REVIEW OF RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Nigel Goose and Andrew Hinde

All articles reviewed were published in 2003 unless otherwise stated.

J. Andrewes and M. Zell, 'The population of Sandwich from the accession of Elizabeth I to the civil war', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, **122** (2002), 79–99.

The demography of Sandwich in this period has attracted attention from previous historians but has not been systematically studied. This article goes some way towards rectifying this situation by tracing the town's growth from *c*. 1,500–1,700 in the mid-sixteenth century to *c*. 5,500 by 1610, population growth ending during the 1630s after which decline set in, the 1671 Hearth Tax suggesting a population of just 2,600. Immigration was the main cause of growth, for burials exceeded baptisms in this coastal marshland town over the period as a whole and for every decade except 1600–10, its growth punctuated by mortality crises. Partly these migrants came from elsewhere in England, but Dutch immigrants formed a very large component, temporarily accounting for as much as half of the town's population, their numbers dropping towards the end of the sixteenth century before rising once again in the early seventeenth. Their overwhelming number created overcrowding and tension with the indigenous inhabitants, but their introduction of the new draperies revived the town's economy. The demography on offer here is a little unsophisticated, and at times even contradictory: no evidence is provided for 'an underlying increase in the birth rate' (p. 80), the statement that 'After 1640 that natural increase ceased' (p. 80) sits uneasily with evidence of almost continual natural decline, while the estimate of a population of 3,700 in 1642 is difficult to square with an average of 4,277 in the 1630s for the native population alone plus *c*. 1,000 Dutch. The basis for estimates of the Dutch population in the early seventeenth century is not clear. It is also surprising to find no mention of M. Backhouse's book, *The Flemish and Walloon Communities in Sandwich (1561–1603)* (Brussels, 1995), only reference to his article in *Immigrants and Minorities*, **3** (1991), but this paper provides a useful supplement to his work, without providing a full-blown demographic analysis.

F.W.G. Andrews, 'Railways and the community: the Kentish evidence', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, **123**, 185–202.

This paper is a detailed examination of the impact of the railways on various aspects of social and economic life in east Kent, including the movement of goods, the additional employment provided by the railways, and the rates of

population growth in places served by railways and places which were bypassed. The closing sections of the article present an analysis of the effect of the railways on the number and range of commercial and service activities in different types of settlement. Andrews concludes that the railways did not transform the economy of east Kent: 'there was less change than the generally received view of the railways' economic influence would lead the student to expect' (p. 199). Railways 'tended only to reinforce an existing trend' rather than to herald a new development (p. 199). Neither did they create population growth, although 'the lack of a station was likely to produce stagnation, or more likely a population decline' (p. 200). Readers interested in this paper might also like to consult the author's earlier paper reviewed in *Local Population Studies* (*LPS*), **67** (2001).

T. Arkell, 'Identifying regional variations from the hearth tax', *The Local Historian*, **33**, 148–74.

Tom Arkell's extensive and valuable work on the hearth taxes, and indeed other early modern population listings, will be familiar to many readers of *LPS*, and this article extends this work considerably. After a rehearsal of some of the essential administrative background and an explanation of the diversity of the surviving lists, Arkell focuses upon their analysis, moving from a detailed study of Kineton hundred in Warwickshire to a national survey which covers the whole of England and Wales with the exception of just six counties and 'significant parts' of seven others, the data for which are presented in full in a valuable appendix. From this extensive analysis he concludes that there clearly was correlation (in the non-statistical sense) between hearths, house size, wealth and social standing, but it remains to be established just how close this was between regions, and between town and countryside. In other words, we should expect to discover significant differences between the circumstance of the occupants of, for example, three-hearth houses in the various regions and localities of the country, a conclusion that has obvious implications for any conclusions that might be drawn from the currently on-going national hearth tax project initiated by Margaret Spufford.

S. Bowden and G. Tweedale, 'Mondays without dread: the trade union response to byssinosis in the Lancashire cotton industry in the twentieth century', *Social History of Medicine*, **16**, 79–95.

Byssinosis, or 'brown lung', is a chronic respiratory disease caused by exposure to cotton or flax dust that can lead to permanent respiratory disability and death, and was rife in the Lancashire cotton industry in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. But despite the fact that it became accepted by the British government in the latter part of the twentieth century as a disease for which compensation should be paid, with about 6,000 successful claims being made between 1941 and 2000, the disease has attracted relatively little historical attention. This paper assesses the role the trade unions have played in identifying the disease, campaigning to rectify its causes and ultimately in securing compensation. While in many areas of occupational health trade

unions have received an unfavourable or at best luke-warm press, Bowden and Tweedale conclude that in relation to byssinosis their determination to overcome the impediments presented by medical uncertainty, government reluctance to accept the evidence of industrial disease, employer aversion and a legal system stacked against the worker is 'striking' (p. 94). Indeed, it is argued that they were deeply concerned about occupational health issues, and had a relatively sophisticated understanding of the medical issues involved, and their greater strength explains the earlier recognition of the impact of the disease in Britain as compared to the United States. That said, even in Britain they achieved little in the crucial area of safety in the workplace, where employers and government held sway, tending instead to concentrate upon compensation claims, and it was only the demise of the cotton industry that brought the disease to an end.

D. Butler, 'More counters encountered: the census enumerators' and enumeration districts of Durham city 1841–1901', *Durham County Local History Society Bulletin*, **67**, 78–97.

This is a study of the census enumerators in Durham in the nineteenth century censuses. It includes some summary statistics about the 'population' of enumerators, for example their age structure and their average age at recruitment. It also contains an interesting appendix in which potted biographies of all the enumerators are given.

A. Camp, 'The Irish in England', *Family Tree Magazine*, **19**, 9, 8–10.

This article is a good summary of Irish immigration to England and western Scotland during the nineteenth century. Camp divides the overall movement into separate flows: from Ulster to the west of Scotland, from central and western Ireland to north-west England, and from the south-west of Ireland to London via south Wales, and describes the experience of the second two groups concisely and accurately.

K. Decker, 'Divisions and diversity: the complexities of medical refuge in Britain, 1933–1948', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, **77**, 850–73.

This article focuses upon a particular category of refugee in the 1930s and 1940s: those of the medical profession. Drawing upon the files of the 'Aliens Committee' at the archive of the British Medical Association, the private papers of Yvonne Kapp and other relevant documentation in the archive of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, Decker identifies many internal divisions in attitudes between individuals and organisations, as well as a diversity of responses to the various nationalities of medical refugees, mainly German, Austrian, Czech and Polish. The British medical establishment was at no time proactive in assisting their refugee colleagues, perceiving them above all as competitors. Restrictions were especially tight between 1936 and 1939, while in 1940, together with the majority of refugees in Britain, they were subjected to mass internment as 'enemy aliens', a policy quickly revoked in the

same year. Matters improved during the war when physicians were in short supply, although it was not until 1947 that they were granted the right to unrestricted practice by the Medical Practitioners Act, facilitating their integration into the National Health Service a year later, and representing the triumph of the Department of Health view of the need for their services over a reluctant Home Office.

H.M. Dunsford and S.J. Harris, 'Colonization of the wasteland in County Durham, 1100–1400', *Economic History Review*, **56**, 34–56.

This article employs the Geographical Information System to combine documentary evidence from charters, registers rental and accounts from Durham Cathedral Priory with retrogressive analysis of cartographic evidence from enclosure documents, tithe maps, coalfield maps and place-names, to investigate the extent of the wasteland of Durham between 1100 and 1400. Those wastes were 'remarkable for their distribution and extent', not only in the medieval period but right through to *c*. 1625, particularly in the fertile Tees Lowlands where population density was highest. The evidence does not suggest that the margins of cultivation had been reached by the early fourteenth century, and hence the downturn experienced by Durham from the 1320s cannot be explained in terms of Postan's model of preceding over-expansion and the reduction of pastoral resources to a point where they were inadequate to provide manure for the arable. Enclosure from the waste was most common within episcopal estates, which were mainly situated towards the centre and the north-west of the county, but this had the effect of reducing the pressure on wastelands elsewhere, allowing them to survive even in the more fertile and populous parts of the county. The authors suggest that, at least outside of the midlands and the south-east, there may also have been more substantial amounts of waste in other counties than is often appreciated, the potential for exploitation of which may throw further doubt upon the population-resources model of medieval economic development.

R. Dyson, 'The experience of poverty in a rural community: Broughton, north Lincolnshire, 1760–1835', *Local Population Studies*, **70**, 11–28.

This article uses poor law records, parish registers and settlement examinations for the large north Lincolnshire parish of Broughton in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to examine who the poor were and how generous the relief system was. It turns out that only a minority of the population of the parish received assistance from the poor law at any one time, the relief lists being dominated by the old, the widowed and young children. Relief rolls did rise after 1800, extending increasingly to married men with families, but even by 1803 only 15 per cent of the population were being supported by the parish. Those deemed to be in need were generally given just enough to survive on, pensions and casual relief for the majority of paupers approaching the earnings of a typical labourer. The poor law operated as a safety net rather than an all-encompassing welfare system.

C. Edwards, M. Gorsky, B. Harris and A. Hinde, 'Sickness, insurance and health: assessing trends in morbidity through friendly society records', *Annales de Demographie Historique*, no. 1, 131–67.

This paper reports a study of the health experience of the members of the Hampshire Friendly Society. By studying the experience of two cohorts of members, those joining in 1871 and those joining during the late 1890s, the authors are able to describe the effect of disease outbreaks and administrative changes in the way the Society was run on the pattern of sickness claims over time. They also consider how their evidence bears on the thesis of James Riley that morbidity increased in late nineteenth and early twentieth century England as mortality declined (see Riley, *Sick not dead: the health of British workingmen during the mortality decline*, (Baltimore, 1997)). Although morbidity did rise among the members of the Society between 1872 and 1911, most (if not all) of the increase was due to changes in the age composition of the members. Age-specific morbidity did not increase, at least before the introduction of statutory health insurance in 1911.

E. Edwards, 'Interpretations of the influence of the immigrant population in Kent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, **122** (2002), 275–92.

This is a work of synthesis, largely reliant upon the primary research of others, which attempts to view the impact of foreign immigration to Kent in its wider regional context. It rehearses the well known political and religious background to the diaspora from continental Europe that occurred from the mid-sixteenth century, while noting that this built upon a long tradition of more restricted immigration, as well as the equally well known impact of the renewed persecution of the late seventeenth century that culminated in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Although there is little that is new here in terms of factual information, Edwards does offer some very sensible considerations. Hence restrictive regulation and independent congregations did not mean that there was no integration between stranger and host communities, and the longevity of the major settlements rendered assimilation inevitable in the long run. Information available on their numbers is often difficult to interpret, and must be treated with circumspection, particularly in the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries when many may have operated clandestinely. The evidence for the existence of smaller settlements is often precarious, even no more than hearsay. And while there can be little doubt that the immigrants made major contributions through the stimulus they provided to the production of the new draperies, or to the silk industry in Canterbury, that influence can be exaggerated too: many of the agricultural developments with which they might be associated, and features of the built landscape of the county, were probably the result of ideas brought back from the continent by English travellers. Her suggestion that the Maidstone community 'did not have their own separate establishment' (p. 281), however, is rather puzzling, for they certainly maintained their own congregation—with regular assistance from the Dutch church in London—through into the 1630s when they numbered a

minimum of 50 communicants, suggesting a population of perhaps 100–130 (see J. Bulteel, *A Relation of the Troubles of the Three Forraign Churches in Kent. Caused by the Injunctions of William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury Anno Dom. 1634* (London, 1645), p. 22). Indeed, the Dutch community in Maidstone limped on until its final demise in the later 1650s.

K. Fisher and S. Szreter, ' "They prefer withdrawal": the choice of birth control in Britain, 1918–1950', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, **34**. 263–91.

It is now well known that the decline of fertility within marriage in England and Wales was largely achieved without the widespread use of modern appliance methods of birth control. Among the working classes, especially, withdrawal and abstinence were the most commonly used methods. This paper is based on interviews with a sample of couples from Blackburn, Lancashire, who were of childbearing age during the inter-war period, and tries to explain why there was such resistance to appliance methods, despite the energetic promotion of the latter by the largely middle-class birth control movement. Fisher and Szreter conclude that withdrawal remained popular partly because it suited the fertility intentions of working class couples (many of whom did not have a specific target number of children, and so did not consider failure as a major disaster), partly because it was perceived as 'natural', and partly because it interfered less with the spontaneity of sexual activity than the appliance methods (principally condoms, caps, diaphragms and pessaries) that were then available. This paper is one of a series of papers in this issue of the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* which deal with aspects of the fertility and contraception during the demographic transition in various countries. The introduction to this collection of papers, by S. Szreter, R.A. Nye and F. van Poppel, 'Fertility and contraception during the demographic transition: qualitative and quantitative approaches' (pp. 141–54), will also be of interest to *LPS* readers.

J. Ford, 'The Marriage Duty Act censuses for Lyme Regis 1695–1703', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, **125**, 1–11.

The Marriage Duty Act of 1695 imposed a tax on births, marriages and burials, besides an annual charge upon bachelors over the age of 25 and childless widowers to finance William III's trade war with France. It proved complex and difficult to administer, and was abandoned in 1706, and this paper examines its administration at the local level through a case study of Lyme Regis. The extant documentation for Lyme is described in considerable detail, providing a very useful indication of what the local historian might be confronted with when attempting to use this data. In particular, Ford amply underlines the complexity of the tax and the difficulties local officials had in keeping their records up to date. Whether or not it was widely evaded is itself impossible to determine given the haphazard and confused state of some of the returns. Comparison with other contemporary sources suggest that even the bare population figures are not entirely accurate, while the layout of the documents and the lack of clarity regarding how bachelors were listed makes

elucidation of household structure very difficult. While it is claimed that they provide a 'valuable and unique insight into the life and structure of the borough', the overriding impression is that their complexity and inconsistency makes them very difficult to use for demographic analysis, and no such analysis is attempted here.

C. French, ' "Death in Kingston upon Thames": analysis of the Bonner Hill Cemetery burial records, 1855–1911', *Archives*, **28**, 36–47.

This paper describes and reports a preliminary analysis of the records of burials in Kingston upon Thames cemetery. The years 1855–1911 yield about 30,000 cases, each of which has details of the name and address of the deceased, and his or her age at death, but no information on cause of death. French's initial analysis of these data reveals a general mortality pattern consistent with what we know of national trends, including those in infant mortality (see R. Woods, *The demography of Victorian England and Wales*, (Cambridge, 2000), 250–80). There were, however, local variations in mortality which were probably related to differences in the urban environment. French also attempts some record linkage between the cemetery records of the deaths of children and the census enumerators' books in order to ascertain the social class of their parents. Unfortunately, the proportion of deaths he can link is low, but the results are suggestive of a social class gradient in infant and child mortality.

G. Frost, ' "The black lamb of the black sheep": illegitimacy in the English working class, 1850–1939', *Journal of Social History*, **37**, 293–322.

It is well known that in nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century England, illegitimate children fared worse on a whole range of social and demographic indicators (living standards, mortality, educational attainment) than legitimate children. By examining a wide range of qualitative evidence, including autobiographies and oral history data, this paper seeks to try to understand the experience of being illegitimate in England at this time from the perspective of the child. In order to limit the scope of the analysis to manageable proportions, Frost concentrates on the working class, 'particularly those who tried to be "respectable" ' (p. 293). The paper gives a fascinating insight into the ways in which the stigma of illegitimacy was maintained through the first half of the twentieth century (even after the changes in the law of 1926).

M. Gibson, 'Towards a census of Machynlleth for 1686/1687', *Montgomeryshire Collections*, **91**, 15–28.

This article provides an introduction to and a transcript of a 'chief rental' for the town of Machynlleth in 1687 and considers how it might be used. In particular, Gibson demonstrates the value of combining the information it provides with evidence from the Notitia (a parochial survey) of 1686, parish registers and probate evidence to more accurately map both property

ownership and occupations in the town and its rural hinterland. Such an enterprise is not attempted here, but the concentrated nature of land ownership evident from the rental and the rarity of English names among them are both noted. Although the rental was not a census, it is suggested that in combination with the other sources it gives as detailed a picture of the town as it is possible to achieve prior to the national censuses of the nineteenth century.

I.N. Gregory, K.K. Kemp and R. Mostern, 'Geographical information and historical research: current progress and future directions', *History and Computing*, **13** (2001), 7–23.

Since the 1960s, the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) has increased in a number of scientific disciplines, but historians have generally been rather reticent about employing them. This paper is an introduction to a special issue of *History and Computing* dealing with the use of spatial data by historians, and briefly describes the history of GIS and their strengths and weaknesses as research tools. It then turns to the potential uses that historians might make of them. Having described some of the few historical projects which have made extensive use of GIS, the paper then focuses on three challenges which will have to be overcome before GIS can be more widely incorporated into historical research. These are first, that GIS are not well suited to handle the ambiguous geographical or locational data common in historical documents (for example, 'close to the bend in the river'); second, that the representation of change over time in GIS is still underdeveloped; and, third, that although GIS are potentially well suited to integrating quantitative and qualitative data sources, this will require the incorporation into mainly quantitative databases of more information about sources and documentation than is customary at present. Readers of *LPS* might also be interested in the other papers in this issue of *History and Computing*.

R. Haines and R. Shlomowitz, 'Causes of death of British emigrants on voyages to South Australia, 1848–1885', *Social History of Medicine*, **16**, 193–208.

This article analyses a new body of evidence on deaths occurring in 323 ships arriving in South Australia between 1848 and 1885, which records the cause, age, sex, and date of death. The records were generated by surgeon-superintendents, who worked under strict regulations, were subject to careful scrutiny and faced severe penalties for faulty record-keeping. The authors discover that the distribution of deaths by voyage was heavily skewed, as was the distribution of deaths by age, with infants and children under the age of six accounting for 76 per cent of all deaths. Female adult and child rates were higher than those of males. Age-specific causes of death are compared with those on land, producing some differences but also substantial congruence, leading to the conclusion that these vessels 'offer us a window on the mortality experience of Britain and Ireland's working-class citizens whose maritime environment emulated conditions in the crowded dwellings of the United Kingdom's rural and town-dwelling poor' (p. 208). With regard to the timing

of the deaths on these voyages, a hump-shaped pattern was discovered rather than the expected U-shape, deaths peaking towards the middle rather than at the start and end of the journey. This is explained by the more severe and changing climatic conditions—the intense heat of the tropics being swiftly followed by the sudden cold of the Southern Ocean—which particularly impacted upon the infants and young children who accounted for the bulk of the deaths. This study is presented as a parallel to recent developments in the historiography of nineteenth-century mortality more generally, with individual-level data increasingly superseding published aggregate data as the basis for analysis.

R. Hall, 'A poor cotton weyver: poverty and the cotton famine in Clitheroe', *Social History*, **28**, 227–50.

The immediate cause of the cotton famine of 1861–1865 was the interruption of cotton supplies by the American Civil War, though previous overproduction exacerbated its effects. In this article Hall looks at the effects of the crisis on the weavers of Clitheroe in Lancashire and at the responses of employers, employees and local institutions. She argues that the employers tended to act in ways that served their own interests (though they made a lot of noise about the concessions they were making to their workers). The Board of Guardians, responsible for administering poor relief, did not see the situation during the cotton famine years as anything out of the ordinary. Applicants for relief were more numerous, to be sure, but no special measures were called for. Additional relief was provided by national agencies set up for the purpose of alleviating the effects of the famine, and it was perhaps because of these that extant institutions were not overwhelmed.

A. Hardy, 'Exorcizing Molly Malone: typhoid and shellfish consumption in urban Britain, 1860–1960', *History Workshop Journal*, **55**, 72–90.

A. Hardy, 'Reframing disease: changing perceptions of tuberculosis in England and Wales, 1938–70', *Historical Research*, **76**, 535–56.

These two papers are about perceptions of the causes and nature of specific diseases in Britain during the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries.

The first deals with the relationship between typhoid and the consumption of shellfish. The popularity of shellfish in Britain's towns and cities during the late nineteenth century has often been noted by historians, but less attention has perhaps been paid to why oysters, mussels, cockles and the like became much less sought after during the twentieth century. In this paper, Hardy describes one probable reason: the growing realisation that shellfish contaminated by sewage were responsible for many of the cases of typhoid reported in Britain. The paper traces the history of attitudes towards the risks posed by shellfish. Initially, suggestions that shellfish posed a health hazard were met with denial, but public opinion gradually changed in the face of the weight of evidence and a few spectacular episodes, such as outbreaks of

typhoid among the guests at banquets held by the Lord Mayors of Southampton and Winchester in 1902.

The second paper analyses perceptions of the character of tuberculosis, concentrating on the mid-twentieth century (though the study actually ranges beyond this period in both directions). It charts how the image of tuberculosis changed from the late nineteenth century one of sickly young adult men and women lying on couches to one centred on children and the elderly. Hardy notes that tuberculosis occupied an important position in the epidemiological prospectus of the country for as long as treatment was perceived as difficult, lengthy, and not necessarily guaranteeing a cure. It was only when simpler and more effective treatments emerged in the 1960s that tuberculosis dropped off the epidemiological radar.

J. Hatcher. 'Understanding the population history of England 1450–1750', *Past & Present*, **180**, 83–130.

This article offers a challenge to the what has become the orthodox interpretation of early modern English demographic development as proposed by E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield in *The population history of England: a reconstruction 1541–1871* and associated publications: the existence of a fertility-dominated, low-pressure demographic regime, controlled essentially by fluctuations in levels of nuptiality, which responded readily to long-term changes in levels of real wages—a regime that is characterised here as a Malthusian interpretation, but one in which mortality has been relegated to a minor role, with the swings of the demographic pendulum further restricted by the existence of prudential restraint. First, Hatcher dismisses the possibility of extending this low-pressure regime back into the later Middle Ages by rehearsing the range of evidence for high and variable mortality in these years, which prevailed despite the fact that real wages rose significantly from the late fourteenth and into the fifteenth centuries. Second, he argues that the Cambridge Group data for the mid-sixteenth century reveals remarkably high levels of nuptiality in historical terms, high and widely fluctuating fertility, and may also—due to the sample of parish registers employed—understate the extent of mortality crises in the mid 1540s and later 1550s. Third, the manner in which weight is assigned to the contribution of fertility and mortality to population growth is questioned through a close consideration of how quinquennial movements in the gross reproduction rate and expectation of life at birth have been analysed. An interpretation that assigns roughly equal weight to each variable is favoured over one which gives primacy to fertility, while the important point that changes in mortality and fertility do not operate independently of one another is also made (mortality crises have, for example, been shown to produce a short-term slump in fertility, often followed by a rise in the number of marriages and, subsequently, births). Fourth, serious concern is expressed about the reliability of estimates of the proportion of the population that married over time, a variable that has become increasingly central to the 'Cambridge Group interpretation'. Nor did nuptiality respond with immediacy to changing levels of real wages, and the population

continued to grow through the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries despite a substantial, long-term decline in real wages, while occupational changes—particularly the increasing weight of the wage-labouring classes within the population by the early seventeenth century—must also be taken into account, as must the impact upon marriage chances of regionally skewed sex ratios by the later seventeenth century, and probably a host of cultural factors too. The critique closes with a restatement of the importance of local and regional factors in demographic analysis which will strike a resounding chord with readers of *Local Population Studies*, as well as an appeal to explanations of demographic behaviour which embrace a wider range of economic, social and cultural variables.

D.B. Haycock, 'Coleridge's choleras: cholera morbus, Asiatic cholera, and dysentery in early nineteenth-century England', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, **77**, 298–331.

Coleridge suffered from a variety of bowel disorders throughout his life, which may have been largely due to his opium addiction, but possibly also to attacks of Asiatic cholera, about the precise nature of which there was much contemporary debate. This article attempts to establish the exact nature of his illness, and in so doing highlights the problems of identifying new diseases in the past in general, and bowel disorders in the early nineteenth century in particular.

M. Herber, 'Sex, lies and crime: clandestine marriage in the 17th and 18th centuries', *Family Tree Magazine*, **19**, 12, 4–6 and **20**, 1, 6–9.

This two-part article presents a history of clandestine marriage before 1754, outlining the most common reasons for such marriages and describing the circumstances under which they most commonly occurred. One reason cited for marrying clandestinely was a desire to have the marriage recorded before a couple's first child was born in order to avoid the stigma of illegitimacy. Another was the habit of indebted women of marrying penniless men in order to protect themselves from creditors (who would, after their marriage, be entitled to pursue only their husbands). The article makes extensive use of data from the Fleet prison in London, which was the venue of many clandestine marriages during the period.

P. Horn, 'Headington pauper apprentices and the fishing industry: 1844–77', *Oxfordshire Local History*, **7**, 3–11.

Known since the sixteenth century, pauper apprenticeship peaked in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, featuring in craft trades, factories and mines. By the middle of the nineteenth century it was generally being superseded as the 'free' labour supply, particularly in expanding towns and cities, grew more rapidly. However, the rapid expansion of the North Sea fishing grounds after mid-century gave it a new lease of life, and from 1876 this encouraged the poor law guardians of Headington to renew the practice,

supplying a number of pauper children to Garleston trawlermen to relieve overcrowding in the boys section of the union workhouse. Within twelve years 7 of the 12 Headington apprentices were dead, a death rate well in excess of that experienced by apprentices in general at the port of Grimsby in the 1880s, studied previously by Horn, and by the 1800s the practice had been abandoned.

S. Howard, 'Imagining the pain and peril of seventeenth-century childbirth: travail and deliverance in the making of an early modern world', *Social History of Medicine*, **16**, 367–82.

This richly titled article discusses the agony of labour revealed in an account of childbirth found in the memoirs of a seventeenth-century Yorkshire gentlewoman, Alice Thornton, which exemplifies a providential world view— juxtaposing danger with deliverance—that permeates her memoirs as a whole. While accepting that Thornton's words do indeed reflect her experience of extreme physical pain, it is also suggested that her prose was culturally mediated, and that she drew on contemporary discourses of martyrdom where pain could be understood as test of faith and endurance, her writings in consequence becoming proofs of her virtue and religiosity as well as a personal account of her suffering. In this way Alice Thornton's narrative, Howard suggests, 'illuminates some historical confrontations and interactions between discourse and the physical, between perception and reality, between individuals and their social contexts' (p. 381). Population historians may be particularly interested in her brief discussion of the recent historiography of childbirth which, *inter alia*, refers to Schofield's estimate that the risk of dying in childbed was only 6 to 7 per cent over an entire procreative life-span. The point that it is not at all straightforward to move from statistics to attitudes is well made, for intense fear is not necessarily well-grounded in evidence, and nor did early-modern mothers have any reference points against which to compare their experiences. Fear of childbirth undoubtedly existed, but it was not necessarily the overriding characteristic: there is no sense in which it is claimed that Alice Thornton was representative of seventeenth-century women in general. Her experiences, and the construction she placed upon them, remain of interest nevertheless.

G. Howells, ' "On account of their disreputable characters": parish-assisted emigration from rural England, 1834–1860', *History*, **88**, 587–605.

This is the latest in Gary Howells's series of articles on assisted pauper emigration from England in the mid-nineteenth century. In this paper, Howells argues that those who promoted parish-assisted emigration often invested a considerable amount of time and money in the enterprise. Many of them seem to have been genuinely concerned that the experience of assisted emigrants should be as positive as possible. Of course, this was not pure altruism: it was also a rational strategy for those who were financing the New Poor Law, for emigrants who did well might encourage others to follow them, thereby helping rural parishes in southern and eastern England reduce their surplus labouring population.

M.A. Jonker, 'Estimation of life expectancy in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, series A*, **166**, 105–17.

In this paper, Jonker uses data from the inquisitions *post mortem* to estimate adult life expectancy in early fourteenth-century England. Previous estimates were made using these data in J.C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948) and T.H. Hollingsworth, 'A note on the medieval longevity of the secular peerage', *Population Studies*, **29** (1975), 155–9. Jonker uses a different method to estimate the life expectancy of males aged 25 years (e_{25}). The method is statistically quite complex, and many readers of *LPS* might want to skip the details, but the results are an e_{25} of just under 26 years among those who reached their 25th birthdays between 1305 and 1325, and of just over 23 years for those who reached their 25 birthdays during the 13 years leading up to the Black Death. These are fairly close to the figures given in M. Ecclestone's paper in *LPS* **63** (1999), 6–29 of a life expectancy at age 20 years of 27–28 years for landless men in Wiltshire between 1295 and 1345, based on the Glastonbury Abbey head tax lists.

J. Kent and S. King, 'Changing patterns of poor relief in some English rural parishes circa 1650–1750', *Rural History*, **14**, 119–56.

Drawing upon the experiences of a number of parishes in Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Norfolk and Staffordshire—five of which form the main focus—this article uses overseers' accounts, pauper examinations, court papers and other records to demonstrate the variety of practices under the Old Poor Law, and the often contradictory attitudes that the poor encountered. The 'poor' were themselves far from a homogenous group, exhibited highly varied powers of negotiation, and widely differing abilities with respect to self-help and mutual aid. Those in the best position to enter into true negotiation with vestry officers usually had something to offer in the way of a service—the ability to offer care to other poor people: negotiations over direct relief such as pensions are not what fills the accounts. These features were overlaid upon enduring regional differences in both the extent and nature of poor relief, previously highlighted by Steve King in his *Poverty and welfare in England 1700–1850: a regional perspective* (Manchester, 2000). Nor was the Old Poor Law as monolithic as it is often portrayed: there were changes over time in both welfare provision and attitudes, changes which occurred prior to the late eighteenth century upon which so much emphasis is often laid. Although this study confirms the general long-term rise in relief payments, these fluctuated quite sharply in most of the parishes in view, and a more parsimonious attitude towards the poor is detected in the last years of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries. Increases in the cost of relief (such as in the early 1740s) often followed an escalation of hardship and were thus a response to changing needs, but could also result from the changing burden of settlement in a parish, or shifts in local attitudes and policies. The ability of the poor to procure extra income by offering their services to the vestry also varied over time, and diminished in some parishes with the rise of residential care in parish workhouses in the second or third decade of the eighteenth century. The role of private philanthropy is mentioned, for apparently all parishes under

consideration had 'some funds of this kind' (p. 135) that were periodically used to finance casual payments, but their relative importance over time is difficult to gauge from the evidence presented here.

S.A. King, 'The English protoindustrial family: old and new perspectives', *History of the Family*, **8**, 21–43.

The gist of this contribution by Steven King is that the membership of protoindustrial families in England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was much more fluid and volatile than the nuclear family model would predict. Using data for several areas of Lancashire, he shows that households could become complex in a variety of ways: for example the bearing of illegitimate children led to three-generation households; and elderly people were encouraged to move in with offspring. These kinds of arrangements were encouraged by the operation of the poor law, increasingly so as the demands on the poor law rose. King also appeals in this paper for more research on the protoindustrial household in England, lamenting the lack of progress made in this country during the last 20 years compared with other European countries.

A. Laurence, 'Bridget Hill (1922–2002): an appreciation', *Women's History Review*, **12**, 141–7.

Bridget Hill, who will be familiar to some readers of *LPS* through her work on the age of women at marriage (see 'The marriage age of women and the demographers', *History Workshop Journal*, **28** (1989), 129–47, and on the reporting of women's work in the nineteenth century censuses, see 'Women, work and the census: a problem for historians of women', *History Workshop Journal*, **35** (1993), 78–94) died in 2002. This short piece is an appreciation of her life and work.

A. Levene, 'The origins of the children of the London Foundling Hospital, 1741–1760: a reconsideration', *Continuity and Change*, **18**, 201–35.

In this paper, Levene examines some of the characteristics of children entering the London Foundling Hospital in the mid-eighteenth century and shows that a far higher proportion of them were legitimate than had previously been thought. Foundlings were not mainly the result of 'dysfunctional unions between non-married individuals'; many were the result of 'breakdowns in established marital relationships through poverty, or the death or absence of one partner' (p. 227). The fact that foundlings were not all illegitimate has implications for the use of foundling data to estimate illegitimacy ratios in London.

B. Luckin, ' "The heart and home of horror": the great London fogs of the late nineteenth century', *Social History*, **28**, 31–48.

During the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, London was beset by frequent and progressively more severe episodes of what we would now describe as smog.

In this paper, Luckin discusses how these fogs were interpreted by contemporaries as symptoms of urban decline, leading to an alarmist literature predicting a gloomy end to the urban way of life. Many of those contributing to this literature were conservative advocates of country living, but, as the century drew to its close, their ranks were swelled by social Darwinists using the fogs as pegs on which to hang arguments about the degeneration of the urban population. Readers of *LPS* may be particularly interested in Luckin's comments on the death toll from the fogs (which was arguably greater than that from the cholera epidemics earlier in the century), and his description of attempts to calculate their economic cost.

M. McCormick, 'Rats, communications, and plague: towards an ecological history', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, **34**, 1–25.

Interest in rats and plague continues unabated, and here McCormick throws down another challenge on the basis of archaeological evidence and the insights of zoology and molecular biology. As *Yersinia Pestis* is a rodent disease, the presence or absence of the black rat, and the mobility of those rats, is crucial to its spread, and hence its ability to wreak havoc amongst human populations. Until recently, there were no Roman rats, but new discoveries of tiny bones and DNA samples are providing glimpses of the rat's migration from south-east Asia into the Roman Empire and medieval Europe, so much so that the diffusion of rats across Europe 'looks increasingly like an integral part of the Roman conquest' (p. 1).Why are the sources so silent about the die-off of rats that would accompany an outbreak of plague? McCormick's answer is to invoke literary disinterest, as well as a terminological confusion that arises from the fact that there was no ancient term for 'rat' to distinguish it from mice: the term is of medieval coinage. The spread of the black rat, a largely sedentary rodent, is discussed in terms of communication channels such as the canal built to link the Nile corridor with the Red Sea by Darius I (521–486 BC), and their affinity with ships. Climatic differences and the general growth of communications might also be relevant, and it may be that the spread of the black rat can provide us with insight upon ancient urbanisation and communications, reversing the usual explanatory model. While McCormick's enthusiastic belief that the evidence for the presence of the black rats across the Roman Empire, and their expanding population in the fourteenth century, is infectious, many questions remain to be answered before we can resurrect from the ashes a plague-driven model of later medieval demographic (and economic) development, and this article should be read in conjunction with that by Twigg published in *LPS* **71**, as well as that by Cohn summarised in the periodical review published in the same issue.

L. Miskell, 'The making of a "new Welsh metropolis": science, leisure and industry in early nineteenth-century Swansea', *History*, **88**, 32–52.

In 1841, Wales had only six towns with more than 8,000 inhabitants (the largest of which was Merthyr Tydfil). It was held that during the late eighteenth century, the urban area with most influence over south Wales was Bristol. But by 1850, Bristol's influence was declining, and Swansea was in the ascendancy

(Cardiff at this time had yet to rise to prominence as a coal port). This paper is about the rise of Swansea's star. Miskell describes the important role of the Swansea Institution, a scientific society founded in 1835 (later to become the Royal Institution of South Wales). Supported principally by the town's professional and commercial inhabitants, this Institution was assiduous in promoting the virtues of the town, their efforts resulting in attracting the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) to Swansea in 1848. The BAAS had chosen Swansea with trepidation, worried both by the lack of good transport links and its distance (perceived even more than real) from traditional academic centres, however the meeting was a great success. For about three or four decades, Swansea successfully combined the attractions of a resort with the demand of industry. However, as the nineteenth century drew to a close its industrial functions began to dominate, and its reputation as a genteel resort town declined.

J. Moran and M. Taylor, 'Lowering the drawbridge: further thoughts on discriminating between readers', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, **24**, 55–64.

If any readers of *LPS* were encouraged by the two articles by Mortimer and Gee reviewed in *LPS* **71** to think that a more flexible policy which tried to cater for the different needs of different classes of user might be introduced in Record Offices and other archives, this paper will come as a reminder that such enlightened attitudes are not universal. For Moran and Taylor argue that discriminating between different types of reader is (1) impractical with existing resources; (2) elitist—in that it would regard 'a group of users, defined by us as those doing research more worthy of support than any other' (p. 62); and (3) 'in direct opposition to national and international principles on access as well as current government initiatives such as Best Value, life-long learning and social inclusion' (p. 63).

G. Morgan and P. Rushton, 'The magistrate, the community and the maintenance of an orderly society in eighteenth-century England', *Historical Research*, **76**, 54–76.

This paper is based on the notebooks of Rev. Edmund Tew, rector and magistrate of the parish of Boldon in the county of Durham during the second half of the eighteenth century. It describes the many cases which came before such a lone magistrate at that time. Among these, criminal cases were in a minority, so that most of Tew's time was taken up with employment disputes (often between masters and apprentices), and matters connected with the poor law (and notably the vexed question of settlement). Morgan and Rushton argue persuasively that 'the magistracy acted in part as mediators … between the central state and the local community' (p. 76).

E. Murphy, 'The New Poor Law guardians and the administration of insanity in East London, 1834–1844', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, **77**, 45–74.

This article, which is part of a longitudinal study of the administration of insanity in east London from 1800 to 1870, combines documentation generated

by boards of guardians with Poor Law Commission statistics and correspondence to demonstrate that—in its early years at least—the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 failed to produce the uniformity of policy towards the insane that it desired. The new boards of guardians were as culturally distinctive in their style of administration as the parishes had been under the old dispensation, and could determine the local interpretation of regulations where they had the capacity for leadership and chose to exercise it. The final direction the board took was a product of a complex interplay between personality, politics and class. This ability to maintain local autonomy, however, diminished with increasing centralisation of government policy on insanity after the introduction of the Lunacy Act in 1845 and the creation of Commissions in Lunacy.

M. Nicolson and I. Donnachie, 'The New Lanark Highlanders: migration, community and language 1785–*c*.1850', *Family and Community History*, **6**, 19–32.

During the last two decades of the eighteenth century, many people left the Highlands of Scotland, attracted by opportunities of employment in lowland manufacturing industries. This paper describes the history of a certain group of these migrants, those who ended up living and working in David Dale and Robert Owen's 'model village' of New Lanark. Most of the 'New Lanark Highlanders' came from Caithness, Skye and the Western Isles (particularly Barra). Nicolson and Donnachie describe the efforts made to integrate these largely Gaelic-speaking migrants into the lowland community. There was, apparently, no 'deliberate language policy' (p. 28) although Gaelic religious services were provided. In their conclusion, the authors lament the lack of attention paid to linguistic issues in studies of Scottish family and community history.

D. Oxley, ' "The seat of death and terror": urbanisation, stunting and smallpox', *Economic History Review*, **56**, 623–56.

In recent years there has been considerable debate about whether or not people who had smallpox as children or young adults suffered a long-term effect on their growth (for reviews of the earlier contributions to the debate, see *LPS* **67** and **69**). In this paper, Oxley uses a hitherto unused source, namely prison records (from Wandsworth prison) and indents of transported convicts to cast light on the question. These records included details of 'distinguishing marks', one category of which were the pockmarks left on the faces of survivors from attacks of smallpox. Oxley shows that transportees and prisoners with pockmarks were indeed shorter than those without pockmarks, but that closer analysis showed that this effect was confined to those who came from London. In rural areas, smallpox had no effect on height after controlling for potentially confounding variables. Her interpretation of this finding is that the apparent effect of smallpox on heights arises because smallpox was more common and more severe in urban areas, and is therefore acting as a 'proxy' for aspects of urban life which did cause stunting. As she puts it: '[p]ockmarks are associated with stunting only in London because in the city smallpox ran most wild in

overcrowded properties in overcrowded areas that suffered a whole set of urban disamenities: high levels of exposure to a multiplicity of diseases, including chronic illnesses capable of long-term insults to growth; inadequate quantities of poor-quality nutrition; work demands in excess of nutritional inputs; pollution; and more. One or more of these factors was culpable, although which one has yet to be identified' (p. 652).

A. Pallister, 'Some notes on the parish registers of Long Newton and derivations from them', *Durham County Local History Society Bulletin*, **65** (2002), 67–91.

This paper is a description of the parish registers of Long Newton between 1564 and 1812, giving details of the variables recorded at different points in time, and some statistical analysis of long-term trends. Pallister estimates the population of Long Newton as being roughly constant during this period at 300–400 people by assuming a crude birth rate of 30 per thousand. Since there was an average of 1.33 baptisms per burial, this suggests a steady net out-migration from the parish. The paper includes a calculation of the expectation of life at birth (44 years) based on the distribution of ages at burial, and assuming a stationary population. Overall, this is a good example of the kind of analysis that can be achieved from a single parish register traced over two centuries.

A. Plakans and C. Wetherell, 'Households and kinship networks: the costs and benefits of contextualization', *Continuity and Change*, **18**, 49–76.

This is a long and complicated article, but it deals (in a theoretical way) with a topic of great relevance to those engaged in research on local demography and social structure in Britain: the extent to which historians of the structure and internal dynamics of the household should attempt also to study the interaction between co-resident household members and their wider kin networks. In recent years several historians have suggested that, although the nuclear family was the predominant residential unit in England, weaker relationships with non-resident kin, especially those living within a few miles, were nevertheless important at times of crisis in the nuclear family, and at other critical points in the life course of nuclear family members, such as when leaving home and seeking employment. In this paper Plakans and Wetherell examine the role played by these wider kinship networks, and in particular whether it is worth historians' time to try to recover them from the limited source materials available. Their conclusion is not entirely clear, but this reviewer (AH) interpreted it to mean that the impact of extended kin networks on the lives of nuclear family members, at least in north-western Europe, was probably quite limited, and the difficulties of identifying these kin networks with extant sources very great, such that historians were justified (on a cost-benefit analysis of research effort balanced against the likely contribution to knowledge) in restricting attention to relationships within co-residential groups, and their immediate (non-kin) neighbours.

N. Raven, 'Chelmsford during the industrial revolution, *c.*1790–1840', *Urban History*, **30**, 44–62.

The contributors to *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. II 1560–1840*, (Cambridge, 2000) disagree about the fortunes of ancient English county and market towns during the industrial revolution. Some argue that these old towns gradually declined, whereas others suggest that they found a new lease of life as 'fashionable social centres' (p. 45). In this study, Raven uses trade directories and the 1841 census enumerators' books to study the economic history of Chelmsford during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He finds that, although Chelmsford had no manufacturing sector in 1790 and did not acquire one by 1841, its fortunes were not adversely affected by industrialisation. Its wide range of trade and craft activities persisted and even increased during this period. The town benefited from being near enough to London to take advantage of the vast and expanding markets in the capital, but far enough away for several gentry to have their country seats nearby, making the town attractive to the well-to-do.

K. Retford, 'Sensibility and genealogy in the eighteenth-century family portrait: the collection at Kedleston Hall', *Historical Journal*, **46**, 533–60.

This article analyses the significance of eighteenth-century portraiture for our understanding of the history of the family, with particular reference to the growing focus upon the affective relationships revealed in family portraits between 1740 and 1760. While aesthetic influences played a part in that transition, it was mainly the result of an increasing sentimentalisation of family ideals, producing in particular the 'promenade portraits' that celebrated companionate marriage. This was not, of course, all that such portraits were intended to convey, and they also reveal more traditional concerns with lineage, and dynastic and political loyalty. This article is a salutary reminder of the variety of routes available to the population historian, not all of which are necessarily built upon a foundation of statistical data.

S.H. Rigby, 'Gender and the family in pre-industrial Europe', *Gender and History*, **15**, 361–5.

This is one of *Gender and History's* 'thematic reviews', the five books under discussion being P. Fleming, *Family and household in medieval England* (Basingstoke, 2001), A. Lynn Martin, *Alcohol, sex and gender in late medieval and early modern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2001), N.J. Meduge (ed.), *Medieval women and the law* (Woodbridge, 2000), P. Skinner, *Women in medieval Italian society, 500–1200* (Harlow, 2001) and F.A. Underhill, *For her good estates: the life of Elizabeth de Burgh* (Basingstoke,1999), a collection that covers the spectrum of academic genres. For Rigby, they remind us of how historians are still only in the very early stages of understanding many issues relating to gender and the family in this period, as well as the need for user-friendly summaries where research is more advanced. This is a very useful summary and critical review of these five volumes.

M. Saxby, 'Ages at baptism in the parish of All Saints, Sudbury, 1809–1828: a new approach to their interpretation', *Local Population Studies*, **71**, 49–56.

This paper describes the age at baptism in the parish of All Saints, Sudbury, between 1809 and 1828. The baptism registers of this parish give dates of birth as well as dates of baptism during this period, which allows the exact calculation of ages at baptism. Saxby suggests presenting the results by looking at the percentages of babies baptised within given periods after birth. This, he suggests, is more illuminating than the method, pioneered in B.M. Berry and R. S. Schofield, 'Age at baptism in pre-industrial England', *Population Studies*, **25** (1971), 453–63, of quoting the numbers of days by which 25, 50 and 75 per cent of babies had been baptised. The results show that the majority (about two thirds) of children were baptised within 75 days of birth, but that a significant minority, which in some years could be around 20 per cent, were not baptised within one year of their birth.

J. Schlarman, 'The social geography of Grosvenor Square: mapping gender and politics, 1720–1760', *The London Journal*, **28**, 8–28.

Julie Schlarman draws upon evidence from the Grosvenor estate in Mayfair, London, which developed rapidly between 1720 and 1760, to explore the social geography of the area with particular reference to a neglected facet of urban development—the involvement of women in urban space and the built environment, their role in architectural consumption, development and appreciation. This is a notable lacuna given the well-known skew in urban sex ratios towards women evident in English towns and cities from at least the later seventeenth century, and Schlarman shows that far from all of these were humble service workers or domestics, for as many as half of all ratepayers living on the Grosvenor estate in this period were women, while 30 single women (predominantly widows) were identified compared to just two single men. She concludes that the physical layout of the streets, designed for display as much as for traffic, the garden squares and boulevards, and the opulent townhouses all provided women with the urban spaces that they needed to enlarge their public role in the political and social life of the metropolis.

K. Schürer, 'Introduction: *Household and family in past time* further explored', *Continuity and Change*, **18**, 9–21.

This is an introduction to a special issue of *Continuity and Change*, the articles in which arise from a 'workshop … called to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of another conference,… held in Cambridge at the Faculty of History and at Trinity College in September 1969 … that resulted in the publication of *Household and family in past time*' (p. 9). The first part of the paper, which will probably be of most interest to readers of *LPS*, is an appreciation of Peter Laslett's life and work, and the second part introduces the other articles in the issue. Most of the latter do not relate to Britain, but one of them, by Plakans and Wetherell, is reviewed earlier in this section.

S. Shapin, 'Trusting George Cheyne: scientific expertise, common sense, and moral authority in early eighteenth-century dietetic medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, **77**, 263–97.

In the eighteenth century, dietetic medicine was far from firmly in the control of a professional body of practitioners, for patients were understood to possess much pertinent and reliable knowledge, and issues of moral prudence already challenged for the central ground. These issues are addressed here in relation to the work of George Cheyne (1671–1743), an iatromechanist, dietary author and fashionable physician. Cheyne's informal approach to his elevated clients, largely conducted through correspondence, apparently rendered him very successful in persuading his patients to adopt a dietetic regime of asses' milk and seeds, a diet that flew in the face of 'tradition, appetite, and common sense' (p. 297).

M. Smallman-Raynor, C. Nettleton and A.D. Cliff, 'Wartime evacuation and the spread of infectious diseases: epidemiological consequences of the dispersal of children from London during World War II', *Journal of Historical Geography*, **29**, 396–421.

The evacuation of children from London was an issue of concern among contemporary epidemiologists and public health officials, for fear of the spread of epidemic disease, although studies conducted at the time proved inconclusive as to its impact. The present study explores the temporal and spatial evidence for the raised incidence of scarlet fever, diptheria and polio. Isolation of the pattern of disease activity once background levels have been allowed for indicates that there was indeed a considerably raised incidence of infectious disease in the reception areas of London evacuees, as well as an associated epidemiological integration between London and those same areas. The effect was largest for scarlet fever, and least and most variable for polio. Contrary to expectations, however, these increases were no more pronounced in rural as compared to urban districts. The authors acknowledge that other factors might be implicated too, such as general wartime trends in population realignment and mixing, while it has proved impossible to analyse disease activity by age, evacuation status or case fatality. The general conclusion—that the geographical dispersal of concentrated urban populations in wartime propagated the spread of epidemic disease—remains clear, however.

S.M. Smith, ' "Who you are or where you are?": determinants of infant mortality 1876–1888', *Family and Community History*, **6**, 113–21.

L.M. Davies, 'Faith Street, South Kirkby – "that troublesome place": infant mortality in a Yorkshire coal mining community, 1894–1911', *Family and Community History*, **6**, 121–9.

T. James, 'Neonatal mortality in Northamptonshire: Higham Ferrers 1880–1890', *Family and Community History*, **6**, 129–41.

A. Clark, 'Family migration and infant mortality in rural Kent, 1876–1888', *Family and Community History*, **6**, 141–51.

These four papers, which appear in the same issue of *Family and Community History* and are preceded by an introduction by Michael Drake, are all micro-level analyses in infant mortality in small localities during the last three decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. Smith's contribution, which deals with Fulham in west London, shows that infant mortality responded both to social class and to environment. Davies's contribution, which considers a single street populated by coal miners, suggests that high rates of migration and overcrowding may have contributed to the notoriously high mortality of coalminers' infants. Higher infant death rates among migrant families are also suggested by the results of Clark's analysis of rural Kent. Finally, James's study focuses on neonatal mortality (deaths in the first month of life) and shows that this was high in a range of Northamptonshire towns.

K.D.M. Snell, 'The culture of local xenophobia', *Social History*, **28**, 1–30.

The essence of Snell's argument in this paper is that in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England, people's identification with their locality (which usually meant their parish) extended to suspicion of and hostility towards people from elsewhere, and especially the inhabitants of neighbouring parishes. This tendency was probably reinforced by the high level of pauperisation in rural England at this time, which caused the parish-based law of settlement to loom very large in the eyes both of poor rural dwellers (whose settlements were, almost literally, their lifelines) and of those paying the poor rates and administering poor relief (who were anxious to keep the number of persons settled in their parish to a minimum). The emergence of loyalties to supra-parochial groups (defined, for example, on the basis of occupational or class) was much slower than many historians have believed, and was probably not fully developed until the very end of the nineteenth century.

A. Steel and L.A. Hall, 'Sir Henry Wellcome's archival legacy and the contemporary historian', *Contemporary British History*, **17**, 95–111.

This paper describes the archival material held by the Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine in London, and how to gain access to it. There is also a short biography of Sir Henry Wellcome. It will be useful to any readers of *LPS* who are interested in twentieth-century medical history.

D. Sunderland, ' "Disgusting to the imagination and destructive of health?" The metropolitan supply of water, 1820–52', *Urban History*, **30**, 359–80.

It has become the accepted wisdom that the water supplied by private water companies to the cities of London and Westminster during the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s was insufficient in quantity, very expensive and inadequate in quality. This wisdom derives from analysis of the evidence of contemporary critics of the metropolitan water supply. In this article, Sunderland argues that many of these critics were motivated by self-interest and characterised by a failure to marshall objective evidence. The truth was, he suggests, that 'the

supply of water provided by the companies was generally sufficient, ... the prices paid were reasonable, given the companies' large capital investment, and ... though the quality of water may have been poor compared to modern standards, it was far purer than sometimes supposed' (pp. 360–1).

P. Thane, 'Social histories of old age and aging', *Journal of Social History*, **37**, 93–111.

This paper traces the historiography of old age and aging, focussing on 'the history and social meanings' of these phenomena. The article is wide-ranging, covering demographic studies, cultural work examining the meaning of old age at different times and in different places, and the relationship between old age and welfare provision.

A. Thomas, 'The Llanpumsaint vestry book, 1802–29', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, **39**, 75–94.

Arwyn Thomas provides a description of the Llanpumsaint vestry book which survives for the period 1801–29 in the form of a volume of some 250 pages, and also transcribes some sample entries from the year 1802. The administrative arrangements of the vestry and its officers are described, as well as the key items of expenditure: church fabric, the roads and (most notably) poor relief. In 1802 25 recipients of relief were listed out of a population that numbered 449 in 1811, receiving markedly varying sums totalling £68 12s 6d. A significant rise in the amount collected from ratepayers is detected in the 1820s. Humane and caring to their own poor, the vestry officers ruthlessly pursued strangers out of the parish or into the Quarter Sessions courts, although cases involving removal or bastardy concerning neighbouring parishes such as Conwill and Abergwilly were generally settled quietly and unofficially, without resort to legal action. One hopes that this introduction to the Llanpumsaint vestry book will encourage more systematic analysis of its content in the near future.

S.S. Thomas, 'Midwifery and society in Restoration York', *Social History of Medicine*, **16**, 1–16.

This highly readable article is a micro-history of the social networks of an elite midwife, Bridget Hodgson, in the city of York in the later seventeenth century. As a member of the city's elite circle, the daughter-in-law of a former Lord Mayor, she occupied a rather different position to that of more humble midwives, including her own maidservant and deputy, Martha Stopford. While the pecuniary return was no doubt of importance to Stopford, for Hodgson and other relatively prosperous midwives, serving the rich of the city underlined their status, while the work they performed with the poor demonstrated their compassion and social responsibility. Thomas uses testamentary evidence and the hearth taxes very effectively to indicate the relative social standing of Hodgson, Stopford and other York midwives, and is able to demonstrate how their activities could build bridges between the city's social strata. Recent research has exploded the myth of midwives as generally

poor and ignorant, and is increasingly revealing the diversity of their social backgrounds, to an understanding of which the present article adds considerable weight.

S. Thompson, ' "That beautiful summer of severe austerity': health, diet and the working-class domestic economy in south Wales in 1926', *Welsh History Review*, **21**, 552–71.

Between May and December 1926, a lockout drastically reduced the incomes of the families of coal miners in south Wales. The effects of this on the health of the miners and (especially) of their families has been debated by historians and politicians ever since. In particular, left-wing commentators have tended to assert that the reduced incomes had a seriously detrimental effect on health and led to increased mortality. In this paper, Thompson shows quite conclusively that this claim is nonsense. Mortality of both adults and infants was lower (in the case of infants aged 1–12 months much lower) in 1926 than in surrounding years. There are a number of reasons for this, but Thompson's account stresses three. First, family incomes did not fall as precipitously as might be imagined, as miners drew on savings accumulated during previous prosperous years to tide them over the lock-out. Second, rents were not required to be paid during the lockout, thus reducing domestic expenditure. Third, local authorities stepped in to provide regular meals for children, which probably resulted in an overall improvement in their nutrition relative to 'normal' years. Clearly the lock-out produced hardship, but this hardship did not necessarily lead to a worsening of health outcomes.

A. Thomson, ' "I live on my memories": British return migrants and the possession of the past', *Oral History*, **31**, 55–65.

This paper reports the results of a series of interviews conducted with British nationals who emigrated to Australia during the twentieth century but who subsequently returned to Britain. Thomson describes the range of experiences they had in Australia, and the factors which motivated them to return. Some returned for family reasons; others because they found economic conditions in Australia much less attractive than they had been led to believe before their original departure from Britain. All but a handful, however, retained vivid memories of their time in Australia. Perhaps the most striking result of the interviews is that even those whose experience in Australia was unhappy nevertheless regarded it as a crucial experience for them, so that 'far from being a bitter memory, for most return migrants the years in Australia are remembered and told as "the time of my life" ' (p. 64).

N. Verdon, ' "...subjects deserving of the highest praise": farmers' wives and the farm economy in England, c. 1700–1850', *Agricultural History Review*, **51**, 23–39.

Although there has been recent interest in the contribution of female workers to the agrarian economy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see,

for example, the paper by P. Sharpe reviewed in *LPS* **65**, p.74) the role of the farmer's wife has been neglected. In this paper, Verdon challenges the conventional wisdom that during the early nineteenth century farmers' wives retreated from working actively on farms and became ladies of leisure. This may have happened in a few areas, notably East Anglia, but elsewhere, and especially on smaller farms, they continued to play a pivotal role in supervising servants, managing dairies and looking after poultry and pigs.

K. Waddington, ' "Unfit for human consumption": tuberculosis and the problem of infected meat in late Victorian Britain', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, **77**, 636–61.

The idea that unwholesome meat should be a public health concern emerged in the 1850s, when attention shifted from the adulteration of food to the problem of 'clean' food. By the 1890s, questions about tuberculosis meat served to transform the issue into a more concrete threat, particularly after Robert Koch identified the tubercle bacillus in 1882 and recognised the connection between the bovine and human form of the disease. The extent of the problem remained open to doubt, however, with disagreement over the localisation of infection, and a belief that cooking rendered infected meat safe.

J. Warner and R. Griller, ' "My Pappa is out, and my Mamma is asleep". Minors, their routine activities, and interpersonal violence in an early modern town, 1653–1781', *Journal of Social History*, **36**, 561–84.

This study examines 144 assaults involving children between 1653 and 1781 occurring in Portsmouth, described as 'by all accounts an exceptionally violent town' (p. 565). As in 24 cases children were only incidental victims, the sample is reduced to 120, 47 girls and 73 boys. It detects the operation of a dual morality: some adults felt free to assault the children of others, while parents objected when they did so. Such assaults were, it is suggested, generally relatively restrained, suggesting that the dichotomy between the two moralities was far from clear cut. These attacks most commonly took the form of kicking or punching, and 'only in a minority of cases' were weapons employed, but that minority constituted fully 43 out of the 130 for which information could be found. The data is too thinly spread to support detailed chronological interpretation, but an analysis of victims and assailants is offered, male assailants outnumbering female by a ratio of two to one, and relatively few being identifiable as minors (or juveniles) themselves. In only one case was a parent prosecuted for using excessive force in disciplining their own child. While the authors' rightly emphasise the importance of this study in offering an insight into adult-child relationships among the working-classes, in contrast to earlier studies of social elites, the evidence for motives is largely absent or is intractable.

G. Weisz, 'The emergence of medical specialization in the nineteenth century', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, **77**, 536–75.

This article is mainly concerned with the emergence of medical specialisation in nineteenth-century Paris, perceived as a necessity by the 1880s as a product

of a collective desire to expand medical knowledge through specialisation and an administrative rationality that favoured proper classification of large populations into respective classes and categories. But it is also suggested that these preconditions were 'uniquely undeveloped' in the fragmented medical community of London during the same period.

M. Williamson, ' "The iron chancellors": the dynamics of the domestic economy in ironstone-mining households, 1918–1964', *Journal of Family History*, **28**, 391–410.

This is another oral history study, this time of a sample of people who grew up in the households of ironstone workers in the North Riding of Yorkshire. The focus is on the power of women within marriage, and how it was related to the extent to which women controlled the household finances. Williamson describes two broad ways in which family budgeting was organised: one in which the husband would hand over his entire pay packet to his wife, who then gave him an 'allowance' of spending money; and the other in which the husband gave his wife an 'allowance' to run the domestic side of the household, and kept the rest for himself. She says that the first of these models was associated with greater autonomy for the wife. Certainly women in families whose domestic economy was run this way perceived themselves to have more power than those who were forced to rely on 'allowances' from their husbands. In general, however, even in households where the wife received the entire pay packet, major financial decisions (especially those of a strategic nature) were made by the husband.

H. Woledge and M. Smale, 'Migration in east Yorkshire in the eighteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, **71**, 29–48.

Woledge and Smale examine patterns of migration using evidence from appeals against removal orders heard at the East Riding Quarter Sessions 1708–99. Some of their conclusions provide local confirmation of trends identified elsewhere, such as the predominantly local nature of migration, with a radius of seven or eight miles generally defining the main catchment area and towns showing inward movement. The analysis also confirms a feature of migration in the county already remarked on in anecdotal evidence, that the newly enclosed areas of the Wolds were attractive to migrants who were drawn in by employment opportunities.

T. Wood, 'How the railways changed their lives, part 2: railway man', *Family Tree Magazine*, **19**, 3, 6–8.

T. Wood, 'The railway navvies, part 1: pick-and-shovel men', *Family Tree Magazine*, **19**, 8, 8–10.

T. Wood, 'The railway navvies, part 2: to the end of the line', *Family Tree Magazine*, **19**, 9, 4–6.

These three short articles deal with aspects of the impact of the railways on mid-nineteenth-century England. The first considers the variety of jobs offered

by the railways after the 1830s, and other 'beneficial repercussions' of the coming of the railways on local economies (p. 8). For a detailed local study on this theme, see the paper by Andrews reviewed earlier in this section. The second two papers deal with an often neglected group of workers, those who built the railways. Wood explains that these navvies were drawn from England, Ireland and Scotland, and that during the 'railway mania' of the 1840s some 250,000 were employed. It is likely that the demand for labour to build the railways was one of the factors boosting out-migration from pauperised areas of rural England during the 1840s. Groups of navvies may be found in the census enumerators' books for 1841, 1851 and 1861, though after the 1860s fewer were required, as the rate of railway construction fell back.

R. Woods, 'Did Montaigne love his children? Demography and the hypothesis of parental indifference', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, **33**, 421–42.

This paper is a critique of Philippe Ariès's parental indifference hypothesis, according to which high rates of infant mortality in the past led parents not to view the death of their offspring as seriously as modern parents do. Ariès cited the sixteenth-century Gascon author Michel Eyquem de Montaigne to back up his idea, but Woods, using other literary evidence, questions Montaigne's indifference to the deaths in infancy of all but one of his six children. Further, he points out that very high infant mortality rates may have been characteristic of the north of France (including the Paris area), where wet nursing was common, but that elsewhere in France, and certainly in England, rates were much lower, and infant death a less routine feature of life. There is little evidence from England to support Ariès's hypothesis. However, though the parental indifference hypothesis probably did not apply in England, Woods's analysis does not show that it could not have been true of those parts of Europe where infant mortality was especially high.