

## REVIEW OF RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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All articles reviewed were published in 2002 unless otherwise stated.

W.D. Adair, 'Can we trust the census reports? Lessons from a study of domestic servants in Tenbury, Worcestershire, 1851 and 1861', *Family and Community History*, 5, 99–110.

So-called 'kin servants' are persons described in the 'rank, profession or occupation' column of the census enumerators' books (CEBs) as servants, but who were related to the head of the household in which they worked. Although most 'kin-servants' did the kinds of work that other servants did, they were not employees in the conventional sense. The largest class of 'kin servants' were 'kin housekeepers', who typically worked in households headed by single or widowed men. Edward Higgs, *Domestic servants and households in Rochdale 1851–71* (New York, 1986) (see also his paper in *Local Population Studies (LPS)*, 28 (1982), 58–66) suggested that when compiling the census reports for mid-nineteenth century censuses, the clerks in the census office simply summed up the entries in the 'rank, profession or occupation' column, thus including most 'kin-servants' in the totals of servants. Adair's analysis of the Tenbury CEBs for 1851 and 1861 shows clearly that this happened in 1861, but not in 1851, when all 'kin housekeepers' were excluded from the census report. The conclusion is that treatment of 'kin servants' by the clerks in the census office was inconsistent over time and space, and great care needs to be exercised by researchers when using the figures in the census reports. Readers interested in the topic of 'kin servants' might also like to consult the paper by Hancock reviewed in *LPS* 65, 69–70, and Michael Anderson's paper in *LPS* 60 (1998), 58–64.

N.R. Amor, 'Riding out recession: Ixworth and Woolpit in the late Middle Ages', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 40, 127–44.

This article contributes to the debate on the fortunes of late-medieval towns by focusing on two small Suffolk communities on the threshold of urban status. Both were firmly embedded in a conservative manorial world and neither were self-governed, but they included a range of economic activities that marked them out from mere villages nearby. Using court and account rolls, tax returns, probate evidence and architectural remains, Amor attempts to map out their demographic and economic experience between the early fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is estimated that the population of both fell considerably across this period, Woolpit probably more than Ixworth.

Both were also hit by the decline of commercial farming as agricultural prices plummeted in the fifteenth century, the Abbott of Woolpit taking to wholesale demesne leasing while the Prior of Ixworth kept most of the demesne under direct management. Peasant farming remained largely subsistence. Ixworth saw the emergence of a building industry, while Woolpit benefited from the growth of clothmaking. Tax returns suggest that in each town some inhabitants achieved modest prosperity, though in relative terms Woolpit did far better than did Ixworth. The conclusions offered are sensibly tentative, for precise measurement of economic well-being in this period is notoriously difficult.

D. Amos, 'Nottingham's health pioneer: Philip Booboyer, Medical Officer of Health for the City of Nottingham 1889–1929', *The Nottinghamshire Historian*, 69, 6–9.

This short article seeks recognition for the role played by Philip Booboyer, Nottingham's third medical officer, appointed in 1889, to set alongside the better known contribution of the city's first medical officer Seaton. Booboyer used empirical evidence to demonstrate the close relationship between the use of the pail-closet and the prevalence of typhoid, though their removal was a process that was to take fully 25 years. An autocratic man, regarded as very much 'old school', Booboyer is praised for his profound knowledge and uncanny medical instincts, as well as his sincere concern for the good of the community. After 40 years in service, the number of employees in his department had grown from 30–40 to 120, and expenditure had risen from £28,000 to nearly £121,000, although it is not clear what his personal role in these developments was.

Autour du Livre de C. Pooley et J. Turnbull, *Migration and mobility in Britain since the seventeenth century* (London, 1998), *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 101–28.

This is a collection of three reviews of the recent book on *Migration and mobility in Britain* by Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, in which the results of their study of several thousand residential histories provided by family historians are written up (for a summary of some of these results, see Pooley and Turnbull's paper in *LPS* 57 (1996), 50–71). The reviewers are A.B. Kasakoff, J. Kok and R.M. Schwartz, and their reviews are preceded by a short introduction by L. Lucassen and followed by a reply from Pooley.

Lucassen sets the scene by pointing out that Pooley and Turnbull's book has had an international impact, placing 'the study of human mobility in Britain on a much higher level' and defining 'an entirely new standard after more than a century of Ravensteinian dominance' (p. 102). A key theme of the book is that the change wrought by migration in English society was rather gradual. As Schwartz puts it in his review: '[a]fter reading the book the idea that mobility has been a stable feature of British life since the mid-eighteenth century becomes clear and generally compelling' (p. 122). In general terms, this is probably true, yet Kasakoff wonders whether the starkness of this

conclusion is in part a product of the sample which Pooley and Turnbull selected: 'their work is largely a description of the lines which made it into the professional classes' (p. 110). If the migration patterns of people who left no descendants could have been studied, perhaps a different picture would have emerged? Kok also suggests that the sample of residential histories which Pooley and Turnbull have assembled is biased towards the middle classes and upwardly mobile, and that different patterns might have emerged had it been possible to study the mobility of the proletariat in more detail. In his reply, Pooley accepts that Turnbull and he might have underplayed the macro-level impact of economic and social change on migration; and acknowledges that the sample is biased in various respects. Nevertheless, it remains true that the residential history approach to migration has provided many important new insights into the mobility of previous generations of inhabitants of Britain.

A. Blaikie, 'Coastal communities in Victorian Scotland: what makes North-East fisher families distinctive?' *Local Population Studies*, 69, 15–31.

This paper outlines some of the more significant elements of the distinctive demography of certain fishing villages around Scotland's north-east coast. Scotland has been portrayed as a land of low nuptiality and high fertility, yet in these fishing communities, high fertility was combined with a low average age at marriage and high proportions marrying. The family-centred fishing trade also produced highly endogamous kinship links.

A. Blaikie, 'Nuclear hardship or variant dependency? Households and the Scottish Poor Law', *Continuity and Change*, 17, 253–80.

In this study of four Scottish rural communities, three in the north-east and one in the south-west, Blaikie examines the ways in which families and households encountered episodes of poverty, and how they coped (or, in some cases, did not) with it. He finds a complex picture of what he terms 'variant dependency', in which the chance of becoming dependent on external support changed over the life course, and was also influenced by the past history of the particular family in question. Individuals faced with dependency might call upon kin if these were available, or might have recourse to the Poor Law. Indeed, they might call on both at the same time. Models which posit a simple relationship between family structure and the nature of support for the poor (such as the 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis, in which a nuclear family system is associated with collective provision for the poor, and an extended-family system with kin-based provision) are inadequate to capture the complexity of the strategies adopted by families who had, at various stages in their life, to seek outside help.

P. Bromfield, 'Incidences and attitudes: a view of bastardy from eighteenth-century rural north Staffordshire, c. 1750–1820', *Midland History*, 27, 80–98.

This article examines bastardy in the six parishes of Alstonefield, Grindon, Butterton, Sheen, Wetton and Warslow and Elkstones, all in the Manifold Valley of the north Staffordshire moorlands. Bastardy ratios are calculated for

the period 1750–1809. For the six parishes together, they rise at an accelerating pace across this period, from 3.5 per cent in the 1750s to 9.7 per cent by the 1800s. For the individual parishes the overall figure for the period 1750–1809 ranges from 4.3 per cent to 8.4 per cent, emphasising the possibility of parochial variation even within a circumscribed locality. Part of the explanation for the rising trend, it is suggested, might be the youthful age structure consequent upon population growth and in-migration, while—at least for the latter part of the period—the declining employment prospects from the 1790s in the large copper mine at Ecton owned by the Duke of Devonshire may have discouraged marriage. As the rise is part of a national trend, however, it is accepted that there may well have been other non-local factors at work, and the only constant the author is able to identify is population growth.

A number of families in these parishes, as Laslett found in his wider study, produced illegitimate children across several generations. Some of the cases of bastardy may have been the result of customary unions, although the evidence for this is not incontrovertible. Similarly difficult to ascertain are attitudes towards illegitimacy: although the few pieces of correspondence that survive do seem to suggest a high degree of tolerance, in some families at least. It is unclear, however, whether this represents a tolerance within local society based upon shared cultural mores, or whether it was simply a recognition and acceptance of fact.

P.S. Brown and D.N. Brown, 'The anti-vaccination movement in Weston-Super-Mare', *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, **35**, 93–6.

N. Durbach, 'Class, gender and the conscientious objector to vaccination, 1898–1907', *Journal of British Studies*, **41**, 58–83.

Vaccination against smallpox was made compulsory during the second half of the nineteenth century, the enforcement being heralded by the Vaccination Act of 1871. However, there was widespread opposition, on the basis that vaccination involved the introduction of animal disease into healthy human systems, and because it violated the liberty of the individual. A second Vaccination Act of 1898 allowed for 'conscientious objection': exemption certificates were granted to persons who could satisfy magistrates that they had sincere and well-founded reasons for opposing vaccination.

The first of these two papers deals with opposition to vaccination in Weston-super-Mare. In the Banwell district, which incorporated Weston, only 8 of 230 infants went unvaccinated in the first six months of 1882, but by the equivalent period in 1892 the number had risen to 124 out of 224. Attempts by the local authorities to distrain goods in lieu of fines imposed sparked a mass demonstration of 2,000–3,000 people. The Vaccination Act of 1898 led to the issuing by the local bench issued of well over 1,000 certificates to conscientious objectors in Weston and its surrounding parishes by the end of the year. At the end of the century, therefore, substantial numbers remained unvaccinated in the area. Weston escaped any outbreak of the disease, unlike Leicester, where

resistance to vaccination had gone hand in hand with continuing smallpox epidemics in the later nineteenth century, which had become increasingly rare elsewhere by this time. Readers interested in this paper might also like to consult the paper by Baxby reviewed in *LPS* 65 (2000), 65.

The second paper examines the issue of 'conscientious objection' in more detail. Durbach shows how the 1898 Act led to innumerable difficulties as some magistrates refused to be satisfied on any grounds, and others adopted the positivist position that, since a person's conscience was unobservable and unmeasurable, the very idea of 'satisfaction' was untenable. In 1907, therefore, the law was changed to allow a 'parent' to make a statutory declaration, thus removing the need to 'satisfy' the magistrate. This led to a new debate about whether 'parent' included 'mother'. It was argued that, since fathers alone were the legal guardians of their children, surely only they could make such a declaration? The argument was eventually resolved by local courts making their own decisions, which led to great geographical variations in vaccination rates (Keighley in the West Riding of Yorkshire had very high rates of exemption and vaccination rates as low as 2 per cent of births). The inconsistent interpretation of the 1907 act reduced national vaccination rates, such that during the first four years of its implementation, only 56 per cent of children born were vaccinated.

K. Burrell, 'Migrant memories, migrant lives: Polish national identity in Leicester since 1945', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 76, 59–77.

Combining census data with oral history evidence, this paper is a study of the experiences of the small Polish community in Leicester since their arrival during and after the Second World War. Burrell shows how shared memories of their wartime experiences helped the community retain a strong national identity reinforced by Roman Catholicism and the establishment of Polish institutions. Eventually, in the last decades of the twentieth century, these institutions declined as the community became more integrated with the native inhabitants of the city. The article is an excellent example of the use of oral history evidence in a local demographic study.

R. Burt, 'Freemasonry and socio-economic networking during the Victorian period', *Archives*, 27 (106), 31–38.

In this paper Burt uses hitherto unexploited archives to look at the social and occupational composition of the membership of four Cornish Masonic lodges during the second half of the nineteenth century. The lodges concerned were all in mining areas near Camborne. His results reveal that members of these lodges were drawn from all sections of society except the very well-off, and that skilled and semi-skilled manual workers could and did rise to high office within them. There is intriguing evidence that membership of a lodge was sought by miners and others intending to emigrate to the United States and Mexico, as being a Freemason aided integration into destination communities. These substantive results are interesting, but this paper may ultimately prove most useful to local historians through its introduction to the 'archives of the

Museum and Library of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masonry, [which] are one of the richest under-exploited collections for economic and social history available in England today' (p. 38).

S.K. Cohn jr, 'The Black Death: end of a paradigm', *American Historical Review*, 107, 703–38.

This fascinating article, continuing a debate that by now has a considerable pedigree, offers two main arguments. The first, dealt with at greater length and clearly the most crucial of the two, is that the Black Death of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was not the same disease as the rat-based bubonic plague that appeared in Hong Kong in 1894 (the 'third pandemic') whose agent was *yersinia pestis*. The two diseases, Cohn argues, were 'radically different in their signs, symptoms, and epidemiologies' (p. 703). The Black Death spread too fast to be consistent with the rat-flea-human vector found in modern plague, and must have been an airborne disease, with a more effective transmission than can be produced even by pneumonic plague. Nor is there any evidence of widespread rat deaths, while the physical signs of the disease as described by contemporaries are less consistent with modern plague and more varied that is often appreciated. Furthermore, the clear peaks of the disease in European cities (the evidence is mainly Italian) occurred in June and July (two of the driest months in Mediterranean climates) in poor conditions for flea survival and propagation. Nor did the Black Death commonly strike in successive years as does modern plague, while its trajectory and age-specificity over the medium term (higher proportions of children being affected over time) also differed, suggesting (again unlike modern plague) that it was possible to acquire a degree of immunity.

Very rarely, Cohn argues, is the issue of what exactly the Black Death was (given that it is most unlikely to have been modern plague) considered by historians or epidemiologists, and nor is it pursued at any length here. Among the rare alternative suggestions, however, is Wu Lien Teh's speculation that it may have been influenza, and the only other alternative suggestions to be noted are those offered by G. Twigg, *The Black Death: a biological reappraisal* (London, 1984) (see also his paper in this issue of *LPS*), and S. Scott and C. J. Duncan, *Biology of plagues: evidence from historical populations* (Cambridge, 2001) (see the review of Scott and Duncan's book by C. Dyer in *LPS* 68 (2002), 95–6).

The second argument, subordinate for the demographer though not perhaps for the social and cultural historian, is that the Black Death was not as psychologically devastating as some authorities (perhaps epitomised by J. Huizinga's characterisation of *The waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1976)) have claimed. After the initial outbreak, subsequent eruptions of the disease failed to set off the wild and unsanctioned displays of emotion we associate with the flagellants. Early supernatural explanations soon gave way to concerns with political, social and hygienic conditions, and increasingly the medical profession was looked to for cures. Europeans thus adapted quickly to the new pathogen, which helps us to understand Renaissance confidence amidst mass mortality.

C. Coles, 'Supporting the medical war effort – Chester's war hospitals', *Cheshire History*, 42 (2002/3), 117–23.

In 1914 Chester possessed a Royal Infirmary (founded 1759), a Workhouse Infirmary and an Isolation Hospital. Both the Royal Infirmary and the Isolation Hospital offered beds to the War Office, while the Workhouse Infirmary was taken over completely to become Chester War Hospital. In addition voluntary hospitals were established in many large private houses: by 1918 nine in Chester and its immediate area, and 85 across the county of Cheshire as a whole contained 4,533 beds. By 1919, 74,412 patients had been treated in them, many of whom had arrived in one of the 160 ambulance trains that pulled into Chester during the war years. This enormous voluntary effort reflects the courage and care of the women who staffed them, the varied experiences of a sample of whom are described here.

C. Dyer, 'Villages and non-villages in the medieval Cotswolds', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 120, 11–35.

Documentary and topographical evidence used in conjunction reveal that villages were formed in parts of the Cotswolds between the tenth and twelfth centuries, before which time people lived in small settlements ('non-villages'), while in other parts of the region these small settlements persisted, particularly in the western woodlands. Many features encouraged the persistence of 'non-villages', including assarts, mill houses, farmsteads and establishments from which pasture farming was managed. Furthermore, when arable farming became less profitable after c.1320, some villages shrank or became redundant. The formation of villages and hamlets was organised by manorial lords but participated in by peasants, and in the later Middle Ages it was largely through the initiative of migrants that villages lost populations and new scattered settlements grew in the industrial valleys.

Y. Fischer-Yinon, 'The original bundlers: Boaz and Ruth and seventeenth-century English courtship practices', *Journal of Social History*, 35, 683–705.

This article attempts to interpret the social place and meaning of 'bundling' in early modern England (the practice whereby a betrothed couple would, with guardians' approval, spend a night together, usually clothed but possibly engaging in non-penetrative sex) by focusing upon the biblical story of Ruth and Boaz, notably their encounter on the threshing-room floor, an event that appears to possess all of the features of bundling as an element of ritual courtship. The use made of this story in the sermons of Edward Topsell of East Hoathly, Sussex, in the 1590s, and Richard Bernard of Batcombe, Somersetshire, in the later 1620s, is examined and analysed. Both appear to give tacit support to bundling as represented by this story as long as it remained innocent and controlled, taking place between betrothed couples, but both also reveal concern with the sinful behaviour of unpromised couples, revealing the tension that surrounded marriage promises and contracts.

The two preachers differ slightly in their interpretation and use of the story. Topsell appears to be less concerned with the shaping of a specific code of behaviour than Bernard, which may be explained by the fact that his audience was generally of a lower social class, as well as by the fact that he was active approximately three decades earlier, and in a harsher economic climate. But in Bernard's treatment of the scene, it is suggested, he was 'in the process of defining for himself and his audiences/readers a godly sexual code' (p. 695), and hence the notion of a perfect godly match could co-exist peacefully alongside harsh Puritan ethics.

A. Fletcher, "'englandpast.net": a framework for the social history of England', *Historical Research*, 75, 296–315.

Andrew Fletcher recently retired as director and general editor of the *Victoria County History*. In this paper, he reviews research and writing on the social history of England since the time of Eileen Power, L.F. Salzman and G.M. Trevelyan. The review is wide-ranging and includes a discussion of the work of several historians who are well known to readers of *LPS*, including Joan Thirsk, Keith Wrightson and Margaret Spufford. The last part of the paper sets out an agenda for the future of English social history as part of the *Victoria County History*. Quite what the relevance of the pseudo-url in the title is, this reviewer (AH) could not work out.

R. Floud, 'The dimensions of inequality: height and weight variation in Britain, 1700–2000', *Contemporary British History*, 16, 13–26.

Anthropometric indicators, such as height, weight and body-mass are now recognised as important evidence of the social and economic conditions in which people live. This paper summarises the changes in geographical and social variations in height and weight in Britain over the last three centuries. Floud shows that, whereas in the early nineteenth century Scottish and Irish men were taller than those from urban areas in England, by 1980 Scottish and Welsh men were the shortest of any Britons, and those from rural southern England the tallest. He relates these changes to nineteenth-century urbanisation and industrialisation and twentieth-century de-industrialisation, which transformed the economic geography of the country.

N. Goose, 'How good is the 1881 census transcription? The results of an evaluation for Hertfordshire', *Family Tree Magazine*, 19 (1), 13–4.

This short piece provides a brief summary of a pilot evaluation of the 1881 census transcription conducted by family history societies and organised by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints. Anecdotal evidence in the genealogical press has suggested numerous errors of transcription or data input, but their extent has not before been evaluated. Taking a carefully selected sample of 26 enumeration districts for Hertfordshire, the quality of the transcription for the county is tested. In general it comes out very well indeed, with serious errors affecting a mere 244 out of 15,654 records (1.6 per cent), but with considerable variation between parishes. Information on age



and occupation was most seriously flawed, apart from that on disability, which was found to be completely unreliable. For the local historian, assuming these results can be extrapolated to other counties, this is good news, for even at its worst the level of error is unlikely seriously to jeopardise analysis at the parish level. For the genealogist, dependent on accurate nominal information for specified individuals, the variability of the standard of transcription (and particularly of ages) is more worrying. A full report on this evaluation will be appearing in *History and Computing*.

E. Gordon and G. Nair, 'The myth of the Victorian patriarchal family', *History of the Family*, 7, 125–38.

This paper challenges the notion that the Victorian period marked the apogee of the patriarchal family headed by a married man. Using census enumerators' book data from a middle-class Glasgow suburb for the censuses from 1851–1891, Gordon and Nair show that the proportion of households headed by females rose from 23 per cent in 1851 to 40 per cent in 1891. In the earlier part of the period most of these female heads were widows, whereas by the 1880s unmarried female heads were more common. Moreover, many of these female-headed households contained other females who were clearly not dependent on male relatives.

A.J. Gritt, 'The "survival" of service in the English agricultural labour force: lessons from Lancashire, c. 1650–1851', *Agricultural History Review*, 50, 25–50.

Since the publication of Ann Kussmaul's *Servants in husbandry in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1981) the high level of farm service in the north and west of England in the mid-nineteenth century has been viewed as a manifestation of a relict social structure. Once, farm servants were numerous throughout England and Wales but by 1851 they had largely disappeared from the south and east, forced into day labour by the capitalisation of agriculture and the increasing social distance between farmers and their employees. Only in the pastoral districts of the west and (especially) the north of England did the institution of living-in service survive, kept alive by farmers' need for a reliable year-round supply of labour in the face of competition from manufacturing industry. In this paper, Gritt dismantles most (though not all) of this argument. In Lancashire, farm servants were rare in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. They only became more common in the late-eighteenth century as agriculture developed. Indeed, it was 'at the precise moment that agriculture was becoming increasingly capitalist, commercial and market-oriented' (p. 50) that farm service was introduced on a wide scale. Farm service was not a 'survival' from an earlier era, but was introduced because commercial farmers in the north had such difficulty in maintaining a regular supply of labour as the pull of the towns became stronger. Thus in Lancashire, the consequence of the intensification of agriculture was a *growth* in the institution of farm service, in complete contrast to the situation in southern and eastern England, where labour was relatively abundant.

T.W. Guinnane and C. Ó Gráda, 'Mortality in the North Dublin Union during the Great Famine', *Economic History Review*, 55, 487–506.

This article reports a statistical analysis of mortality in the North Dublin Union workhouse between 1844 and 1851. The main aim of the study is to assess how well the workhouse management coped with the shock of the Great Famine. The authors carry out a careful 'event history' or 'survival' analysis and conclude that, overall, the 'Poor Law Union and its employees performed creditably in these most trying circumstances' (p. 505). The strongest evidence supporting this conclusion comes from the finding that overall mortality levels in Dublin city, and the condition of the inmates *on arrival*, were two of the strongest predictors of mortality in the workhouse. Neither of these factors were under the control of the workhouse management.

W.A. Hart, 'Africans in eighteenth-century Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies*, 33, 19–32.

Hart notes that historians have largely neglected the presence of black people in Scotland and Ireland, and this paper offers a corrective to the latter. Unfortunately there are no official figures available, but casual references in newspapers allow an estimate of a little over 1,000 for Ireland as a whole, a number that is deemed 'significant' (p. 20), and one that compares with the number to be found in the much larger population in France. They were spread across the whole of Ireland, but with a particular concentration in Dublin. The great majority were domestic servants, and a 'significant number' were slaves. Attitudes towards sexual relationships between blacks and whites were quite relaxed: a few white men had black wives, and a larger number of black men had white wives. Racism appears to have been rare, at least from the evidence of newspapers, which only very rarely provide evidence of overt racial prejudice. On the contrary, newspaper reports reveal that an active interest was shown in Africans who displayed outstanding abilities, hence disproving the racial stereotyping canvassed by the West Indies' lobby.

P.M. Higgins, 'Medical care in three Gloucestershire prisons in the early nineteenth century', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 120, 213–28.

This essay is the product of extensive examination of the surviving surgeons' journals for Gloucester gaol (1808–19), and Northleach and Littledean houses of correction (1801–41 and 1806–49 respectively) – a total of nearly 10,000 entries. Higgins describes the prisoners and their various ailments in fascinating detail, finding that gastro-intestinal problems made up the largest single group of complaints. Most conditions were, however, relatively minor ones, and at times of infectious disease gaol could be the safest place to be, as when typhus hit Gloucestershire in 1815 but missed the prison. Both contemporary statisticians and historians have concluded that prison may have *slightly* increased the chances of early death, but only for certain groups, while mortality rates in some areas outside (such as parts of industrial Lancashire) could be considerably higher.

It is also argued that it is unrealistic to apply a picture of a harsh 'Foucaultian' control system to these institutions. The attention given to ailing prisoners, while not always perfect, was 'of a caring and compassionate nature' (p. 225), and the methods used to control unruly prisoners simply reflected contemporary standards. In general, the quality of medical care was at least as good, and in some instances probably better, than the majority of inmates could have hoped for outside.

P. Hillis, 'Church and society in Aberdeen and Glasgow, c.1800–c.2000', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, **53**, 707–34.

Hillis charts the decline in church membership and attendance in the cities of Aberdeen and Glasgow since the beginning of the nineteenth century. He shows that for most of the period before the 1960s, absolute numbers of church members were actually increasing, though as a percentage of the populations of the two cities, adherence to a church was falling. Therefore it does not seem that industrialisation was associated with secularisation. The latter was more a feature of the last four decades of the twentieth century. Another historical generalisation that Hillis is able to challenge is that the membership of churches was more 'middle class' than the general population. This does not seem to have been true, certainly in the nineteenth century, when the occupational structure of church members reflected that of the cities as a whole. The fact that most working people did not go to church is entirely consistent with the fact that most churchgoers were working class.

D. Hitch, 'Cambridgeshire emigrants to Australia, 1842–74: a family and community perspective', *Family and Community History*, **5**, 85–97.

The Cambridgeshire village of Fowlmere, between Cambridge and Royston, provided almost 150 emigrants to Australia between 1842 and 1874. In this paper, Hitch argues that the emigrants were impelled to move by a combination of low wages, the harshness of the application of the New Poor Law and the restriction of common rights following enclosure. However, these 'push' factors tell only part of the story, for the attractions of Australia as relayed by letters from previous emigrants led to traditions of emigration growing up in certain families and a kind of 'snowball' effect which augmented the number of emigrants from the locality. The study of emigration, Hitch concludes, needs to 'take seriously the family and community dimensions of the process' (p. 96). Readers interested in this paper might also like to look at the study of emigration from the nearby village of Melbourn by P. Hudson and D. Mills reviewed in *LPS* **65** (2000), 70.

D.G. Jackson, 'Kent workhouse populations in 1881: a study based on the census enumerators' books', *Local Population Studies*, **69**, 51–66.

Following two recent articles on workhouse populations in Hampshire (*LPS* **61** (1998), 38–53) and Hertfordshire (*LPS* **62** (1999), 52–69), this paper uses the census enumerators' books for eight workhouses in Kent in 1881 to provide a comparison with these earlier studies. Jackson discovers striking similarities, in that the Kent workhouse populations were composed mainly of the young

and old, and the sex ratio was skewed towards men. In some workhouses, variations in the population reflected seasonal fluctuations in the availability of work. Migration patterns show the now familiar longer-distance movement of the poor, either alone or with their families.

M. Jackson, 'Fiction in the archives? Sources for the social history of infanticide', *Archives*, 27, 173–85.

In the Westcountry Studies Library in Exeter there is a broadsheet from the 1860s detailing the 'Execution of Mrs Winsor at Exeter, for the barbarous murder of Mary Jane Harris's child', and Jackson uses this as a springboard for consideration of the sources which survive, in both local and national records, for a social history of infanticide. It is argued that the Winsor broadsheet is by no means unusual in its form or content, and particularly in its moralising tone, which was increasingly typical of an affordable, popular style of reporting by the mid-nineteenth century which catered for growing public fascination with women as the perpetrators rather than the victims of crime. Such sources have both weaknesses and strengths. Among the former, they are prone to factual error, and hence need to be checked against other sources (a well-known feature of all newspaper reports, which can often differ from one newspaper to another). But the various fictional qualities of these accounts, it is argued, convey information too, giving insight into the anxieties and aspirations of a society trying to define the roles and responsibilities of mothers, to determine the legitimate boundaries of state intervention in people's private lives, to reassess the value of a child's life and to clarify those standards of behaviour acceptable to a modern civilised society.

J. Komlos and S. Nefedov, 'A compact macromodel of pre-industrial population growth', *Historical Methods*, 35, 92–4.

Focusing upon Europe 1200–1750, the authors propose a model to describe European population change, based upon existing estimates of population size (no reference given later than 1981) and assuming that the whole period, 'in keeping with the current consensus', was essentially Malthusian, and thus populations could not grow beyond an upper bound imposed by resource, technology and capital constraints. The second assumption is that the current state of technology is proportional to the number of people who ever lived, the third that in a larger population technological advance will be quicker, as there will be 'more people lucky or smart enough to come up with new ideas'. Finally, when times are bad people eat less, and if they are very bad they die as inventories are exhausted, and population is constrained or falls. All of this is expressed in four algebraic formulae. A simulation is conducted based upon a number of chosen constants and initial conditions, and it produces estimates reasonably close to those of McEvedy and Jones, *Atlas of world population history* (Harmondsworth, 1978). It is found that there is no need to build in the exogenous shock of the Black Death and hence, it is argued, this gives renewed weight to the notion that European population had reached a Malthusian ceiling by 1300. It occurred to this reviewer (NG) that there was a certain circularity of argument here, while some of the assumptions built into

the equations are also rather questionable, and the result is highly dependent upon the chosen initial conditions and constraints.

A. Kuper, 'Incest, cousin marriage, and the origin of the human sciences in nineteenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 174, 158–83.

This paper traces the process by which incest ceased to be regarded purely as a matter for the Church and became a crime. Prior to 1907, the legal definition of the term 'incest' extended to cover sexual relations not only between a brother and a sister, or a father and a daughter, but also between a man and his dead wife's sister (on the grounds that the man and his deceased wife were 'one flesh' and therefore his wife's sister was his sister also). The fact that a man was not allowed to marry the sister of his dead wife was widely resented, not least by widowers left with young children to bring up, for whom a marriage with the dead woman's sister might be very convenient. In 1907, however the Deceased Wife's Sister Act removed this prohibition, and in 1908 incest (which was now redefined more narrowly) was made a crime. The paper also considers the debate about cousin marriage, much of which centred on the likelihood of genetic disorders being inherited by the offspring of such marriages.

C. Langford, 'The age pattern of mortality in the 1918–19 influenza pandemic: an attempted explanation based on data for England and Wales', *Medical History*, 46, 1–20.

R.M. Sharp, 'Colchester and the great flu epidemic 1918–1919', *Essex Journal*, 37 (1), 11–14.

The 'flu' epidemic of 1918–19—the 'Spanish influenza'—was both deadly and world wide and, Sharp suggests in her paper, too infrequently acknowledged. These two papers are, therefore, especially welcome.

Langford's contribution is an important paper which tries to explain the differential impact of the 1918–1919 influenza pandemic by age. Using vital registration data, he shows that the epidemic increased mortality more among young adults than among other age groups. Among females, the greatest excess mortality in relative terms was at ages 20–34 years, though there were also a large number of excess deaths among young children. There is less direct information about males, but evidence from elsewhere in the world (for example the United States) suggests that the age pattern is similar. Langford concludes that 'young adults seemed to suffer much worse mortality than older adults and, most surprising of all ... considerably worse mortality than the elderly' (pp. 16–17). He explains this by suggesting that the elderly might have residual immunity arising from their having survived the pandemic of 1847–1848.

Sharp's paper uses Medical Officer of Health (MOH) reports and contemporary newspapers to chart its progress, and the responses it evoked, in the town of Colchester in Essex. It started in July 1918 and continued into April of the next year, but its severity was not really publicly acknowledged in

the town until March of 1919 (when influenza was made a notifiable disease), by when it was estimated that 4,000 had died across Essex as a whole. Unfortunately, no death toll is provided for Colchester itself, for Sharp finds that the MOHs in town and county give figures markedly at variance with each other, but the Colchester MOH reported 14 deaths in July 1918, 41 in October and as many as 154 in November when the outbreak was at its peak.

B.R. Lee, 'A company of women *and* men: men's recollections of childbirth in medieval England,' *Journal of Family History*, 27, 92–100.

Our knowledge of the process of childbirth in medieval England is hampered by the fact that only women were normally allowed into birthing chambers, whereas written records tend to reflect the lives and opinions only of men. However, as Lee shows in this paper, there is a class of written records that can be used to shed light on the subject. These are the proof-of-age inquests, which were 'legal proceedings conducted to ascertain if a feudal heir ... was of age and could therefore take control of his or her estate' (p. 93). In order to 'prove' the age of a child, quite detailed records of the circumstances of the child's birth would be furnished. Lee uses these to show that, although men could not enter the birthing chamber (except in cases of dire emergency), they were involved in births, sometimes waiting nervously with friends and family in adjoining rooms for news, and often running errands and organising care (for example wet nursing) for the new born child.

S. Letters, 'A new source: the *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516*', *Local Historian*, 32, 250–6.

This is a report on a project based at the Centre for Metropolitan History in the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. The aim was to provide a catalogue of markets and fairs in medieval England and Wales and to give systematic information about them, including the date of their establishment and for how long they operated. The *Gazetteer* is arranged by county, and alphabetically by place within counties. Each entry includes standard information: place-name, Ordnance Survey grid reference, borough status, possession of a mint, and value in the 1334 subsidy, supplemented in some cases by a brief description of the place's commercial, administrative or ecclesiastical significance. Following the standard information is evidence for the existence of a market and/or fair before 1516, including as much evidence as possible concerning their establishment and operation. The *Gazetteer*, is now available on-line at <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>, where full details of the sources and methodology can be found, and will also be published in book form. Although it is a pity the study could not be extended to also include taxable wealth in the 1523–1527 Exchequer Lay Subsidies, this will prove an invaluable resource for medieval demographers and economic historians.

M. Levine-Clark, 'Testing the reproductive hypothesis: or what made working-class women sick in early Victorian London', *Women's History Review*, 11, 175–200.

In this article, Levine-Clark uses patient records for working-class women who were admitted to University College Hospital in London in the 1830s and 1840s to examine what the women in question felt was causing their ill health. Far from citing biological or physiological factors associated with reproduction, most patients 'attributed their illnesses to social and environmental causes with which they came into contact on an everyday basis' (p. 193). The commonly held notion that women's health was fragile because of their reproductive function finds little support.

K. Maglen, '“The first line of defence”: British quarantine and the Port Sanitary Authorities in the nineteenth century', *Social History of Medicine*, 15, 413–28.

This article looks at the gradual replacement of quarantine at British ports by an 'English System' of isolating individual cases of infectious disease and monitoring the whereabouts of contacts of infected persons. The holding in quarantine of entire ships and their complements of passengers was unpopular because it confined the healthy with the sick, and (more importantly for many) interfered with free trade. The 'English System' was introduced in the 1870s throughout the country as an alternative, but did not displace old-fashioned quarantine immediately, because most other European countries continued to operate quarantine for plague, yellow fever and cholera, and British ports feared being labelled 'infected' if they did not follow suit.

J. Mokyr and C. Ó Gráda, 'What do people die of during famines? The Great Irish Famine in comparative perspective', *European Review of Economic History*, 6, 339–63.

This paper reports an analysis of the 'Tables of Death' in the 1851 Irish census to provide an overview of the causes of death which most contributed to the excess mortality of the Great Irish Famine. The authors discuss the limitations of the source material, and adopt various strategies to overcome the most serious of these and obtain a range of estimates of the impact of different causes of death. They conclude that mortality in Ireland in the late 1840s was so high for two reasons. First, Irish society was vulnerable to external shocks because of its poverty and dependence on the potato. Second, 'the absence of a clear understanding of the nature of disease' (p. 360) meant that all of Irish society (even the better-off part) was likely to feel the effect of such shocks through the increased incidence of infectious diseases.

G. Mooney, 'Shifting sex differentials in mortality during urban epidemiological transition: the case of Victorian London', *International Journal of Population Geography*, 8, 17–47.

The mortality advantage which females had over males was evident in England at the beginning of the Victorian period, and widened during the century. Yet a closer examination shows that sex differentials in mortality varied by age, and between urban and rural areas. In this analysis of London, Mooney argues that explanations of sex differentials in mortality should be sought in a consideration of individual causes of death. In London, for example, the female advantage 'was largely determined by lower mortality from a range of ailments in infancy, in addition to respiratory tuberculosis and violent deaths in adulthood' (p. 43). These more than outweighed their higher mortality than males from other infectious diseases in childhood, and, of course, maternal mortality. The paper contains a wealth of detailed analysis of mortality by age, sex and cause, and the implication that general accounts of the female mortality advantage are likely to be oversimplifications is surely sound.

N. Morgan, 'Infant mortality, flies and horses in later-nineteenth-century towns: a case study of Preston', *Continuity and Change*, 17, 97–132.

Recent research on the history of infant mortality in late-Victorian Britain has suggested that, although it began to decline in the 1870s, the decline was arrested in the 1880s and (especially the 1890s) by a rise in infant deaths from diarrhoeal diseases in urban areas. The causes of this rise have, however, not really been identified (although reference has been made to a succession of hot summers in the 1890s). The hot summers may have played some part, but if Morgan is right, the underlying reason was an explosion in the number of horses in urban areas occasioned by the expansion of the geographical boundaries of towns and the consequent need for transportation. Horse manure is an ideal breeding-ground for houseflies, and their proliferation led to the more rapid and effective transmission of diarrhoea-inducing bacteria. Morgan's empirical evidence for this comes from a detailed study of Preston, a town notorious for high rates of infant mortality. Using records of building plans, he documents the rise of the town's horse population after the 1870s. The impact of this was exacerbated in Preston by the prevailing design of housing, in which domestic middens were sited exceptionally close to the living-quarters, and by the failure of the local authority to empty the middens frequently enough. Morgan's account of the increase in infant death rates before 1900, and his explanation of why Preston's rates were so high, are persuasive. However, it is not clear from his research why the rising trend should have been so abruptly halted in 1900 in Preston as well as most other urban areas in Britain.



I. Mortimer, 'Discriminating between readers: the case for a policy of flexibility', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, **23**, 59–67.

S. Gee, 'A standard service for all? The case for a flexible attitude', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, **23**, 233–8.

A common complaint of academic researchers is that local archives (and, indeed, some national archives) are administered in a way that seems to make it as inconvenient as possible for them to do their research, whereas the needs of family historians and certain other classes of researcher are catered for quite well. Mortimer cites the example of an historian seeking a specific piece of information in a run of minute books covering a hundred years. In many record offices, this would involve requesting each of the hundred volumes individually, often two or three at a time (because searchers are only allowed a limited number of 'pieces' at once). Even though the time taken to consult each volume might be just a few minutes, the process of looking through all 100 would take 'several days, if not a week' (p. 61). The problem, Mortimer argues, is that record offices treat all their 'customers' identically. A system that works for what he terms 'recreational users' does not work for 'research officers'.

Readers of *LPS* might regard the way Mortimer makes this distinction as unfortunate, for it would seem to classify many of those who contribute scholarly articles to *LPS* as 'recreational users'. Indeed this rather crude way of classifying people is challenged by Gee in her reply. The best approach, she suggests, is to be flexible to individual requests. Consider, for example, the cost of photocopying. This can be extremely high, since it is often charged on a strict 'per sheet' basis, which makes the copying of a large number of pages very expensive. It would seem a good idea to offer 'bulk discounts', but these should be offered to all users who are photocopying in 'bulk' not just to particular classes of user.

Despite this criticism, Mortimer's general point—that a 'one size fits all' policy is inefficient—is surely valid. The issue is essentially the same as that discussed in the editorials to *LPS* **64** (2000), 5–6 and *LPS* **65** (2000), 6–7 in relation to the dissemination of the 1901 census returns. Both Mortimer's article and Gee's reply include a number of interesting and sensible suggestions for record offices to consider, which could improve the service they offer to academic researchers.

E. Murphy, 'The metropolitan pauper farms 1722–1834', *The London Journal*, **27**, 1–18.

The institutions described in this article housed large number of paupers in London, providing 'several thousand' places altogether, their expansion during this period being fostered by the existence of small parishes in the capital which lacked workhouses altogether, and by the burgeoning poor relief bill in London before and after the Napoleonic Wars. They were similar in size to the large pauper madhouses, and similarly situated on the city

fringes. Like the asylums they were also private institutions, often chaotic and disreputable though of very mixed quality, and they tended to house those paupers who were incapable of work though insanity, imbecility or fecklessness, or who were simply difficult to manage in ordinary parish workhouses and were hence removed by local officials. As an important part of London's social welfare provision, they played a crucial role in the social management of the capital's 'unpopular poor' under the Old Poor Law.

W.C. Robinson, 'Population policy in early Victorian England', *European Journal of Population*, **18**, 153–73.

According to Robinson, '[t]he presently-received notion that the fertility transition in Great Britain took place with no policy intervention by government appears to be wrong' (p. 167). The direct policy interventions were the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, subsidised emigration and the transportation of felons to Australia. Even more important was the fostering of a changed climate of opinion among the elite in favour of reduced population growth and small families which followed the publication of T.R. Malthus's *Essay on the principle of population*. Robinson claims that this new 'ideation' eventually trickled down the social hierarchy leading, two or three generations later, to the widespread adoption of fertility control within marriage. Even before then, it had produced an increase in abortions and infanticide. In addition to claiming that an anti-natalist policy existed, therefore, the paper seems to be arguing for a simple innovation-diffusion model of fertility transition in England. However, this reviewer (AH) found it unconvincing on both counts for several reasons. First, Robinson is only able to sustain the idea of early Victorian England having a population policy by broadening the definition of the word 'policy' to include '[s]ocietal guide-lines, with rewards and sanctions ... which [amount] to an "implicit policy"' (p. 154). Of course, if the definition of 'policy' is widened enough, eventually every population will be found to have one. Second, he ignores recent empirical research on the decline of fertility in England that rejects such a model (for example E. Garrett, A. Reid, K. Schürer and S. Szreter, *Changing family size in England and Wales: place, class and demography, 1891–1911* (Cambridge, 2001) reviewed in *LPS* **68**, 83–5). Third, he interprets the New Poor Law as being brought in *mainly* to discourage the poor from breeding: 'the previous pro-natalist policy was abandoned and the social safety-net of the Poor Laws dismantled' (p. 160). Quite apart from the fact that the New Poor Law did not 'dismantle' the social safety net even in theory (and certainly not in practice), this interpretation of its genesis requires more justification than Robinson is able to provide.

L. Ryan, ' "I'm going to England": women's narratives of leaving Ireland in the 1930s', *Oral History*, **30**, 42–53.

This is a highly readable portrait of the experiences of ten women who emigrated from Ireland to Britain during the 1930s, as recorded in interviews. The women interpreted their migration as 'a journey of improvement', and

also stressed the tension between their desire for autonomy and their traditional familial bonds.

K.D.M. Snell, 'English rural societies and geographical marital endogamy, 1700–1837', *Economic History Review*, 55, 262–98.

In this important paper, Snell provides convincing evidence that during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the proportion of English rural marriages which was endogamous (that is, in which both partners resided in the parish where they were married) rose from under 60 per cent to over 70 per cent. Snell's evidence comes from a sample of 69 parishes in eight counties (Derbyshire, Dorset, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, Northumberland, Oxfordshire and Sussex). The rise in endogamy was accompanied by a precipitous fall in the proportion of 'foreign' marriages (that is, where both partners came from outside the parish) following Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753. The obvious explanation for the rise in marital endogamy is that parishes were getting larger as the population grew, but Snell shows that this can account only for a small part of the observed trend. He suggests that the main reason was rising rural poverty (which itself was a consequence of population growth). In his words, 'rural endogamy peaked in the most adverse period of rural living standards: from about 1770–1840. This occurred in all regions, but it was most extreme in the rural south. In all likelihood, those threatening living conditions intensified parochial resistance against outsiders among single labouring men seeking brides' (p. 288). In an Appendix, the paper draws out some implications of the rise in marital endogamy for the measurement of trends in demographic variables, notably the age at marriage (the fall in the mean age at marriage in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England may actually have been even greater than that suggested in family reconstitution studies).

B.K. Song, 'Parish typology and the operation of the Poor Laws in early nineteenth-century Oxfordshire', *Agricultural History Review*, 50, 203–24.

This paper shows that open and close parishes differed in the way they operated the poor laws and the laws of settlement. Using a variety of published sources of data (including the *Rural Queries* of 1832 and well-known 1847 and 1850 Parliamentary Reports on settlement and the removal of the poor), Song classifies the parishes of Oxfordshire according to whether they were open or close. He then shows that 'open parishes shouldered a substantially higher burden of poor relief in terms of money rates and spend' (pp. 223–4). Close parishes, however, had more generous relief policies. Subsidiary issues tackled relate to possible bias in the *Rural Queries* (it turns out that open parishes are indeed over-represented and close parishes under-represented) and in the Parliamentary Returns of 1847 and 1850 (which, contrary to the views of some historians, were probably *not* 'biased by the political discourse of the time' (p. 224)).

C. Stevens, 'The "burial" question: controversy and conflict c.1860-1890', *Welsh History Review*, 21, 328-56.

Those who have tried to analyse late-nineteenth century parish registers for parts of England and Wales where nonconformity was common will be well aware of the fact that in such areas the burial registers are much more complete as records of deaths than are the baptism registers as records of births. Anglican parish churchyards belonged to all those living in a parish, and formed frequently the only burial ground available. Yet the Anglican Church refused to allow anyone to be buried in churchyards unless the service followed the Anglican order. This article traces the history of nonconformist resistance to Anglican obstinacy on this issue in Wales from the 1860s to the 1890s. It looks at the events leading up to Osborne Morgan's Burial Act of 1880 which 'secured the right of burial in the parish churchyard without the service of the Anglican Church' (p. 345). It also examines the ways in which individual Anglican priests, especially those sympathetic to the Tractarian movement, tried to circumvent the Act in order to retain control over burial services.

S. Thomas. 'Power, paternalism, patronage and philanthropy: the Wyndham's and the New Poor Law in Petworth', *Local Historian*, 32, 99-117.

During the nineteenth century, the Wyndhams, earls of Egremont, ran the town of Petworth in Sussex and its surrounding villages as a 'little kingdom', in which they built up a 'tradition of munificence to society' (p. 114). This article describes how this tradition led them to resist the imposition of the New Poor Law in 1834, and to promote emigration to Canada and Australia. It is an excellent example of just how important local conditions and local individuals could be in mediating the impact of poverty on ordinary people.

D.E. Thornton, 'Identifying Celts in the past', *Historical Methods*, 35, 84-91.

In this short paper Thornton notes that techniques used by demographers of the modern period, notably family reconstitution and nominal record linkage, are rarely employed by their medieval counterparts. Here he considers the possibility of applying nominal record linkage to early medieval Ireland (c. 500-1100) when it comprised a series of independent 'overkingdoms'. The key extant primary sources are annals and genealogies, supplemented by inscriptions, sagas and tales. Qualitative assessment to determine the validity of the information they contain, we are told, must precede quantitative assessment of the categories of information they supply upon which attempted linkages and reconstitutions might be based. These categories essentially comprise anthroponymic, chronological and locative information, the first category being more problematic than for modern historians as the Irish did not use surnames until the eleventh century. A points-scoring system is advocated for each of four categories—forename, patronymic, date and kingdom—two for a definite hit, nought for a miss, and one for a 'maybe'. A total of four or less disallows a match, five or six indicates a possible match, seven constitutes a 'preferable' (explained as 'preferable to five or six'), and

eight a probable. While this is an interesting discussion of the nature of the early Irish sources, there does not appear to be any significant methodological insight here.

D. Thorpe, 'Aylesbury and High Wycombe in 1881: an essay in census statistics', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, **41** (2001), 217–31.

I.L. Williams, 'Migration and the 1881 census index: a Wiltshire example', *Local Population Studies*, **69**, 67–73.

The existence of the 1881 census enumerators' books (CEBs) of England and Wales in machine-readable form has enhanced the opportunity for comparative analysis, and for the analysis of migration in particular. These two papers are good examples of what can now be achieved without prodigious effort at the local level using the 1881 census data.

In his paper Thorpe compares the demographic, social and occupational structure of the Buckinghamshire towns of Aylesbury and High Wycombe. The most interesting results relate to migration. High Wycombe recruited local people to its furniture industry employing local managers and workers, but Aylesbury drew migrants from much farther afield.

One particular type of analysis which is rendered possible by the new electronic version of the 1881 CEBs is the examination of the residential characteristics in 1881 of all persons born in a particular locality. Williams's paper describes a small study of a sample of persons born in the Wiltshire town of Marlborough, and compares those who were still living in the town in 1881 with those who had moved away. About a quarter of the 'movers' had not left the county of Wiltshire. Of those who had, the largest group had gone to London, but another significant group was living in Berkshire. Generally, those who had remained in Wiltshire had occupational and other characteristics more like those of the 'stayers' than those who had gone further afield.

P. Tilley, 'Creating life histories and family trees from nineteenth century census records, parish registers and other sources', *Local Population Studies*, **68**, 63–81.

For a number of years now, Tilley and his colleagues have been working on the Kingston Local History Project, based at the Centre for Local History Studies at Kingston University. Their initial aim has been to build a computer database of the population of Victorian Kingston-on-Thames using a variety of written and pictorial resources. The census enumerators' books, parish registers, cemetery records and trade directories have so far been added to the database with the promise of more sources to follow. This paper describes the database and illustrates some of its potential uses. Noteworthy features of the project include the active collaboration of local amateur historians, and the desire to make the database accessible to and usable by those with standard domestic computing hardware and software.

N. Verdon, 'The rural labour market in the early nineteenth century: women's and children's employment, family income, and the 1834 Poor Law Report', *Economic History Review*, **55**, 299–323.

This paper examines the geography of women's and children's employment in rural England using the returns from a questionnaire sent out to rural parishes in 1832, which were published in the 1834 Poor Law Report. The paper discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the source material. Verdon then uses it to examine the extent to which women and children were employed in various agricultural tasks (such as haymaking, weeding and harvest), and the contribution made by women's and children's earnings to the overall income of rural working families. The results tend not to support any of the conventional generalisations (for example that women and children provided a larger proportion of household income in 'low wage' southern counties than they did in the 'high wage' northern counties). Instead a complex geography is described, in which the employment of women and children tended to depend upon local factors, such as the availability of by-employments like gloving in Somerset and Dorset, and straw hat making in Bedfordshire.

R. Wall, 'Elderly widows and widowers and their coresidents in late 19th- and early 20th-century England and Wales', *History of the Family*, **7**, 139–55.

This article looks at the residential patterns of widows and widowers in England between 1891 and 1921, using cross-sectional data from the census enumerators' books (CEBs) (the Cambridge Group were, exceptionally, allowed access to 'anonymised' CEBs from the 1911 and 1921 censuses for several clusters of enumeration districts). The residential patterns of widows and widowers were rather similar. More than half were living with one of their children, and only 12 per cent of widowers and 15 per cent of widows lived alone. Residential patterns changed only slowly over the 30 years between 1891 and 1921, and varied little with the social and economic environment.

J. Watt, 'The health of seamen in anti-slavery squadrons', *Mariners' Mirror*, **88**, 69–78.

Watt uses ships' logs, surgeons' journals, government reports and the annual *Statistical Reports on the Health of the Navy* to assess morbidity and mortality among those seamen whose job it was to seek out illegal slave ships following abolition in 1833. He finds consistently high sickness rates in all theatres of action, though much more variable mortality of between 19 and 70 per 1,000. It was West Africa that exhibited the highest mortality levels, largely caused by various forms of tropical fever (intermittent, remittent and yellow fever), supplemented by diarrhoea and dysentery, sepsis, injuries and ulcers. He argues that naval surgeons played a significant role in elucidating the aetiology and epidemiology of tropical diseases, and in developing treatments, often anticipating later discoveries and providing medical care far in advance of their civilian contemporaries—but they paid a heavy price in

terms of their own very high mortality rates. The paper also includes a discussion of the use of quinine to treat, and eventually to prevent, malaria.

A. Wilkinson, 'A middle-class community? Social structure in Victorian Roundhay, Leeds, 1851–91', *Family and Community History*, 5, 5–18.

This study uses the census enumerators' books and other sources (for example personal papers) to examine the development of Roundhay from a rural village to a middle-class suburb. The initial expansion of the village comprised middle-class families employing servants, many of whom lived out. Later, when transport links to the city of Leeds were improved and rendered suitable for commuting, people lower down the social scale moved in. Nevertheless, despite the question mark in the title of the paper, between 1851 and 1891 Roundhay remained a community of middle-class families. For just as not every resident of an 'agricultural community' actually tilled the soil, not every dweller in a place needed to live a middle-class lifestyle for the place to be described as a 'middle-class community'.

M. Williams, '“Our Poore People in Tumults Arose”: living in poverty in Earls Colne, Essex, 1560–1640', *Rural History*, 13, 123–43.

This piece exploits the on-line Earls Colne archive, which includes thousands of transcribed or translated documents, is equipped with a search engine, and for which the tedious task of nominal linkage has already been done—and done very well in Williams' opinion (<http://www-earlscolne.socanth.cam.ac.uk>). This is used to construct 'pauper biographies'. Despite the fact that poor relief accounts for the parish do not survive, the combined use of probate, court, parish, estate and private records—it is claimed—enable the 'alarming increase' in poverty (particularly after 1590) to be identified, as well as the extensive experience of acute poverty in the community, which was not confined to the elderly or impotent, but widespread among residents of long standing.

The key database employed is a compilation of 92 individuals described in the records as poor or impoverished at some point between 1560 and 1640. Williams suggests these would represent perhaps 400 people if their families are taken into account, but given that 41 of them were either aged or widows, and only 14 clearly had dependants, this would appear to be far too high a figure. Furthermore, as fully 64 of these cases relate to the 1620s and 1630s, it is rather difficult to determine how the 'rising tide' of poverty has been established. With just seven instances from the 1590s, the identification of this date as the start of the alarming increase is puzzling. The fact that charitable bequests in wills increase in the 1570s and 1580s, only to decline in the 1590s before picking up again in the 1610s (not, as claimed, after 1600) hardly provides clear evidence either, particularly as the number of wills giving bequests to the poor averaged just three per decade. Not only is the number too small to establish clear trends, but other factors besides simple acknowledgement of poverty (Puritanism, perhaps?) need to be considered.

This article demonstrates both the possibilities and the limitations of attempts to employ nominal linkage in studies of pre-industrial communities in general, and of the poor in those communities in particular. It is interesting, however, to discover support for the view that leniency and negotiation characterised the treatment of transgressors in the numerous cases of the 1620s and 1630s, a recognition of the hard times that depression in the cloth trade was causing, as well as an attempt to contain a potentially disorderly body of poor inhabitants.

J. Winter, 'Migration, war and empire: the British case', *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 143–60.

In this paper, Winter explores the notion that 'demography created the British Empire, and ... demography ... laid it to rest' (p. 143). His principal claim is that the British Empire was created by emigration from Britain to places outside Europe. This migration led to the emergence of 'distinctive cultural forms' which 'braided the empire together' (p. 144). After World War Two, however, the net emigration of Britons was replaced by a net immigration from (especially) the West Indies and the Indian sub-continent, which effectively brought the period of empire to an end. Some of the 'cultural forms', however, persist, most notably those which relate to the shared experiences of the countries of the empire in the two World Wars.

M. Woollard, 'The employment and retirement of older men, 1851–1881: further evidence from the census', *Continuity and Change*, 17, 437–63.

In this paper Woollard uses an enhanced version of Michael Anderson's 2 per cent sample of the census enumerators' books (CEBs) for the 1851 census and a 5 per cent sample of the 1881 CEBs to compare employment patterns among older men. He finds that participation rates rose slightly over the intervening period, but that there were variations between different occupations (for example declining craft industries exhibited an ageing workforce). As he puts it: 'increased specialization within the workforce and technological change ... marginalized older workers' (p. 461). Despite this, however, the overall fall in the participation rate among older men was a twentieth-century, not a nineteenth-century, phenomenon.