

REVIEW OF RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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All articles reviewed were published in 2001 unless otherwise stated.

P. Anderton, 'Seventeenth century Nantwich, dairy farming and a sample analysis of probate inventories', *Cheshire History*, 41 (2001–02), 28–41.

Following in the footsteps of the Stockport Research Group, who made extensive use of probate inventories in their *Stockport in the mid-seventeenth century, 1660–1669* (S. McKenn and C. Nunn eds, Stockport, 1992), Paul Anderton provides a detailed analysis of 59 Nantwich inventories for the same decade along similar lines, with special reference to agriculture. Comparisons are made between Nantwich, Stockport and Lichfield by category of wealth and by category of possession, but unfortunately no wider comparisons are offered. A particular feature of the Nantwich inventories was the degree to which some town dwellers depended upon agriculture in one way or another, with 21 of the 59 keeping cattle, and numerous additional references to dairy or milkhouses, cheese chambers and stocks of cheese. As for Cornish towns, where a similar situation prevailed, in terms of *value* the investment in livestock was relatively small, accounting for only 7.6 per cent of total assets (see C. North, 'Merchants and retailers in seventeenth-century Cornwall', in T. Arkell, N. Evans and N. Goose eds, *When death do us part: understanding and interpreting the probate records of early modern England*, (Oxford, 2000), 296–7). A further comparison with Nantwich inventories of the 1630s and 1670s reveals a steep decline in cattle ownership after 1671, and a similar fall in the quantities of cheese in store. The Nantwich evidence, therefore, appears to contradict David Hey's conclusion for the wider region about the steady advance of a specialised cheese industry throughout the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.

P.J.F. Betts, 'Marriage alliances, household composition and the role of kinship in nineteenth-century farming', *Local Population Studies*, 66, 34–52.

This article adds to the flurry of articles which have recently appeared on the nineteenth century population history of Kent (for others see A. Perkyns, 'Migration and mobility: six Kentish parishes, 1851–1881', *Local Population Studies*, 63, 30–70, the paper by Jackson reviewed in *Local Population Studies*, 65, 70; and the paper by Jackson reviewed below). Frittenden, the locality analysed by Betts, lies right in the centre of the county, south of Maidstone on the low Weald. His analysis of marriage patterns and family structure among the farmers of that parish shows that there was a degree of assortative mating,

though this was by no means sufficient to render the farmers a 'closed caste' (p. 49). Betts also analyses the role of kinship, and concludes that it is hard to make generalisations: individual family circumstances were important.

J. Bornat, 'Reminiscence and oral history: parallel universes or shared endeavour?', *Ageing and Society*, **21**, 219–41.

This article is written by an oral historian who also writes and researches on issues relating to reminiscence and life review, and is therefore ideally placed to compare and contrast the two procedures. She concludes that there is much that is similar, including the focus upon interrogation, the influence of context upon how accounts are developed and responded to, and issues surrounding ownership of the product. But there are differences too, central to which is the fact that for the oral historian the older person is the *source* of evidence, while for the researcher into reminiscence the older person *is* the evidence. There are also different issues of ownership, in the context of which it is interesting to learn that the United Kingdom Copyright Act of 1998 states that in an interview situation the owner of the copyright in the *words* is the speaker, while the copyright in the *recording* belongs to the person who arranged it. A final difference, of course, is the extent to which the oral historian emphasises the importance of the wider historical context, not only in relation to a particular life but also in relation to a particular community and society.

T. Bostock, 'Owners, occupiers and others in seventeenth century Northwich', *Cheshire History*, **41** (2001–02), 42–65.

Town plans, Poll and Hearth Taxes, probate inventories and a variety of miscellaneous sources are used to reveal Northwich as a small town of perhaps 500–600 inhabitants in the 1660s, with tightly packed housing and an economy dominated by its salt houses, some owned by the townsmen themselves and others occupied by them but owned by outsiders. While most of the population was poor (86 of the 128 individuals listed in the Hearth Tax in 1664 were exempt from taxation), the town was dominated by about half a dozen wealthier families who jealously guarded their privileged position as burgesses. This gave them considerable authority and influence over town affairs despite liability to interference from the lord of the manor.

R. Burt and S. Kippen, 'Rational choice and a lifetime in metal mining: employment decisions by nineteenth-century Cornish miners', *International Review of Social History*, **46**, 45–75.

Why did generation after generation of Cornish miners continue to expose themselves to harsh and dangerous work in the mines, even though wages were not high (and could be insecure) and the work was likely to shorten their lives? Burt and Kippen argue that economic models of rational choice provide a sufficient answer. Put simply, none of the alternatives was more attractive. Agriculture in the south west of England was notoriously badly paid, much worse even than mining, and the higher wages in mining more than

compensated for the inferior conditions. Most other mining districts in England and Wales offered work which was no better paid, and still dangerous (though higher wages in the South Wales coalfield did attract some Cornishmen). The only rational alternative was emigration to work in overseas metal mines, for example in North America or South Africa, where the skills of Cornish miners meant that they could command wages much higher (even several times higher) than those at home. The paper includes some very interesting data on the mortality of Cornish miners compared with coal miners and males living in 'healthy districts'.

B. Clarke, 'Huguenot tutors and the family of Edward and Mary Clarke of Chipley, 1687–1710', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 27, 527–42.

Clarke reminds us that the Huguenot contribution and influence extended well beyond the confines of London and the realms of trade, industry and finance, by presenting the story of six Huguenot refugees (Duelly, Passebon, De Grassemere, de La Rocque, Dubois and Coste) who served as successive tutors in the Clarke household in Chipley, Somerset, from 1687 to 1710. The Clarkes had been encouraged by John Locke to employ a Huguenot, testifying to the esteem in which the French were held in matters of education and culture, but the results for the family were mixed, and it is clear that some of those appointed found the rural life less than idyllic and hankered after an early return to the more lively and cosmopolitan life of London.

D. Collard, 'Malthus, population and the generational bargain', *History of Political Economy*, 33, 697–716.

This paper examines the first and second editions of Malthus's *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) from the viewpoint of Malthus as welfare economist, with particular emphasis upon the desirability of a steadily rising real wage. The import of the first edition is that such a rise is impossible, either under capitalism or under an egalitarian system such as that proposed by Godwin, whose views Malthus had set out to refute. But in the second edition there is greater emphasis upon the preventive check to population growth, presenting the possibility of restraint by the present generation, leading to higher real wages for the next. This opens up the possibility of a 'free lunch' for all generations, since no self-sacrifice is required from the present generation which behaves in its own enlightened self-interest. This, it is argued, is a 'permissible simplification', which conflates the social welfare of labourers with economic welfare, and ignores the 'costs' of either moral restraint or prostitution. The paper is an entertaining discussion, but there is no significant edification for the population historian here.

G.C. Cook, 'Disease in the nineteenth-century merchant navy: the Seamen's Hospital Society experience', *Mariner's Mirror*, 87, 460–71.

Diseases and injuries affecting the mercantile marine in the nineteenth century are not well recorded. Hence the successive medical reports compiled by W. Johnson Smith and published by the Seamen's Hospital Society, indicating

admissions to the *Dreadnought* and Albert Dock hospitals 1875–1905, provide a valuable insight, and these are discussed in some detail here. The reports suggest that cholera and scurvy had subsided considerably by the late-nineteenth century. Diseases considered to be more common among seamen than in the population at large were, in order of importance, ‘ague’, dysentery, enteric fever and thoracic aneurism, though again the evidence suggests a clear downward trend in ague and dysentery, possibly due to improved food and water supplies. ‘Surgical’ admissions were completely dominated by venereal disease, with peaks of over 450 cases per annum in 1883 and 1887. Even these figures stand well below that reported by George Busk FRS to the Committee on Venereal Diseases in the Army and Navy in 1865, who had suggested an annual admission rate to the *Dreadnought* of 1,500–2,000 cases. The incidence of venereal disease appears to have declined further by the start of the twentieth century. Only very limited attempts are made to explain these trends.

T.G. Davies, ‘“And where shall she find a doctor?”: incidents in the history of medicine in Gower during the nineteenth century’, *Journal of Glamorgan History: Morgannwg*, 45, 29–54.

The first resident medical man in the Gower peninsula, Daniel Davies, was unqualified, and belonged as much to the folk-healing tradition as to orthodox medicine. He was succeeded, however, in 1839 by George J. Perry, who had gained medical, surgical and apothecary training at Bristol and University College, London. Both served as medical officers to the Gower district of Swansea Poor Law Union, and were underpaid, burdened with excessive work and responsible for an extensive geographical area. It is argued that the Public Health Act of 1872, which allowed the establishment of the Gower Rural Sanitary Authority, had a considerable impact upon health in the area, while another important development was improved communications with Swansea, bringing hospital services there within easier reach. Largely through the relation of a series of incidents, as indicated in the title, rather than through a systematic study of provision and its demographic consequences, it is concluded that, while improving medical provision in such remote areas had been far from easy, the century did see the gradual creation of a more modern medical service.

M. Egan, ‘The population of Greenwich in the seventeenth century’, *Journal of the Greenwich Historical Society*, 2 (1999–2000), 83–8.

Egan calculates the population of Greenwich between 1616 and 1750 from baptisms, applying a constant baptism rate of 35 per 1,000 per year for the whole period. He also makes estimates from the 1662 Hearth Tax (using a household multiplier of 4.5), from the Compton Census (ratio of communicants to population of 1.5) and from lists of households recorded in the Overseers Accounts of 1696, 1724 and 1750 (household multiplier of 4.5). The results are gratifyingly consistent, with only the total calculated from the Hearth Tax lying more than 10 per cent away from the total derived from baptisms. An upward correction of 10 per cent to the baptism totals produces

an even closer match. The 'best fit' line between the various figures suggests growth from perhaps 3,200 in 1620 to 6,800 in 1750, with a higher rate of growth in the mid-seventeenth century than was apparent nationally.

D. Entwistle, '“Hope, colour and comradeship”: loyalty and opportunism in early twentieth-century church attendance among the working class in north-west England', *Journal of Religious History*, 25, 20–38.

Much has been made of the decline in working class church attendance in the later nineteenth century. This paper provides a test of allegiance in the three towns of Barrow, Lancaster and Preston through a re-analysis of a series of oral history transcripts, originally collected by Elisabeth Roberts for her book *A woman's place: an oral history of working class women 1890–1940* (Oxford, 1994), and now held at the Centre for North-West Regional Studies at the University of Lancaster. Of the original sample of 165 individuals, born mostly in the period 1885–1915, 125 described attending church or chapel and/or Sunday school during their youth, and of these 89 were suitable for analysis. A further 23 could not be satisfactorily classified, and thus the final sample comprised 66 individuals. Of these, as many as 42 are classified as 'loyalists', being very actively involved with their church, seeing it as an extension of family life and exhibiting an almost proprietorial air towards it. Fifteen individuals fitted the category of 'opportunity seekers', having no strong allegiance but attending different churches periodically to attend social gatherings or to gain charitable support. The final nine were the 'rejecting' group, rejecting religious practice and sometimes its teaching too, but there is no evidence that this was due to either poverty or socialist views: a poor relationship with particular clergy was the most commonly cited cause. It is concluded that although there was a greater variety of leisure activities available in the form of theatre, cinema and dance halls, these did not replace the church but were combined with it. The church thus continued to provide important unifying, social and leisure opportunities for substantial numbers of working class men and women well into the twentieth century.

H. Falvey, 'Crown policy and local economic context in the Berkhamsted Common enclosure dispute, 1618–42', *Rural History*, 12, 123–58.

In this admirable local study Falvey examines the responses to the attempted enclosure of parts of Berkhamsted Common in Hertfordshire in 1619–1620 and in the 1640s. She finds that those who rioted against these enclosures were drawn from all 'sorts' of people, not merely from the 'poor commons', and many of them were men of independence with a strong political sense. Local office holders, concerned to maintain order, were unlikely to feature, but in both periods the office holders in Northchurch had a strong interest in the common and proved willing to lead the protest. The riot of 1620 proved unsuccessful and failed to prevent the enclosure of 300 acres, but the unrest in the 1640s succeeded in thwarting the Crown's plans to enclose a further 400 acres. It is likely that exogenous factors also played a part in determining the outcome, for by the late 1630s public opinion had swung against enclosure and the Crown's programme of projects, while Charles I was also increasingly

preoccupied with more serious threats to his authority. Although such external factors clearly played their part, Falvey emphasises the importance of local context to an understanding of social protests of this type.

E. Foyster, 'Parenting was for life, not just for childhood: the role of parents in the married lives of their children in early modern England', *History*, **86**, 313–27.

This paper does not focus upon the early modern period as a whole but upon the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and reports the results of a study of the court records of the London Consistory, the Peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Court of Arches, the High Court of Delegates and the King's Bench, 1660–1800. The overall conclusion is that neither dependency nor supervision ceased upon marriage, at least for the middle and upper ranks that feature in the evidence consulted here. A number of examples of involvement are produced, including offering advice and support by letter writing, living with one or both sets of parents for a short time after marriage (which, we are assured, was 'not unusual', a statement which is undefined and for which no evidence is produced), returning home for the birth of the first child (again, 'not unusual'), helping financially or through facilitating useful connections, mediating between quarrelling partners, offering refuge from violent husbands, and interfering in marriages with a view to foster discord (a role, apparently, that was already a special prerogative of the mother-in-law). Both withholding of the wife's portion and threatened withdrawal of the husband's inheritance were, on occasion, used as weapons, particularly if it was felt by the parents that the husband was not behaving reasonably. Quantification, as the author accepts, is impossible, for there is no way of knowing how often couples had recourse to other relatives in difficult situations, or to those to whom they were completely unrelated.

M. Freeman, 'Rider Haggard and *Rural England*: methods of social enquiry in the English countryside', *Social History*, **26**, 209–16.

Some readers of *Local Population Studies* may be familiar with H. Rider Haggard's survey of rural England in 1901 and 1902 (published as *Rural England, being an account of agricultural and social researches carried out in 1901 and 1902*, (London, 1902)). In a manner similar to James Caird 50 years before him, Haggard travelled the country 'with the intention of enquiring into the state of English agriculture and the reasons and remedies for the rural depopulation' (p. 209). Haggard gathered his data by interviewing rural residents and, in this paper, Freeman looks at the characteristics of those he interviewed. It seems that Haggard largely spoke to farmers, landowners and other 'establishment' figures, and not to those who might be able to articulate the views of labourers, still less to the labourers themselves. As a result, Freeman, argues, Haggard produced a biased picture of rural life, and his diagnosis of the causes of rural depopulation was, at the very least, incomplete, as it fails to mention the tied cottage system, which was the labourers' biggest single grievance.

M. Freeman, 'The agricultural labourer and the "Hodge" stereotype, c.1850–1914', *Agricultural History Review*, **49**, 172–86.

It was common in the late-nineteenth century for agricultural labourers, especially those in southern England, to be characterised as 'deferential, dependent and ignorant', dull and slow, unwilling to better themselves (or even incapable of self-improvement) (p. 174). This view was encapsulated in the stereotype of 'Hodge', the epithet most famously used by Richard Jefferies in his book *Hodge and his masters* (1880). In this paper, Freeman examines this representation of the farm labourer, suggesting that by the time Jefferies' book was published, it was already becoming somewhat anachronistic. For, beginning with the brief heyday of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union in the 1870s, views of the agricultural labourer were changing. The improvement in the economic position of the labourer in the 1880s and 1890s, which was both cause and consequence of rural depopulation, was associated with the arrival of a nobler perception of the farm worker whose 'silence now reflected his awesome timelessness and latent strength rather than empty-mindedness and non-cooperation' (p. 185). Nevertheless, 'Hodge' was not killed off until well into the twentieth century, especially among rural commentators who did not acquaint themselves with the views of labourers (such as Rider Haggard, discussed in the previous review).

C. Galley and N. Shelton, 'Bridging the gap: determining long-term changes in infant mortality in pre-registration England and Wales', *Population Studies*, **55**, 65–77.

This paper assesses the extent of regional variations in infant mortality in England during the period 1570–1840. It does this by the ingenious technique of combining regional mortality patterns from the early years of civil registration with the national estimates produced for earlier years by E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen and R.S. Schofield, *English population history from family reconstitution 1580–1837*, (Cambridge, 1997), and additional estimates for sixteenth and seventeenth-century London and York. Infant mortality in London peaked during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries at levels in excess of 300 per thousand births, compared with between 160 and 200 per thousand for non-metropolitan England before declining during the second half of the eighteenth century, 'although that underlying decline was mitigated and even reversed in some places by both urbanization and industrialization' (p. 75). This is an important paper which marks a significant advance in our understanding of regional variations in the demography of pre-industrial England and Wales.

H. Harradence, 'The building of Cornwall lunatic asylum', *Cornwall Association of Local Historians Journal*, **39** (2000), 2–12.

E. Murphy, 'The mad-house keepers of East London', *History Today*, **51**(9), 29–35.

S. Pocock, 'The pauper palace', *Cornwall Association of Local Historians Journal*, 41, 36–45.

S. Smith, 'Changing standards of care for the sick at the workhouse, Southwell', *Nottinghamshire Historian*, 67, 7–9.

These four papers all deal with various aspects of institutions. For Southwell Workhouse in Nottinghamshire, Smith has described the lack of improvement in infirmary provision until the early 1870s, despite the extension to the building when it became the Southwell Union Workhouse in 1836. In 1870–1873, however, more space, equipment and staff were all provided, including the appointment of a dedicated nurse at £15 *per annum*, although the rapid turnover in the staff (who required no training) may well indicate the undesirability of the job. Further extension was undertaken in 1914, by which time the infirmary (particularly the maternity ward) catered for non-residents, while a new, separate infirmary block was built after 1924 which provided greater opportunities for segregation, and staffing levels steadily improved. By 1950 the workhouse infirmary had evolved into Greet House, a more specialised residential home for the elderly, which operated through to the 1980s.

Following some rather questionable historical background, which paints workhouse conditions as almost uniformly grim through from the early-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, Pocock provides a useful description of some of the main types of documentation available to the historian in both local and national repositories under the New Poor Law. This is followed by an account of the building of the Redruth Union Workhouse, and a description of the regime and diet of the paupers there in the 1840s. Extracts from the Master's Weekly Report Book for the early 1840s provide a flavour of some of the difficulties faced, and the punishments that were meted out to recalcitrant inmates.

Staying with Cornwall, Harradence provides a detailed account of 100 years of the building, extension and equipping of Cornwall Lunatic Asylum. Cornwall made an early response to the Act for the Better Care and Maintenance of Lunatics of 1808, for its asylum was one of only nine in operation by the 1820s. However, it seems to have proved repeatedly inadequate for the number of applicants, particularly after the Act of 1862 allowed the Lunacy Commissioners to remove 'lunatics' from workhouse to asylum with guardians' agreement.

Murphy returns us to the private sector, with a fascinating description of the profit-making institutions for the insane in east London in the early-nineteenth century, which as late as 1844 housed about 1,600 patients paid for from poor relief funds, besides some 200–300 more in private patient establishments. Two families dominated provision in this area, the Warburtons and the Mileses. While most of the 36 'mad-houses' in London were very small establishments, the two Bethnal Green asylums and Hoxton House operated by these families were huge, with nearly 500 patients each, larger than the

better known St Luke's or Bethlem. Almost all City of London parishes and many further afield in south-eastern England contracted to send their pauper lunatics there, and both proprietors adopted a business strategy of 'low cost, high volume'. While some private asylums, particularly private patient only houses, were respectable and kindly and even occasionally lavish, successive government reports in 1816 and 1827 reveal the most appalling conditions in both of these large institutions. The Bethnal Green house employed thuggish keepers, responsible for beatings, sexual abuse, shackling and brutal force-feeding, while the policy of never refusing an applicant could result in two, sometimes three, sleeping in one bed. Pauper patients were left naked on wet straw beds in unheated rooms, filthy and infested with vermin. At Hoxton House it was overcrowding and mismanagement rather than sadism that produce the appalling conditions. The notoriety of the Bethnal Green houses was instrumental in producing the Act for the Regulation of Mad-houses in 1828, and to his credit John Warburton, who took over from his father in 1831, effected a transformation that produced a model institution within 15 years. Despite the damning report of 1827, neither house lost its license, and both continued to operate into the later nineteenth century. Their proprietors waxed rich and respectable – Jonathan Miles even achieved a knighthood – though presumably not for services rendered to the sick.

B. Harvey and J. Oeppen, 'Patterns of morbidity in late medieval England: a sample from Westminster Abbey', *Economic History Review*, 54, 215–39.

This article discusses patterns of morbidity among the monks of Westminster Abbey, a Benedictine foundation situated in an urban environment, in the periods 1297/8–1354/5 and 1381/2–1416/17, the choice of periods being determined by the availability of data. The typicality or otherwise of evidence taken from a monastic infirmary is discussed, and it is accepted that on the one hand that the monks probably enjoyed a standard of living resembling the substantial gentry or merchant class and were likely to report to the infirmary at a level of sickness which the poor were obliged to disregard, while on the other hand they were subject to dormitory sleeping and exposed to the enhanced dangers of an urban environment. Morbidity is compared across the two periods, and also with the seasonality of male adult mortality for early modern England. All three sets of data reveal high values in the spring followed by a summer trough. For the period 1297/8–1354/5, however, this trough is followed by further pronounced peaks in October and December, a feature not found in the other two series. This, as well as the summer trough, suggests that bubonic plague did little to shape the pattern of morbidity here in the long term, while the spring peaks might be explained in terms of the unsettling climate of the season or possibly the dietary changes that were an inevitable part of the monks' Lenten regime. To cap an article fraught with interpretative difficulty, an attempt to determine whether or not there was a close relationship between the seasonality of morbidity reveal here and the contemporaneous seasonality of mortality proved inconclusive.

J. Hatcher, 'Women's work reconsidered: gender and wage differentiation in late medieval England', *Past and Present*, 173, 191–8.

S. Bardsley, 'Reply', *Past and Present*, 173, 199–202.

In this debate John Hatcher is responding to Sandy Bardsley's article published in *Past and Present* 165 (1999), which bore the same title that Hatcher has now chosen. Bardsley had argued, on the basis of evidence from Ebury manor records and prosecutions for breaches of the Statutes of Labourers in the East Riding of Yorkshire, that the scarcity of labour following the Black Death of 1348–1349 did not lead to equal daily wages for men and women, as some have claimed. Rather, patriarchal structures triumphed over the impact of demographic crisis. Hatcher points out that while day rates continued to show gender differentials this was not true of piece rates, and hence women were paid equivalent wages to men for the performance of the same tasks or the same amounts of work. An abundance of evidence shows that, on average, women possess less physical strength than do men, and hence differentials in daily payments simply reflect productivity rather than gender discrimination, and such discrimination is entirely rational in a competitive labour market, such as that prevailing after the Black Death. Custom and prejudice rather than supply and demand can only work effectively when an occupation is shielded from competition, by restrictive practices of one kind or another such as commonly operated in medieval towns. Furthermore, although the degree of betterment remains debatable, there is much evidence in the research of Rogers, Beveridge and Farmer that points to a degree of levelling up of women's wages relative to men in this period, which is reflected in the relatively low differential discovered by Bardsley herself compared with other historical periods. Unfortunately, the Ebury data lack detail, and cannot bear the weight of a more sophisticated interpretation.

In her reply Bardsley restates her argument that the ratio between women's wages in the late medieval countryside was fairly constant before and after the Black Death, ignoring Hatcher's counter claim. She goes on to challenge him to produce the evidence of equal piece rates that he claims to have found, while warning that piece rates less commonly identify specific individuals than do time-rate payments, leaving open the possibility that the work was subcontracted. She also questions his argument that custom and prejudice can only dictate wages when an occupation is shielded from competition. For, first, the superior strength of men does not necessarily translate into the performance of more work, for stamina is also a relevant factor. Second, the gender wage gap persists in areas of work that do not rely on physical strength. And third, such gaps vary significantly in magnitude over time and place. These variations are, of course, affected by the forces of supply and demand, but the persistence of wage discrimination demonstrates that economic practices are not solely determined by rationalism and efficiency.

One can easily imagine how this debate might progress, for each side might equally claim misrepresentation and insufficient evidence. One hopes instead that the evidence upon which Hatcher relies is indeed now presented, that

more attention is paid to the specific historical circumstances within which gender differentials in wages are considered, and in particular that comparative evidence on piece rates is produced, which might give a clearer perspective upon the novelty or otherwise of the post-plague period.

P. Congdon, R.M. Campos, S.E. Curtis, H.R. Southall, I.N. Gregory and I.R. Jones, 'Quantifying and explaining changes in geographical inequality of infant mortality in England and Wales since the 1890s', *International Journal of Population Geography*, 7, 35–51.

The study reported here shows that geographical variations in infant mortality in England decreased between the 1890s and the mid-twentieth century, but that they have re-emerged to some extent since then. The same applies to the gap between urban and rural areas. The study is based on the use of Geographic Information Systems methods with computerised historical census and registration data.

T. J. Hatton and R.E. Bailey, 'Women's work in census and survey, 1911–1931', *Economic History Review*, 54, 87–107.

In this paper, Hatton and Bailey compare the recording of women's work outside the home in the 1911 and 1931 censuses and in various surveys of towns undertaken in 1912–1914 and 1929–1937, especially the New Survey of London Life and Labour (NSLLL) of 1929–1931. They conclude that there is no evidence that the censuses systematically under-recorded women's work. They did miss some part-time employment, but this undercounting was compensated by 'significant overcounting of employment among women in their middle years whose labour force attachment has effectively lapsed' (p. 105). The NSLLL, which was a survey of working-class households, underestimated employment in domestic service, as most domestic servants were living in middle-class households. Readers of *Local Population Studies* might like to relate Hatton and Bailey's findings to other recent studies of the recording of women's work in censuses, such as M. Anderson, 'What can the mid-Victorian censuses tell us about variations in married women's employment?', *Local Population Studies*, 62, 9–31.

R.E. Homrighaus, 'Wolves in women's clothing: baby-farming and the *British Medical Journal*, 1860–1872', *Journal of Family History*, 26, 350–72.

This article tells the story of the *British Medical Journal* (BMJ)'s campaign against infanticide and 'baby-farming' in the 1860s and 1870s. 'Baby-farming' was a practice whereby young working-class women could give their infants away to women who would look after them (for a fee). In the event, many of these infants were grossly neglected and their mortality rate was such that the practice approximated to infanticide. Though clearly there was a moral case to be made against 'baby-farming', the BMJ's campaign was not entirely without self-interest, for it enabled the medical profession to put forward the argument that childbirth and matters connected with it were too important to leave to working-class women, opening the door to their increased medicalisation.

P. Horn, 'A Bloxham servants' book', *Cake and Cockhorse*, 15, 67–76.

Pamela Horn provides a brief discussion of the servants' book kept by Mrs Sally Davis of Bloxham in Oxfordshire, a widow of 61 years when the book commences in 1852, through to her death 10 years later. The book, which was continued by other family members through to 1891, is reproduced in a re-ordered format for ease of comprehension, and its contents are placed within the wider context of domestic service, both in Oxfordshire itself and nationally.

S. Horrell, J. Humphries and H.-J. Voth, 'Destined for deprivation: human capital formation and intergenerational poverty in nineteenth-century England', *Explorations in Economic History*, 38, 339–65.

This article laments the transmission of poverty down the generations, using data from the Marine Society (which recruited poor boys for the Royal Navy). The paper offers two theses. The first is that female-headed households were much more likely to be poor than male-headed ones, even in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The second is that the poor law could act very effectively to alleviate poverty among these households and thereby prevent the establishment of a 'cycle of deprivation'.

P. Hudson, 'English emigration to New Zealand, 1839–1850: information diffusion and marketing a new world', *Economic History Review*, 54, 680–98.

In 1839 the New Zealand Company was established to promote English emigration to the colony, which had not previously been a 'conventional destination' (p. 682). The Company employed agents to disseminate information and to seek applications from prospective migrants. These agents could be very effective. The town of Alton in Hampshire (where one of the authors of this 'Review' now dwells) had the highest rate of applications in England, mainly because of the valiant efforts of the agent there, one Abraham Crowley (a local brewer and a major employer in the town). The Company seems to have considered itself as being in competition with other destinations, and so sought to persuade those already thinking of emigrating to consider New Zealand, rather than, say, Australia. It devoted less attention to trying to attract 'new' applicants.

D.G. Jackson, 'Occupational and geographical stability in the region of Sittingbourne, Kent, 1881–1891', *Local Population Studies*, 66, 53–75.

Readers of the *Local Population Studies Society Newsletter* will recall Jackson's recent paper on the agricultural depression in the parish of Borden (see the review in *Local Population Studies*, 65, 70). In this paper he broadens the focus to six parishes around Sittingbourne, including Sittingbourne itself and the aforementioned Borden. He uses the census enumerators' books for 1881 and 1891 to trace married male heads of household from one census to the next. The results showed a high degree of geographical stability, but this varied by occupation. Using the classification of occupations recommended by W.A.

Armstrong ('The use of information about occupation', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth-century society: essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social change* (Cambridge, 1972), 226–52), it was found that brickmakers and agricultural workers had the lowest mobility and casual labourers the highest – though there are some doubts about the recording of the occupations of the latter group, which means that the linkage process may have exaggerated their mobility.

J.A. Jackson, 'Review article: emigration and the Irish abroad: recent writings', *Irish Historical Studies*, **32**, 433–42.

This paper reviews seven recent books on Irish emigration, mainly to (mainland) Britain. Jackson shows how recent work has revised much of the earlier literature by focussing more on women (previously neglected), allowing that some migrants were Protestants, and pointing out that not all migrants were unskilled and thus inclined to reduce wages among the indigenous workers in the communities where they settled.

C.E. Jones, 'Personal tragedy or demographic disaster?' *Local Population Studies*, **66**, 14–33.

This article describes the coal-mining accident which occurred at Hartley Pit in the parish of Earsdon, Northumberland, in 1862, in which almost 200 miners lost their lives. Using the census enumerators' books, parish registers and published census reports, Jones describes the impact of the accident on the demography of the parish during the following decade. Her conclusion is that, though the accident led to many individual families being bereaved, taken as a whole 'the community did not disintegrate, and the impact of the tragedy upon the wider parish of Earsdon was muted' (p. 31). This was largely because of 'in-migration of miners from other areas ... expansion of the agricultural sector [and] ... the provisions of the relief fund' (p. 31). The parish of Earsdon may, of course, be familiar to readers of *Local Population Studies* as one of the Cambridge Group's family reconstitution parishes described in E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen and R.S. Schofield, *English population history from family reconstitution 1580–1837*, (Cambridge, 1997).

S. King and J. Stewart, 'The history of the poor law in Wales: under-researched, full of potential', *Archives*, **26** (105), 134–48.

Steven King and John Stewart urge local historians to seek out the rich Welsh archives and to write the history of the poor law in Wales at both a local and a national level, giving examples of what might be achieved. The article includes a brief discussion of recent and current debates in poor law historiography in general. It also makes the point that local studies (especially of the New Poor Law) are still in short supply in England, despite there being a great deal of material available (for example in the minute books of Boards of Guardians and the MH12 records in the Public Record Office).

H. Kleinschmidt, 'Nomen and gens: the Germanic settlement in Britain and the genesis of the English', *Archives*, 26 (105), 97–111.

The disparate groups of people who settled in England between the fifth and seventh centuries had widely different identities, some of which existed among them as migrants, and some of which were effects of their migration. Kleinschmidt seeks to discover what sparked post-migratory changes in these collective identities such that a distinctive 'gens anglorum' (people of England) emerged. His conclusion is that the *gens anglorum* was 'not the result of a seemingly autonomous identify-forming process among its members but a construct which followed from the will of rulers' (p. 111). In other words, it was the result of deliberate intervention by those with power and influence, not just a chance meeting of collective minds.

P. Laslett, 'Signifying nothing: traditional history, local history, statistics and computing', *History and Computing*, 11 (1999), 129–34.

Peter Laslett makes a plea for historians to learn more about statistical significance, causal analysis and representativeness. Traditional history suffers from the perennial problem of the 'sample of one'. It is impossible to know how 'typical' this 'one' is, as the location of the rest of the distribution is unknown. The problem is the same whether it is one person, or one local community, or even one county.

J. Laughton, E. Jones and C. Dyer, 'The urban hierarchy in the later Middle Ages: a study of the East Midlands', *Urban History*, 28, 331–57.

The main purposes of this article are to show how it is possible to establish the urban hierarchy of a region in the later Middle Ages, and then to make a judgement as to the stability and maturity of the system in the face of the national demographic decline and economic contraction that the period experienced. The perfect region is almost impossible to identify, so the surrogate used here is the three adjoining counties of Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Rutland, which share a number of similar features, particular in terms of topography and settlement patterns. Very sensibly, towns are defined by a concentration of residents pursuing a variety of non-agricultural occupations, and 23 were included in the survey. The main sources used to establish urban rankings are the well-known taxations of 1334, 1377 and 1524–1525, while a range of documentary and archaeological evidence is brought to bear to establish occupational sophistication, commercial and migratory patterns, topographical and social structure, administrative features and material culture. It is the common urban features that emerge most strongly from this study, as well as the remarkable compatibility of the written and unwritten evidence. With regard to change over time, despite the abundant evidence in the region of demographic contraction, this was a feature of town and countryside alike, and there was no change in the essential character of the urban hierarchy. Although towns such as Stamford and Brackley exhibit clear evidence of difficulty, no large town fell back into the ranks of the market towns, and most of the market

REVIEW OF RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Nigel Goose and Andrew Hinde

All articles reviewed were published in 2001 unless otherwise stated.

P. Anderton, 'Seventeenth century Nantwich, dairy farming and a sample analysis of probate inventories', *Cheshire History*, 41 (2001–02), 28–41.

Following in the footsteps of the Stockport Research Group, who made extensive use of probate inventories in their *Stockport in the mid-seventeenth century, 1660–1669* (S. McKenn and C. Nunn eds, Stockport, 1992), Paul Anderton provides a detailed analysis of 59 Nantwich inventories for the same decade along similar lines, with special reference to agriculture. Comparisons are made between Nantwich, Stockport and Lichfield by category of wealth and by category of possession, but unfortunately no wider comparisons are offered. A particular feature of the Nantwich inventories was the degree to which some town dwellers depended upon agriculture in one way or another, with 21 of the 59 keeping cattle, and numerous additional references to dairy or milkhouses, cheese chambers and stocks of cheese. As for Cornish towns, where a similar situation prevailed, in terms of *value* the investment in livestock was relatively small, accounting for only 7.6 per cent of total assets (see C. North, 'Merchants and retailers in seventeenth-century Cornwall', in T. Arkell, N. Evans and N. Goose eds, *When death do us part: understanding and interpreting the probate records of early modern England*, (Oxford, 2000), 296–7). A further comparison with Nantwich inventories of the 1630s and 1670s reveals a steep decline in cattle ownership after 1671, and a similar fall in the quantities of cheese in store. The Nantwich evidence, therefore, appears to contradict David Hey's conclusion for the wider region about the steady advance of a specialised cheese industry throughout the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.

P.J.F. Betts, 'Marriage alliances, household composition and the role of kinship in nineteenth-century farming', *Local Population Studies*, 66, 34–52.

This article adds to the flurry of articles which have recently appeared on the nineteenth century population history of Kent (for others see A. Perkyms, 'Migration and mobility: six Kentish parishes, 1851–1881', *Local Population Studies*, 63, 30–70, the paper by Jackson reviewed in *Local Population Studies*, 65, 70; and the paper by Jackson reviewed below). Frittenden, the locality analysed by Betts, lies right in the centre of the county, south of Maidstone on the low Weald. His analysis of marriage patterns and family structure among the farmers of that parish shows that there was a degree of assortative mating,

though this was by no means sufficient to render the farmers a 'closed caste' (p. 49). Betts also analyses the role of kinship, and concludes that it is hard to make generalisations: individual family circumstances were important.

J. Bornat, 'Reminiscence and oral history: parallel universes or shared endeavour?', *Ageing and Society*, **21**, 219–41.

This article is written by an oral historian who also writes and researches on issues relating to reminiscence and life review, and is therefore ideally placed to compare and contrast the two procedures. She concludes that there is much that is similar, including the focus upon interrogation, the influence of context upon how accounts are developed and responded to, and issues surrounding ownership of the product. But there are differences too, central to which is the fact that for the oral historian the older person is the *source* of evidence, while for the researcher into reminiscence the older person *is* the evidence. There are also different issues of ownership, in the context of which it is interesting to learn that the United Kingdom Copyright Act of 1998 states that in an interview situation the owner of the copyright in the *words* is the speaker, while the copyright in the *recording* belongs to the person who arranged it. A final difference, of course, is the extent to which the oral historian emphasises the importance of the wider historical context, not only in relation to a particular life but also in relation to a particular community and society.

T. Bostock, 'Owners, occupiers and others in seventeenth century Northwich', *Cheshire History*, **41** (2001–02), 42–65.

Town plans, Poll and Hearth Taxes, probate inventories and a variety of miscellaneous sources are used to reveal Northwich as a small town of perhaps 500–600 inhabitants in the 1660s, with tightly packed housing and an economy dominated by its salt houses, some owned by the townsmen themselves and others occupied by them but owned by outsiders. While most of the population was poor (86 of the 128 individuals listed in the Hearth Tax in 1664 were exempt from taxation), the town was dominated by about half a dozen wealthier families who jealously guarded their privileged position as burgesses. This gave them considerable authority and influence over town affairs despite liability to interference from the lord of the manor.

R. Burt and S. Kippen, 'Rational choice and a lifetime in metal mining: employment decisions by nineteenth-century Cornish miners', *International Review of Social History*, **46**, 45–75.

Why did generation after generation of Cornish miners continue to expose themselves to harsh and dangerous work in the mines, even though wages were not high (and could be insecure) and the work was likely to shorten their lives? Burt and Kippen argue that economic models of rational choice provide a sufficient answer. Put simply, none of the alternatives was more attractive. Agriculture in the south west of England was notoriously badly paid, much worse even than mining, and the higher wages in mining more than

compensated for the inferior conditions. Most other mining districts in England and Wales offered work which was no better paid, and still dangerous (though higher wages in the South Wales coalfield did attract some Cornishmen). The only rational alternative was emigration to work in overseas metal mines, for example in North America or South Africa, where the skills of Cornish miners meant that they could command wages much higher (even several times higher) than those at home. The paper includes some very interesting data on the mortality of Cornish miners compared with coal miners and males living in 'healthy districts'.

B. Clarke, 'Huguenot tutors and the family of Edward and Mary Clarke of Chipley, 1687–1710', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 27, 527–42.

Clarke reminds us that the Huguenot contribution and influence extended well beyond the confines of London and the realms of trade, industry and finance, by presenting the story of six Huguenot refugees (Duelly, Passebon, De Grassemere, de La Rocque, Dubois and Coste) who served as successive tutors in the Clarke household in Chipley, Somerset, from 1687 to 1710. The Clarkes had been encouraged by John Locke to employ a Huguenot, testifying to the esteem in which the French were held in matters of education and culture, but the results for the family were mixed, and it is clear that some of those appointed found the rural life less than idyllic and hankered after an early return to the more lively and cosmopolitan life of London.

D. Collard, 'Malthus, population and the generational bargain', *History of Political Economy*, 33, 697–716.

This paper examines the first and second editions of Malthus's *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) from the viewpoint of Malthus as welfare economist, with particular emphasis upon the desirability of a steadily rising real wage. The import of the first edition is that such a rise is impossible, either under capitalism or under an egalitarian system such as that proposed by Godwin, whose views Malthus had set out to refute. But in the second edition there is greater emphasis upon the preventive check to population growth, presenting the possibility of restraint by the present generation, leading to higher real wages for the next. This opens up the possibility of a 'free lunch' for all generations, since no self-sacrifice is required from the present generation which behaves in its own enlightened self-interest. This, it is argued, is a 'permissible simplification', which conflates the social welfare of labourers with economic welfare, and ignores the 'costs' of either moral restraint or prostitution. The paper is an entertaining discussion, but there is no significant edification for the population historian here.

G.C. Cook, 'Disease in the nineteenth-century merchant navy: the Seamen's Hospital Society experience', *Mariner's Mirror*, 87, 460–71.

Diseases and injuries affecting the mercantile marine in the nineteenth century are not well recorded. Hence the successive medical reports compiled by W. Johnson Smith and published by the Seamen's Hospital Society, indicating

admissions to the *Dreadnought* and Albert Dock hospitals 1875–1905, provide a valuable insight, and these are discussed in some detail here. The reports suggest that cholera and scurvy had subsided considerably by the late-nineteenth century. Diseases considered to be more common among seamen than in the population at large were, in order of importance, ‘ague’, dysentery, enteric fever and thoracic aneurism, though again the evidence suggests a clear downward trend in ague and dysentery, possibly due to improved food and water supplies. ‘Surgical’ admissions were completely dominated by venereal disease, with peaks of over 450 cases per annum in 1883 and 1887. Even these figures stand well below that reported by George Busk FRS to the Committee on Venereal Diseases in the Army and Navy in 1865, who had suggested an annual admission rate to the *Dreadnought* of 1,500–2,000 cases. The incidence of venereal disease appears to have declined further by the start of the twentieth century. Only very limited attempts are made to explain these trends.

T.G. Davies, ‘“And where shall she find a doctor?”: incidents in the history of medicine in Gower during the nineteenth century’, *Journal of Glamorgan History: Morgannwg*, 45, 29–54.

The first resident medical man in the Gower peninsula, Daniel Davies, was unqualified, and belonged as much to the folk-healing tradition as to orthodox medicine. He was succeeded, however, in 1839 by George J. Perry, who had gained medical, surgical and apothecary training at Bristol and University College, London. Both served as medical officers to the Gower district of Swansea Poor Law Union, and were underpaid, burdened with excessive work and responsible for an extensive geographical area. It is argued that the Public Health Act of 1872, which allowed the establishment of the Gower Rural Sanitary Authority, had a considerable impact upon health in the area, while another important development was improved communications with Swansea, bringing hospital services there within easier reach. Largely through the relation of a series of incidents, as indicated in the title, rather than through a systematic study of provision and its demographic consequences, it is concluded that, while improving medical provision in such remote areas had been far from easy, the century did see the gradual creation of a more modern medical service.

M. Egan, ‘The population of Greenwich in the seventeenth century’, *Journal of the Greenwich Historical Society*, 2 (1999–2000), 83–8.

Egan calculates the population of Greenwich between 1616 and 1750 from baptisms, applying a constant baptism rate of 35 per 1,000 per year for the whole period. He also makes estimates from the 1662 Hearth Tax (using a household multiplier of 4.5), from the Compton Census (ratio of communicants to population of 1.5) and from lists of households recorded in the Overseers Accounts of 1696, 1724 and 1750 (household multiplier of 4.5). The results are gratifyingly consistent, with only the total calculated from the Hearth Tax lying more than 10 per cent away from the total derived from baptisms. An upward correction of 10 per cent to the baptism totals produces

an even closer match. The 'best fit' line between the various figures suggests growth from perhaps 3,200 in 1620 to 6,800 in 1750, with a higher rate of growth in the mid-seventeenth century than was apparent nationally.

D. Entwistle, '“Hope, colour and comradeship”: loyalty and opportunism in early twentieth-century church attendance among the working class in north-west England', *Journal of Religious History*, 25, 20–38.

Much has been made of the decline in working class church attendance in the later nineteenth century. This paper provides a test of allegiance in the three towns of Barrow, Lancaster and Preston through a re-analysis of a series of oral history transcripts, originally collected by Elisabeth Roberts for her book *A woman's place: an oral history of working class women 1890–1940* (Oxford, 1994), and now held at the Centre for North-West Regional Studies at the University of Lancaster. Of the original sample of 165 individuals, born mostly in the period 1885–1915, 125 described attending church or chapel and/or Sunday school during their youth, and of these 89 were suitable for analysis. A further 23 could not be satisfactorily classified, and thus the final sample comprised 66 individuals. Of these, as many as 42 are classified as 'loyalists', being very actively involved with their church, seeing it as an extension of family life and exhibiting an almost proprietorial air towards it. Fifteen individuals fitted the category of 'opportunity seekers', having no strong allegiance but attending different churches periodically to attend social gatherings or to gain charitable support. The final nine were the 'rejecting' group, rejecting religious practice and sometimes its teaching too, but there is no evidence that this was due to either poverty or socialist views: a poor relationship with particular clergy was the most commonly cited cause. It is concluded that although there was a greater variety of leisure activities available in the form of theatre, cinema and dance halls, these did not replace the church but were combined with it. The church thus continued to provide important unifying, social and leisure opportunities for substantial numbers of working class men and women well into the twentieth century.

H. Falvey, 'Crown policy and local economic context in the Berkhamsted Common enclosure dispute, 1618–42', *Rural History*, 12, 123–58.

In this admirable local study Falvey examines the responses to the attempted enclosure of parts of Berkhamsted Common in Hertfordshire in 1619–1620 and in the 1640s. She finds that those who rioted against these enclosures were drawn from all 'sorts' of people, not merely from the 'poor commons', and many of them were men of independence with a strong political sense. Local office holders, concerned to maintain order, were unlikely to feature, but in both periods the office holders in Northchurch had a strong interest in the common and proved willing to lead the protest. The riot of 1620 proved unsuccessful and failed to prevent the enclosure of 300 acres, but the unrest in the 1640s succeeded in thwarting the Crown's plans to enclose a further 400 acres. It is likely that exogenous factors also played a part in determining the outcome, for by the late 1630s public opinion had swung against enclosure and the Crown's programme of projects, while Charles I was also increasingly

preoccupied with more serious threats to his authority. Although such external factors clearly played their part, Falvey emphasises the importance of local context to an understanding of social protests of this type.

E. Foyster, 'Parenting was for life, not just for childhood: the role of parents in the married lives of their children in early modern England', *History*, **86**, 313–27.

This paper does not focus upon the early modern period as a whole but upon the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and reports the results of a study of the court records of the London Consistory, the Peculiars of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Court of Arches, the High Court of Delegates and the King's Bench, 1660–1800. The overall conclusion is that neither dependency nor supervision ceased upon marriage, at least for the middle and upper ranks that feature in the evidence consulted here. A number of examples of involvement are produced, including offering advice and support by letter writing, living with one or both sets of parents for a short time after marriage (which, we are assured, was 'not unusual', a statement which is undefined and for which no evidence is produced), returning home for the birth of the first child (again, 'not unusual'), helping financially or through facilitating useful connections, mediating between quarrelling partners, offering refuge from violent husbands, and interfering in marriages with a view to foster discord (a role, apparently, that was already a special prerogative of the mother-in-law). Both withholding of the wife's portion and threatened withdrawal of the husband's inheritance were, on occasion, used as weapons, particularly if it was felt by the parents that the husband was not behaving reasonably. Quantification, as the author accepts, is impossible, for there is no way of knowing how often couples had recourse to other relatives in difficult situations, or to those to whom they were completely unrelated.

M. Freeman, 'Rider Haggard and *Rural England*: methods of social enquiry in the English countryside', *Social History*, **26**, 209–16.

Some readers of *Local Population Studies* may be familiar with H. Rider Haggard's survey of rural England in 1901 and 1902 (published as *Rural England, being an account of agricultural and social researches carried out in 1901 and 1902*, (London, 1902)). In a manner similar to James Caird 50 years before him, Haggard travelled the country 'with the intention of enquiring into the state of English agriculture and the reasons and remedies for the rural depopulation' (p. 209). Haggard gathered his data by interviewing rural residents and, in this paper, Freeman looks at the characteristics of those he interviewed. It seems that Haggard largely spoke to farmers, landowners and other 'establishment' figures, and not to those who might be able to articulate the views of labourers, still less to the labourers themselves. As a result, Freeman, argues, Haggard produced a biased picture of rural life, and his diagnosis of the causes of rural depopulation was, at the very least, incomplete, as it fails to mention the tied cottage system, which was the labourers' biggest single grievance.

M. Freeman, 'The agricultural labourer and the "Hodge" stereotype, c.1850–1914', *Agricultural History Review*, **49**, 172–86.

It was common in the late-nineteenth century for agricultural labourers, especially those in southern England, to be characterised as 'deferential, dependent and ignorant', dull and slow, unwilling to better themselves (or even incapable of self-improvement) (p. 174). This view was encapsulated in the stereotype of 'Hodge', the epithet most famously used by Richard Jefferies in his book *Hodge and his masters* (1880). In this paper, Freeman examines this representation of the farm labourer, suggesting that by the time Jefferies' book was published, it was already becoming somewhat anachronistic. For, beginning with the brief heyday of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union in the 1870s, views of the agricultural labourer were changing. The improvement in the economic position of the labourer in the 1880s and 1890s, which was both cause and consequence of rural depopulation, was associated with the arrival of a nobler perception of the farm worker whose 'silence now reflected his awesome timelessness and latent strength rather than empty-mindedness and non-cooperation' (p. 185). Nevertheless, 'Hodge' was not killed off until well into the twentieth century, especially among rural commentators who did not acquaint themselves with the views of labourers (such as Rider Haggard, discussed in the previous review).

C. Galley and N. Shelton, 'Bridging the gap: determining long-term changes in infant mortality in pre-registration England and Wales', *Population Studies*, **55**, 65–77.

This paper assesses the extent of regional variations in infant mortality in England during the period 1570–1840. It does this by the ingenious technique of combining regional mortality patterns from the early years of civil registration with the national estimates produced for earlier years by E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen and R.S. Schofield, *English population history from family reconstitution 1580–1837*, (Cambridge, 1997), and additional estimates for sixteenth and seventeenth-century London and York. Infant mortality in London peaked during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries at levels in excess of 300 per thousand births, compared with between 160 and 200 per thousand for non-metropolitan England before declining during the second half of the eighteenth century, 'although that underlying decline was mitigated and even reversed in some places by both urbanization and industrialization' (p. 75). This is an important paper which marks a significant advance in our understanding of regional variations in the demography of pre-industrial England and Wales.

H. Harradence, 'The building of Cornwall lunatic asylum', *Cornwall Association of Local Historians Journal*, **39** (2000), 2–12.

E. Murphy, 'The mad-house keepers of East London', *History Today*, **51**(9), 29–35.

S. Pocock, 'The pauper palace', *Cornwall Association of Local Historians Journal*, 41, 36–45.

S. Smith, 'Changing standards of care for the sick at the workhouse, Southwell', *Nottinghamshire Historian*, 67, 7–9.

These four papers all deal with various aspects of institutions. For Southwell Workhouse in Nottinghamshire, Smith has described the lack of improvement in infirmary provision until the early 1870s, despite the extension to the building when it became the Southwell Union Workhouse in 1836. In 1870–1873, however, more space, equipment and staff were all provided, including the appointment of a dedicated nurse at £15 *per annum*, although the rapid turnover in the staff (who required no training) may well indicate the undesirability of the job. Further extension was undertaken in 1914, by which time the infirmary (particularly the maternity ward) catered for non-residents, while a new, separate infirmary block was built after 1924 which provided greater opportunities for segregation, and staffing levels steadily improved. By 1950 the workhouse infirmary had evolved into Greet House, a more specialised residential home for the elderly, which operated through to the 1980s.

Following some rather questionable historical background, which paints workhouse conditions as almost uniformly grim through from the early-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, Pocock provides a useful description of some of the main types of documentation available to the historian in both local and national repositories under the New Poor Law. This is followed by an account of the building of the Redruth Union Workhouse, and a description of the regime and diet of the paupers there in the 1840s. Extracts from the Master's Weekly Report Book for the early 1840s provide a flavour of some of the difficulties faced, and the punishments that were meted out to recalcitrant inmates.

Staying with Cornwall, Harradence provides a detailed account of 100 years of the building, extension and equipping of Cornwall Lunatic Asylum. Cornwall made an early response to the Act for the Better Care and Maintenance of Lunatics of 1808, for its asylum was one of only nine in operation by the 1820s. However, it seems to have proved repeatedly inadequate for the number of applicants, particularly after the Act of 1862 allowed the Lunacy Commissioners to remove 'lunatics' from workhouse to asylum with guardians' agreement.

Murphy returns us to the private sector, with a fascinating description of the profit-making institutions for the insane in east London in the early-nineteenth century, which as late as 1844 housed about 1,600 patients paid for from poor relief funds, besides some 200–300 more in private patient establishments. Two families dominated provision in this area, the Warburtons and the Mileses. While most of the 36 'mad-houses' in London were very small establishments, the two Bethnal Green asylums and Hoxton House operated by these families were huge, with nearly 500 patients each, larger than the

better known St Luke's or Bethlem. Almost all City of London parishes and many further afield in south-eastern England contracted to send their pauper lunatics there, and both proprietors adopted a business strategy of 'low cost, high volume'. While some private asylums, particularly private patient only houses, were respectable and kindly and even occasionally lavish, successive government reports in 1816 and 1827 reveal the most appalling conditions in both of these large institutions. The Bethnal Green house employed thuggish keepers, responsible for beatings, sexual abuse, shackling and brutal force-feeding, while the policy of never refusing an applicant could result in two, sometimes three, sleeping in one bed. Pauper patients were left naked on wet straw beds in unheated rooms, filthy and infested with vermin. At Hoxton House it was overcrowding and mismanagement rather than sadism that produce the appalling conditions. The notoriety of the Bethnal Green houses was instrumental in producing the Act for the Regulation of Mad-houses in 1828, and to his credit John Warburton, who took over from his father in 1831, effected a transformation that produced a model institution within 15 years. Despite the damning report of 1827, neither house lost its license, and both continued to operate into the later nineteenth century. Their proprietors waxed rich and respectable – Jonathan Miles even achieved a knighthood – though presumably not for services rendered to the sick.

B. Harvey and J. Oeppen, 'Patterns of morbidity in late medieval England: a sample from Westminster Abbey', *Economic History Review*, 54, 215–39.

This article discusses patterns of morbidity among the monks of Westminster Abbey, a Benedictine foundation situated in an urban environment, in the periods 1297/8–1354/5 and 1381/2–1416/17, the choice of periods being determined by the availability of data. The typicality or otherwise of evidence taken from a monastic infirmary is discussed, and it is accepted that on the one hand that the monks probably enjoyed a standard of living resembling the substantial gentry or merchant class and were likely to report to the infirmary at a level of sickness which the poor were obliged to disregard, while on the other hand they were subject to dormitory sleeping and exposed to the enhanced dangers of an urban environment. Morbidity is compared across the two periods, and also with the seasonality of male adult mortality for early modern England. All three sets of data reveal high values in the spring followed by a summer trough. For the period 1297/8–1354/5, however, this trough is followed by further pronounced peaks in October and December, a feature not found in the other two series. This, as well as the summer trough, suggests that bubonic plague did little to shape the pattern of morbidity here in the long term, while the spring peaks might be explained in terms of the unsettling climate of the season or possibly the dietary changes that were an inevitable part of the monks' Lenten regime. To cap an article fraught with interpretative difficulty, an attempt to determine whether or not there was a close relationship between the seasonality of morbidity reveal here and the contemporaneous seasonality of mortality proved inconclusive.

J. Hatcher, 'Women's work reconsidered: gender and wage differentiation in late medieval England', *Past and Present*, 173, 191–8.

S. Bardsley, 'Reply', *Past and Present*, 173, 199–202.

In this debate John Hatcher is responding to Sandy Bardsley's article published in *Past and Present* 165 (1999), which bore the same title that Hatcher has now chosen. Bardsley had argued, on the basis of evidence from Ebury manor records and prosecutions for breaches of the Statutes of Labourers in the East Riding of Yorkshire, that the scarcity of labour following the Black Death of 1348–1349 did not lead to equal daily wages for men and women, as some have claimed. Rather, patriarchal structures triumphed over the impact of demographic crisis. Hatcher points out that while day rates continued to show gender differentials this was not true of piece rates, and hence women were paid equivalent wages to men for the performance of the same tasks or the same amounts of work. An abundance of evidence shows that, on average, women possess less physical strength than do men, and hence differentials in daily payments simply reflect productivity rather than gender discrimination, and such discrimination is entirely rational in a competitive labour market, such as that prevailing after the Black Death. Custom and prejudice rather than supply and demand can only work effectively when an occupation is shielded from competition, by restrictive practices of one kind or another such as commonly operated in medieval towns. Furthermore, although the degree of betterment remains debatable, there is much evidence in the research of Rogers, Beveridge and Farmer that points to a degree of levelling up of women's wages relative to men in this period, which is reflected in the relatively low differential discovered by Bardsley herself compared with other historical periods. Unfortunately, the Ebury data lack detail, and cannot bear the weight of a more sophisticated interpretation.

In her reply Bardsley restates her argument that the ratio between women's wages in the late medieval countryside was fairly constant before and after the Black Death, ignoring Hatcher's counter claim. She goes on to challenge him to produce the evidence of equal piece rates that he claims to have found, while warning that piece rates less commonly identify specific individuals than do time-rate payments, leaving open the possibility that the work was subcontracted. She also questions his argument that custom and prejudice can only dictate wages when an occupation is shielded from competition. For, first, the superior strength of men does not necessarily translate into the performance of more work, for stamina is also a relevant factor. Second, the gender wage gap persists in areas of work that do not rely on physical strength. And third, such gaps vary significantly in magnitude over time and place. These variations are, of course, affected by the forces of supply and demand, but the persistence of wage discrimination demonstrates that economic practices are not solely determined by rationalism and efficiency.

One can easily imagine how this debate might progress, for each side might equally claim misrepresentation and insufficient evidence. One hopes instead that the evidence upon which Hatcher relies is indeed now presented, that

more attention is paid to the specific historical circumstances within which gender differentials in wages are considered, and in particular that comparative evidence on piece rates is produced, which might give a clearer perspective upon the novelty or otherwise of the post-plague period.

P. Congdon, R.M. Campos, S.E. Curtis, H.R. Southall, I.N. Gregory and I.R. Jones, 'Quantifying and explaining changes in geographical inequality of infant mortality in England and Wales since the 1890s', *International Journal of Population Geography*, 7, 35–51.

The study reported here shows that geographical variations in infant mortality in England decreased between the 1890s and the mid-twentieth century, but that they have re-emerged to some extent since then. The same applies to the gap between urban and rural areas. The study is based on the use of Geographic Information Systems methods with computerised historical census and registration data.

T. J. Hatton and R.E. Bailey, 'Women's work in census and survey, 1911–1931', *Economic History Review*, 54, 87–107.

In this paper, Hatton and Bailey compare the recording of women's work outside the home in the 1911 and 1931 censuses and in various surveys of towns undertaken in 1912–1914 and 1929–1937, especially the New Survey of London Life and Labour (NSLLL) of 1929–1931. They conclude that there is no evidence that the censuses systematically under-recorded women's work. They did miss some part-time employment, but this undercounting was compensated by 'significant overcounting of employment among women in their middle years whose labour force attachment has effectively lapsed' (p. 105). The NSLLL, which was a survey of working-class households, underestimated employment in domestic service, as most domestic servants were living in middle-class households. Readers of *Local Population Studies* might like to relate Hatton and Bailey's findings to other recent studies of the recording of women's work in censuses, such as M. Anderson, 'What can the mid-Victorian censuses tell us about variations in married women's employment?', *Local Population Studies*, 62, 9–31.

R.E. Homrighaus, 'Wolves in women's clothing: baby-farming and the *British Medical Journal*, 1860–1872', *Journal of Family History*, 26, 350–72.

This article tells the story of the *British Medical Journal* (BMJ)'s campaign against infanticide and 'baby-farming' in the 1860s and 1870s. 'Baby-farming' was a practice whereby young working-class women could give their infants away to women who would look after them (for a fee). In the event, many of these infants were grossly neglected and their mortality rate was such that the practice approximated to infanticide. Though clearly there was a moral case to be made against 'baby-farming', the BMJ's campaign was not entirely without self-interest, for it enabled the medical profession to put forward the argument that childbirth and matters connected with it were too important to leave to working-class women, opening the door to their increased medicalisation.