
Review of recent periodical literature

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Unless otherwise stated, all articles reviewed in this issue were published in 2010. The review is in four sections: 'ancient and medieval', covering the period before about 1540; 'early modern', relating approximately to the years 1540–1800; 'nineteenth century'; and 'twentieth century'. Some articles relate to more than one of these periods: they are reviewed in the section covering the earliest period to which they relate. Within each period, articles are listed in alphabetical order of first author's name, except where two or more articles on closely related themes are reviewed together.

Ancient and medieval

K. Barker, 'The *Magna Mortalitas* of the later seventh century in Dorset: Aldhelm first bishop of Sherborne, Saints Peter and Paul, and a possible eye-witness account', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 131, 19–26.

M. Forrest, 'The Black Death in Dorset: the crisis of 1348–1349', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 131, 3–13.

The first of these two useful articles on medieval plagues in Dorset examines a seventh-century outbreak. Little evidence survives for this period, and Barker combines possible indications of plague from a range of different sources. These include archaeological finds, such as the Staffordshire hoard, literary devices, such as Aldhelm's epic poem in which references to lightning are suggested as a metaphor for plague, and widespread dedications of churches to Saints Peter and Paul, who were seen as offering protection from the plague and might thus demonstrate a contemporary concern regarding the disease. The combination of evidence is interesting, but as is often the case with material from this period, much remains open to interpretation.

The second paper uses manorial court rolls and bishop's registers to investigate the speed, spread and social implications of the Black Death in Dorset. Focusing upon heriot payments and the volume of manorial court business in 1348–1349, Forrest is able to identify minimum levels of mortality across three Dorset manors, and provide comparisons with mortality in these places during the later 1361 plague outbreak. Variations in recorded mortality are suggested to be a consequence of inheritance patterns on these estates, with fewer deaths visible where partible inheritance was practised. Although the massive mortality did cause short-term disruption to social and economic

life, he concludes that the underlying social structure did not breakdown. The timing and speed with which new priests were appointed to parishes across Dorset, as recorded in the bishop's registers, also allow Forrest to plot the spread of plague in the county. The article contains an excellent outline summary of current historical arguments regarding plague, including the debate surrounding the probable identity of the disease responsible for the Black Death.

J.M. Bennett, 'Compulsory service in late medieval England', *Past and Present*, 209, 7–51.

This fascinating article explores the implications and effects of labour legislation arising out of the 1348 Ordinance of Labourers. The focus is upon the requirement that all able-bodied men and women under the age of 60 take part in employment of some kind, and that those who were idle and had no other means of support could be compelled to take work as a servant, often under terms that were apparently disagreeable to the employee. Bennett shows that the obligation to accept such work met with a great deal of resistance, with examples given of cases in which the idle man or woman would prefer to claim servile status than be forced into employment. This is especially significant given the weakening ties of serfdom in this period, and the preference to claim servile status says a lot about contemporary attitudes to the nature of compulsory service. Bennett goes further, and suggests that women were particularly affected by this legislation. Unmarried women were less able to find ways around enforced service, and she believes them to have been specifically targeted in order that they be supervised and their sexual behaviour regulated—though by her own admission, this interpretation perhaps pushes the evidence a little far. This is a compelling piece, and should certainly prompt a reassessment of compulsory service and the status of unmarried women in the medieval employment sector.

B.M.S. Campbell, 'Nature as historical protagonist: environment and society in pre-industrial England', *Economic History Review*, 63, 281–314.

This article is fascinating and thought-provoking, yet will undoubtedly prove controversial. Originally given as the Tawney Lecture at the Economic History Society conference in Nottingham in 2008, it emphasises the integral, and often neglected, role of nature in determining the shape of history. Recent world events have brought home the impact of natural forces upon human society, and we can be in no doubt that those living in pre-industrial England would have been much more at the mercy of the elements than we are today. Campbell places our historical knowledge of fluctuations in wages, prices, crop yields and demographic change alongside the findings from current paleoclimatic research, using evidence derived from tree ring data and ice core sampling. The result is a cogent and compelling argument for the important role played by large scale climatic changes upon the productivity and economic endeavours of pre-industrial society. The years of famine, cattle murrain, and plague that swept Europe in the fourteenth century, and the major social and economic changes that followed in their wake, are contextualised

and explained by changes to the global environment and the devastating impact of nature. Campbell is to be admired for taking on such a difficult task that integrates historical interpretation with complex scientific debates, and for conveying this clearly to a wider audience. He also tackles some hotly debated topics. His emphasis on the importance of exogenous determinants of change, the flaws in Malthusian explanations of medieval population change, and his interpretation that the Black Death was not bubonic plague, for example, are unlikely to be accepted without challenge. However, these will doubtless remain points of serious debate for some years to come. Above all, this article pushes the debate forward, forces us to contemplate more seriously the potential uses of scientific research for our better understanding of the past, and reminds us of the devastating power of nature.

J. Colson, 'Alien communities and alien fraternities in later medieval London', *London Journal*, 35, 111–43.

Using the surviving ordinances of four medieval alien fraternities, Colson examines the way in which French, Dutch and German communities were formed in medieval London. Exceptionally, these alien religious fraternities were based in friaries rather than parish churches, perhaps because these institutions were able to provide religious services in their native languages. The article examines the operation and membership of the fraternities, and the social world of aliens in London, contributing to debates about whether such associations were a reaction to social exclusion or a means by which foreign nationals settling in London could forge links with other expatriates. It includes a useful appendix in which all four surviving alien fraternity ordinances from medieval London are published together for the first time, transcribed and translated by the author.

I. Forrest, 'The politics of burial in late medieval Hereford', *English Historical Review*, 516, 1,110–38.

Using cases brought before the Bishop of Hereford and the Dean and Chapter, Forrest explores the relationship between the cathedral and the parishes over which it held a monopoly on burials. This monopoly required that all who died within an area which included both churches in the city of Hereford and a number of outlying rural parishes (within a radius of about ten miles from Hereford) were to be brought to the cathedral for burial in its cemetery. The requirement to bring the dead to Hereford created numerous disputes between parishioners and the Dean and Chapter. Gruesome cases of forced exhumation of those buried in contravention of the monopoly are recounted, as are local complaints of the difficulties inherent in transporting the dead over the distances involved, or requests for exemptions from the rule in times of plague or for those too poor to pay for such a burial. The financial motivation behind the monopoly becomes evident through the examples given, with exemptions as to location of burial being allowed towards the end of the medieval period, as long as mortuary fees and donations of wax still made their way to the Dean and Chapter. Forrest uses the disputes to explore

changing contemporary attitudes to the monopoly, and the relationship between the parishioners and their cathedral church. The article also contains insights into medieval concerns regarding death, burial and remembrance, the need for families to have a local focus for memorial and the strength of personal identity with the home parish.

K.L. French, 'Loving friends: surviving widowhood in late medieval Westminster', *Gender and History*, 22, 21–37.

B.J. Harris, 'Defining themselves: English aristocratic women, 1450–1550', *Journal of British Studies*, 49, 734–52.

Widowhood was a major turning point in the life of medieval women, altering their legal and social status in a variety of ways—the demise of their husband making them both more independent and more vulnerable at the same time. French uses the wills of medieval men and women in Westminster to examine the challenges facing widows, and the importance of friendship networks that were called upon to assist them after the deaths of their husbands. The evidence suggests that men left shorter wills, often made soon before death, with many of their bequests uncomplicated and predetermined by law. Women, on the other hand, were forced to call upon wider networks of support in their widowhood to ensure the discharge of their husband's wills, or to assist them in accessing the law to pursue property and debts owed to them. These networks of friendship were often formed around the parish church or upon the business associations of their late husbands.

Harris's article also examines the independence of widows, in this case through their ability to determine the form of their tombs and memorials. Women, and widows in particular, were able to use these choices to express their identity. As they often outlived one (or several) husbands, their choices are particularly revealing of their self-perception in life and death and their feelings of affinity with their marital and natal families.

N. Goose, 'The English almshouse and the mixed economy of welfare: medieval to modern', *Local Historian*, 40, 3–19.

Although formal poor relief has been the principal focus of welfare historians' attention, they have also become aware of a much wider 'mixed economy of welfare' in which provision for the needy came not only from the rate-funded Poor Law, but also from a whole raft of semi-formal charities and bequests. Goose's lively article on almshouses tells the story of one, relatively poorly understood, component of this mixed economy. Almshouses in their modern form (places largely given to the care of the elderly poor), emerged in the later fifteenth century. They were dealt a body blow by the dissolution of both the monasteries and the chantries in the early sixteenth century, leaving a gaping hole in welfare provision which was a major reason behind the growth of official state social welfare in the form of the Poor Law. Even so, as Goose points out, there was no clear trajectory in which state welfare evolved to squeeze out voluntarism, and almshouses have retained their vitality as institutions for the care of the elderly right through to the

present day. At the end of the sixteenth century, it is estimated, between 1.2 to 1.5 per cent of those aged over 60 years lived in almshouses, although given that only around a tenth of parishes had one this will have varied greatly from place to place. Over time, however, this proportion has roughly halved, and almshouses are now a tiny component of the mixed economy of welfare for today's old. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it appears that the majority of almshouse inhabitants were male, but by the nineteenth century most were female. Goose suggests that this shift had occurred by Victorian times, and it is no doubt an intriguing area for future research.

R.A. Griffiths, 'An immigrant elite in the later Middle Ages: locating the De Parys family in North Wales and Chester', *Welsh History Review*, 25, 168–200.

P. Latimer, 'Assimilation in north-western England from the Norman Conquest to the early thirteenth century: the Kirkby, Pennington and Copeland families', *Northern History*, 47, 49–66.

The first of these two articles demonstrates the importance of long-term immigration and settlement in strengthening the links between the border lordships and the English principality of north Wales created by the conquest of Edward I in 1282. Griffiths follows the fortune of the de Parys family, most likely originating from the Ile de France, who settled in the north Wales and Chester area. Over successive generations this family acquired extensive landholdings in north Wales, particularly around Caernarfon and Anglesey. Their social, political and economic roles within the area led to the creation of ties with other immigrant and Welsh families that persisted over many generations and enabled them to create more cosmopolitan communities in both their rural and urban land holdings. The family became important local office holders, serving the Crown in various significant capacities. Griffiths shows how the regional links of this family made them crucial to the Crown in managing this area and bringing greater stability, particularly during periods of political unrest, such as the Glyn Dwr rebellion of 1400.

In contrast, Latimer examines the process of assimilation that took place in the north-west through the specific experiences of three families. The native Anglo-Scandinavian families of this region appear to have had a very different experience of the Conquest, and were able to 'self-adapt' to this new environment, managing to retain landholdings and status through intermarriage, imitation, and integration with their new lords.

These articles are a fitting reminder that conquest does not start and end with a single event, and policies of immigration, integration, settlement, and land management over many generations were crucial to the shaping of local and national identities.

D. Jørgensen, ' "All good rule of the cite": sanitation and civic government in England, 1400–1600', *Journal of Urban History*, 36, 300–315.

Jørgensen describes the developing provision of public sanitation in Coventry and Norwich in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Generally, the period saw a transition

from the provision of civic functions by the higher officers such as the mayors and aldermen, to their management by lower, more site- and task-specific officers. This, she suggests, is indicative of a major development in urban government, from a top-down 'medieval' form to a more complex and devolved early-modern one. Social historians will ask, however, where this shift came from: was it cultural, reflecting a new spirit of civic humanism, or perhaps a growing faith in the 'unacknowledged republic' of minor officeholders; or maybe it reflected a practical response to growing problems of poverty and urban sanitation?

S. Kilby, 'Struggle and enterprise: the experience of servile peasants in Wellingborough, 1258–1322', *Midland History*, 35, 7–27.

This article, the *Midland History* Prize Essay in 2009, examines the fortunes of medieval peasants on the Wellingborough estates of Crowland Abbey. The period in question, during which economic stability gave way to one of the most severe famines in English history, is examined here through a series of surviving estate accounts and a manorial extent of 1319. Kilby demonstrates that Wellingborough peasants had a certain degree of economic independence, and were not subject to oppressive lordship, although their fortunes were strongly tied to the performance of the harvest. Examination of tenancy types and the land market, alongside cropping strategies, markets for the sale of surplus, and alternative areas of employment enable Kilby to place the experiences of the Wellingborough peasants within the context of debates about the economic and social history of the period.

J.S. Lee, 'The functions and fortunes of English small towns at the close of the middle ages: evidence from John Leland's *Itinerary*', *Urban History*, 37, 3–25.

Historical debate has not focused on the fortunes of smaller medieval towns, and opinions are divided as to whether or not they coped better with demographic and economic changes in this period than did larger urban centres. Lee uses descriptions provided by John Leland in his *Itinerary* of the 1530s and 1540s to identify signs of economic growth or decline in small English towns, and the possible causes and effects of these changes upon those communities and their economic regions. Analysis of the *Itinerary* shows the history of small towns to be complex, with much regional variation. Their experiences depended on a range of social and economic factors that determined the degree of industrial specialisation they pursued, and the importance of their markets and trade networks. This article will be extremely useful for those interested in medieval economic and social change on both a local and national scale.

M. Lieberman, 'The medieval "Marches" of Normandy and Wales', *English Historical Review*, 117, 1, 357–81.

The Norman invasion of 1066 marks the last conquest and colonisation of these islands by a foreign force. Often we forget that this conquest was not a swift and definitive event, but

that migration, colonisation and military campaigns along the border with Wales were ongoing, and continued into the fifteenth century and beyond. In this article the long-term importance of the Welsh border area and the immigration and integration of Anglo-Norman and English settlers is made clear. Lieberman examines the concept of the Welsh March, and how this area was defined by contemporaries. It becomes apparent that traditional definitions, in which political liberties are used to define the March, are perhaps anachronistic and unsuitable in this context. To apply such a definition has often seen peaceful lordships of South Wales, conquered soon after the Norman invasion, included alongside borderland areas in which unrest and military activity were ongoing. Lieberman argues convincingly for a definition of the March which instead focuses upon the type of military and colonising activity being pursued, and which draws heavily upon Norman practices for dealing with territorial borders in France. Castle building techniques and experienced personnel were imported directly from Normandy, and the application of the term March to both the English and French borderlands seems to justify this definition. Lieberman shows a definition based on these criteria to be in line with the geographical areas referred to in contemporary documents.

P. Nightingale, 'Gold, credit, and mortality: distinguishing deflationary pressures on the late medieval English economy', *Economic History Review*, 63, 1,081–104.

P. Nightingale, 'The rise and decline of medieval York: a reassessment', *Past and Present*, 206, 3–42.

These two articles present complex yet valuable insights into the late medieval economy. The first provides a broad examination of the interaction between money supply, the availability of credit, and the impact of mortality in late medieval England, and their consequent social and economic effects. Nightingale highlights the importance of the introduction of gold coinage to England in the mid-fourteenth century. Although unlikely to be used as widely, gold coins theoretically allowed larger transactions to be made using gold, thus freeing up more silver coinage for circulation. Gold could also be used in overseas trade, allowing more silver coinage to remain in England. The greater liquidity this produced in the system had an impact further down the social scale, enabling credit to be extended. By charting the impact of gold upon the circulation of coin and the extension of credit, Nightingale is able to suggest how and when deflationary pressures on the economy were a result of such factors, and when they might be better explained by changes in mortality.

Picking up on the issues surrounding liquidity and the supply of coin and credit, the second article reassesses the fortunes of York in the late medieval period. As the second city in England, York acted as a centre of government in the north, a major focus for trade and craft industries, and the seat of the Archbishop. However, its fortunes were by no means static, and the fluctuations in its prosperity and population over the course of the period have attracted a great deal of scholarship. Nightingale examines prevailing

viewpoints and adds new interpretations as to how, when and why York rose to prosperity and subsequently fell into decline. The article commences with a useful summary of previous research, before turning to evidence for economic expansion and decline. The interaction between York and its hinterland are explored, along with the ways in which the city responded to changes in the export market. Nightingale shows that as York lost out to London in terms of trade, credit also contracted due to a decrease in the flow of coinage to the region. These factors are seen here as instrumental in the decline of York, and as forging the long-standing division between the fortunes of the north and south of England.

N. Orme, 'The schools and schoolmasters of Durham, 1100–1539', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 39, 289–305.

This article gives valuable insight as to the means by which medieval children received education and training, and the variety of forms and levels at which this was available. Orme describes the school provision and the impact of the cathedral town upon learning and clerical employment in the Diocese more widely. He also includes an extremely useful list of the known schoolmasters in Durham prior to 1541, with short biographical notes where applicable.

M. Prestwich, 'Medieval biography', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40, 325–46.

This extremely thought-provoking discussion of biography examines the uses and abuses of this literary form when analysing the medieval world. Assessing the successes and failures of various medieval biographies, including his own work on Edward I, Prestwich underlines the dangers encountered by the medieval biographer. The lack of direct evidence from the period makes it impossible accurately to recreate and convey the personal experiences, characters, and motivations of even the most illustrious of medieval personages, while the lives of women and ordinary people remain even more elusive. Despite this, successful biographies can be produced that illuminate the political, economic and social history of the medieval period. However, Prestwich rightly cautions us to beware of more journalistic and popular accounts that tap into a current trend for personal biographies, and often overplay scanty and insecure evidence.

S.H. Rigby, 'Urban population in late medieval England: the evidence of the lay subsidies', *Economic History Review*, 63, 393–417.

Rigby explores one of the longstanding and central debates regarding medieval population history: did the proportion of the population living in towns grow over the course of the later Middle Ages? A major point of contention examined in this paper is how best to use evidence derived from the 1377 Poll Tax and the 1524–1525 Lay Subsidies to calculate changes in the size of the urban population, and how these figures might relate to the different estimates produced for national population levels in these years. Rigby demonstrates how application of different taxation multipliers and population estimates

can be used to support competing hypotheses of decline, growth, or stability within the urban population. He also brings new evidence to bear on these old debates, employing a method advocated by Christopher Dyer that focuses instead upon changes in the relative number of taxpayers within urban centres of particular counties. The results appear to indicate a decline in the proportion of medieval taxpayers living in provincial towns over this period. As discussed by Rigby, many of the variables involved in these calculations remain contestable, including how we define what constitutes a town, how the experiences of towns of different sizes varied, how best to mitigate potential biases in the tax returns, and the degree to which the sources examined provide a random or representative sample.

Early modern

W.C. Baer, 'Stuart London's standard of living: re-examining the Settlement of Tithes of 1638 for rents, income, and poverty', *Economic History Review*, 63, 612–37.

J. Oldland, 'The allocation of merchant capital in early Tudor London', *Economic History Review*, 63, 1,058–80.

B. Todd, 'Property and a woman's place in Restoration London', *Women's History Review*, 19, 181–200.

London capital investment is the subject of two articles. Oldland analyses newly-discovered subsidy valuations from 1535–1536 to consider the investment profiles of merchants. He shows that much of their wealth was invested in landed property. It is sometimes thought that they did not invest much in urban property, but Oldland shows that by the early sixteenth century they did, thanks to legal developments that made that property more secure. Thus, wealth in land and fees accounted for around 38.0 per cent of their recorded assets, compared with a rather smaller 21.9 per cent held in goods. The other major element of investment was in debts, accounting for some 38.3 per cent of mercantile wealth. Todd, meanwhile, describes the Restoration-era portfolio of Katherine Austen, widowed in 1658 and active as an investor until her death in 1684. She held property across London, in Essex, and as far away as Wales. She was engaged in government finance, and she held East India Company stock—partly a result of a family connection—as did an increasing number of late-Stuart women. She thought her economic role to be in defiance of social norms, and attempted to justify it as good for her children and for the greater glory of God.

London's wealth but also its simultaneous poverty is also the subject of a study by Baer, based on the records of the 1638 Settlement of Tithes. He finds the city approximately as unequal as today's developing societies, but that there were important geographical patterns of poverty. He defines those in housing poverty as those who paid rents at 50 per cent of the median rent or lower. Some 30 per cent of London households were below this

poverty line, but the figures inside and outside the city walls were radically different. Inside the walls just 17 per cent were in housing poverty, outside the figure was 44 per cent.

J. Bailey, ‘“Think wot a mother must feel”: parenting in English pauper letters c. 1760–1834’, *Family and Community History*, 13, 5–19.

The analysis of letters written by English paupers to the poor law authorities requesting relief, (and on occasion demanding it with menaces), have recently attracted attention from historians (see, notably, T. Sokoll ed., *Essex pauper letters, 1731–1837*, Oxford, 2001). In this contribution, Bailey looks at a wide range of letters written to parishes in southern and midland England in the last decades of the Old Poor Law. For population historians, the first part of the paper will be of most interest, as it considers the extent to which both male and female paupers saw themselves as providing for their children. Bailey suggests that in this period, provision for children was seen as a joint activity of father and mother, and that ‘the concept of the “breadwinner” as a man who was sole provider for his wife and children did not take a powerful hold on society’s imagination until later in the nineteenth century’ (p. 10). This timing of the appearance of the notion of the ‘breadwinner’ was also suggested by Clark, in a paper reviewed in *Local Population Studies*, 67 (2001), 67–8.

C. Banks Whitley and K. Kramer, ‘A new explanation for the reproductive woes and midlife decline of Henry VIII’, *Historical Journal*, 53, 827–48.

One of the most well-known of English monarchs, the chequered marital life of Henry VIII has long been a subject for speculation and debate. Here Banks Whitley and Kramer present a well-argued case for diagnosing Henry VIII as being Kell positive in terms of his blood group, a condition that results in increased foetal mortality. Such a diagnosis certainly seems to be consistent with the reproductive history of Henry and his wives. The authors further suggest that Henry may have suffered from McLeod syndrome, a genetic disorder specifically linked to this blood group, with resulting physical and mental impairments that seem to fit with the physical and behavioural changes observed in the King in the later years of his life. Despite the fact that historiographical debates and evidence are rather limited in this piece, the literature discussed does appear to support the authors’ case, and the article demonstrates the possibilities of applying modern scientific knowledge to historical medical conundrums. Its strength lies in its scientific content, which draws upon the expertise of the authors in the fields of bioarchaeology and anthropology. The scientific argument is presented clearly for non-specialists with ample references for those wishing to know more. In the end, though, while a plausible case is put forward, it seems unlikely that this latest theory will ever be proven with certainty.

S. Basten, ‘The impact of the 1783 and 1785 Stamp Duty Acts on Scottish vital registration’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 30, 64–74.

It has widely been considered that the Stamp Duty Act of 1783, which imposed a tax of three pence on each baptism, marriage and burial recorded in an Anglican parish, or a

Church of Scotland parish north of the border, was one reason for the decline in the coverage of baptism and burial registration at the end of the eighteenth century (marriage registration in England held up better because of Hardwicke's Act). However, Basten suggests in this paper that in Scotland there is very little evidence of an overall decline in the quality of vital registration after 1783. If anything, the Act of 1783 and its extension to include nonconformists in 1785 seem to have encouraged churches to record vital events more systematically, by putting in place systems to ensure events were noted, where previously vital registration had been rather haphazard.

L. Bonfield, 'Seeking connections between kinship and the law in early modern England', *Continuity and Change*, 25, 49–82.

N. Tadmor, 'Early modern English kinship in the long run: reflections on continuity and change', *Continuity and Change*, 25, 15–48.

R. Wall, 'Economic collaboration of family members within and beyond households in English society, 1600–2000', *Continuity and Change*, 25, 83–108.

A special issue of *Continuity and Change* is dedicated to kinship in Britain 'and beyond' from early modernity to the present day. Three articles deal specifically with the pre-industrial period. Tadmor gives an historiographical introduction. She recalls the old 'master narratives' that used to dominate studies of kinship and family, in which traditional societies such as early-modern England and Britain were dominated by extended and complex families, with wide-ranging and socially important kinship networks. These were then eroded in the face of the industrial revolution, leading to the creation of a modern society comprised of atomised nuclear households. But revisionists in from the 1960s to the 1980s, looking at the manuscript evidence of population listings, personal and vital records, tore this picture apart, establishing beyond doubt that the nuclear household had been the characteristic formation in England at least since the sixteenth century. The importance of extra-household kinship links was also minimised using the evidence of diaries and inheritance practices. But the revisionist picture itself is now being carefully revised, with stronger kinship links outside the household discovered in studies of Atlantic migration, capital formation, debt and credit relations, marital negotiations and poverty. The nuclear family in early-modern England was, Tadmor points out, considerably less 'structurally isolated' than has been suggested.

This said, the contributions by Bonfield and Wall do not find an especially extensive role for kinship groupings outside the nuclear family. Bonfield, considering the relationship between kinship and English law, points out that, out of over 2,100 statutes from 1509 to 1714, very few related to family and kinship, though the courts played an important role in the formulation of family settlements. He suggests that over time, families increasingly prioritised the maintenance of the nuclear family rather than ensuring patrilineal continuity.

Finally, Wall discusses evidence for economic cooperation between kin since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Micro-simulations suggests a dramatic contraction in the availability of kin in the late seventeenth century, though this situation improved by the mid eighteenth. Overall, he finds the importance of kin rather limited. Indeed, even figures which suggest a high proportion of the elderly living with relatives might be misleading as there is evidence that their children will have kept much of their earnings to themselves. Kin did provide aid during certain crises: their main economic role, therefore, was as a source of emergency welfare.

J. Boulton and L. Schwarz, 'Yet another inquiry into the trustworthiness of eighteenth-century London's Bills of Mortality', *Local Population Studies*, 85, 28–45.

London's Bills of Mortality have recently enjoyed something of a revival as a source of information about burials in the capital. However, there is still doubt about their accuracy as a record of mortality. In this study, Boulton and Schwarz subject them to critical analysis and find them wanting in several respects. First, for most parishes, the Bills are a good record of the number of *burials* that took place. Unfortunately, this does not necessarily mean that they are a good record of the number of *deaths*, as they fail to record those who were buried in extra-parochial burial grounds, such as the dissenting burial place in Bunhill Fields. Second, there was, at various times, a vibrant traffic in corpses in the capital, as people sought to take advantage of differences between parishes in the fees. Most dramatic was the behaviour of St Anne's, Soho, which between the early eighteenth century and about 1790 used cheap interment fees to attract corpses from all over London to be buried in its churchyard. It seems that those who were buried in St Anne's churchyard and who had lived in other parishes were not recorded at all in the Bills of Mortality, and these comprised between 3 and 5 per cent of all burials in London between the 1750s and the 1780s—thousands of burials in total.

A. Eccles, 'Disease and death in Dorset prisons in the eighteenth century', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 131, 29–34.

In this paper, Eccles provides a description of the kinds of diseases which afflicted the inmates of prisons in Dorset in the eighteenth century. As might be expected, disease was common among those incarcerated in what were extremely insanitary conditions, with inadequate (or even no) food. Smallpox and typhus were the most feared diseases, as these spread rapidly in the confined conditions. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, inoculation seems to have reduced the death rate from smallpox.

A. Eccles, 'The eighteenth-century vagrant contractor', *Local Population Studies*, 85, 46–63.

The origins of the Old Poor Law are closely bound up with the desire of the authorities to deal with the problem of vagrancy. The problem proved intractable, to a large extent because, from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, the main cause of vagrancy was

believed to be individual moral failure (that is, idleness), whereas in truth the problem was multi-causal, and some of the causes lay in the failure of the economy to provide suitable work for the people. This paper charts the history and eventual failure of one administrative policy adopted by many counties to try to limit expenditure: the 'privatisation' of vagrant removal through the employment of contractors. Using evidence from Middlesex and the West Riding of Yorkshire, Eccles describes who the vagrant contractors were, how they operated their businesses, and explains why the system was ultimately unsuccessful.

C.D. Field, 'Zion's people: who were the English nonconformists? Part 1: gender, age and ethnicity', *Local Historian*, 40, 91–112.

C.D. Field, 'Zion's people: who were the English nonconformists? Part 2: occupations (Quakers, Baptists, Congregationalists)', *Local Historian*, 40, 208–23.

C.D. Field, 'Zion's people: who were the English nonconformists? Part 3: occupations (Methodists) and conclusions', *Local Historian*, 40, 292–308.

Field's three-part paper forms a major descriptive and quantitative study of the demography of English nonconformists from the seventeenth century until the present day. The first part analyses the sex composition of the nonconformist population, showing that it was disproportionately female compared with the population as a whole (typically between 60 and 65 per cent of nonconformists were women). Of course, part of this 'excess' number of women may have arisen because church members were generally older than the population as a whole, and the population is disproportionately female at older ages. Certainly Field demonstrates the ageing of nonconformist congregations during the twentieth century. So far as ethnicity is concerned, Baptists tended to attract more than their share of Afro-Caribbean people, whereas the United Reformed Church had relatively few.

The second and third parts of the paper analyse the occupations of the various nonconformist denominations, presenting a wealth of statistical material with commentary. There were regional and local variations in the occupational structure of different nonconformist groups, but some general patterns emerge. Congregationalists and Quakers tended to have high proportions of professionals and middle classes. By contrast, in the early nineteenth century, it is clear that the Methodists recruited a higher proportion of their adherents from the manual working classes than did other nonconformist denominations. This was especially true of the Primitive Methodists. However, as the nineteenth century drew to its close the difference in average social status between the Methodists and other nonconformists was diminishing, and this trend continued into the twentieth century, so that by the time of the Second World War the proportion of Methodists coming from the intermediate non-manual and skilled manual groups was close to that in the population as a whole.

J.F. Field, 'Apprenticeship migration to London from the north-east of England in the seventeenth century', *London Journal*, 35, 1–21.

P. Wallis, C. Webb and C. Minns, 'Leaving home and entering service: the age of apprenticeship in early modern London', *Continuity and Change*, 25, 377–404.

Local population historians will find much of interest in two carefully constructed and rigorously quantitative articles on apprenticeship. The more ambitious of the two is by Wallis, Webb and Minns. They link some 22,156 apprentices put to 78 Livery Companies to vital records from the International Genealogical Index, which allows them to track ages at apprenticeship from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. They find mean ages falling from about 18 in the sixteenth century to around 15.5 in the early nineteenth century, while median ages fell from 17.4 years in the 1590s to 14.7 in the 1800s. Decadal data and an 11-year moving average suggest this decline was gradual, while the spread of ages contracted in the eighteenth century. They note a higher age at binding for eighteenth-century London apprentices compared to their poor rural counterparts. The mean age increased with distance from the capital (although regional differentials lessened over time and the decline was cross-regional). The authors also note a tendency for those apprentices whose families were poorer to be bound later than their wealthier fellows, something which may reflect the greater need for their labour felt by their original family. Thus, it is possible that the decline in age at apprenticeship over the period was a result of the declining value of children's wages to the ordinary English family. Overall, if we assume that the proportion of young men in craft occupations was relatively constant, the decline in the age of apprenticeship (and thus age of completion) would have led to an expansion of the supply of trained labour by around 10 per cent over the two centuries to 1780: a small but by no means trivial complement to De Vries' thesis of an industrious revolution.

More chronologically and regionally specific is Field's study of seventeenth-century London apprentices from the north-east of England. He finds enrolments on a substantially declining trajectory in the second half of the Stuart century, giving support to Peter Clark's point that long-distance migration contracted after the Civil War. In the case of the north-east, this was probably largely a result of the continued growth of Newcastle as a centre for coal extraction and trade. Field goes on to perform partial family reconstitutions on apprentices, and his figures suggest that a good two thirds were eldest or only sons, rather than the younger sons we would expect. Gentry apprentices were less likely to be eldest or only sons, but even here some 45 percent *were*, so apprenticeship to a London company was clearly sought-after. Indeed, it was probably increasingly so, as the proportion of younger sons declined over time. Apprentices were usually aged 15–17 years when bound, and tended to have living fathers, though over time both their age and the likelihood that their father had died increased. There is evidence that those who went to London often had social and familial connections with the capital *before* they went.

J. Healey, 'The development of poor relief in Lancashire, c. 1598–1680', *Historical Journal*, 53, 551–72.

J. Healey, 'Poverty in an industrializing town: deserving hardship in Bolton, 1674–99', *Social History*, 35, 125–47.

These two articles concern the development and operation of the system of poor relief in Lancashire during the seventeenth century. The second will probably be of most interest to readers of *Local Population Studies*. In it, Healey uses a possibly unique series of three censuses of the poor taken in Bolton in 1674, 1686 and 1699 to examine the characteristics of those who were relieved. He finds some support for the thesis that the risk of poverty varied systematically across the life cycle, but overlying this effect was the influence of unpredictable events (such as widowhood, desertion and orphanhood) which caused the break-up of the nuclear family. Poverty levels in Bolton were unusually high for early modern England, but this reflected its status as a rapidly expanding industrial centre, with high rates of in-migration and an insecure economic base. This was especially the case in 1674, when the census was held at a time of distress in the textile industry, and many households headed by able-bodied adults of working age were added to the poor lists. Another notable conclusion of Healey's analysis is that children largely 'paid for themselves', as they could find ready employment in the textile industry, so that being overburdened with children was not a major reason for families falling into poverty.

The first paper acts, in a way, as a background to the second, as it describes the development of poor relief in Lancashire in the seventeenth century. Its main argument is that, contrary to the received wisdom, quite extensive systems of poor relief were operational in much of the county early in the century, though these relied perhaps more heavily than did those in southern England on the decisions of magistrates.

R.W. Hoyle, 'Famine as agricultural catastrophe: the crisis of 1622–4 in east Lancashire', *Economic History Review*, 63, 974–1,002.

After something of a hiatus since the 1980s the study of famine in early-modern England seems to be on the way back. This important article makes detailed use of the estate accounts of the Walmesleys of Dunkenhalgh in eastern Lancashire to reconstruct the agricultural backdrop to the mortality crisis of 1623, usually taken to be England's last famine. In a challenge to those who would see famine as primarily a consequence of unequal distribution of food rather than its absolute shortage, Hoyle shows that production of grain collapsed on the Dunkenhalgh estates after the 1622 harvest. The famine was, then, a result of 'food availability decline' more than unequal 'exchange entitlements'. In addition, Hoyle shows that there was a parallel crisis in the area's livestock population, another aspect to a devastating 'agricultural catastrophe'.

H. Inui, 'Petitions for constructing and reforming Dorset houses of correction, c. 1625–39', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 131, 39–44.

C. Watson, 'The early administration of the Old Poor Law in Leyland Hundred, Lancashire: the importance of the township', *Local Historian*, 40, 266–80.

The English Old Poor Law was a parochial system of social welfare. But what happened in the north of England where many parishes were impractically huge? Here, the township (a sub-parochial administrative unit, often based on the manor or vill) gradually took on the welfare functions of the parish, a practical solution that was backed by statute in 1662 (and made permanent in 1685). This article looks at the development of township poor relief in part of lowland Lancashire. In Leyland Hundred, Watson finds, the spread of township administration was fitful, and the evidence itself is patchy, but it seems to have been well underway in some communities well before it became statutory. This is, then, another example of local administrative innovation and flexibility running ahead of central direction.

More local initiative is on show in Inui's study of early seventeenth-century Dorset. He shows how petitions from local communities were instrumental in pushing major local social policy shifts in the cases of the houses of correction in Cranborne and Dorchester. The petitions show the political engagement of the middling sorts, or the 'principal inhabitants' as they tended to style themselves, though in this case as in others, it might be pointed out, they still channelled that engagement through Quarter Sessions, and thus through the gentry.

M. Kelly and C. Ó Gráda, 'The poor law of old England: institutional innovation and demographic regimes', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 41, 339–66.

In a thought-provoking article, Kelly and Ó Gráda ask whether England's precocious system of welfare provision under the Old Poor Law and its low-pressure demographic regime might be connected. Their suggestion is that the Poor Law helped prevent serious mortality crises, particularly famine. This said, they argue that it could not deal with the major crises of 1727–1730 and 1740–1742, which saw significant peaks in mortality and which they characterise as subsistence crises. This is true up to a point: the Poor Law *did* fail to prevent mortality crises occurring in these years, but if these were subsistence crises in England then they had some strange features. For example, in both crises the lowland arable county of Huntingdonshire was badly affected, whereas the poor upland (and previously famine-prone) county of Cumberland was not. This is not to detract from the importance of article's central thesis, that the Poor Law may have had widespread demographic benefits.

A. Levene, 'Parish apprenticeship and the Old Poor Law in London', *Economic History Review*, 63, 915–41.

A. Levene, 'Poor families, removals and "nurture" in late Old Poor Law London', *Continuity and Change*, 25, 233–62.

The first of these articles reports the results of an investigation into the characteristics of poor children apprenticed by parishes in London between 1751 and 1833. Levene

compares several parishes in Middlesex, from both prosperous West End and impoverished East End locations, with parishes in and around the City. She analyses the average age at which children were apprenticed, the occupational sectors into which they went and the locations to which they were sent. Parish apprentices generally began their apprenticeships at a slightly younger age than did private apprentices. More than three quarters of London parish apprentices went into the manufacturing sector, and this included both factories and small workshops. However, we should be careful before concluding that the tendency to send apprentices to large factories as these sprang up meant a deskilling compared with apprenticeship to an individual employer—it was likely that even in a small workshop, parish apprentices found themselves doing rather menial tasks. The majority of apprentices were bound close to London, though certain parishes, such as St Clement Danes, cultivated links with distant places (Lancashire in this case) and sent scores of apprentices there, 188 of them to a single employer.

The second article continues the theme of how the Old Poor Law treated children. By comparing the practices in two parishes, St Luke Chelsea and the aforementioned St Clement Danes, Levene tries to shed light on the importance attached to the ‘nurturing’ role of mothers in the welfare of children. Faced with applications for poor relief by families with children, poor law authorities had to balance imminent and likely future expenditure with the desire to keep mother and child together. Two-parent families were more straightforward to deal with as the family unit had to be kept together, and so the decision was whether to relieve them *in situ* or to order their removal. In the case of absent fathers, the situation was complicated by the fact that mother and child might have different parishes of settlement, so the possibility of removing one of them existed. Levene’s evidence suggests that even in these cases, ‘parish officers did tend to interpret the settlement laws in a way that reveals sympathy to family integrity’ (p. 256). Finally, she makes the point that London was different from most other parts of England and Wales, both in its demography and its poor law administration, so extrapolating these findings to other places is unwise.

J.S. Moore, ‘Demographic dimensions of the mid-Tudor crisis’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 41, 1039–63.

The latest in a string of articles on the demographic crisis of the 1550s by Moore is less locally-specific than previous ones, though there is some focus on the dioceses of Canterbury and Worcester. The general point has been that the mortality crisis at the end of that decade (sometimes known to historians as ‘Fisher’s Flu’) was considerably more severe than thought. Using parish registers, Tony Wrigley and Roger Schofield estimated (tentatively) that the crisis accounted for the deaths of around 5.5–6.0 per cent of the English population, but work by Jack Fisher on probate records had suggested something like a fifth of the population died, while Moore previously recalculated this, using a larger sample of wills, to a 16.5 per cent population drop for the decade. His new method involves comparing population estimates garnered from the chantry certificates of the

1540s with those calculated from the 1563 diocesan population return. This produces a calculated population loss of around 18 per cent, well above Wrigley and Schofield's estimate, and essentially in line with Moore's earlier one. He makes a pertinent point that estimates such as Wrigley and Schofield's, based on parish registers, are subject to a severe selection bias; indeed, it seems very plausible given the evidence of probate records that the crisis was worse than thought. Nonetheless, the comparative analysis of two very different snapshot sources is difficult, and Moore does not deal with the critique of the 1563 returns made some years ago by Nigel Goose. In two articles published in *LPS*—34 (1985) and 56 (1996)—Goose used baptism rates in a group of Cambridge, and later Hertfordshire, parishes to suggest that the population figures recorded in 1563 are unrealistically low. If Goose is right, and if his evidence can be transposed to the rest of the country, then this represents a serious hole in Moore's thesis. If not, Moore is making an important point that radically alters our perception of England's 'low-pressure' demographic regime in the early-modern period.

H. Newton, 'Children's physic: medical perceptions and treatment of sick children in early modern England, c. 1580–1720', *Social History of Medicine*, 23, 456–74.

In 1960, Philippe Ariès suggested that early-modern Europeans had no real concept of childhood. Since then, Ariès's work has been criticised on a number of fronts, and Newton's piece on children's physic offers another battalion to the army of critics. She shows, from contemporary medical texts, that children were seen as having particular physical constitutions and thus their own medical needs. The roots of this conception lay in Hippocratic and Galenic thought, which held that children's bodies had a distinctive humoral balance. Their medicine had to take account of this: they needed gentle medicines and dosages gradated by age, size and strength, and there was more focus on the relief of pain than there was for adults.

L. O'Connell Edwards, 'Working hand knitters in England from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries', *Textile History*, 41, 70–85.

O'Connell Edwards looks at the history of hand-knitting in England from the time of the Tudors to the Victorian age. The trade expanded considerably in the sixteenth century, partly in response to the emerging male fashion for breeches and close-fitting hose. Indeed, it is estimated that by 1600 there were some 22,000 knitters active in England. The poor were particularly involved: perhaps 13 per cent of what the author calls 'the pauper class' was employed in knitting. Wages, generally speaking, were low: poor knitters in Ipswich in 1597 earned just a few pence a week, and even two centuries later, those in Corfe Castle (Dorset) took home only 1s.–1s. 6d. per week, although those who worked higher-quality yarn could earn rather more. Despite the smallness of the remuneration (or perhaps partly because of it), hand-knitting was attractive to official bodies such as parishes as a productive way of supporting the able-bodied poor. Thus adults, and increasingly children, were supported through training as knitters, and in the eighteenth century it became an important part of workhouse life.

J. Perkins, 'Birth-baptism intervals in 68 Lancashire parishes, 1646–1917', *Local Population Studies*, 85, 11–27.

This paper is the latest contribution to the literature on the interval between birth and baptism in England since the sixteenth century. Perkins analyses data from 68 Lancashire parishes which furnish information on dates of birth and baptism. Broadly, his results are consistent with those of previous researchers, notably B. Midi Berry and R.S. Schofield, 'Age at baptism in pre-industrial England', *Population Studies*, 25 (1971), 453–63. The birth-baptism interval gradually lengthened from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and its variability increased. The maximum length of the interval seems to have been reached about 1880, and the limited data for the subsequent period suggests a reversal of the increasing trend from 1890 onwards. Perkins suggests that factors such as a change in incumbent, or epidemic disease, could result in major short-term changes in the distribution of the birth-baptism interval in individual parishes.

D. Postles, 'The politics of diffuse authority in an early modern small town', *Canadian Journal of History*, 45, 2–20.

Postles takes a look at the structures of local politics in Loughborough. This was an unincorporated town which had grown up in the midst of a larger rural parish (much like many developing northern and Midland towns), and which thus had a particular web of local political relationships. He finds that Loughborough's rural and urban political societies existed in something like symbiosis, but there were nonetheless occasional bouts of conflict.

P. Razzell, C. Spence and M. Woollard, 'The evaluation of Bedfordshire burial registration, 1538–1851', *Local Population Studies*, 84, 31–54.

This is the latest empirical salvo in Peter Razzell's campaign to challenge the history of England's population which was presented by E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield in *The population history of England 1541–1871: a reconstruction* (London, 1981). Readers of *Local Population Studies* who are unacquainted with Razzell's view should, perhaps, turn to his recent book *Population and disease: transforming English society, 1550–1850* (London, 2007). In brief, though, Wrigley and Schofield argued that ecclesiastical registration of births and deaths was almost complete (once a parish had started a register) from 1538 until the late eighteenth century, when it deteriorated. Razzell disputes this, and argues that a substantial proportion of both baptisms and burials went unrecorded throughout the parish register era. This paper compares burial register data for Bedfordshire with probate data and shows that over 20 per cent of burials were 'missing' from the burial registers throughout the late sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Razzell and his colleagues also compare burial register data with civil registration data for the mid nineteenth century and find a similar proportion of deaths missing from the burial registers at that time. If Razzell is right, then much of what we now think we know of the population history of England will need re-writing. Like many of his papers, this one is

crammed with detail, and historians reading it might be forgiven for failing to see the implications of the results. A useful exercise at this point might be to set the two interpretations of the population history (those of Wrigley and Schofield on the one hand, and Razzell on the other) side by side and assess their plausibility in the round, thinking through the implications of each. For example, in this paper Razzell and his colleagues also argue that the baptism registers omitted a proportion of births roughly similar to the proportion of deaths missing from the burial registers. It is possible to use family reconstitution analysis to learn more about the 'pattern' of omissions. It would be interesting, for example, to examine those marriages which we can observe from the marriage until one spouse dies or the wife attains the age of 50 years and see how many of these have 'gaps' in their fertility histories into which missing births could be inserted. If there are very few gaps, then this implies that the 'missing' births are concentrated in the marriages which family reconstitution does not observe, either because the couple moved from parish to parish, or because the marriage itself was not recorded.

P. Sharpe, 'Lace and place: women's business in occupational communities in England 1550–1950', *Women's History Review*, 19, 283–306.

This paper traces the history of the lace industry over four centuries, showing how lace workers formed place-specific occupational communities, linked with the wider world through business connections, and especially the London market, but retaining their own geographical distinctiveness. The actual work took place in families, and the skills and traditions were passed down from mother to daughter or through apprenticeship systems.

G. Shepherd, 'Income, domestic economy and the distribution of poverty amongst labouring families in the parish of Cardington, Bedfordshire, in the 1780s and 1850s', *Family and Community History*, 13, 128–43.

Ever since Roger Schofield's pioneering study of migration ('Age-specific mobility in an eighteenth century rural English parish', *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 1970, 261–74) the excellent documentary records of the Bedfordshire parish of Cardington have provided rich pickings for social, economic and demographic historians. In this paper, Shepherd uses a combination of population listings, census and poor law records to assess the income of each of Cardington's households in the 1780s and the 1850s. Cardington was a parish in which by-employments for women and children were common, mainly in lace-making, but also in spinning in the 1780s and in straw-plaiting in the 1850s. Household incomes, therefore, were based not just on agricultural wages, but also on incomes from these additional activities. Shepherd's results suggest that poverty was widespread in Cardington in both periods, the extent and depth of poverty depending as much on the price of grain as on agricultural wages or the income to be gained from lace-making and other by-employments. He argues that the availability of other sources of income in fact benefited farmers, as it reduced the extent to which they had to raise wages in hard times to ensure the continued economic viability of labourers'

households. Had the by-employments failed, however, farmers would have been able to raise wages sufficiently to compensate. The effect of rural industry was not, therefore, to reduce or prevent destitution—agricultural employers could and would have done that anyway.

A. Tomkins, 'Demography and the midwives: deliveries and their dénouements in north Shropshire, 1781–1803', *Continuity and Change*, 25, 199–232.

During the past few years, historical demographers have devoted considerable attention to evaluating the coverage of the Church of England parish registers, the 'bedrock' of empirical English population history. The paper by Razzell, Spence and Woollard reviewed above is but the latest in a series of such studies. This long and complex contribution from Tomkins adds to this literature, though it does much else as well. Tomkins uses the records of Thomas Higgins, a midwife in the Wem area of Shropshire at the end of the eighteenth century, to examine the outcomes of pregnancies in that area. She compares the experience of the women Higgins attended to those of others in Staffordshire and the Whitby area of north Yorkshire, where other midwifery records survive. The data are very rich, and allow her to analyse birth-baptism intervals, the under-registration of baptisms, infant mortality, stillbirths and maternal mortality. She finds considerable regional variation in birth-baptism intervals around a general picture broadly consistent with that found by B.M. Berry and R.S. Schofield, 'Age at baptism in pre-industrial England', *Population Studies*, 25 (1971), 453–63). In relation to the under-registration of baptisms, her results suggest a situation rather worse than that suggested by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, but rather better than some of the estimates made by Peter Razzell in his *Essays in English population history* (London, 1994). The results for maternal mortality are particularly striking, for they support the conclusions of Roger Schofield that maternal mortality in the English past was low: 'Did the mothers really die? Three centuries of maternal mortality in "the world we have lost" ', in L. Bonfield, R.M. Smith and K. Wrightson eds, *The world we have gained: histories of population and social structure* (Oxford, 1986), 230–60.

R. Wall, 'Bequests to widows and their property in early modern England', *History of the Family*, 15, 222–8.

This paper takes wills made by people of a single surname (Farrer) from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries and analyses them as a cross-regional sample. The advantage of this is that the data are not as susceptible to biases created by local testamentary cultures or jurisdictional differences across space as would be a more geographically limited study. In addition, it allows a more complete analysis of difference across the social spectrum than would be possible from a single-community study. The evidence suggests that the likelihood of widows being named executors to their husbands' wills was declining in the eighteenth century, and that this shift happened across space and social boundaries. At the same time, widows found themselves in receipt of a smaller proportion of their husband's

estate than before, but they were increasingly likely to receive a cash bequest after 1700. They also remained the most likely recipients of household goods.

J. Whittle, 'Lords and tenants in Kett's Rebellion 1549', *Past and Present*, 207, 3–52.

There has been something of a resurgence in interest in Tudor rebellions of late, with major monographs on the Pilgrimage of Grace, Kett's rebellion and the Northern Rising all recently in print, and Amanda Jones's study of the wider 1549 'commotion time' in the pipeline. Whittle's article, however, still manages to tell us something new and important. She performs the difficult task of cross-referencing known rebels with manorial and quarter sessions, finding that there were broadly two types of insurgent. On the one hand, there were the wealthier rural middling sorts: yeomen on the cusp of gentility and a secure stake in the land; and a poorer type of smallholder and landless country-dweller. The key economic development in early Tudor Norfolk was a rise in rents: this worked in the favour of the first group, who enjoyed relative security of tenure, but was disastrous for the latter, who were squeezed between rising land values and falling real wages. It is, therefore, not easy to see how these two groups' interests coalesced in 1549, though they both wanted to prevent landlords over-exploiting their common lands. This implies that the rebellion and the rebels' political tactics were more complex than imagined, perhaps especially by Marxist-influenced historians: the Mousehold petition reflected the interests of the wealthier and more politically-astute 'yeoman' group, while the rebellion's more militant edge was provided by its poorer participants.

Nineteenth century

M. Ayres, 'Sewers, slums and standpipes: the battle against infectious disease in nineteenth-century Dorset', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 131, 15–18.

M. Ayres, 'From poorhouse to workhouse? The erosion of publicly owned housing in rural Dorset after 1834', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 131, 65–78.

The first of these articles comes from a special section of the 2010 issue of the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* devoted to 'Dorset and disease'. In it, Ayres describes the poor state of the housing and sanitary infrastructure in Dorset in the mid-nineteenth century and relates this to mortality from infectious diseases. Though the article does not include quantitative analysis of the relationship, it presents a useful summary of the situation as it developed during the nineteenth century. One of the key problems in Dorset in the mid-nineteenth century was an acute shortage of rural housing. House construction had not kept pace with population growth between 1800 and 1850 with the result that overcrowding was widespread and the state of cottages was among the worst in England. This state of affairs was not to be improved by the advent of the

New Poor Law, which rendered it illegal for parishes to pay rents to private landlords on behalf of paupers, and frowned upon the provision of free or subsidised 'social housing' by parish authorities, on the grounds that this was a form of indirect outdoor relief and which the New Poor Law was designed to eradicate (at least for the able-bodied).

In the second paper, Ayres charts the decline in the quantity of parish housing in Dorset, showing that although parishes ultimately complied with the wishes of the central poor law authorities, they were acutely aware of the serious shortage of housing in their localities, and found numerous ruses to delay the implementation of the New Poor Law until later in the century, when factors such as out-migration had reduced the demand for housing.

J. Bowen, 'The carriers of Lancaster 1824–1912', *Local Historian*, 40, 178–90.

This paper makes extensive use of the information in nineteenth-century trade directories to chart the evolution of the carrying business in Lancaster from the era immediately before the advent of the railways through to the early twentieth century. Most of the paper focuses on changes over time to the routes travelled by the carriers and the locations within Lancaster from which they set out (typically town centre inns). A peculiarity of the Lancaster carrier network was the so-called 'cross-sands' route, a perilous journey across the sands of Morecambe bay to serve places in Furness. This route did not survive the construction of a railway around the southern edge of the Lake District, but elsewhere the arrival of railways did not lead to a decline in the overall amount of business for carriers. It did render some of the long-distance carrying routes redundant, but it generated additional short-distance business transporting goods to and from railheads.

R. Gant, 'Domestic service in a small market town: Crickhowell, 1851–1901', *Local Population Studies*, 84, 11–30.

This is a study of the domestic servant population of the Welsh border town of Crickhowell, using the census enumerators' books for the census of 1851 to 1901 inclusive. Crickhowell was a modestly prosperous market town, one of many similar places up and down the country. Gant presents a wealth of detail about the occupational designations given to domestic servants, their distribution among the households, their birthplaces, and the occupational sectors in which their employers worked. There are no great surprises here, though an interesting result relates to the migration patterns of the servants: male servants tended to come either from the town itself or from a considerable distance away, whereas female servants were most often drawn from nearby parishes and the towns of the Welsh coalfield.

N. Goose, 'Victorian and Edwardian almspeople: Doughty's Hospital, Norwich, 1837–1911', *Local Population Studies*, 84, 71–81.

This is a detailed study of the inmates of a privately funded almshouse, Doughty's Hospital in Norwich, which was founded in the late seventeenth century by a generous

legacy, though Goose's study focuses on the nineteenth century. He uses a range of sources, including the census enumerators' books, admissions data, and other qualitative records, to reconstruct the characteristics of the population of the almshouse during the Victorian era. The institution catered generally for the 'middling sort' of person, the very poor being under-represented. However, the trustees still tended to conform to the stipulations of William Doughty, the founder.

W.M. Gordon, 'The demographics of Scottish poverty: Paisley's applicants for relief, 1861–1871', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 30, 25–42.

The poor law authorities in the west of Scotland town of Paisley have left a voluminous pile of records which meticulously detail the business of the town's Inspector of the Poor under the Scottish New Poor Law (which was introduced in 1845). Gordon's research compares the demographic profile of those who applied for poor relief in 1861 and 1871 with that of a 10 per cent sample of the population drawn from the population censuses of those years. She shows that women were more likely to be applicants than men, and that migrants (especially those from Ireland) were more likely to apply than natives. She attributes the latter to the fact that migrants had fewer relatives living in the town, and poorly-developed support networks. From time to time she compares the demographic structure of the poor relief applicants of Paisley with that of the populations of workhouses in England as revealed in several papers published in this journal. One problem with this is that she is comparing *applicants for relief* with (a proportion of) *those who were actually given relief*. This comparison will be confounded by the policies of the poor law authorities. Thus, for example, the fact that English workhouses often contained more men than women was largely a consequence of the policy that able-bodied males would not be given outdoor relief, and may tell us little about the sex composition of applicants for poor relief in England.

I.N. Gregory and J.M. Henneberg, 'The railways, urbanization and local demography in England and Wales, 1825–1911', *Social Science History*, 34, 199–228.

Geographical Information Systems (GISs) have the potential to reveal many patterns in the economic and demographic development of countries possessing them that have hitherto been hard to detect. In this paper, Gregory and Henneberg combine two geographical data sets, one dealing with the growth of the railways of England and Wales, the other being data on parish populations as recorded in the censuses from 1841 to 1911 which are stored in the Great Britain Historical GIS and transformed so that the boundaries of each areal unit do not change over the period. They use the combined data to analyse the relationship between a parish's access to a railway and its population change. The results show clearly that access to a railway led to more rapid population growth, especially in smaller urban centres and in rural districts (larger urban centres almost all had access to railways). In rural districts, though, stations did tend to be built in settlements which were already growing relatively quickly, so there was a two-way causal effect.

A. Hinde and M. Edgar, 'Death on a strange isle: the mortality of the stone workers of Purbeck in the nineteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, 84, 55–70.

This paper analyses the mortality of a group of rural workers in an extractive industry, the stone quarriers of the Isle of Purbeck in the southern English county of Dorset. The analysis uses a database created by nominal record linkage of the census enumerators' books and the Church of England baptism and burial registers to estimate age-specific death rates at all ages for males and females, and hence statistics such as the expectation of life at birth. The results are compared with mortality statistics published by the Registrar General of England and Wales (on the basis of the civil registers of deaths) for the registration district of Wareham, in which Purbeck is situated. The stone quarriers had heavier mortality levels than the rest of the population of Purbeck. Closer inspection, however, reveals that their high mortality was confined to males, and was almost entirely due to especially high mortality among boys aged less than five years. In contrast to the experience of coal and other metal miners, adult male mortality among stone workers was no higher than that among the general population. The final section of the paper considers possible explanations for these results, and suggests that excess mortality among boys in Purbeck from diseases of the lungs might have been responsible.

D. Hunter, 'Making ends meet: household survival strategies in the East Riding in the mid-nineteenth century', *Local Historian*, 40, 20–8.

Although this article professes to be about household survival strategies, it is much more concerned with the way the New Poor Law operated, and the extent to which the giving of out-relief to able-bodied males and their families was maintained into the second half of the nineteenth century. The locality studied is the Poor Law Union of Pocklington in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The Guardians in Pocklington Union were clearly concerned to keep costs down, even reducing the weekly allowances for maintaining paupers. They were constrained, however, by the lack of an adequate workhouse until they agreed to construct one in 1854. Consequently they adopted a range of policies to assist the poor of their area in 'getting by', including out-relief, removal, and even funding emigration to North America. The article includes some information on the seasonal nature of employment in agriculture and the wages which could typically be earned by women and children.

G. Jones, ' "Strike out boldly for the prizes that are available to you": medical emigration from Ireland 1860–1905', *Medical History*, 54, 55–74.

This paper reports on a study of the emigration from Ireland of those who completed medical training in the period 1860–1905. Because Irish medical schools were producing more qualified medics than could be employed in the country some degree of emigration was inevitable. Most of those who moved away went to England. Jones compares the career prospects of doctors in Ireland and England and concludes that although chances in England were not uniformly better than they were in Ireland, the prospects for building

up a sound and profitable private practice were much greater in English towns and cities than in Ireland. By contrast, many doctors who remained in Ireland found themselves struggling to make a decent living in the declining towns and villages of the west coast.

P. King, 'The impact of urbanization on murder rates and on the geography of homicide in England and Wales, 1780–1850', *Historical Journal*, 52, 671–98.

It has traditionally been thought that large cities have higher rates of homicide than rural areas, certainly in industrialising and post-industrial Europe. However, some recent research has cast doubt on this view, suggesting that murder and manslaughter were more prevalent in rural than in urban areas. In this paper, King analyses homicide data for England and Wales during the industrial revolution and shows that this revisionist opinion is incorrect: rates of homicide *were* higher in the large cities of north-west England, and in London, than they were in rural districts. The paper also discusses the factors associated with high murder rates, and suggests that districts which were home to large populations of immigrants (especially from Ireland) were particularly homicidal.

S. King, 'Love, religion and power in the making of marriages in early nineteenth-century rural industrial Lancashire', *Rural History*, 21, 1–26.

Through the story of one courtship and marriage told in the form of letters between the partners, and autobiographical material, King examines the autonomy of the prospective husband and wife in choosing to marry, and the influence of family and friends. He concludes that 'there is much in this courtship narrative to support ... emphasis on the individuality of the courtship process' (p. 20). Family and friends were involved, but their views were not critical to the successful outcome; neither were economic issues paramount. There is a sense in which the particular case study King uses is atypical, as both partners were Methodists and clearly desired to marry within the Methodist community; but there are also good reasons to suppose that they were representative of many young people in early nineteenth-century Lancashire, so that their story has wider relevance.

P. Lockley, 'Millenarians in the Pennines, 1800–1830: building and believing Jerusalem', *Northern History*, 47, 297–317.

Local Population Studies readers who have read the three papers by Field reviewed earlier in this issue might like to turn to this examination of the millenarian communities of the early nineteenth century in the Pennines, and especially in Ashton-under-Lyne. Probably originating as an offshoot from Methodist churches, and linked to the earlier movement of Johanna Southcott, the Ashton millenarians flourished during the 1820s and 1830s under the prophetic leadership of John Wroe. Lockley's thesis is that the Pennine communities were not 'a passive response to the social conditions of an industrialising moment' (p. 314) as previous writers have suggested, but were actively trying to create in this world the lifestyle and social conditions which they believed would obtain in the next. They really were trying to build Jerusalem among the 'dark Satanic mills' of northern England.

A. Negrine, 'The treatment of sick children in the workhouse by the Leicester Poor Law Union, 1867–1914', *Family and Community History*, 13, 34–44.

This paper examines how the Leicester Poor Law Union housed the many children whom it admitted to its workhouse in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From 1851—when a new workhouse was constructed—until the early 1880s the normal workhouse accommodation was used. This came under heavy criticism for its insanitary nature and the consequent spread of sickness among the inmates. Accordingly, in 1884 new accommodation in the countryside close to Leicester was opened in the form of several cottages, organised rather like a boarding school. This was a substantial improvement, but the cottage system did not inhibit the spread of infectious diseases (and may have promoted it, at least within cottages). Negrine describes the history of Union authorities' battle against sickness in their accommodation, and the debates about the best way of preventing it. Her conclusion is, in the opinion of this reviewer (AH), rather too critical of the authorities. What they provided was far from ideal, but—from the 1880s at any rate—it was substantially better for most children than the environment from which they had come, and it is hard to think of how the authorities could have done a great deal better without considerable extra expenditure.

T. Nutt, 'Illegitimacy, paternal financial responsibility, and the 1834 Poor Law Commission Report: the myth of the old poor law and the making of the new', *Economic History Review*, 63, 335–61.

This paper is a discussion of the history of the New Poor Law's policy on bastardy and responsibility for supporting illegitimate children. In 1834 the Poor Law Commissioners effectively removed from the poor law the idea of pursuing absent fathers in order to compel them to maintain their illegitimate offspring. Instead, illegitimate children were to be supported solely by their mothers, who were eligible to apply for relief. In adopting this policy, Nutt argues, the Commissioners ignored rafts of evidence from the Rural and Town Queries of 1832 and 1833 which they themselves had collected. Instead, they were persuaded by a strict Malthusian argument, adopted directly from Malthus's 1798 *Essay on the Principle of Population*, that 'maternal responsibility for the care and maintenance of illegitimate children is "natural", and that whilst it is understandable that a community would seek to enforce paternal responsibility, this kind of interference is contrary to the laws of nature' (p. 355). Eventually, a popular outcry compelled the Commissioners to revise their policy, and in 1844 an amendment to the law was enacted to provide a means whereby unmarried mothers could seek financial support from the fathers of their children.

D. Postles, 'The Return of Owners of Land and the transformations of the 1870s', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 84, 223–50.

The 1870s was perhaps the apogee of the English landed estate, after capital made during the industrial revolution had been used to buy and consolidate land in the countryside,

but before the agricultural depression affected rental income. This paper examines the pattern of landownership in Leicestershire using the 1873 survey of landownership. After a section describing the historical and political context, Postles examines the distribution of landownership according to the size and value of holdings. He then presents a wealth of data on the characteristics of landowners, focusing especially on female owners and those who lived outside the county. The final section of the paper examines the distribution of landholding in particular parishes, noting that parishes where many small landowners existed tended to thrive, as they tended to have many 'small plots of land available for development, which allowed fixed capital formation, and in turn produced surplus income for reinvestment or consumption' (p. 249).

L. Schwartz, 'Freethought, free love and feminism: secularist debates on marriage and sexual mortality, England c. 1850–1885', *Women's History Review*, 19, 775–93.

This paper charts the history of radical, secularist, feminist thought during the second half of the nineteenth century. Whereas early nineteenth-century feminists rejected marriage, by the middle of the century mainstream feminist thought went along with the prevailing religious and state-sanctioned views of marriage and divorce, and a new radicalism did not emerge until the last decades of the century. However, certain individuals maintained a radical agenda throughout the century, these being related to the Freethought movement of Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant, who, famously, were tried in 1877 for distributing a book containing information about birth control.

C. Seal, 'Workhouse populations in the Cheltenham and Belper unions: a study based on the census enumerators' books. 1851–1911', *Family and Community History*, 13, 83–100.

This is the latest paper using the census enumerators' books to examine workhouse populations, following the study by Hinde and Turnbull published in this journal in 1998 (A. Hinde, and F. Turnbull, 'The populations of two Hampshire workhouses, 1851–1861', *Local Population Studies*, 61, 38–53). This study is interesting because it extends the analysis into the twentieth century, and observes changes in the structure of the workhouse populations over time. In particular, Seal observes that, at the very end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, the populations of both workhouses became dominated by the elderly, even though they had been different from one another in 1851.

D. Walker and M. Henderson, 'Smoking and health in London's East End in the first half of the 19th century', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 44, 209–22.

Before 1860, those who wished to enjoy tobacco smoked pipes or cigars, and among the working classes clay pipes were common. Years of using these created characteristic indentations in, as well as staining of, the teeth, and it is these markers that Walker and Henderson use to examine the prevalence of smoking and its impact on health. They have examined the skeletal remains of 248 persons buried in the cemetery of the Catholic mission of St Mary and St Michael in east London between 1843 and 1854. Most of the

deceased were migrants from Ireland and members of the lower strata of society. The results of the analysis suggest that mortality was higher among smokers than non-smokers, and that smokers more commonly exhibited other signs of lung disease. However, it is not possible to conclude that the high mortality of smokers was a result of their smoking: the mortality differential between smokers and non-smokers was actually greatest at ages 26–35 years, which is a younger age group than is now typically affected by smoking-related mortality. One possibility is that pulmonary tuberculosis, which was rife in mid-nineteenth century London, was more likely to progress among smokers than non-smokers, and therefore smokers had heavier mortality from this disease at relatively young ages than did non-smokers.

L. Woolley, ' "Disreputable housing in a disreputable parish?" Common lodging-houses in St Thomas' Oxford', *Midland History*, 35, 215–36.

Common lodging houses, consisting of low-budget dormitory-type accommodation, were widespread in the towns of nineteenth-century England. Frequently located in the less salubrious parts of such towns, and often comprising poor, overcrowded rooms, they were the subject of much high-minded concern, and several quite draconian attempts at regulation. This paper describes the common lodging-houses of Oxford, which were mainly situated in the parish of St Thomas, to the west of the city centre. Woolley's discussion is dispassionate, acknowledging that there were problems of overcrowding and sanitation, but setting against this the important role that such establishments played in providing bed and board for itinerant labourers and tradespeople, thereby facilitating the efficient operation of the local economy. Despite widespread concern that common lodging houses were dens of iniquity and vice, Woolley finds little evidence that they doubled as brothels, though some of their inmates were engaged in criminal activity, such as receiving stolen goods. Viewed from another perspective, it is clear from the census returns that the population of common lodging houses was complementary to that of workhouses, so it could be argued that they provided an alternative form of accommodation to the workhouse for those on the economic fringes of society.

Twentieth century

P. Dale and K. Fisher, 'Contrasting municipal responses to the provision of birth control services in Halifax and Exeter before 1948', *Social History of Medicine*, 23, 567–85.

There is a growing historiography covering local experiences of the early years of birth control clinics. This paper looks at the contrasting development of clinics in Exeter and Halifax. In Exeter the clinic was supported by the local authority, and was regarded nationally as a great success yet rather few women actually attended. This, Dale and Fisher argue, is because those running the Exeter clinic tended to see it as providing a service for the community in general, rather than for individual women. In Halifax the

clinic had to operate in the face of indifference from the council and active hostility from the Medical Officer of Health. Because of this, it was obliged to operate in a 'bottom up' way, relying on volunteers but probably providing a service more in tune with the needs of the women whose welfare it wanted to foster.

T.J. Hatton and R.M. Martin, 'Fertility decline and the heights of children in Britain, 1886–1938', *Explorations in Economic History*, 47, 505–19.

The role of fertility decline in improving the health and well-being of the British population during the demographic transition has been rather neglected. The argument runs that reduced fertility leads to improved child health because families can better afford to feed their children. Smaller families also live in less overcrowded accommodation so that infections are less easily spread from one member to another. Early childhood experiences influence health in later life, so these improvements have a long-term impact. In this paper, Hatton and Martin test these arguments using a 1930s survey of households which includes data on the heights and health of children. Child height is thought to be a good summary measure of both the nutritional status and the experience of disease of children. Using a variety of statistical analyses, they show that the heights of children were positively related to household income and negatively related to the number of children in the family, and that heights increased especially rapidly in the first three decades of the twentieth century. The evidence, then, suggests that declining fertility was responsible, in part, for the improved well-being of children. One note of caution should be added. Though the title of the paper refers to 'Britain', the survey data are heavily weighted towards Scotland: 10 of the 16 sampled locations are in Scotland, and three of the rest are in Lancashire and Yorkshire.

M. Levine-Clark, 'The politics of preference: masculinity, marital status and unemployment relief in post-First World War Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 7, 233–52.

This paper is about a political debate surrounding the deservingness of certain classes of unemployed man in the early 1920s. The unemployed could be categorised according to whether or not they had served overseas during World War I, and whether they were married (possibly with dependent children). There was general agreement that the most deserving group were married men with children who had also served during the War, and the least deserving were unmarried men who had not served during the War. However, a debate arose about the relative claims of married men (especially those with children) who had not served in the War and unmarried men who had seen service overseas—this last a very numerous category among the unemployed, partly because their service during the War had precluded them from apprenticeships and other forms of training so that they were not skilled for any particular peacetime work. Levine-Clark discusses this debate in the context of the male 'breadwinner' model and other models of deservingness among the poor.

S. Szreter and K. Fisher, ' "We weren't the sort that wanted intimacy every night": birth control and abstinence in England, c. 1930–60', *History of the Family*, 15, 139–60.

Some readers of *LPS* will be familiar with the oral history evidence about knowledge of, attitudes towards and the practice of birth control among couples in early twentieth century England which was collected by Kate Fisher, and described in her book *Birth control, sex and marriage in Britain, 1918–1960* (Oxford, 2006) (for a review of this book, see *LPS* 78 (2007), 106–9). Fisher's original study was based on interviews with couples from south Wales and Oxford. In this article, Szreter and Fisher describe similar oral history evidence from couples from Blackburn in Lancashire and Harpenden in Hertfordshire. This new evidence is designed to enrich our knowledge of geographical variations in birth control practice, as it is known that fertility varied from place to place. It also distinguishes middle-class and working-class couples, showing that knowledge of birth control by wives was greater among the middle classes, and that consequently fertility in middle-class couples was more likely to be the outcome of (sometimes fraught) negotiations between partners, rather than the result of the husbands' decisions alone.