source of data on godparenthood. Moreover, the sample size is small, comprising only 19 proofs of age, although other studies of this kind have been equally restricted in their range of evidence. Garrett concludes that godparenthood was a means of extending family through artificial ties, most commonly with those of similar social status. However, the anecdotal evidence presented also suggests that some parents were motivated to look for sponsors from outside of their own social rank. The evidence presented certainly adds to the available data on this subject, but raises more questions than are answered.

N. Goose and H. Looijesteijn, 'Almshouses in England and the Dutch Republic *circa* 1350–1800: a comparative perspective', *Journal of Social History*, 45, 1,049–73.

Goose and Looijesteijn suggest that—notwithstanding great differences in national welfare policies—almshouse provision in England and the Dutch Republic would have been instantly familiar to denizens of either. Almshouses tended to have similar architecture, to be developed from older monastic hospitals for the sick, and in both countries the 'modern' almshouse (a residential institution aimed at the old or sick) had flourished in the late Middle Ages. In both countries the heyday of almshouse foundation was in the seventeenth century, during a period of economic growth. Almshouses were generally small, with perhaps 8–12 inmates being the standard, and they tended not to cater for the most marginal in society, but for the 'respectable poor': the decayed members of the middling and lower middling sorts. There were differences between England and the Dutch Republic, too. In the latter, there were few rural almshouses, and most Dutch almshouses were founded for the support of elderly women, whereas the balance in England was weighted towards men. By the nineteenth century, however, the overwhelming majority of English almshouse residents were women. English almshouses

were more likely to be occupation-specific than Dutch. Dutch foundations, meanwhile, tailed off in the eighteenth century, as the economy stagnated, but English donors retained their generosity up until the French wars at the end of the century.

M. Kelly and C. Ó Gráda, 'The preventive check in medieval and preindustrial England', *Journal of Economic History*, 72, 1,015–35.

Given the absence of systematic records of life events in medieval England it is hardly surprising that factors affecting demographic development over this period have long been debated. This article by Kelly and Ó Gráda represents an interesting and useful contribution to those debates, most particularly as to whether or not a preventive check operated in England during this time. The principle behind the check, put forward by Thomas Malthus, is that difficult economic circumstances would result in deliberate delays in marriage and increased rates of celibacy, which in turn would reduce fertility rates and family sizes. In this article the authors demonstrate a strong connection between economic circumstances and marriage rates, confirming the presence of a preventive check in both medieval and early modern England. This is achieved through analysis of merchet payments on the manors of the Bishops of Winchester for the period 1269–1348. Merchets were paid to the lord by unfree tenants for permission for their daughters to marry. The level of these fines, and the incidence of them, are used here to suggest the presence of the preventive check through the actions of different social groups: poorer peasants appear to have delayed their marriages when prices were higher and independent households were harder to establish, while wealthier peasants were able to take advantage of these situations, buying up land cheaply from those in debt and using it to provide opportunities for their own daughters to marry. The strength of the preventive check in the early modern period is also confirmed in this piece through multilevel regression analysis of marriages and births on real wages, a method novel for being undertaken at parish level rather than using aggregate data. The article contains a good deal of technical language, formulae and statistical analysis, which a number of readers may find intimidating or impenetrable. However, it is possible to understand the general method employed and the 'headline' results.

M. McIntosh, 'Negligence, greed and the operation of English charities, 1350–1603', *Continuity and Change*, 27, 53–81.

McIntosh explores the range of problems and difficulties that arose in the provision of charity and relief to the poor in England between 1350 and 1603. For all the good intentions of those providing charity, this relief did not always benefit its intended recipients. McIntosh identifies several issues that prevented the effective operation of charities during this period, and argues that the Poor Laws of 1598 and 1601 were a means through which failings could be more systematically addressed and the stability of charitable provision ensured. Complaints about the way charity operated could be submitted to a range of church and secular bodies, and these complaints form the basis for

this article. Fraud was one problem, as were negligence, misdirection of charitable funds, and profiteering. In some instances the trouble lay with delays, sometimes deliberate, in the implementation of a bequest, preventing charitable provision reaching the poor. Other causes of complaint included problems in obtaining rental incomes from lands or properties that had been left to the benefit of a particular charitable institution, or in the declining value of such properties as a result of dispute over responsibility for building maintenance. At the time of the Reformation it became unclear in many cases whether charitable obligations attached to confiscated lands were still owed by the new landholders.

H. Powell, 'The "miracle of childbirth": the portrayal of parturient women in medieval miracle narratives', *Social History of Medicine*, 25, 795–811.

Miracle stories are one source through which it has been suggested that the history of women's medicine might be accessed for the medieval period, and stories involving women in childbirth became more common from the twelfth century. In this article Powell examines the evidence for childbirth that can be obtained from two twelfth-century miracle collections relating to St Thomas of Canterbury, and in particular seeks to examine why it is that miracle stories involving pregnant and parturient women became more common from this period on. As she notes, the relative absence of miracle stories relating to childbirth in the earlier medieval period is perhaps not surprising, as miracles described then had physically taken place at the shrine of a particular saint and been verified to the chronicler, thus usually excluding childbirth from the tales. From the mid twelfth century canonisation of saints was no longer possible on a local level, instead requiring the sanction of the pope. This may well have contributed to an increased need to record miracle stories in order to prove the powers of the saint, with chroniclers perhaps less concerned with verifying the miracles as a result. Furthermore, practices widened to accept the invocation of saints from afar in times of need. These factors combined may have increased the number of stories involving childbirth, although as Powell points out, the number of such stories is still relatively few. The examples of childbirth miracles related by Powell in this article are insightful and fascinating in their detail, particularly as to the courses of action attempted by midwives in times of emergency, and as to the types of complications that necessitated the invocation of saintly intercession.

J.T. Rosenthal, 'The Bishops of Worcester in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: easy come, easy go', *Midland History*, 37, 17–44.

The quick turn-over of bishops in the diocese of Worcester certainly explains the title of this article. Taking a prosopographical approach, Rosenthal examines the lives and careers of the Bishops of Worcester across the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, examining their episcopates and seeking to determine what drove the rapid turn-over. He divides the 23 men who held this post in the period 1307–1486 into four main categories; those for whom

Worcester was their only episcopal appointment, those who were translated into the see from elsewhere, those who held Worcester as their first episcopal post before translation on to another diocese, and those who were translated both into and out of Worcester. More detailed examination of the personnel falling within these four main groups builds up a picture of their career trajectories, and the way in which Worcester served the needs of these individuals. As a diocese Worcester was moderate in terms of its wealth and status, and it seems that the see was viewed and perhaps understood as such by contemporaries. Rosenthal suggests that the diocese acted as a proving ground for those going on to forge high level ecclesiastical careers, while for others it served as the crowning achievement in a hard fought climb up through the ecclesiastical hierarchy. While some of these bishops proved to be effective in the running of the diocese, Rosenthal shows that the role of the bishops was more closely linked to their place in church and state politics than to the local needs of their flock.

Early modern

W.C. Baer, 'The house-building sector of London's economy, 1550–1650', *Urban History*, 39, 409–30.

T. Williamson, 'Hendrick de Keyser, Nicholas Stone, Inigo Jones and the founding of the modern Portland stone industry', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 133, 33–6.

London added 330,000 people to its population between 1550 and 1650, and these had to be housed. Baer's article focuses on the supply of housing in the capital and suburbs, an important and neglected topic for both urban and demographic history. Demand was met in large measure through men and women acting as small-scale housing speculators and building projectors, but—astonishingly—the supply of housing had to contend with the fact that most new construction was actually *forbidden* by the government.

Few building materials have characterised central London more than stone from the Isle of Portland off the coast of Dorset. Williamson asks where this relationship between the capital and Portland originated. The turning point was Inigo Jones's use of Portland stone to build the Banqueting House in Whitehall for James I. This happened because the Isle of Portland was a royal manor, and thus Jones could offset some of the costs of building by selling some of the quarried stone to others in the trade.

J. Beckett, 'Rethinking the English village', *Local Historian*, 42, 301–11.

John Beckett was until recently Director of the Victoria County History. This article is a written-up version of the British Association for Local History Wolfson Lecture. Beckett examines the factors which determined the topography, size and evolution of the English village over several centuries. He emphasises three: the economics of agriculture, the desire of people to live in close proximity in communities of common interest, and the role

of the church. While the nature of the farming might have been the dominant factor (nucleated settlements are difficult to sustain in upland pastoral areas, for example), it is ultimately determined by environmental factors. Thus, as Beckett writes: 'I set out thinking that the village was essentially an economic construct but I came to appreciate that soil and underlying geology, terrain and landscape, together with the influence of landlords, were the key explanatory factors' (p. 310). The article concludes with an examination of nineteenth and twentieth-century village developments. Note that although this article is reviewed in the 'early modern' section, its historical span includes references to all eras from the Middle Ages onwards.

J.E. Bisman, 'Budgeting for famine in Tudor England, 1527–1528: social and policy perspectives', *Accounting History Review*, 22, 105–26.

This article discusses a rare surviving corn certificate (compiled under Wolsey's Corn Commissions) for Hinckford Hundred (Essex) from December 1527, noted in D. Dymond 'The famine of 1527 in Essex', *Local Population Studies*, 26 (1981), 29–40. The area was heavily involved in cloth manufacture, and was hit hard by a trade crisis in 1527–1528 (not helped by a debasement of the coinage in 1526), but it also suffered an absolute shortage of grain. Just over 1,000 people in 10 parishes were, the certificate projected, faced with a shortfall of 572 quarters of bread corn and 451 quarters of grain for brewing into drink over the 38 weeks between the survey and the expected harvest. The article highlights the position the document occupies in the history of accounting, but students of social policy and economic and social history will find this of interest too.

J. Bower, 'The Wotton Survey: the land of a Kent gentry family in the sixteenth century', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 132, 259–74.

J. Wright, 'The military survey of 1522: a case study of Holt Hundred, Norfolk', *Local Historian*, 42, 54–68.

These two short pieces tackle interesting mid-sixteenth century local sources. Bower analyses a survey of the lands of the Wotton family, gentry of Boughton Malherbe in Kent, compiled around 1557–1560. The survey, recently transcribed and made available online by a volunteer group, was taken at a time when the family held around 6,000 acres of Kentish land. The estate was concentrated in Boughton Malherbe, but there were also parcels scattered all around the county. The survey was compiled in order to find out which parts of the estate were still under gavelkind. It contains a wealth of detail about the lands themselves, the buildings upon them, manorial obligations, and when each parcel came into the family.

Wright's short article discusses the detailed military survey of 1522 in the hundred of Holt in Norfolk, arriving carefully at some population estimates for three parishes via some data about social structure. It will be of interest primarily to historians of this part of Norfolk, and to those studying Tudor taxation.

J. Burnette, 'Child day-labourers in agriculture: evidence from farm accounts, 1740–1850', *Economic History Review*, 65, 1,077–99.

Previous work on child labour in agriculture has, in general, found an increase in the proportion of labour supplied by children during the eighteenth century, followed by a decline in the nineteenth century. Burnette analyses the trend using a new method. Noting that children were paid substantially lower wages than adults, she uses wages as a proxy for age. This enables her to make use of the substantial number of farm account books which survive for the period that normally give details of the weekly wages paid to each employee, but not each employee's age. While she acknowledges that her approach overstates the proportion of labour provided by children, because wages also declined among very old workers so some elderly workers will be misclassified as children, tests of the data on a few farm accounts for which the employees were linked to census data suggests that the method is reasonably reliable. Burnette's results confirm the trend of a rise in child labour until the early nineteenth century and a fall thereafter. Most child labour was supplied by boys: girls were very rarely employed, and when they were employed, only for short periods. Child labour was most commonly used in the south-east of England outside the home counties, and by tenant farmers rather than yeomen.

G. Clark, J. Cummins and B. Smith, 'Malthus, wages and preindustrial growth', *Journal of Economic History*, 72, 364–92.

This paper is an attempt by Clark and his colleagues to find new evidence to support the argument made by Clark in *A farewell to alms: a brief economic history of the world* (Princeton, 2007), that living standards did not rise in England between 1200 and 1800. The evidence comes from probate records for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which they use to show that the proportion of the population employed in agriculture in those centuries was about 60 per cent. They then argue that, since twentieth century data show that there is a relationship between the share of the population employed in farming and income per person, incomes per head (in 2005 dollars) in early modern England were higher than those in much of contemporary Africa, a story consistent with the failure of real wages to grow before 1800. Clearly, the analysis of Clark and his colleagues depends on a range of assumptions, several of which they discuss in the paper (for example the correspondence between occupations as stated in the probate records and what people actually did, and possible changes in occupation over the life course). There are others, though, which they do not discuss, such as the social selection of testators. Will-making was less common among the poor, and the poor may have been heavily concentrated in agricultural occupations. Readers of *Local Population Studies* may be encouraged by the use of probate records, which the journal has long championed, to answer 'big' questions about England's economic history, even if the answers given on this occasion are unlikely to be the final word on the subject.

P.J. Corfield, 'Business leaders and town gentry in early industrial Britain: specialist occupations and shared urbanism', *Urban History*, 39, 20–50.

This paper makes an important contribution to the history of Britain's towns and cities in the eighteenth century. The paper is based on an empirical study of the occupations listed in trade directories for many of the major towns of Britain in the 1770s and 1780s (including London, Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Bristol, Birmingham, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sheffield and Norwich). The analysis reveals the growing occupational specialisation within the country's towns, as well as the increasingly important contribution of women as leaders of both manufacturing and trading enterprises. Finally, Corfield challenges the recent argument of Jon Stobart and Leonard Schwarz ('Leisure, luxury and urban society in the eighteenth century', *Urban History*, 35(2008), 216–36) that 'Britain's provincial towns should be re-envisaged, not primarily within a specialist economic typology, but instead as "residential leisure towns"' (p. 23). Corfield's application of the Booth-Armstrong classification to the activities of the persons listed in the trade directories demonstrates that towns and cities did, indeed, have different specialisms. Ports, manufacturing centres and administrative centres *were* different economically, and the range of activities of their inhabitants reflected their differences.

C. Day, 'Geographical mobility in Wiltshire, 1754–1914', *Local Population Studies*, 88, 50–75.

It is more than 40 years since P.J. Perry published his pioneering study of marriage distances in Dorset ('Working class isolation and mobility in rural Dorset 1837–1936: a study of marriage distances', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 46 (1969), 121–41). In this paper, Day moves the focus north to the Wiltshire-Somerset border and the parishes of Kilmington and Stourton. Using record linkage methods she examines the birthplaces of brides and grooms married in these two settlements between 1754 and 1914 to analyse mobility before marriage. She notes that mobility between birth and marriage is higher than that observed by comparing residence prior to and after marriage. Mobility was also affected by physical geography (geographical features did create barriers), and was related to occupation (people in higher-status occupations moved further than the labouring classes). Finally, Catholics tended to move between parishes where there was a substantial Catholic population.

J. Evans, ' "Gentle purges corrected with hot spices, whether they work or not, do vehemently provoke venery": menstrual provocation and procreation in early modern England', *Social History of Medicine*, 25, 2–19.

Emmenagogues, drugs taken to restore a regular menstrual cycle, are often seen as being widely used to trigger an abortion. Evans, however, points out that the herbs, spices and animal substances so used were classified in humoral terms as 'hot and dry', just like aphrodisiacs. Herbals frequently listed foodstuffs that they claimed would function to restore regular menstruation and boost potency. Moreover, as Evans points out, in the

medical thought of the time, the fact that menstruation was necessary for fecundity implied that emmenagogues could be viewed as promoting fertility. Medical practice, it seems, followed medical theory and book learning.

C. Field, 'Counting religion in England and Wales: the long eighteenth century, c. 1680–c. 1840', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63, 693–720.

This article represents an effort to combine original documentary research with a survey of the literature to chart the growth and decline of the numbers of adherents to the various religious faiths and denominations in England and Wales between 1680 and 1840. Field starts by examining the number of dissenters, then considers Roman Catholics, Jews and atheists, and finally derives the numbers of Anglicans as a residual—though he does try to look at changes in the proportions of Anglicans so derived who were non-attenders at religious services. The results are then validated against the 1850 Census of Religious Worship. The trends are clear, and not all that surprising. In the late seventeenth century, nine out of every ten inhabitants were members of the Church of England, but the market share of the established church fell to around 75 per cent by 1840, of whom an increasing minority were non-practising. The main growth was in Methodism, especially in the early nineteenth century (Methodists represented 3 per cent of the population in 1800 and 10 per cent in 1840). The number of Roman Catholics grew in line with the total population.

J. Ford, 'Coffee house culture in seventeenth-century Lyme Regis', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 133, 27–32.

The coffee house is perhaps the institution most emblematic of the late seventeenth century urban renaissance and is taken (even more grandly) to have played a major role in the growth of the early modern public sphere. By 1675, there were an estimated 3,000 coffee houses in England, a stunning growth given that the first ones only opened in the early 1650s. In this paper, Ford looks at the development of a 'coffee house culture' in the small Dorset port of Lyme Regis. The article focuses on the will and inventory of Mrs Sarah Bowdidge, proved in 1695, which contained details of goods contained in 'the Coffee Room'.

M.R. Greenhall, 'Economic causes and consequences of the Scottish invasions of north-east England, 1637–1647', *Northern History*, 49, 265–80.

P. Nash, 'The maritime shipping trade of Scarborough, 1550 to 1750', *Northern History*, 49, 202–22.

Nash's contribution uses port and coastal books to offer a detailed reconstruction of the development of Scarborough's maritime trade in the two centuries after 1550. In 1565 a survey of the town described it as, 'ancient and large' but 'much decayed', but by the time Defoe got there in 1733 he found it 'moderately large and prosperous, and grown of late very magnificent in its buildings as it grows in wealth'. The books show Scarborough's critical position in the coastal coal trade, being in the early eighteenth-century the leading

collier-owning port in England. They also show how the town engaged in international trade, most notably supplying coals to Amsterdam, which was the destination of half the town's foreign exports, and importing timber from Norway. Successful as the town was, it was held back by its hinterland, which was underdeveloped and thus provided little in the way of demand for imports.

Greenhall points out that the Scottish invasion of north-east England was partly economic in motivation, a response to the seizure of Scottish ships in the region during the First Bishops' War. In the following years, the economies of north-eastern England and southern and eastern Scotland fluctuated considerably, partly as a result of military movements, and the invasion of 1644 had a particularly notable impact.

S. Hindle, 'Below stairs at Arbury Hall: Sir Richard Newdigate and his household staff, c. 1670–1710', *Historical Research*, 85(227), 71–88.

This interesting micro-study explores the relationship between Sir Richard Newdigate and the household staff at Arbury Hall (Warwickshire). Readers will be familiar with Newdigate through the astonishing census of Chilvers Coton from 1684, a staple of demographic and social history for generations now, but the focus here is on labour relations, and Hindle has dug up some fascinating insights. Newdigate employed around a score of servants at any one point, accounting for roughly a twentieth of the parish population. He seems to have been a terrible employer, castigating, fining, dismissing and sometimes punching his servants. He also ran a campaign to reform manners within the household, disciplining servants for drunkenness, failure to attend church, and even for attending the *wrong* church. There were some 68 terminations of employment between 1692 and 1706; Newdigate instigated 50 of these. Thirty got a quarter's warning, 20 were simply dismissed on the spot. The staff were poorly paid but did benefit from a system of bonuses and rewards for loyalty and long service.

S. Hipkin, 'The coastal metropolitan corn trade in later seventeenth-century England', *Economic History Review*, 65, 220–55.

Hipkin provides some fascinating research into London's coastal grain imports. He finds that, in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the coastal trade supplied just 4–8 per cent of the capital's bread corn and 9–14 per cent of its brewing grain. After about 1680, the metropolitan coastal grain trade expanded significantly, but this was probably driven by provincial glut rather than growing demand. A major component in the expansion came from the transport of fodder crops, such as oats, caused by the growth in the capital's transportation requirements on the back of the major commercial boom after the end of the Third Dutch War (1672–1674), and by improvements in coastal shipping costs which allowed the development of oat imports from south Wales and northern England. In fact, there was a thriving oat trade between the capital and Wales and the north until it was interrupted by war in the 1690s, at which point imports from closer to London stepped into the gap.

D. Hitchcock, 'A typology of travellers: migration, justice, and vagrancy in Warwickshire, 1670–1730', *Rural History*, 23, 21–39.

Vagrancy and migration by the poor in early modern England were closely linked. This paper focuses on the constables' accounts for one Warwickshire parish, hoping to reconstruct the language used to describe the various kinds of poor migrant who passed through, and comparing the descriptions of the migrant poor found there to those espoused in treatises (Michael Dalton's *Countrey Justice* and Robert Gardiner's *Compleat Constable*) and at Warwickshire Quarter Sessions. The treatises, Hitchcock finds, left plenty of ambiguity for parishes to interpret in terms of who they prosecuted for vagrancy. The paper studies Grandborough, where some 6,000 migrants are recorded as passing through from 1671 to 1704. The language employed could be finely-grained, but ultimately the vast majority of migrants were categorised as 'passengers'. These were usually given a small sum of cash and ushered on their way. Indeed, so great was the accumulated cost that each household contributed an annual 2s 6d *per annum* towards the mobile poor. The conclusions are rather tentative, though Hitchcock has clearly drawn attention to a fruitful area for further research.

L. Humphrey, S. Bello and E. Rousham, 'Sex differences in infant mortality in Spitalfields, London, 1750–1839', *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 44, 95–119.

The trend in infant mortality in eighteenth and early nineteenth century London is currently the subject of debate, fuelled partly by deficiencies in every available source of data. In this paper, the authors use the burial and baptism registers for Christ Church, Spitalfields, to examine trends and patterns in infant mortality between the 1750s and the 1830s. Much of the paper is taken up with a discussion of data quality, including an examination of baptismal under-registration and the extent to which unbaptised children were buried. The analysis reveals a major decline in infant mortality over the period, with the rate dropping by more than half. Much of this decline seems to have been the result of a fall in mortality from congenital causes and causes associated with the birth process, but part of it may have resulted from changes in infant feeding practices. In the early part of the period, mortality was higher for males than for females, but the sex differential had narrowed appreciably by the 1830s (which is interesting, for male infant mortality was generally somewhat higher than that of females throughout the nineteenth century in other populations).

J.G. Hunter, 'Changing fashions in monumental inscriptions', *The Local Historian*, 42, 16–28.

University of Leicester Graveyards Group, 'Frail memories: is the commemorated population representative of the buried population?', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 46, 166–95.

These two papers are interesting studies of funerary monuments. Hunter uses eight burial grounds from the north-west of England to chart changing monument fashions from the

sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. His team has collected data from some 2,400 commemorations, and it is suggested that the eighteenth century saw two important changes across the eight grounds. First, there was shift from inscriptions referring to the body in the grave ('here lies buried') towards the statement 'here lie the remains', suggesting an elite acceptance of that the body might physically decay while remaining capable of resurrection. Second, from the eighteenth century references to the physical substance of the body and its resurrection tended to be replaced by the notion of the 'memory' of the deceased, often reinforced by a suitably gushing epitaph. Hunter suggests that late eighteenth century growth in peoples' emotional outpourings, their quest for decency and politeness, and a general calming of their concern about the afterlife go much of the way to explaining these developments.

The second paper, by the University of Leicester Graveyards Group, asks an important local historical question that has been largely neglected: what proportion of those who died in a parish were likely to be commemorated with a gravestone? They compare surviving memorial stones in six churchyards (three rural, three urban) with parish register evidence to arrive at the figure of 8.23 per cent of deaths commemorated in stone, though the figure for rural areas was much higher than that for towns. The principal factors in the discrepancy are selective commemoration, and the attrition of surviving monuments. In rural areas, there was a significant increase in commemoration from about the 1770s, though this did not hold for urban parishes. In both urban and rural parishes a higher proportion of men were have surviving stones compared to women, and adults were more likely have them than children or infants. There was a general rising trend in proportions with stone memorials: by the middle of the nineteenth century about a quarter of the adult male rural population were commemorated in surviving physical monuments.

M. Klemp and J. Weisdorf, 'The lasting damage to mortality of early-life adversity: evidence from the English famine of the late 1720s', *European Review of Economic History*, 16, 233–46.

In recent years the thesis that adult disease has origins in early infancy (and even in the foetal period before birth) has become popular. In this paper Klemp and Weisdorf provide evidence in support of the thesis by comparing the mortality of cohorts of English men and women born before, during and after the subsistence crisis of the late 1720s, using data from the Cambridge Group's family reconstitution studies. They find that the expectation of life was lower among those born in 1727 and 1728 than among those born before and after the crisis. The increased mortality was largely confined to the Midlands, the area which is believed to have suffered most severely from a shortage of food, and was especially great among those whose fathers were manual workers, providing further evidence that it was associated with dearth and deficiency before and shortly after birth. The difference in the expectation of life at birth was substantial, amounting to 12.5 years between the children of Midlands' manual workers born in 1727–1728 and a control group

of all persons born between 1731 and 1735. This seems a very large difference (considerably larger than that typically associated with famine conditions in infancy), and because it is based on relatively small numbers may overstate the true effect. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence from other historical European famines to suggest that it may be real.

J. Komlos and H. Küchenhoff, 'The diminution of the physical stature of the English male population in the eighteenth century', *Cliometrica*, 6, 45–62.

There has been a protracted debate about trends in the average height of English men during their eighteenth century. R. Floud, K. Wachter and A. Gregory, *Height, health and history* (Cambridge, 1990) argued that mean heights rose slightly between 1740 and 1800 (though there was a period of decline after 1770). They based their evidence on data from recruits to the Army and the Marines. In this paper Komlos re-analyses their data and comes to a different conclusion: that mean heights declined markedly (by as much as 12 cm) over the same period. The difference in his results stems from the changing composition of the sample. In the 1740s, the sample consisted mainly of recruits to the Marines, who tended to be shorter than recruits to the Army. As the century progressed, Army recruits formed a greater proportion of the sample. Komlos argues that Floud *et al.* failed to take this into account. The issue is important, for mean heights are a sensitive indicator of living standards, and if Komlos is right, English living standards declined dramatically in the early years of the industrial revolution.

J. Macadam, 'English weather: the seventeenth-century diary of Ralph Josselin', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 43, 221–46.

Macadam's discussion of the meteorological evidence in Ralph Josselin's diary is a creative use of a hoary old text. It depends on trying to quantify what were essentially qualitative statements about temperature and precipitation, so it is more of a noble experiment than an exercise in scientific precision. Macadam is well aware of this, and points out the difficulties of interpreting such descriptive terms as 'pleasant', 'cheerful', and 'flabby'. It is a bit like trying to interpret today's meteorological fluctuations by listening to the verbal flourishes of a weatherman, without having access to their quantitative data. But there is some useful information to be gleaned, such as years with especially snow-filled winters, or droughty summers, and an annual rainfall index constructed from the diary shows a statistically significant correlation with extant tree-ring data. In fact, the article will probably be of most interest to historians of agricultural fluctuations in the mid-to-late seventeenth century rather than climatologists.

J.L. Malay, 'The marrying of Lady Anne Clifford: marital strategy in the Clifford inheritance dispute', *Northern History*, 49, 251–64.

Malay reinterprets the first marriage of Lady Anne Clifford, to Richard Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and Third Earl of Dorset in 1609. Though usually seen as unproblematic, the

hasty marriage—celebrated in a chamber in her mother's house (though one which *used* to be a chapel)—was rather driven by Lady Anne and her mother's desire to secure their disputed northern lands. Lord Richard was, at the time, about to inherit his father's estate and earldom, and was close to Prince Henry, then one of the shining lights at court.

J. McCallum, 'Charity doesn't begin at home: ecclesiastical poor relief beyond the parish, 1560–1650', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 32, 107–26.

As McCallum points out, early modern Scotland shared in the European trend, at least in terms of ambition, towards formalising its poor relief. Parliamentary legislation of the 1570s, influenced by England's attempts to install compulsory funding, largely failed, but the church—through Kirk sessions—tried to regulate voluntary giving. Surprisingly, this poor relief has been little studied, so this is a useful article. Its focus is not upon the distribution of poor relief to local people by Kirk Sessions, but the distribution of funds to those from outside the parish, the local area, and sometimes even beyond Scotland. Church courts, with their centralised and hierarchical structures, proved effective networks for wide-ranging charitable drives. The targets were generally either individuals or groups in danger of poverty through some specific form of distress, such as loss of goods at sea, or floods, or they were groups of Protestants outside Scotland who were suffering persecution.

C. Muldrew, ' "Th'ancient distaff" and "whirling spindle": measuring the contribution of spinning to household earnings and the national economy in England, 1550–1770', *Economic History Review*, 65, 498–526.

Pointing out that spinning was not always the unskilled drudgery it is often supposed to be, Muldrew has produced a brave attempt to quantify its importance to the English economy before it became mechanised from around 1770 onwards. Focusing his discussion on wool spinning, he attempts to gauge the size of the workforce from the late sixteenth century onwards. The results are interesting and will be influential. The method uses data on exports and adds them to estimates of home consumption, then works backwards, using evidence about necessary labour inputs from contemporary tracts, to estimate how many women and children were needed to produce these amounts, and how much spinning might therefore have contributed to the incomes of the poor (based upon estimates of the average working week and year). Readers will make their own minds up about the reliability of these estimates, but at present they are the best we have. If they are broadly correct, the potential total earnings from spinning wool increased by a factor of seven between the 1580s and 1770 (the population grew by around 64 per cent), and by the latter date the preparation of wool, linen and hemp yarns (plus knitting) could have employed as much as three quarters of *all* women aged 14 or over. Potential earnings in this generally 'female' form of employment were rising much quicker than male agricultural wages. It is possible that the potential earnings in spinning for single women may have encouraged some to remain unwed, suggesting a possible explanation for some

of the rise in celibacy rates in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Moreover, the scale of the demand for spinning identified by Muldrew suggests that a major driving force behind the attempts to mechanise the trade came from a bottleneck in the labour supply, in turn supporting Bob Allen's argument that high wages were a major incentive to technological innovation. When that mechanisation came, however, it must have caused quite considerable hardship.

K.L.S. Newman, 'Shutt up: bubonic plague and quarantine in early modern England', *Journal of Social History*, 45, 809–34.

Less deadly than those in 1625 and 1665, the 1636 outbreak of plague provides an opportunity to study the controversial policy of shutting up victims and those who had come into close contact with victims. It focuses on the well-documented parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields, also of interest because of the high level of social differentiation within its bounds, and finds quarantine effective in managing the outbreak. Looking at records of where quarantined houses were situated, it is suggested that the middling sort, who could afford to live on the major thoroughfares, were most affected, though the statistics are difficult to interpret. Some victims tried to bribe their way out of quarantine and popular narratives often highlighted the policy's contravention of traditional notions of charity, kinship and neighbourhood. Many, indeed, saw quarantine as a form of punishment rather than as a policy aimed at helping suffering populations.

D. Postles, 'The financial transactions of an Archdeacon, 1604–20', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 86, 149–63.

Postles trawls through the personal financial accounts of the Leicestershire archdeacon Robert Johnson, who has been characterized as a puritan and an authoritarian. The sources are 119 *statutes merchant*, which were bonds registered with the Mayor and Clerk of the Statutes of Nottingham, in which he acted as creditor. These statutes were a way of assuring the loan, and as a body they suggest a local big-shot entering into a credit market that had become partially liberalised over the past century. His debtors were predominantly local yeoman, though some husbandmen, traders and gentlemen are included; he had, it seems, a preference for lending money to landholders.

W.D. Shannon, 'Dispute maps in Tudor Lancashire', *Local Historian*, 42, 2–15.

A.J. Maddock, 'A perambulation of the Hundred and Parish of Westbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 105, 105–116.

S. Pittman, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean deer parks in Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 132, 53–81.

Maps are, of course, wonderful sources for local historians. There has, however, been surprisingly little work on *dispute maps*—those created as part of a legal dispute, usually over title to a parcel of land or to the demarcation of its boundaries. Shannon surveys the

extant dispute maps for Lancashire found in the sixteenth-century records of the Chancery Court of the Duchy of Lancaster. The county is blessed with particularly good survival of Tudor maps. A trawl through the catalogues of the National Archives throws up some 39 dispute maps. A gradual progression in terms of style has been identified, from simple line-drawing, through picture maps, to scale maps (the first of which appears in 1581). Importantly, the maps tended to display claims rather than the actual landscape, a caveat of considerable importance for local historians wanting to make use of these fascinating sources.

Maddock attempts to pick apart an intriguing perambulation of the hundred and parish of Westbury in Wiltshire. With (as yet) no identifiable primary document to go on, she looks in detail at a transcription made and published in the early nineteenth century, and finds that the document dates to the reign of James I (not 1575, as the published version states). It is an intriguing piece of local documentary scholarship of which Lorenzo Valla would have been proud, and is backed up by some fieldwork, which highlights the need to treat the work of nineteenth-century antiquarians with great care.

Pittman, meanwhile, uses textual, map and fieldwork evidence to discover the deer parks of Elizabethan and Jacobean Kent. By the Elizabeth's reign around half of the county's active parks had been disemparked, largely thanks to political turmoil and the confiscation of church lands (before the Reformation the Church owned two fifths of the county). The density of parks in the county was probably about average for the south-eastern counties, which may have reflected its ancient landscape, the impact of gavelkind tenure, and the fact that much of its land was too profitable as farmland to be emparked

L. Shaw-Taylor, 'The rise of agrarian capitalism and the decline of family farming in England', *Economic History Review*, 65, 26–60.

England had an unusual tripartite agrarian social structure by the late eighteenth century, based around landlords, tenant farmers and farm labourers. It is often thought that this was the root cause of the country's unusually high labour productivity, which in turn is sometimes given prominence in explanations of the industrial revolution. Discussions of how this social structure arose, and about the chronology of change, have often been hampered by a lack of consistency between scholars as to what the 'peasantry' was and how large a farm had to be to be considered a 'large farm'. The approach taken here is different. Shaw-Taylor charts the decline in family farming and the rise of the labour-employing farm. Conceptually, this development is separated from the rise of the commercially-orientated farm, which is seen as a precursor to the eventual development of the wage labour-dependent farm. He argues that occupational data provide the key to the origins of agrarian capitalism. Using the ratio of 'farmworkers' (essentially labourers, some husbandmen, and servants) to 'farmers' (yeomen, other husbandmen and, of course, farmers) found in occupational sources—mostly parish registers—it is possible to gauge the spread of capitalist farming on a national scale. These are problematic data, most

notably in that father's occupations taken from baptismal registers will not include many servants (who were supposed to be unmarried). They also remain to be fully analysed. However, the data collected so far suggest that agrarian capitalism thus defined was established in the south and east by 1700, where three quarters of the adult male workforce was proletarianised. In the north and west family farming remained important into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though even here the transition to 'fully blown agrarian capitalism' was largely complete by 1851.

K.D.M. Snell, 'Belonging and community: understandings of "home" and "friends" among the English poor, 1750–1850', *Economic History Review*, 65, 1–25.

This is the latest in the current genre of studies based on 'pauper narratives', the stories of poor told in their own words. Snell uses a range of pauper letters and other documentary evidence to discuss the ways in which the poor related to the different communities and individuals which had touched their lives. The letters are typically written by people who were separated from their families and the community with which they identified most closely, and therefore are the correspondence of exiles. Yet their authors were often aware of their legal rights, and the ties which bound them to their communities of origin. Indeed, Snell argues that they were '*forced* to relate to their "home" communities, given the lack of sympathy or help for them where they were' (p. 23).

D. Tankard, '"A pair of grass-green woollen stockings": the clothing of the rural poor in seventeenth-century Sussex', *Textile History*, 43, 5–22.

Using a relatively wide definition of the rural poor, Tankard uses evidence from Sussex to explore their clothing habits in the seventeenth century. She draws upon a wide range of sources, including wills, poor accounts and criminal court depositions. The working poor's clothes had to be compatible with outdoor labour, so some of the more constricting fashions of the elite were impractical. But there is evidence of variety in both fabric and colour, and some people made distinctions between 'work day' clothes and 'holiday' clothes. There was a complex market for clothing, but this was still a world in which criminal suspects were more easily identifiable by their clothing than their facial features, so as much as people wore distinctive clothes, they cannot have varied them that often.

B. Waddell, 'Governing England through the manor courts, 1550–1850', *Historical Journal*, 55, 279–315.

Waddell uses records from 113 manors, focusing on Yorkshire, to argue for a continuing role for manorial courts into the eighteenth century. It is usually assumed that courts baron and leet (the latter of which are not *technically* manor courts but which tended to operate at the manorial level), were in terminal decline by the later seventeenth century. This article suggests, however, that in reality they shifted their responsibilities away from the policing of violence, disorder and victualing and towards infrastructure: the unglamorous side of local government such as the maintenance of roads, drainage and fences. The

regulation of common lands and immigration remained central to their work. It seems that the most active courts were in the north and the Midlands—a finding which broadly fits with existing assumptions. In an analysis of Yorkshire, Waddell finds a 'clear split' in the character of manorial government between lowland and upland Yorkshire. The upland manors had a greater focus on policing disorders such as affrays. The article certainly highlights an area which would merit further research.

P. Wallis, 'Labor, law and training in early modern London: apprenticeship and the city's institutions', *Journal of British Studies*, 51, 791–819.

C. Minns and P. Wallis, 'Rules and reality: quantifying the practice of apprenticeship in early modern England', *Economic History Review*, 65, 556–79.

M. Fleming, 'Woodwork tools in early modern Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, 78, 107–15.

In seventeenth-century England, between 5 and 10 per cent of male teenagers were apprenticed to London. Wallis's paper, the latest instalment in his reconstruction of the economic history of apprenticeship in England, focuses on London's system of contract dissolution. Apprenticeships frequently ended before their terms were out, and this presented a financial risk to the master. Part of this risk was met by premiums paid up front by the family of the apprentice, and part through the delicate balancing of the apprentice's work and training through the course of the term. Wallis studies the process in the Lord Mayor's Court which allowed apprentices to cancel contracts and to recover some of their initial financial investment. It seems that at least 3–8 per cent of apprentices entered bills at the court to discharge themselves of their indenture, suggesting a significant role in the early termination of contracts. Although the sons of wealthier parents were slightly over-represented, suitors came from a wide social spectrum. Masters could not apply to the court, so it was exclusively one for apprentices wanting to end their term. The pattern revealed by the court records fits into Wallis's developing picture of apprenticeship as a surprisingly flexible, even free-market, institution.

In a second article, Wallis and Minns offer a quantitative analysis of apprenticeships in London and Bristol at the end of the seventeenth century, based on extensive record linkage. They find the institution more flexible than traditionally supposed, or legally stipulated, with many apprentices starting early or leaving before their term, suggesting that many felt a shorter period than seven years was needed to achieve a decent level of training. Some apprentices were also absent temporarily, and it seems that the presence and absence of apprentices was determined by external opportunities and resources.

Taking a rather different approach to early-modern apprenticeship, Fleming collates information from enrolment books, wills and inventories to gauge what tools were promised to woodworkers in Oxford between 1513 and 1662, and thus shed light on

working practices. He finds that woodworkers were apparently more likely to be promised tools on completion than other trades. The most common tools mentioned were axes, hammers, saws, chisels, planes and augers.

P. Wallis, 'Exotic drugs and English medicine: England's drug trade, c. 1550–c.1800', *Social History of Medicine*, 25, 20–46.

Wallis bolsters the case for a dramatic growth in medical consumption in the seventeenth century. Compiling data from port books and customs ledgers on the import of drugs from the later sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, he asks when the main shift in the demand for commercially-supplied healthcare took place, and whether changes in medical theory were manifested in peoples' consumption of drugs. The expansion of overseas trade brought a startling increase in the import of drugs during the Stuart century: once re-exports have been taken into account, it looks like English medical drug consumption was at least 15 times higher in 1700 than it had been a century before. Growth was slower in the eighteenth century, and imports may have actually contracted between 1700 and 1723. Much of the expansion of consumption was, he suggests, driven by the purchasing of drugs rather than of services.

A. Walsham, 'Sacred topography and social memory: religious change and the landscape in early modern Britain and Ireland', *Journal of Religious History*, 36, 31–51.

This article will be of considerable interest to local and social historians. As Walsham points out, Reformation scholars have scarcely considered the impact of religious change on the landscape, whilst landscape historians for their part have often neglected the sacred. If the English Reformation brought a 'stripping of the altars' then, in Walsham's hands, it also unleashed the dogs of evangelical reform upon an unsuspecting, ancient sacred landscape. Holy sites and ancient church fabric were threatened by purposeful demolition by the state, though only a minority of places were ever destroyed. Roundhead soldiers brought another wave of iconoclasm; it is even alleged that the firebrand army chaplain Hugh Peter urged the high command to pull down Stonehenge as a 'monument of heathenism'. Fortunately for the later heritage industry, the New Model Army largely contented itself with creating romantically ruined castles. Nonetheless, there were other impulses than destruction at play. Antiquarians, who were only partly motivated by Catholic revivalism, set about cataloguing the physical remains of the past. Far from stripping the landscape of its sacred essence, Protestants more generally saw the Lord's work in stones, trees and caves. A set of standing stones in Somerset, for example, was held by 'hotter' Protestants to be a wedding party punished by God for allowing their celebrations to slip overnight into Sunday. Indeed, to some, it made sense to protect ancient 'heathen' and 'popish' monuments, if only to remind the country of the power of the Lord and the victory of the Protestants.

Nineteenth century

J.T. Alexander and A. Steidl, 'Gender and the "laws of migration"' , *Social Science History*, 36, 223–41.

In 1885 E.G. Ravenstein published his 'laws of migration' which stated, among other generalisations, that over short distances females were more migratory than males, whereas males were more likely than females to be long-distance migrants, especially international migrants. In this paper, Alexander and Steidl take issue with the first of these statements. They use individual-level data from the 1881 census of England and Wales to calculate sex-ratios of migrants, controlling for the overall age structure of the population of males and females. They claim that there was no difference in the propensity of males and females to be living in a county different from the one in which they had been born. Ravenstein's finding that fewer males than females were living in a county other than their native county was a consequence of a larger number of males than females being either dead or having emigrated. There are reasons to be sceptical about whether this analysis actually overturns Ravenstein's generalisation. First, the authors do not consider within-county moves. Second, they look at migration retrospectively rather than prospectively. Third, they assume that the birthplace data in the census are correct, and it is thought that as they got older, persons who had lived for a long time in a place were more likely to say they had been born there, even if they had not.

B. Braber, 'The influence of immigration on the growth, urban concentration and composition of the Scottish population, 1841–1911', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 32, 190–212.

This descriptive article uses census data on birthplace to examine the numbers of immigrants and the proportion of the Scottish population born in various foreign countries as enumerated in the censuses from 1841 to 1911. Braber distinguishes immigrants from Ireland (the largest group in the nineteenth century), England (increasing rapidly towards the end of the century), Wales and foreign parts. He makes a special study of those born in Germany, Russia (many of whom were Jews) and Italy. A limitation of the analysis is that the children of immigrants who were born in Scotland are indistinguishable from the children of native-born Scots. Braber is aware of this, and considers its implications in a thoughtful discussion.

J.A. Burnett, K. Hughes, D.M. MacRaild and M. Smith, 'Scottish migrants in the northern "Irish Sea Industrial Zone", 1841–1911: preliminary patterns and perspectives', *Northern History*, 49, 75–97.

The study of Scottish migrants to England and Wales in the Victorian era is underdeveloped compared to that of the Irish diaspora. In this descriptive paper, the authors present a broad view of the distribution of the Scottish-born as recorded in the censuses from 1841 onwards. Scots were concentrated in the towns and cities of northern

England, not only in the major conurbations but also in smaller towns such as Carlisle and Barrow. The paper includes a discussion of attitudes towards Scottish migrants compared with those towards the Irish. The greater tolerance, and even encouragement, of Scottish migration was related to the entrepreneurial spirit of the Scots and the important role they played in generating employment.

S.A. Caunce, 'The hiring fairs of northern England, 1890–1930: a regional analysis of commercial and social networking in agriculture', *Past and Present*, 217, 212–46.

As is now well known, the institution of farm service survived—indeed thrived—in the counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham and Northumberland, as well as in large parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, well into the twentieth century. In this paper Caunce describes the network of hiring fairs at which many servants contracted with their employers to work for the next year or half-year, traditionally held at Martinmas in November. The paper uses a description of the form and function of these fairs to frame a more general discussion of the reasons why farm service persisted so long in this region. It was, Caunce argues, fundamentally because of a labour shortage in a situation in which competing demands from industry threatened to deprive the larger farmers of employees. It is notable that hiring fairs were located in areas of farms too large to be worked by family labour alone; areas dominated by small farms, such as south Lancashire and areas of the West Riding close to major industrial centres, did not need hiring fairs. Fairs were largely absent from the high Pennines too (probably for the same reason, though Caunce does not state this). Having made the point that the persistence of farm service reveals an agricultural economy in the north of England which was very different from that of East Anglia and the south east, he cautions against localism, arguing that the hiring fairs actually formed a single network which served to integrate the northern English agricultural economy.

A. Croll, 'A famished coalfield or a "healthy strike"? Assessing evidence of hunger in the South Wales "coal war" of 1898', *Welsh History Review*, 26, 58–80.

In a paper published in 2003 ('"That beautiful summer of severe austerity": health, diet and the working-class domestic economy in south Wales in 1926', *Welsh History Review*, 21, 552–74), Steven Thompson cast doubt on the conventional view that miners and their families suffered extreme hardship during the strike of that year. In fact, mortality was lower in 1926 than in the surrounding years. Thompson's argument is similar to that used by Jay Winter to account for the fact that infant mortality rates were lower during World War I than in the years before: the welfare measures put in place to alleviate possible distress actually benefited the families concerned, as they allocated resources more effectively towards those in need than was the case when decisions about allocation were in private hands (that is, made by the households themselves). In this paper Croll examines the strike of 1898 in the Welsh coalfield from the same perspective. His thorough examination of contemporary reports in the newspapers of distress leads him to the

conclusion that they are highly unreliable as sources. Mortality rates, on the other hand, are more objective and difficult to distort. They show no increase in mortality in 1898, the year of the dispute. However, infant mortality does increase in 1899, which might signify that women who were pregnant in 1898 did suffer nutritional deficiency, as it is known that foetal deprivation can lead to elevated risks of death in the years after birth.

E. Farrell, ' "Infanticide of the ordinary character": an overview of the crime in Ireland, 1850–1900', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 39 (2012), 56–72.

In this paper Farrell uses a database of 4,645 cases of suspected infanticide in Ireland between 1850 and 1900 to describe the characteristics of the mothers who were driven to the extreme act of doing away with their offspring. Although there was a stereotype of the infanticide suspect as an inexperienced teenage girl taken advantage of by an older and feckless man, most suspects were older, the average age being about 26. Many were domestic servants, who stood to lose their positions if they kept the child. Servants also may have had more opportunities than others for unsupervised liaisons with men. The victims were mainly newborns, and there were roughly equal numbers of male and female babies. Irish infanticide was, therefore, really about the characteristics and circumstances of the mother, not those of the child. Though infanticide was murder and, as such, a capital offence, juries were often reluctant to convict women of murder; they, often supported by judges, typically found reasons to convict the mothers of the lesser charge of manslaughter.

O. Galor, 'The demographic transition: causes and consequences', *Cliometrica*, 6, 1–28.

There has been a resurgence of interest in recent years in macro-economic analysis of economic and demographic change in the past, much of which uses empirical data from England to test hypotheses derived from macro-economic models. This paper is within this oeuvre, but slightly different as it uses micro-economic theory to derive predictions about the relationship between economic development and the progress of the demographic transition in western countries, and then asks whether these predictions are consistent with the macro-level data for those countries. The main conclusion is that the decline in fertility during the demographic transition was not triggered by rising incomes, or a decline in infant and child mortality, but was the consequence of a rise in the demand for human capital leading to an increase in the returns to education and parental investment in children. This changed the terms of trade between quantity and quality of children, encouraging parents to have fewer children and invest more in each child. Note that this account is not the same as the classic Beckerian view, in which the demand for child quality rises with *income* more quickly than does the demand for more children. Galor's analysis is important in that is a 'demand theory' of the fertility transition of the class decried by J. Cleland and C. Wilson, 'Demand theories of the fertility transition: an iconoclastic view', *Population Studies*, 41 (1987), 5–30, but rather different and more persuasive than some earlier 'demand theories'. That said, it does seem to rely on parents

either being altruistic or expecting some return from their investment in their children. Galor does not discuss altruism, and elsewhere in the paper he is sceptical that children in the historic west provided a substantial amount of support to their parents during old age.

R.L. Greenall, 'Labourers and allotments in nineteenth-century Northamptonshire (Part 1)', *Northamptonshie Past and Present*, 64 (2011), 89–97.

R.L. Greenall, 'Labourers and allotments in nineteenth-century Northamptonshire (Part 2, 1873–1900)', *Northamptonshie Past and Present*, 65, 62–9.

This two-part paper describes the history of the allotment movement in Northamptonshire from the time of population growth and rural poverty in the early years of the nineteenth century, through rural unrest and the era of high farming to the period of agricultural depression in the 1870s and after. Greenall looks at the efforts made to secure land for the labourers and the local politics surrounding the issue. He observes that Northamptonshire was a success story in the provision of allotments, the availability of which was higher in that county than almost anywhere else in England. Later in the century the provision of smallholdings, rather than allotments, became the focus of attention. However, as Greenall points out in conclusion, at the same time as the means to make a living from the land was being made available to a previously landless proletariat, that same social group was leaving the land in favour of the greater opportunities in the towns and cities. The attractions of urban employment were greater than some element of self-sufficiency in the countryside.

M. Grimsley-Smith, 'Revisiting a "demographic freak": Irish asylums and hidden hunger', *Social History of Medicine*, 25, 307–23.

There is evidence that periods of acute malnutrition in childhood can lead to long-term health problems. This paper examines the long-run mental health of the cohort which grew up during the Great Irish Famine of the 1840s. Grimsley-Smith shows that admissions to lunatic asylums among the members of this cohort were elevated, especially when the cohort was aged 30–40 years. The analysis suggests, though does not demonstrate, that the 'famine generation' was more susceptible to mental health problems than the generations which preceded and succeeded it.

B. Harris, M. Gorsky, A.M. Guntupalli and A. Hinde, 'Long-term changes in sickness and health: further evidence from the Hampshire Friendly Society', *Economic History Review*, 65, 719–45.

M. Gorsky, A.M. Guntupalli, B. Harris and A. Hinde, 'The "cultural inflation" of morbidity during the English mortality decline: a new look', *Social Science and Medicine*, 73 (2011), 1,775–83.

These papers report an analysis of more than 5,000 individual-level sickness histories of male members of the Hampshire Friendly Society who joined between 1824 and 1939. A

wide range of aspects of sickness is examined. In the first paper it is shown that, over time, the incidence of age-specific sickness did not change systematically, but the prevalence rose among older men because of a tendency for them to experience periods of sickness of longer duration. This increase in the duration of sickness might have been associated with an attempt to substitute sick pay for pensions, or with the increasing availability of sickness insurance which allowed men to spend longer off work—phenomena which have been described as the 'cultural inflation' of morbidity. It may also have been due to insult accumulation, whereby improved medical care meant that people recovered from illnesses from which they would previously have died, but had their health permanently impaired as a consequence, leading to their being both more susceptible to future sickness and slower to recover when they succumbed.

In the second paper the same team of authors tackles the 'cultural inflation' hypothesis and find rather little evidence of its operation. The Hampshire Friendly Society policed sickness claims fairly rigorously and there was no tendency over time for members of the Society to make claims for sickness for less serious conditions. However, they could not rule out the possibility that sick pay for older men for chronic conditions was being used as a way of paying what was effectively a pension to men who had not joined the Society's pension scheme.

S. Horrell and D. Oxley, 'Bringing home the bacon? Regional nutrition, stature and gender in the industrial revolution', *Economic History Review*, 65, 1,354–79.

S. Horrell and D. Oxley, 'Hasty pudding versus tasty bread: regional variations in diet and nutrition during the Industrial Revolution', *Local Population Studies*, 89, 9–30.

P. Sharpe, 'Explaining the short stature of the poor: chronic childhood disease and growth in nineteenth-century England', *Economic History Review*, 65, 1,475–94.

The first two of these papers report on a recent study by Horrell and Oxley of regional variations in the quality of the English diet in the early nineteenth century. They begin the first paper by evaluating the quality of the diet in each county in 1795 and 1834 using the data in Eden's survey *The State of the Poor*, and the responses to the Rural and Town Queries respectively. They classify these diets according to their supposed 'growth-enhancing' characteristics. The north of England and Wales had superior diets to the south and east, mainly because of their avoidance of wheaten bread and the use of milk. The next stage of the analysis shows that the quality of the diet was associated with the heights of males and females in 1795. By 1834 the relationship with males' heights was sustained, but for females the positive effect had disappeared (arguably it had even reversed). In addition, nutritional standards were higher where women could work from home. Horrell and Oxley suggest that this pattern for females arose because of changes in the gender-specific distribution of resources within the household. In particular, where nutritional levels are very low, stunting in childhood can be compensated by catch up growth during the teenage years provided nutrition is good

enough. Generally, men were able to catch up wherever the overall diet allowed it. However, whether women were able to catch up was dependent not only on the nature of the local diet, but on whether they were able to command sufficient food of the right type to promote growth.

The second paper examines more fully the determinants of regional variations in the diet, including the consumption of wheaten bread, protein and calories per day. Wheaten bread was consumed more in towns, in arable areas, and where women worked outside the home. Where commons existed, especially where milk was available, a higher proportion of the diet was based on other grains. Income affected the quantity of calories and the amount of protein consumed, but bore no clear relationship to other aspects of the nutritional value of the diet.

Of course, diet is only one determinant of human well-being. Even height, which has been found to be strongly correlated with nutrition (notably nutrition in infancy and childhood) is affected by other factors. Chief among these are childhood disease and the environment in which one lived as a child. Poor nutrition reduces the body's intake of energy and nutrients vital for growth; sickness increases the demands made on the body and reduces the body's ability to process nutrients effectively. In her paper, Sharpe takes up the challenge of explaining why, in the early and mid-nineteenth century, many English boys and girls were extraordinarily short in stature. Sharpe considers the role of tuberculosis and respiratory infections, intestinal disorders and diarrhoea, rickets, excessive work and the urban environment in retarding the growth of poor English children at this time.

S. Hutton, 'Anxiety, dread and disease in the ports of Liverpool and Tynemouth during the mid-nineteenth century', *Local Historian*, 42, 208–15.

This short article describes the differing reactions of the authorities in the ports of Liverpool and Tynemouth to the threat from cholera between 1831 and 1854. Hutton argues that port towns were composed of 'insiders', or permanent residents, and 'outsiders' or short-term residents who came and went. In Tynemouth, which was mainly a cargo port, cholera was blamed on outsiders (mainly the crew of ships using the port). Liverpool, on the other hand, derived its income from passenger traffic, so blaming 'outsiders' for the cholera carried a big economic risk. The Medical Relief Committee therefore stressed the role of insanitary and overcrowded living conditions among the city's 'insider' population.

A.J.H. Jackson, 'The "open-closed" settlement model and the interdisciplinary formulations of Dennis Mills: conceptualising local rural change', *Rural History*, 23, 121–36.

Dennis Mills was formerly a member of the Editorial Board of *Local Population Studies*. This paper describes the history of the 'open-closed' settlement model as evident in his work,

most prominently his classic study: *Lord and peasant in nineteenth century Britain* (London, 1980). Jackson examines the development and uses of the model in the historical and geographical literature, emphasising its interdisciplinary nature. Criticisms of the model are carefully and fairly presented. The paper then examines the continuing relevance of the model for understanding the local geography of twentieth-century and contemporary Britain.

D. Maund, 'Locality and change in an area of north Herefordshire during the nineteenth century', *Local Historian*, 42, 29–43.

In the 1980s and 1990s many studies of particular localities using the census enumerators' books (CEBs) were published in both local and national historical journals. In recent years, the flow of these has somewhat dried up but the value of such work remains. Maund's study of the area of Herefordshire surrounding the community of Little Hereford south-east of Ludlow is an excellent illustration of the kind of detailed picture of the local economy and society that it is possible to paint using the CEBs. With a particular focus on population turnover, Maund demonstrates that this area of small family farms was able to survive the years of the agricultural depression without too much damage. He attributes this to the adaptability of the region's agricultural economy and the continued demand for perishable goods from the rapidly growing towns of the west Midlands.

A. Reid and E. Garrett, 'Doctors and the causes of neonatal death in Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century', *Annales de Demographie Historique*, 149–79.

This paper compares the causes of neonatal deaths (deaths in the first month of life) in the lowland Scottish town of Kilmarnock with those recorded on the Isle of Skye. Using civil register data to which they negotiated special access, Reid and Garrett describe the most commonly cited causes. A major problem with the comparison is that more than half the deaths in the Isle of Skye were not medically certified. In Kilmarnock, where medical certification was the norm, the distribution of deaths by cause varied widely according to the particular medical practitioner doing the certification. Indeed, the main conclusion to be drawn from this section of the paper is that reported cause of death data for infants in the nineteenth century are highly challenging to work with, and make firm conclusions hard to reach. In the second part of the paper, Reid and Garrett use an ingenious method developed for modern African populations to demonstrate that in the Isle of Skye neonatal tetanus was probably a major cause of death, whereas this was not the case in Kilmarnock or other non-island populations. It is known that neonatal tetanus was rife in St Kilda, and the evidence for Skye is convincing. Yet neonatal tetanus was hardly mentioned as a cause of death in the civil registers. It seems that indirect analysis based on age distributions of deaths and methods validated on populations for which cause of death data are reliable may tell us more about the causes of infant deaths in nineteenth-century Britain than the direct reports of contemporaries.

E. Richards and A. Tindley, 'After the clearances: Evander McIver and the "Highland question", 1835–73', *Rural History*, 23, 41–57.

A. Tindley and E. Richards, 'Turmoil among the crofters: Evander McIver and the "Highland Question", 1873–1903', *Agricultural History Review*, 60, 191–213.

Evander McIver was factor (local manager) for part of the Duke of Sutherland's extensive estate in the north-west highlands between 1845 and 1895. These papers tell the story of how he tried to reconcile the wishes of the crofters to retain their way of life with the requirement to run the estate in an economically sustainable way. McIver, a native of the island of Lewis and a Gaelic speaker, was a man of the west highlands but he believed that crofting had no future, and education and emigration were the only long-term solutions for the people. Time and again he made this point to his employer, but the Duke was sympathetic to the plight of the crofters or—at least—was unwilling to act to end the crofting system. The crofters survived and by the early 1880s the crofters' movement had transformed the local political landscape so that McIver's methods of managing the estate were overtaken by events. During the late 1880s McIver's stubbornness and refusal to compromise his position that crofting had no future led him to conflict with the Duke's Commissioners (who had overall responsibility for the management of the whole estate). However, he held on to his position until the beginning of the twentieth century.

P.J. Shinner, 'Continuity in the age of reform: freemen and the persistence of the old order in nineteenth-century Grimsby', *Midland History*, 37, 163–86.

The quality and priorities of the government of urban areas in late nineteenth century Britain were important in determining the health and well-being of their populations. Shinner examines the government of the rapidly growing fishing port of Grimsby. He describes the long-running battle between the proponents of reform, and the old order of freemen of the town, a battle which was largely won by the freemen, aided by a town clerk who held the office for the extraordinary term of 52 years. The freemen, a body composed largely of tradesmen and professional men, successfully managed to perpetuate pre-Reform Act practices by which the town was obliged to provide them with substantial benefits, such as free education for their children. As a result many important housing and sanitary improvements were delayed.

K.D.M. Snell, 'Churchyard closures, rural cemeteries and the village community in Leicestershire and Rutland, 1800–2010', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63, 721–57.

The conventional picture of a nineteenth-century cemetery is that of a large urban necropolis, called into being because urban churchyards had become full. But, as Snell shows in this paper, many (perhaps most) cemeteries were in rural areas, and could often be tiny, perhaps consisting of a score or so graves in a corner in one of the remoter fields of the parish. The history of its churchyards and cemeteries reveals much about the history of a community, as demonstrated in this analysis of the burial grounds of Leicestershire and Rutland.

B. Trinder, 'Country carriers revisited', *Local Historian*, 42, 135–47.

Much has been written about the development of long-distance transportation in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. But getting goods to and from most people relied also on local services between market towns and the villages and farms where, until 1851, more than half of the people lived. These services were provided by carriers, men (and a few women) who drove carts and vans between towns and the villages in their hinterland, taking parcels, poultry, and other supplies, and a few passengers. Many of these operated regular services, sometimes daily, sometimes once, twice or thrice weekly. In this paper, Trinder charts the history of the rural carrier from the beginnings of the business in the late eighteenth century to its decline between the World Wars. Using the example of the Banbury area in Oxfordshire he describes the social and economic background of the carriers and their households. He argues that a good definition of the *pays* of a particular town, or the area for which it functioned as the economic and cultural centre, can be gleaned from the places served by local carriers to and from the town.

N. Verdon, 'Business and pleasure: middle-class women's work and the professionalization of farming in England, 1890–1939', *Journal of British Studies*, 51, 393–415.

During the second half of the nineteenth century the employment of women in agriculture declined, as farm work was deemed unsuitable for the 'gentler sex' and the ideology of 'separate spheres' was developed. However, as Verdon explains in this paper, the same period witnessed the beginnings of a movement of middle-class, educated women, bored with urban life constrained by 'separate spheres' into farm management. This development coincided with the growth of training opportunities for would-be farmers, as farming took on some of the characteristics of a profession. Women moving into farming did tend to enter what were deemed the 'lighter' specialisms: for example horticulture, poultry keeping and dairying, but most were dedicated to making a living from the land in the long term, and not just 'hobby farmers'. Verdon describes the reaction of traditional male farmers to the new upstarts, and links the evolution of middle-class women's farming to wider economic and political developments: World War I, for example, confirmed the credibility of women farmers in the eyes of many sceptical yeomen.

K. Waddington, ' "It might not be a nuisance in a country cottage": sanitary conditions and images of health in Victorian rural Wales', *Rural History*, 23, 185–204.

It is well known that there was a rural-urban divide in mortality rates in nineteenth century Britain. Rural areas generally enjoyed expectations of life at birth several years greater than those in nearby towns and cities. This differential was reflected in the Victorian image of the countryside as healthy and unsullied by the environmental problems resulting from the press of humanity in urban areas. Using the example of

Wales, however, Waddington shows that sanitary and environmental problems were rife in the countryside. The state of houses and cottages, and the conditions in rural workplaces, were frequently appalling, and the lack of effective sanitation led to epidemics of disease—as when an epidemic of typhoid in Bangor was traced to the inadequate disposal of infected sewage in the nearby countryside. It seems that because the countryside was regarded as naturally healthy, sanitary interventions were deemed unnecessary.

Twentieth century

C. Breathnach and E. O'Halpin, 'Registered "unknown" infant fatalities in Ireland, 1916–32: gender and power', *Irish Historical Studies*, 38, 70–88.

This paper is a study of the 895 'unknown' infant deaths recorded in the General Register of Death Indices in Ireland between 1916 and 1932. The research was originally prompted by what the authors thought to be an unusual sex ratio of these deaths: 100 males for every 78 females. This sex ratio will not surprise historical demographers, however, for it is well known that male infant mortality was substantially higher than female infant mortality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; indeed the conclusion of the paper is that natural 'male disadvantage in infancy' is the cause of the sex ratio of deaths (p. 88). Aside from this, however, the article provides a great deal of information about the provenance of these 'unknown' deaths: many were illegitimate; a large number were probably the result of infanticide; and most were from poor backgrounds.

J. Burchardt, 'Historicizing counterurbanization: in-migration and the reconstruction of rural space in Berkshire (UK), 1901–51', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 38, 155–66.

Counterurbanization is sometimes thought of as a phenomenon of the 1980s and 1990s, but population loss in central parts of London and other old-established industrial towns and cities began in the late nineteenth century. In this paper Burchardt examines the movement of (predominantly) middle class people out of London into Berkshire. He uses three case studies to account for the fact that west Berkshire was out of commuting range whereas east Berkshire was not. He concludes that those who moved to Berkshire in the first half of the twentieth century were committed to preserving aspects of rural life, while wishing to retain links with the city. The process was not, then, just an extension of suburbanisation, but neither was it an escape from city life.

J. Hall, 'From cottage to community hospitals: Watlington Cottage Hospital and its regional context, 1874–2000', *Local Population Studies*, 88, 33–49.

Although the title of this paper describes its period of interest as starting in the nineteenth century, most of the paper concerns the evolution of cottage hospitals since the inter-War years. Neither is the paper mainly about Watlington, though the hospital in that Oxfordshire town features as a case study. The main theme of the paper is the change in

the position of small, local hospitals within the structure of health care in England and Wales during the last 75 or so years. Hall describes the construction of local hospitals, and the place they occupied in the health care system before the introduction of the National Health Service. He charts the relative neglect of cottage hospitals during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s when policy and resources were geared to promoting regional (large teaching) hospitals capable of taking advantage of technological developments. The paper stresses throughout the importance of the relationship between these local hospitals and the communities they served.

A. Reid, 'Mrs Killer and Dr Crook: birth attendants and birth outcomes in early twentieth-century Derbyshire', *Medical History*, 56, 511–30.

This paper examines the relationship between the type of birth attendant and various negative outcomes of a birth, including stillbirth, death of the new-born baby and death of the mother within six weeks of the birth. The data relate to most of the births in Derbyshire between 1917 and 1922. There were three types of birth attendant. The first were qualified midwives or by-midwives who, though they had no formal qualifications, were regarded as equivalent to qualified midwives by virtue of their experience and a 'grandmother' clause introduced in 1902 when midwives were first regulated. The second were unqualified birth attendants. The third were doctors. The results show that births attended by doctors, either alone or with midwives, had higher risks on all outcomes than those attended by midwives alone. Of course, it is possible that doctors were only called to problematic births, or births predicted to be high-risk on the basis of a history of complications during pregnancy or other known risk factors. However, Reid ingeniously controls for this, and shows that the elevated risk of negative outcomes from doctor-attended births holds up. She suggests that doctors may have been less fastidious about cleanliness and hygiene than midwives were, and that doctors were likely to resort to instruments—which could transfer infection—which midwives were not allowed to use.