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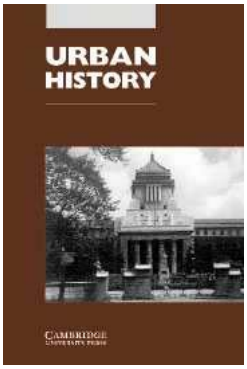

Review of periodical articles

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Review of periodical articles

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Pre-1500

2003 has seen a curiously unbalanced 'output' of an impressive number of interesting and rewarding periodical articles. The German articles outnumber the English, but quantity does not necessarily equal quality. In all cases their most striking feature is the variety of issues and concerns they address. Personally I was particularly impressed by Christian Liddy's 'Urban conflict in late fourteenth-century England. The case of York in 1380–1' (*English Historical Rev*., 118, 475 (2003), 1–32). (An interesting chance of comparison between two very different approaches towards 'unrest' is presented by Claudia Garnier's article 'Symbole der Konfliktführung im 14. Jahrhundert: die Dortmunder Fehde von 1388/89', *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 151/2 (2002), 23–46.) Previously perceived of as clashes between the supporters of merchants and rival office-holders John de Gisburn and Simon de Quixley, Liddy uses his case study as a means of re-examining the causes of civic unrest on a much wider scale than his title suggests. He argues that (not least) at fourteenth-century York the Crown was in fact the major source of friction. Set against the background of the Hundred Years War and the ever growing need of the Crown for monetary funds, he claims that while major provincial cities such as York experienced substantial fiscal burdens arising from financing the war, their merchants 'were drawn further into the world of royal finance, royal government and royal politics' (p. 4). Thus he argues that the York disturbances were ultimately the consequence of the interaction of local and national politics. Liddy suggests that royal fiscal pressure also resulted first in changes to the structure of the York civic government, and secondly saw the emergence of the commons of the city as a new force in civic politics. His main theme is that the Crown's heavy fiscal demands had made formal consultation and negotiation with the wider civic body politic for the city's rulers. The commons became increasingly interested in the city's internal financial affairs; the *York Memorandum Book* which was started in 1377 bears witness to their efforts to make civic government more accountable and efficient. Moreover, the *Memorandum Book* was in due course to contain a series of copies of complete parliamentary statute rolls from 1381 to 1424, which supports Tout's thesis that the later fourteenth century witnessed a growing public interest in parliamentary affairs. By critically examining the developments leading to the clashes between Gisburn and Quixley Liddy concludes that in York this act of copying also revealed an 'acute self-awareness on the part of the city's rulers of the interdependence of royal and civic

government and of the direct relationship between local and national politics' (p. 32).

Compared to York the medieval history of Newcastle upon Tyne is poorly documented. Full credit thus belongs to M. Threlfall-Holmes who has turned towards the obedientiary records of Durham Cathedral Priory to investigate 'The import merchants of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1664–1520: some evidence from Durham Cathedral Priory', *Northern History*, 60, 1 (2003), 71–88. Threlfall-Holmes is especially concerned with investigating the range and extent of regional trading activities in the Newcastle area, the merchants who were involved in this trade and finally Newcastle's place in supplying the goods needed by a substantial local consumer. Due to the nature of the surviving records – mainly the bursars' accounts – the author concentrates on wine, imported iron and spices. One of the most striking feature of Threlfall-Holmes' research is the large number of different merchants involved: no fewer than 96 merchants are named as selling wine, 71 as supplying Spanish iron and a further 20 supplying spices. The majority of these did not enjoy an exclusive or long-term marketing relationship with the Priory, but appear in the accounts only once or twice. Threlfall-Holmes suggests that this indicates that the Priory had more than enough choice of supplier to exercise fully the medieval equivalent of 'consumer choice'. Furthermore, according to the records there were very few luxury goods imported from London, and the tendency was for an increasingly large proportion of such goods to be contained from Newcastle, suggesting that the market there was more vibrant and competitive than previously assumed. This thesis is further supported by an analysis of the sums spent by the bursars on wine: in the 47 years between 1464 and 1520 for which totals survive, 94 per cent of the total of £2,255 was spent with Newcastle merchants, while nearly all of the remaining 6 per cent went to merchants of Hull whilst only negligible sums were paid to merchants from York, London and Durham respectively. Threlfall-Holmes provides a careful interpretation of the existing accounts and seeks to add biographical details of the merchants in question. The picture that emerges suggests that the extent to which 'a merchant had dealings with Durham Priory does not appear to have had any correlation with his standing in Newcastle or the extent of his trading activities' (p. 79). There is also reason to believe that the wine and iron merchants were importers and wholesalers while those who dealt in spices were mainly retailers. The author also examines the question of whether Newcastle should be considered an exception from the late medieval economic decline which affected most provincial towns and concludes that the town's trade was broad-based enough to 'suggest the existence of a prosperous' community (p. 84).

Supply and providers are also key issues of John S. Lee's 'Feeding the Colleges: Cambridge's food and fuel supplies, 1450–1560', *Economic History Rev.*, 56, 2 (2003), 243–64, in which he successfully re-examines Johann Heinrich von Thünen's economic theories of land-use around an urban centre, put forward in *Der isolierte Staat* (1966). Lee admits that medieval sources contain little direct evidence of purchases made by urban consumers of rural products, and many transactions by-passed the urban market-place as tradesmen such as brewers or bakers tended to buy directly from the producer, while numerous consumers obtained supplies through middlemen. The author thus concentrates on the accounts of King's Hall and King's College, two of the largest and wealthiest colleges, in order to examine Cambridge's predominantly agricultural hinterland for the supply of wheat, malt

barley, charcoal, firewood and sedge and the region's changes in the period 1450 to 1560. These accounts also permit the identification of a number of the suppliers. The King's Hall *conventiones* – agreements between the College and its suppliers – and the King's College *Mundum Books* commonly state the names and residences of the suppliers. King's College received most of its income from royal exchequer allowances and had few estates as potential sources of supply, while King's Hall operated a home farm at nearby Grantchester between 1452 and 1466, but with the high cost of labour and the ready availability of cheap agricultural products found it uneconomical. Although these Colleges had greater spending power and choice than the average townsmen, the high costs of transporting basic foodstuffs and fuel supplies over long distances meant that these essential supplies were procured in the immediate locality whenever possible. Lee has carefully mapped the locations from which supplies were brought – they support von Thünen's themes of 'urban rings'. The Cambridge evidence suggests that the town's hinterland stretched up to 10 miles for grain, over even greater distances for livestock and that fuel and building timber were brought in from specific areas, conditioned in each case by geography and transport cost.

Cambridge – with around 5,000 inhabitants in 1500 – was anything but one of the medieval small towns which feature so prominently in Christopher Dyer's most recent article on their archaeology ('The archaeology of medieval small towns', *Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (2003), 85–114). In this general overview which illustrates results of his research over the past 16 years Dyer concentrates on four main topics: the origins of small towns, their characteristics and definitions, their functions and diversity and finally their long-term development. Dyer is probably the most prominent advocate of the importance of small towns, and his is truly an interdisciplinary approach. In his article he provides – amongst others – topographical and archaeological maps of medieval Steyning, Stratford-upon-Avon, Dorchester, Newport and King's Norton. He also offers newish criteria for an 'urban hierarchy' which include seven types of 'characteristics' (population size, social structure, occupation, markets, outlets and customers, hinterlands, central place functions and self-government/civic consciousness), as well as a brief summary of the documentary and material evidence. The latter point is divided into 'all towns' and 'small towns' – the differences between the two are strikingly obvious. Dyer concludes by stating that the rise of the small town represents an important phase of medieval urbanization and that the archaeological evidence supports the notion of a dramatic growth in the late twelfth and above all the thirteenth centuries. Furthermore, small towns are revealed as diverse communities. They also help to 'define regional differences, not just in the density of their distribution, but in their material prosperity, architecture and religious institutions' (p. 114).

In his 'The bounds of Stoke and the hamlets of Ipswich' (*Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 40, 3 (2003), 262–77) John Fairclough meticulously re-examines the topographical information contained in King Edgar's charter of 970 in which he agreed to the request of his wife, Alfthreth, to sell 10 hides in Stoke, near Ipswich, to Ethelwold the bishop of Winchester. He seeks to locate these landmarks with regard to the later development of this Ipswich suburb as reflected by the Domesday Book entry of 1086, before placing them into the context of the 1351 circuit of the town's boundaries (Appendix I). The useful article concludes with a brief history of the neighbouring hamlet of Brooks. In the

same volume of the Suffolk *Proceedings*, Max Satchell (pp. 289–300) attempts to reconstruct the brief and virtually undocumented history of the leper community at Wentford ('A new Suffolk leper chapel? The lepers of Wentford and the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, Chilton'). This community is only known from a single mid-twelfth-century charter which records a grant by Alexander de la Cressonière of an ancient rent of 12*d* from a property in Gazeley to the *leprosi de Wanteforde*. The medieval records of the former chapel of St Mary Magdalene start in 1231 when Henry III grated Gilbert de Wanteford, the parson of Wentford, and his successors, an annual fair to be held by the chapel on the vigil, day and morrow of the ascension of the Lord. Satchell argues that this chapel (with its obvious dedication) can be linked to a leper community; various existing fieldnames still contain elements connected with 'hospitals', 'provision' and 'care'. He states that the community was founded in the twelfth century by the lords of Clare; this is suggested by their descendants having patronage of the chapel in the late fourteenth century, the land of the chapel being held by the lords of Clare in a court case of 1403, and the actual location of the chapel within the bounds of the Domesday manor of Clare. Satchell has to admit that nothing certain is known concerning the benefaction of the Clare family to communities of lepers in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but if Satchell's assumption is correct, this would make a case for the lords of Clare being far from indifferent towards the lepers. Furthermore, the benefaction would also have been not purely altruistic: the location of the community at a place where travellers journeying from Bury St Edmunds towards Clare first entered the vill was one that could not fail visually to imprint upon the visitor the 'charitable largeness' of the founders. Satchell also argues that the presumed early dissolution may relate to a general shift of interest of the Clare family from Clare following the acquisition of the earldom of Gloucester by Gilbert de Clare in 1217, for this would have left the community vulnerable, without an active patron and unlikely to receive further endowment. If correct, Satchell's case study makes one wonder how many more seemingly forgotten leper communities once existed in medieval England.

In dealing with 'Indulgences in Norwich cathedral priory in the later middle ages: popular piety in the balance sheets' (*Historical Research*, 76, 191 (2003), 18–29) R.N. Swanson examines – amongst other sources – especially the sacrists' accounts in order to provide meaningful information on indulgences as a means of stimulating offerings. The sacrists' accounts start in 1400 and are virtually complete until the early 1530s, although for much of the fourteenth century indulgence revenues are not listed separately. Next to indulgences Swanson also considers other devotional offerings, and concludes that the cathedral housed numerous devotional foci, striking both in their variety and the 'minuscule sums' most of them attracted, with some receiving just a penny or two each year. Some devotions, however, were constant: the high altar always received the highest amount (see Swanson's table 3, p. 25). St William, however, after all Norwich's 'own' saint, rarely received more than one pound. Marian devotion was undoubtedly important, though Swanson's useful examination demonstrates that people made choices. Local cults rose and fell, and it is especially noteworthy that there is no Norwich evidence for a cult of Henry VI who was commemorated at Norwich's dependent cell at Great Yarmouth. Swanson concludes that when viewed in terms of the cathedral's total income, the indulgence revenue was small; yet rather more significant than the actual money was the piety which it reflected.

Religious devotion and forms of endowment also feature prominently in Piotr Orliński's 'Die Stiftungen in den großen preußischen Städten des ausgehenden 13. und des 14. Jahrhunderts. Eine erste Bilanz', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 121 (2003), 64–92. Here he examines four main aspects of urban devotion in Western Prussia: first, the significance of the Order of the Teutonic Knight as recipient of endowments, second, the growing importance of municipal authorities as a corporate body, third, the role of women as originators of religious endowments, and lastly the close interrelation between civic fraternities and guilds and urban monasteries. In stressing the early importance of the Order – then overlord of recently Christianized Prussia – Orliński also demonstrates the very personal nature of the endowments which virtually enabled the founders to participate in the Order's *confraternitas*. By then focusing on examples mainly taken from Thorn and Elbing (and to a lesser extent Danzig) Orliński shows the general decline in endowments directly addressing the Order, but now rather concentrating on urban parish churches. The number of female founders here is extraordinarily high and the religious institutions, altars and cells involved highly varied. His article demonstrates the meaningful possibilities of a 'regional religious devotions' study, especially as the few surviving formerly West Prussian archives still provide hitherto neglected materials.

In his 'Monastischer Austausch und Interkulturation in süddeutschen Territorien. Die Schottenklöster im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 137 (2003 for 2001), 101–16, Helmut Flachenecker focuses on the *monasterium Scotorum*, the Irish/Scottish convents in the Empire and their importance with regard to religious and above all intercultural exchange. The convents were founded from the late eleventh century onwards, and within the Empire there were only nine of them (at Erfurt, Würzburg, Nuremberg, Regensburg, Kelheim, Eichstätt, Memmingen, Constance and Vienna). Rather than closely examining their individual developments within individual towns, Flachenecker's programmatic article seeks to address important themes of historical anthropology; the idea and practicalities of pilgrimage being an obvious concern. Furthermore, he stresses the alien character of both convents and their brethren (first addressed and remedied in the Regensburg charter of the Emperor Henry IV in 1089), but emphasizes the extent to which the friars' literacy helped to integrate them to a considerable extent into the urban quasi-cultural scene.

Historical and archaeological examination of 'integration' and 'segregation' of medieval Jewish communities continues to play a vital part in German urban history; two important articles play tribute here: Manfred Wilde's 'Jüdische Wohnplätze und Freihöfe im Spätmittelalter. Sonderrechtsbereiche in nordsächsischen Städten', *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte*, 22 (2003), 37–56, attempts a regional survey of the small to medium-sized northern Saxonian towns of (amongst others) Dresden, Erfurt, Halle, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Merseburg and Plauen. Although the earliest reference to Jewish settlement in Saxony dates back to the late tenth century, in nearly all cases the evidence to be obtained from written sources is minimal; equally often the topography of the Jewish quarters was only referred to in deeds at a time when obeying the 1502/04 decree of Duke George their inhabitants had already left the towns. Wilde is especially concerned with the distinct legal status of Jews and their properties. Using modern maps of his sample towns he locates these and (so far as the sources allow) also provides valuable individual information. Jewish life in medieval Saxony is still a relatively new

topic of German urban history – here Wilde has provided a welcome starting point for future research.

Unlike for example Merseburg, the Jewish community of medieval Speyer has always featured prominently in German historiography; in her 'Villa Spira – civitas: Zwei mittelalterliche Judensiedlungen in Speyer', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 151 (2003), 13–34, Monika Porsche re-examines and successfully contradicts the still prevailing view that medieval Speyer had *two* distinct Jewish quarters, one within the immediate surroundings of the bishops immunity, the *civitas*, the other in a northern suburb without the walls called Altspeyer. Her arguments against a Jewish quarter in the unprotected quasi-rural *villa Spira* are powerfully convincing. Seemingly obvious topographical hints in the important privilege of 1084 can – as Porsche argues – be interpreted in a significantly different way when taking into account the eleventh-century Speyer topography as a whole, especially when taking into account yet unpublished archaeological evidence. She makes a strong point that the reference to two Jewish quarters in fact relates to their location at two different parts of the bishop's *civitas*. Her thought-provoking ideas also support the theory that place-name indicators have to be considered with care, for local reference can often originate from a much later date than actual historical reference and might in some cases be indeed dangerously misleading.

That equally seemingly obvious legal similarities can be misleading is demonstrated by Bernd Kannowski and Stephan Dusil in their 'Der Hallensische Schöffenbrief für Neumarkt von 1235 und der Sachsenspiegel', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung*, 120 (2003), 61–90. In around 1235 the Silesian Duke Henry the Bearded requested the *Schöffen* (aldermen) of Halle to write down their laws and customs and pass them on to Henry's new foundation of Neumarkt. Since then most constitutional historians have made a case for striking similarities between the new foundation's laws and customs and those of the almost directly contemporary *Sachsenspiegel* and therefore argued that the Neumarkt case provides the first proper use of the *Sachsenspiegel* for urban legal and constitutional purposes. Kannowski and Dusil, however, are able to demonstrate convincingly that although these striking similarities do in fact exist, they were at best unintentional. They argue that the Halle *Schöffen*, Saxons as the author of the *Sachsenspiegel*, were bound to refer to identical laws and customs, writing them down from memory rather than deliberately copying them out as there are no direct and identical quotations. Furthermore, the two authors stress that the (rightly) assumed importance of the *Sachsenspiegel* in German constitutional history has led to a prevailing and previously all too often unchallenged conviction of its even contemporary use as urban 'reference books' for laws and customs. Another valuable case study of the process leading up to and the technicalities of (here early medieval) charter provisions is provided by Christian Hoffmann in his 'Markt, Münze und Zoll zu Wiedenbrück: Die Urkunde König Ottos I. für den Osnabrücker Bischof Drogo vom 7. Juli 952', *Osnabrücker Mitteilungen*, 108 (2003), 11–32.

Never one to shy away from seemingly daunting topics, Gerhard Fouquet seeks to provide a brief overview of urban living conditions in late medieval south German towns. His 'Städtische Lebensformen im Spätmittelalter. Neue Perspektiven und neue Forschungen', *Jahrbuch für Regionalgeschichte*, 22 (2003), 12–36, seeks to provide both an insight into past and current research on living

conditions for *all* classes of urban society, before then focusing predominantly on the richly documented evidence of late medieval Augsburg, Nuremberg and Magdeburg. (For a new assessment of the mortality rate and demographic change after the Black Death in German towns see Manfred Vasold, 'Die Ausbreitung des Schwarzen Todes in Deutschland nach 1348. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur deutschen Bevölkerungsgeschichte', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 227, 2 (2003), 281–308.) Fouquet demonstrates that the concept of 'honour' was in class-adjusted measure a prevailing one in all levels of urban society. Another main topic is the 'Stadtadel' – the leading citizens obtaining minor gentry status – and their feasts, tournaments and jousts, thus meaningfully linking discussion of possibilities of social advance to 'popular culture'. By finally focusing on wedding feasts – again well evidenced for all levels of urban society – and the resulting married life of couples Fouquet paints a vibrant and colourful picture of late medieval urban life indeed.

Unlike Fouquet Birgit Noodt focuses on just one group within urban medieval society: women. Her 'Die "naringe" Lübecker Frauen im 14. Jahrhundert: Frauenarbeit in Handel und Handwerk', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 83 (2003), 9–52, follows (amongst others) the most recent English case studies provided by Caroline M. Barron, P.J.P. Goldberg, Martha Howell and Merry E. Wiesner. Basing her examination to a considerable extent on the Lübeck *Zunftrollen* which originate in the fourteenth-century, she also takes into account some 500 individual testaments and the fourteenth-century *Schuldbuch*, the 'book of debts'. One of her foci is the Lübeck *mercatrix*, quasi-independent local tradeswomen, another on the numerous shopkeepers and market stall holders. When bearing in mind the important results achieved by the above named English case studies Noodt's article supports these, thus providing an important point of comparison between medieval English and German towns and their internal social and economic structures. It is after all hardly surprising that at Lübeck too numerous women were engaged in beer brewing and candle making. And it is equally hardly surprising that the majority of single or widowed women became members of female fraternities and in their testaments made substantial endowments to convents. However, this weighty article which displays profound knowledge of the local archival sources adds valuable information to the late medieval social strata of Lübeck.

As does Kurt Weisen in his 'Briefe in Lübeck lebender Florentiner Kaufleute an die Medici', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 83 (2003), 53–82. Here he adds seven previously unpublished letters to the 1906 edition by Heinrich Sieveking of some eight communications written by the Lübeck-based Florentine merchant Gherardo Bueri and three other employees to the Medici. Bueri himself was a distant cousin of the Medici; he lived and worked at Lübeck from 1413 to his death in 1449. Apart from demonstrating the problems of postal service in general, the letters also provide a new interpretation of a more direct Medici involvement in the economic life of Lübeck. (A comparable case study for Cologne involvement at Rome and Lucca is provided by Arnold Esch, 'Kölnisches in römischen und lucchesischen Archivalien des späten Mittelalters. Neue Belege für Waren- und Geldverkehr mit Italien', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 67 (2003), 21–36.) It becomes clear that Bueri acted directly on behalf of the Medici in their trade with fox furs and amber – albeit hindered by their reluctance to provide the monies needed – than hitherto assumed. However, most of the

letters are not restricted to business matters, but also refer to the private purchase of manuscripts; some are distinctly private and rather chatty in nature. Bueri had become a Lübeck citizen; he remained, however, distinctly involved in family affairs, using his Medici connections to provide for his Italian relations. An Italian edition of the remaining letters concludes Weissen's stimulating article.

Recent research has successfully challenged older views about Lübeck's self-proclaimed status as head of the Hanse; the current trend points towards greater emphasis on 'regions' within that unique trading association. Within this context the articles by Bert Looper, 'Holland, die Ijssel und die Hanse. Jahrmärkte als Brücken und Barrieren', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 121 (2003), 1–12, and Job Weststrate, 'Abgrenzung durch Aufnahme. Zur Eingliederung der süderseeischen Städte in die Hanse, ca. 1360–1450', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 121 (2003), 13–40, provide valuable insight into the 'Dutch' involvement. While Weststrate provides a more general picture with illuminative individual town case studies of the position of the 'Dutch' towns within the Hanse, Looper focuses on the role of markets and fairs within the Ijssel towns (especially Kampen, Zwolle, Deventer and Zutphen) and highlights the important inter-regional differences: he argues that Deventer owed its economic prosperity to its international fairs while Zutphen concentrated on its predominantly rural hinterland for its vital goods. Furthermore, Looper also re-examines the prevailing notion of the Hanse as a 'protectionistic economic system' when posing the question of why the association 'allowed' semi-international/regional fairs to prevail. He is, however, bound to conclude that the Ijssel region was on the fringes of the immediate Hanseatic mainland interests, although the Utrecht treaty of 1470 contained important local trading stipulations.

1500–1800

A variety of papers explore issues concerned with the topography and landscape of the early modern urban centres, including Victoria E. Thompson's 'Telling spatial stories: urban space and bourgeois identity in early nineteenth-century Paris', *J. of Modern History*, 75 (2003), 523–56; Victoria Sanger and Isabelle Warmoes' 'The city gates of Louis XIV', *J. of Urban History*, 30 (2003), 50–69; Liam Brunt's 'Rehabilitating Arthur Young', *Economic History Rev.*, 56 (2003), 265–99, and Trevor Foulds' '"This great house, so lately begun, and all of freestone": William Cavendish's Italianate Palazzo called Nottingham Castle', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 106 (2002), 81–102. Foulds demonstrates the importance of the castle in its later incarnation as an image of the city of Nottingham between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, as reflected in engravings and other art works. The role of archaeology in the study of urban topography and society is demonstrated by David Andrews, Charles Mundy and Helen Walker's 'Saffron Walden: the topography of the southern half of the town and the market place, excavations and watching briefs, 1884–7', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 33 (2002), 221–73. The authors examine the archaeology of this famously well-preserved large market town, demonstrating its shifting economic focus from the ancient period right up to the 1980s.

Developing some of the matters raised by last year's special issue of *Urban History* on urban music, the importance of topography and landscape with respect to noise and music making is considered from two different perspectives by David

Garrioch in 'Sounds of the city: the soundscape of early modern European towns', *Urban History*, 30 (2003), 5–25, and Emily Cockayne in 'Experiences of the deaf in early modern England', *Historical J.*, 46 (2003), 493–510. Garrioch argues that sounds were an important source of information in the early modern town, a 'semiotic system, conveying news, helping people to locate themselves in time and space' and forming an auditory community. Sound therefore helped to construct identities and structure relationships, reflecting changes in social and political organization and attitudes towards time and urban space. A fascinating extra dimension to such an argument is provided by Cockayne who examines the degree of social integration of the deaf in early modern England, social attitudes towards them and their experiences.

Economic aspects of the early modern town receive treatment in a variety of studies. Those that consider the broader aspects of economic life include: Robin J. Ives, 'Political publicity and political economy in eighteenth-century France', *French History*, 17 (2003), 1–18; Lizabeth Cohen, 'Is there an urban history of consumption?', *J. of Urban History*, 29 (2003), 87–106; Robert C. Allen, 'Progress and poverty in early modern Europe', *Economic History Rev.*, 56 (2003), 403–43; Paoloa Lanardo, 'Economic space and urban policies: fairs and markets in the Italy of the early modern age', *J. of Urban History*, 30 (2003), 37–49; John Smail, 'The culture of credit in eighteenth-century commerce: the English textile industry', *Enterprise and Society*, 4 (2003), 299–325; and W. Fritschy, 'A "financial revolution" reconsidered: public finance in Holland during the Dutch revolt, 1568–1648', *Economic History Rev.*, 56 (2003), 57–89. Smail argues that different business strategies and cultures of credit in different regions had important implications for the development of the textile industry during the eighteenth century, shaping the character of entrepreneurship of each region of the merchants and producers. More specific trades and markets are explored in greater detail in: Jeffrey Wigelsworth, 'Competing to popularize Newtonian philosophy: John Theophilus Desaguliers and the preservation of reputation', *Isis*, 94 (2003), 435–55; Donald J. Harreld, 'Trading places: the public and private spaces of merchants in sixteenth-century Antwerp', *J. of Urban History*, 29 (2003), 657–69; George Selgin, 'Steam, hot air, and small change: Matthew Boulton and the reform of Britain's coinage', *Economic History Rev.*, 56 (2003), 478–509; Colin J. Brett, 'The fairs and markets of Norton St. Philip', *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural Historical Society*, 144 (2002), 165–96; and John S. Lee, 'Feeding the colleges: Cambridge's food and fuel supplies, 1450–1560', *Economic History Rev.*, 56 (2003), 243–64. Brett provides a useful exploration of the sources on fairs and markets in the old market town using charters, old almanacs, lists and gazetteers, especially the fair note books and directories. Wigelsworth's paper shows the importance of competition for markets in the London book trade and how the book trade and competition amongst public lecturers in the metropolis drove the publication of scientific texts.

Urban government and institutions feature in a number of papers including: Gregory Brown's 'Reconsidering the censorship of writers in eighteenth-century France: civility, state power, and the public theatre in the Enlightenment', *J. of Modern History*, 75 (2003), 235–68, and Wilhelm Ribhegge's 'City and nation in Germany from the middle ages to the present: the origins of the modern civil society in the urban tradition', *J. of Urban History*, 30 (2003), 21–36. Ribhegge's paper considers the development of civic and national government, and the role of the German cities in the creation of a civil society and national identity from

their origins during the middle ages as corporate institutions. Aspects of urban charitable and medical institutions and the associated practitioners are explored in Sarah Lloyd, 'Pleasing spectacles and elegant dinners: conviviality, benevolence, and charity anniversaries in eighteenth-century London', *J. of British Studies*, 41 (2003), 23–57; Samuel S. Thomas, 'Midwifery and society in Restoration York', *Social History of Medicine*, 16 (2003), 1–16; Alysa Levene, 'The origins of the children of the London Foundling Hospital, 1741–1760: a reconstruction', *Continuity and Change*, 18 (2003), 201–35; and Angie Smith, 'Weighed in the balance? The corporation of apothecaries in Bordea', *Social History of Medicine*, 16 (2003), 17–37. Levene's study explores the characteristics of children entering the hospital between 1741 and 1760, demonstrating that up to a third were born in wedlock. She considers some of the personal and economic reasons for entry, suggesting that the illegitimacy rates in London for the eighteenth century must have been lower than historians have previously estimated.

The problems presented to national and local urban government by social disorder and the attempts to control these are examined in Dave Postles', 'Penance and the market place: a Reformation dialogue with the medieval church', *J. of Ecclesiastical History*, 54 (2003), 228–53; Timothy Tackett's 'Collective panics in the early French Revolution, 1789–1791: a comparative perspective', *French History*, 17 (2003), 149–71; Sean Field's, 'Devotion, discontent and the Henrician Reformation: the evidence of the Robin Hood stories', *J. of British Studies*, 41 (2002), 6–22; G. Morgan and P. Rushton's, 'The magistrate, the community, and the maintenance of an orderly society in eighteenth-century England', *Historical Research*, 76 (2003), 54–77; Jeremy D. Hayhoe's, 'Neighbours before the court: crime, village communities and seignurial justice in northern Burgundy, 1750–1790', *French History*, 17 (2003), 127–48; Michael C. Scardaville's, 'Justice by paperwork: the day in the life of court scribe in Bourbon Mexico City', *J. of Social History*, 36 (2003), 979–1007; Jessica Warner and Robin Miller's '"My pappa is out and my mamma is asleep": minors, their routine activities, and interpersonal violence in an early modern town, 1653–1781', *J. of Social History*, 26 (2003), 561–84; and J. Warner and A. Lunny's 'Marital violence in a martial town: husbands and wives in early modern Portsmouth, 1653–1781', *J. of Family History*, 28 (2003), 258–76. Morgan and Rushton's study utilizes a rare surviving notebook of a local magistrate in the north-east of England and concludes that his primary effort went into negotiating peace between disputants rather than in securing prosecution and conviction of criminals. Although reconciliation efforts were intermixed with enforcement the study puts a different slant on the Georgian system of criminal justice which is sometimes portrayed as being brutal and forceful. Rather they argue that the magistrate would use a range of powers, including coercion, persuasion, negotiation, compromise and reformation, as appropriate in different situations. These findings are broadly supported by Scardaville in his study of the courts in Bourbon Mexico City and exactly parallel those of Hayhoe. In the context of late eighteenth-century Burgundy Hayhoe concludes that contrary to the view of most historians of crime the local seigneurial court played a vital role in the everyday disputes of ordinary citizens rather than being resented.

The demographic model applied by social and urban historians to early modern England has broadly followed the model of population growth propounded by E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield in their Malthusian *Population History of England, 1541–1871*. However, John Hatcher in 'Understanding the population history of England,

1450–1750', *Past and Present*, 180 (2003), 83–130, suggests that this model requires considerable re-evaluation. Wrigley and Schofield argued that levels of fertility and mortality in early modern England were moderate by the global standards of pre-industrial societies, that there were few crises induced by sudden change and that the institution of marriage helped to function effectively in controlling the levels of fertility according to the state of the economy. However, drawing upon work including that by urban historians such as Chris Galley on different parishes and localities, Hatcher concludes that the system they developed was robotic and unduly simplistic, using selective criteria and excessively dominated by the economic context, and that continuing investigations have revealed the extent of personal, local and regional diversity, otherwise masked by bald statistical aggregates.

Social structural categories such as those of gender, class and religious affiliation are re-evaluated in a number of studies with implications for the study of the early modern town. The role of gender is explored in Craig Muldrew's 'A mutual assent of her mind? Women, debt, litigation and contract in early modern England', *History Workshop J.*, 55 (2003), 47–71; Valerie A. Kivelson's 'Male witches and gendered categories in seventeenth-century Russia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 45 (2003), 606–31; and C.S.L. Davies' 'A woman in the public sphere: Dorothy Wadham and the foundation of Wadham College, Oxford', *English Historical Rev.*, 118 (2003), 883–911. Other problems with conventional categories of social structure employed by historians are discussed by Stephen Miller in 'Absolutism and class at the end of the Old Regime: the case of Languedoc', *J. of Social History*, 36 (2003), 871–98; M.A. Norris, 'Edward Sexby, John Reynolds and Edmund Chillenden: agitators, "sectarian grandees", and the relations of the New Model Army with London in the spring of 1647', *Historical Research*, 76 (2003), 30–53; and Dylan Riley in 'Privilege and property: the political foundations of failed class formation in eighteenth-century Austrian Lombardy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 45 (2002), 190–213. Similarly, although not directly on an urban subject, Andrew Mackillop's article on 'The political culture of the Scottish Highlands from Culloden to Waterloo', *Historical J.*, 46 (2003), 511–32, demonstrates the inadequacy of received models of the interrelationship between social groups in particular geographical locations during the early modern period, emphasizing the 'process of mutual accommodation' that underpinned the relationship between the British state and clan networks, rather than the more usual model of social oppression and resistance.

The relationship between different religious groups between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries is also undergoing something of a revision with more nuanced approaches emphasizing the subtle and complex interactions between such groups in different urban contexts rather than the individuating, isolating and conflicting aspects more usually emphasized in the past. Some of these issues are examined by Fay Bound in 'An angry and malicious mind? Narratives of slander at the church, 1660–1760', *History Workshop J.*, 56 (2003), 59–77, and Hilary J. Bernstein in, 'The "bourgeoisie seconde", the Catholic League and urban society', *French History*, 17 (2003), 342–51. In '"Subjective testimonies": women Quaker ministers and spiritual authority in England: 1750–1825', *Gender and History*, 15 (2003), 296–318, Helen Plant argues that even though they faced apparent exclusion from more formal bodies amongst the Friends, women played an increasingly important role in the ministry. In 'Religious communities in revolutionary Halifax', *Northern History*,

40 (2003), 89–111, Samuel S. Thomas argues that given Halifax's status as a huge upland parish with a large scattered population which was largely supported by the clothing industry, it was not surprising that it had a reputation for religious independence. The town was a Puritan stronghold from the late sixteenth century, a centre for religious radicalism and in the later seventeenth century a centre for nonconformity. These features have usually been associated with religious fragmentation and the decline of the early modern parish, but 'despite the parish's structural shortcomings, and the strength of nonconformity here, the religious community in Halifax remained vital and unchanging, as nonconformists, poor people and women were interested and involved in the religious life of the parish'. Nonconformists and low church Anglicans resisted attempts to make the parish more exclusive and did not forsake parochial institutions; rather they engaged with the established system of religious government. Similar tolerance of different religious affiliations is also evident in Craig D'Alton's revisionist paper, 'The suppression of Lutheran hereticism in England, 1526–1529', *J. of Ecclesiastical History*, 54 (2003), 228–53. This contends that rather than the relations between the English church and Lutheranism being either fraught or 'soft' during the 1520s, there was actually a degree of tolerance and engagement, a deliberate and successful policy of humanist reform. Likewise, the relationship between theological ideas, civil society and the early seventeenth-century metropolis is shown in David R. Como's 'Predestination and political conflict in Laud's London', *Historical J.*, 46 (2003), 263–94, which also shows that overt persecution was not employed but rather much more subtle tactics of persuasion, harassment and quiet threats. There were clear economic benefits to religious tolerance as Glenn J. Ames demonstrates in his analysis of the reasons for the success of the English Crown and East India Company in India against the Portuguese during the later seventeenth century in 'The role of religion in the transfer and rise of Bombay, c. 1661–1687', *Historical J.*, 46 (2003), 317–40.

An important revisionist development in recent historiography has, of course, been the efforts to apply Western models of urban development to other countries around the globe in response to the more traditional projection of the Western industrialist model to reinforce old and lingering imperialist preconceptions. Underpinned and encouraged by post-colonial philosophies, this strand of work has drawn parallels and gained insights by comparing Western urban centres with others in the rest of the world and has proved to be especially applicable to the pre-industrial societies both temporally and geographically. This is shown by Neeraj Hatekar's study, 'Farmers and markets in the pre-colonial Deccan: the plausibility of economic growth in traditional society', *Past and Present*, 178 (2003), 116–47, and is even more evident in Selma Akyazici Ozkocak's, 'Two urban districts in early modern Istanbul: Edirnekapi and Yedikule', *Urban History*, 30 (2003), 26–43. The former argues that urban markets in India should not be viewed simply as a by product – as devices to allow the peasantry to concert agricultural produce into tribute payments – but rather that urban growth had its own dynamic which is worthy of study in its own right. He therefore breaks down the post-colonial intellectual barrier by challenging the thesis that Khandesh agriculture was a static tributory system, and demonstrates that other pre-modern societies can be placed within the same conceptual scheme as that hitherto applied to Western Europe. Ozkocak examines the system of meat supply and the topographical development of two districts in the expanding capital of the Ottoman Empire, exploring the

network of other industries relating to the trade such as the slaughter houses, tanning workshops and soap makers. He determines the reasons for the location of these aspects of the industry in the different parts of the city, including the role of the authorities in regulating the trade, making the point that Istanbul was comparable to and in fact larger than other great cities of Europe such as London and Madrid. It therefore required commensurate trading networks to support the rapid Ottoman expansion of the post-Byzantine city and a growing military power and empire.

The role of sport and leisure in early modern society is examined from a variety of perspectives by Iris. M. Middleton in 'Cockfighting in Yorkshire during the early eighteenth century', *Northern History*, 40 (2003), 129–46; Wray Vampleur examines another aspect of Yorkshire sport in 'Horse racing and the Yorkshire leisure calendar in the early eighteenth century', *Northern History*, 40 (2003), 259–76; and Stephen Matheus in 'Mr Baldwin's balloon: a forgotten flight', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 99 (2003), 191–204. Each of these papers draws extensively upon the newspaper evidence from the 1720s onwards and other published accounts, whilst Middleton's and Vampleur's work in particular uses racing calendars, diaries and other sources to explore the factors behind the timing and incidence of the sport, the manner of its conduct and organization and its relationship to other sporting and social events. Middleton demonstrates that there was a cockfighting season determined by *inter alia* the breeding cycle of the birds, whilst Vampleur explores the temporal and geographical pattern of the racing calendar, concentrating upon the period between 1700 and 1750. After examining the races at York, Hambleton and other centres, he concludes that fairs and holidays were important factors in determining the season in each location, and ensured that a large number of working people were able to attend the race meetings. They were more important than local market times, as these were not considered suitable occasions at which to hold meetings. As well as the important information still buried in the Georgian provincial press, each of these studies remind us of the controversy, disorder and opportunity for popular expression that such sporting events could engender and the importance of their relationship with other events in the urban and rural calendar.

The association between forms of Protestantism and early modern urban centres, universities and educational curriculum and practices in Holland is examined by Willem Otter Speer in 'The mediating role of the university: Leiden University, its structure and function during the first two centuries of its existence', *History of Universities*, 18 (2003), ii, 147–96, whilst Shona Vance in 'Poverty and the pursuit of learning: poor scholars in seventeenth-century Aberdeen', *History of the Universities*, 18 (2003), ii, 90–146, considers one of the medieval Scottish universities. Vance demonstrates the religious incentives and intellectual support given for civil efforts by the universities to provide support for poor students to help create a new Protestant society in Scotland. She investigates the financial restructuring of the Scottish universities from the late sixteenth century and the importance of the religious and trading connections with continental Europe, especially France and the Netherlands on the conduct and regulation of the Scottish university system. Speer considers the role of Leiden University as the embodiment of Dutch religious and political liberty in enhancing the civic well-being of the state. He explores the special ties between urban government and the university evident in the participation of government officials in university ceremonies and the symbolism

in university charter documents. Leiden University, he argues, was subservient to the needs of the church and city and an important vehicle for the expression of the individuality and independence of Dutch Protestantism during its struggle for independent existence with the Spanish Catholic empire. The importance of the support given to scientific education by the unusual social, political and urban circumstances in the Netherlands is also evident in Margaret C. Jacob and Dorothee Sturkenboom's 'A woman's scientific society in the west: the eighteenth-century assimilation of science', *Isis*, 94 (2003), 217–52, and Rienk Vermij's, 'The formation of the Newtonian philosophy: the case of the Amsterdam mathematical amateurs', *British J. for the History of Science*, 36 (2003), 183–200. The former examines the Natuurkundig Genootschap der Dames (Women's Society for Natural Knowledge) established in 1785 at Middleburg in the Netherlands by immensely prosperous women 'citizens of one of the most highly literate western countries'.

In 'Gravestones, belonging and local attachment in England 1700–2000', *Past and Present*, 179 (2003), 97–13, K.D.M. Snell explores the value of the rich quantity of material available to the historian up until the late nineteenth century, before cremations began to take place, arguing that it is a 'completely untouched historical topic'. He deplores how rapidly this underutilized record is disappearing with chapels being turned into garages, churches tarmaced over and burial grounds becoming car parks signifying the frequent lack of attachment to place in modern society. The importance of such communities is evident in David C. Harvey's 'Territoriality, parochial development, and the place of "community" in later medieval Cornwall', *J. of Historical Geography*, 29 (2003), 151–65, which examines the emerging territorial framework of West Cornwall in relation to community expression and power from the end of the medieval period. The role of the law in regulating communities is also well demonstrated by the series of papers in a special issue of the *J. of Family History*, 28 (2003), which includes William J. Goode's 'Family changes over the long term: a sociological commentary', Wolfram Muller-Frienfels' 'The emergence of droit de famille and familienrecht in continental Europe and the introduction of family law in England' and Maria V. Antokolskaia's 'Development of family law in Western and Eastern Europe: common origins, common driving forces, common tendencies', 15–30, 31–51 and 52–69 respectively.

The importance of the acquisition and use of historical urban collections is reviewed in a series of papers which examine the life of Chetham and his importance in the history of Manchester and the collections of the Chetham Library in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 99 (2003), especially S.J. Guscott, 'Merchants, money and myth-making: the life of Humphrey Chetham', 1–20, Terry Wyhe, '"So honest a physiognomy": memorialising Humphrey Chetham', 21–42, and Kathy Whalen and Michael Powell, 'An asylum for scraporicus: albums of ephemera at Chethams's Library', 43–76. These studies examine the origins and career of Humphrey Chetham, a Manchester merchant who made a fortune from the fustian trade with which he bought land and property and bequeathed funds for a school and library, throwing light on merchant family life in seventeenth-century Manchester and on Chetham's land and business investments. They also explore how Chetham was remembered and memorialized by later civic figures and historians and the changing image that was promulgated in the various busts and statues. The scrapbooks in the library which he endowed, which contain pasted clippings of prints, cartoons, articles and

other material, are also extremely useful for the history of Manchester and further afield.

Post-1800

Can we detect a return to basics in Julie-Marie Strange's 'Only a pauper whom nobody owns: reassessing the pauper grave c. 1880–1914', *Past and Present*, 178 (2003), 48–75? Drawing on burial board archives from the urban north-west, the author focuses on the personal and familial plight of the bereaved, with traditional 'caring for the corpse' being depicted as central to the expression of grief and identity. Strange alludes to the fact that, in our own times, a 'pauper grave' is paid for out of the Social Fund. Yet, as early as the 1890s, local authorities were beginning to think of ways of reducing the depth of indignity to which the poverty-stricken could be reduced by the experience of death. Thus in Urmston in 1891 the burial board cackhandedly attempted to do the right thing by redesignating pauper graves 'fourth class' 'burial plots'. Chorley opted for the less discriminatory 'unpurchased plots', while Liverpool Vestry appropriated the already widely used 'in receipt of parochial relief'. During the 1920s several boards received applications for exhumation from families now in a position to afford a 'proper' funeral. Strange concludes that 'the social aspirations of the poor may have found expression in the purchase of a grave, yet the private grave also represented the desire to exercise some control and dignity in life, even if – ironically – this be over the dead'. In a good year for what used to be called 'working-class' urban-focused history Paul A. Pickering continues his exploration of lesser known aspects of Chartism, arguing that many radicals remained unconvinced that Queen Victoria constituted a political 'problem'. The author contends that a 'limited' or 'ceremonial' variant of the monarchy had been widely discussed in militant reformist circles twenty years before Bagehot's famous formulation. Pickering also engages with Antony Taylor's influential *Down with the Crown: British Anti-Monarchism and Debate about Royalty since 1790* (1990). By way of conclusion '"The hearts of millions": Chartism and popular monarchism in the 1840s', *History*, 88 (2003), 227–48, questions the extent to which critiques of queen and court originated in opposition to 'old corruption' and presents evidence to substantiate his assertion that important sections of the movement championed a form of 'loyalist' anti-republicanism.

Just before Christmas 1839 the queen knighted Thomas Phillips, and praised him for 'individual exertions' that had cemented the monarchy and 'preserv[ed] the lives and properties of her subjects'. In an extended essay in historical revisionism Chris Williams argues that the twentieth century has been unkind to the beleaguered mayor of Newport. He shifts the focus away from the 'oppressor' of the Chartists to a man who upheld law and order, supported 'gradual' reform and celebrated the virtues of 'historical precedent and evolution'. Whether 'The great hero of the Newport Rising: Thomas Phillips, reform and Chartism', *Welsh Historical Rev.*, 21 (2003), 481–511, will save the moderate reformist from John Frost's accusation that he too readily became 'the supple tool of an insolent aristocracy' remains uncertain. Articles concerned with the post-Chartist quietus include Donna Loftus's thoughtful 'Capital and community: limited liability and attempts to democratise the market in mid-nineteenth century England', *Victorian Studies*, 45 (2002), 93–120. The author homes in on the Limited Liability (1855)

and Joint Stock Companies Acts (1856), and suggests that the period witnessed the creation of the 'most permissive framework for business in Europe'. Loftus elaborates on Timothy Alborn's recent research into the impact of these changes on 'community and the nature of the market in a "civilized" nation'. Reforming interest groups perceived extended limited liability as a means of democratizing the constitution and drawing respectable working-men into full interaction with a 'free' market. However, Loftus concludes that legislative change 'failed to dislodge entrenched perspectives and ultimately confirmed the power of capital over labour'. Yet the debate itself was conducted in a climate in which the idea of a more 'socially balanced society' became increasingly prominent. Loftus suggests that at root mid-century Palmerstonianism was concerned with suppressing disruptive memories of Chartism, the hungry forties and the condition of England question. Rita Sharp's 'The riots in St George's in the East', *Local Historian*, 33 (2003), 4–11, summarizes events that resonate with the rampages of an unfettered eighteenth-century urban mob. Between May 1859 and June 1860 one of the poorest parishes in the capital was stricken by intense religious controversy. Doctrinal squabbling broke out between the High Church Reverend Bryan King and the evangelical Hugh Allen, who had been elected lecturer by those opposed to King's 'popish' commitment to 'high ritual'. At the peak of the crisis as many as 3,000 parishioners crowded into church, catcalling, booing and yelling insults as King attempted to conduct holy service. The rector suffered a nervous collapse and narrowly avoided being accompanied to the station by a brass band hired for the occasion by his evangelical opponents. Avebury, where he remained for the rest of his life, proved a quieter living than the troubled East End. King's 'progress' deserves to have been commemorated by a latter-day Hogarth or Cruickshank.

Urban and social disequilibrium in the 1860s underpin Rosalind Hill's 'A poore cotton weyver: poverty and the cotton famine in Clitheroe', *Social History*, 28 (2003), 227–50. The author focuses on key institutions, including the Poor Law Guardians and a charitable relief committee. She interrogates the actions and motives of employers and describes how operatives coped with the crisis and its no less debilitating aftermath. A wide range of sources, including parliamentary papers, local newspapers and – exceptional rarities – diaries kept both by an employer and an employee, are consulted to build up a picture of a deeply troubled community. 'Benevolent paternalism' found itself under threat, not least since relief was belatedly received and made conditional on meeting 'moral' criteria based on a socially disruptive distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor. Hill concludes that employers revealed themselves to be unyielding profit-maximizers determined to preserve a malleable, post-famine workforce. As for the 'weyvers', they resented being praised for 'patience' in the face of adversity, protested at the manner in which the crisis had been managed and only 'grudgingly' accepted assistance. Steven Thompson's '"That beautiful winter of severe austerity": health, diet and the working-class domestic economy in South Wales in 1926', *Welsh Historical Rev.*, 21 (2003), 552–71, relates how miners ensured that their communities would be capable of fending off near-starvation during the year of the General Strike. Evidence includes annual *Reports* of the Registrar-General; estimates of rent arrears; share capital and savings accounts held at Glamorgan and Monmouthshire Cooperative Societies; and official dietaries for school dinners. Thompson concludes that 'working-class people in the early twentieth century were not passive victims of the economic forces that acted

upon their lives but acted as conscious decision-makers, active agents in their own history'. However, the author has neglected to augment data on the crude and infant death-rates with trends in cause-specific mortality. A high degree of cohesiveness characterized the community described by Thomas J. Shelley in 'Catholic Greenwich Village: ethnic geography and religious identity in New York City, 1880–1930', *Catholic Historical Rev.*, 89 (2003), 60–84. For more than fifty years this vibrant neighbourhood provided a home for seven ethnic groups and a dozen churches and chapels. Shelley analyses interactions between a wide range of religious organizations and pinpoints the central role played by Irish-American ecclesiastical authorities. The narrative also engages with the inter-war era, a period which witnessed a radical deterioration in the vitality of communal life, with large numbers of middle-class families – the social bed-rock of Catholic Greenwich Village – eventually 'scurry[ing] to the outer boroughs of the city'. Instability constitutes the main theme of Jianfa Shen and Yefang Huang's 'The working and living space of the "floating population" in China', *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 44 (2003), 35–50. The authors emphasize that those who fail to fit into the long-established *hukou* system officially belong neither to the agricultural nor the urban population. The former category is tied to the land, and provided with basic housing, but deprived of all other state benefits. The latter earn significantly higher wages than their rural counterparts, and receive housing subsidies and substantial welfare payments. The numbers of those 'who fell between' reached a staggering 50 million in 1995, a figure that has now spiralled to 121 million, or about 10 per cent of the Chinese population. The authors criticize an administrative system which allows so many ex-peasants to be condemned to a limbo existence. Shen and Huang are convinced that, in and of itself, bureaucratic reform will not cut the Gordian knot, which is rooted in an attempt to combine free-market economics with remnants of the direct physical controls which were in place during the heyday of the classic pre-Cultural Revolution centralized state. To abolish *hukou* would compel the government to extend social justice to the countryside and deprive itself of a massive pool of cheap unskilled casual labour, essential to the completion of an ever-growing number of urban development projects.

In 'Death in the afternoon: the Croke Park Park Massacre, 21 November 1920', *Canadian J. History*, 38 (2003), 44–67, David Leeson interrogates what he claims to have been 'one of the most controversial events of the Irish War of Independence'. Yet another Dublin Bloody Sunday witnessed armed police action during a mid-afternoon football match. There were a dozen fatalities, following twelve army deaths earlier in the day. Were these later killings motivated by revenge? Or should the massacre be designated a 'raid gone wrong'? Leeson has drawn on the little known *Report of the Labour Commission to Ireland* and a confidential official inquiry hidden away in War Office material at the Public Record Office. He concludes that the evidence suggests that 'while neither critics nor apologists have been completely correct, the critical version of the massacre is more accurate than its rival'. This, Leeson argues, was 'a *battue*, not a battle'. In a contemporaneous study Antonio Sonnessa examines the lineage and achievements of the Arditi del Popoli in Turin between 1919 and 1922. Establishing that the organization borrowed its name from 'shock troop' brigades that rose to prominence during the First World War, he claims that it proved more effective than leftist political parties or trades unions in the struggle against fascism in cities like Bari, Livorno, Parma and Rome. 'Working class defence organization, anti-fascist resistance and the

Arditi del Popoli in Turin, 1919–22', *European History Quarterly*, 33 (2003), 183–218, concentrates on differences between ADP ideology and traditional working-class *mentalités*, anti-fascist resistance in factories and the community, the attitudes of intellectuals and the day-to-day experience of belonging to the movement in Turin. Jon Lawrence's 'Fascist violence and the politics of public order in inter-war Britain: the Olympia debate revisited', *Historical Research*, 76 (2003), 238–67, marshals press reports, pamphlets, parliamentary papers and police records to reveal how an infamous demonstration of blackshirt violence persuaded the Conservative Party and influential Communist and British Union of Fascists activists to distance themselves from the tactic of physical confrontation. The author summarizes public discussion over the 'legitimacy of dissent and protest in public politics' and the role that the police, and the law, would in future play in controlling potentially explosive public meetings. In the longer term, Lawrence suggests, 'the reaction against fascist violence led to a significant increase in the state's role in what had previously been considered a . . . traditionally private sphere of political life'. Two intriguing contributions by Jeffrey S. Adler engage with the historical dynamics of interpersonal violence in the modern city. In '"We've got a right to fight: we're married": domestic homicide in Chicago, 1875–1920', *J. Interdisciplinary History*, 34 (2003), 27–48, the author reacts against a mono-causal approach dominated by conceptions of gendered conflict. Disaggregating his data according to ethnicity and race, Adler homes in on 'culturally specific forms' of aggression. He concludes that German and Italian immigrants and African-American members of the community killed 'loved ones' (*sic*?) for 'different reasons, at different rates, and with different family members involved'. He contends that these findings can be credibly interpreted in terms of different groups defining conflict between the sexes in distinctive ways, with this latter process reflecting discrepancies in the 'blend' between cultural assumptions and economic and social context. In '"On the border of smokeland": evolutionary psychology and plebeian violence in industrial Chicago, 1870–1920', *J. Social History*, 34 (2003), 541–60, Adler presents a graphic scenario of death by handgun in 1891 in a bar in the Windy City. A 'meaningless' killing, this particular incident originated in a denial of hospitality – the standard 'so you refuse to drink with me, do you?'. Having established an empirical context, Adler outlines the main elements of an evolutionary psychological approach. According to this paradigm, violent behaviour is rooted in 'adaptive mechanisms honed through thousands of years of . . . change'. Thus young unmarried males are said to be very nearly neanderthally predisposed to become embroiled in interpersonal violence with other young unmarried males. Adler tests the validity of the approach by analysing 5,600 cases of male-on-male aggression in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Chicago. His main requirement is that the theory should be capable of explaining the 'phenomenon itself and changes over time in relation to the phenomenon'. Hardly surprisingly, evolutionary psychology proves largely unhelpful, offering, in Adler's words, 'not so much a set of answers as a useful perspective, one that reminds historians to look for sources of continuity within areas of change'. Faint praise! An evolutionary psychological perspective would surely add little to Ben Braber's 'The trial of Oscar Slater (1909) and anti-Jewish prejudices in Edwardian Glasgow', *History*, 88 (2003), 262–79. During Christmas week 1908 the city was shocked by the brutal killing of Maria Gilchrist. Following five months of 'unremitting publicity' a Jewish immigrant, Oscar Slater, was accused and found guilty. Braber argues that 'media pressure' played a crucial

role in the selection of the suspect and the eventual death sentence. The public, the police and the legal system displayed rabid institutional anti-Semitism, not least as a result of the ubiquitous rumour in the city that Jewish immigrants were intimately involved in organized prostitution. Fact and fantasy merge and contradict one another in Annette Finley Croswhite and Gayle K. Brunelle's 'Murder in the metro: masking and unmasking Luetitia Toureaux in 1930s France', *French Cultural Studies*, 14 (2003), 54–80. In May 1937 Toureaux left a *bal musette* in the Parisian suburbs and boarded the metro. Less than a minute later she was found dead at Port de Charenton with a dagger in her neck. The incident developed into a national sensation, even though, from a relatively early point in the investigation, it was confirmed that Toureaux had been killed by a shadowy far-right organization called the Comité Secret d'Action Révolutionnaire. However, it was the fact that the victim had followed a subterranean double-life – 'elegant bourgeoise widow' and 'secret and seductive private investigator' – that electrified press and public. Simenon territory with a vengeance; and a heroine who, in the authors' judgment, dared to live out a 'multi-personality' existence that smacked more of the conventions of the cheap thriller than the real clubs, bars and *bals* of *la vie Parisienne*. This 'threatening' woman, they suggest, belonged more to 'fiction' than complex political and social 'fact'.

Simenon would undoubtedly have made something out of a trip to the Los Angeles Police Department, an organization which has been regularly and ritually condemned by urban and social historians. In a well-crafted contribution, Edward J. Escubar reveals that on Christmas Day 1951 fifty policeman attacked and brutally injured seven young men, five of Mexican American ethnicity. The outrage became known as (yet another) Bloody Sunday. Community activists demanded the establishment of an impartial inquiry. However, the new chief of the LAPD, William Parker, had already instituted a reform campaign which was predicated on the 'police professionalism model'. This self-consciously 'modern' approach emphasized 'autonomy', particularly in relation to matters of internal discipline. Parker, supported by shadowy figures at the top of the municipal hierarchy, resisted demands for an impartial inquiry; embarked on a vilification campaign against those who cast doubt on the probity of the department; and turned a blind eye to perjury among his own officers. As a consequence, the newly appointed chief played a key role in shaping an 'organizational culture' which asserted the bureaucratic independence of the LAPD while at the same time exacerbating day-to-day relationships between the police, Mexican Americans and other minority groups. The central message of 'Bloody Christmas and the irony of police professionalism: the Los Angeles Police Department and police reform in the 1950s', *Pacific Historical Rev.*, 72 (2003), 171–99, is that corruption generates contempt for all those outside the charmed circle of public order professionals.

Among demographic contributions this year, Robert Woods' succinctly argued 'Urban–rural mortality differentials: an unresolved debate', *Population and Development Rev.*, 29 (2003), 29–46, urges researchers to pay greater attention to the distinction between the factors underlying infant and early childhood death-rates. Championing the notion of a 'mortality continuum' which complicates the stark divide between 'urban' and 'rural', Woods also warns against deriving over-simplified conclusions from cross-cultural analysis. Finally, he insists that historical demographers should disown the 'urban graveyard effect . . . and [replace it with] a far more contingent account that is sensitive to the diversity of health

environments with the clustering of populations in high density areas'. The notion of a 'biological standard of living' takes a sharp knock in Janet McCalman and Ruth Morley's 'Mothers' health and babies weights: the biology of poverty at the Melbourne Lying-in Hospital, 1857–83', *Social History of Medicine*, 16 (2003), 39–56. Analysing three sub-periods – 1857–67, 1868–79 and 1880–89 – the authors argue that the clearest correlation with a rise in mean birth weight occurred after 1878, when the very poor were probably deriving benefit from declining food prices. McCalman and Morley sceptically conclude that birth weight is 'problematic' when used as a biological guide to any kind of anthropometrically based construct. In 'Fates of orphans: poor children in ante-bellum Charlestone', *J. Interdisciplinary History*, 33 (2003), 519–46, John E. Murray proposes that what happened to those leaving institutional care tended to be heavily influenced by familial circumstances associated with point of entry. A majority of those admitted to the Charlestone orphanage left after a few years as apprentices. 'A large and growing minority . . . [returned] to their families.' Others ran away and disappeared from institutional and familial sight. Children who kept up contact during the period of institutionalization with their mothers had a good chance of returning to a stable environment if and when widows remarried. Murray ends with the pessimistic conclusion that 'those who had been delivered to the orphanage by other family members or by public officials' tended to have the worst prospects of all.

The under-explored recent ethnic and demographic history of New Zealand is miocroscopically examined by Ron J. Johnston, Mike F. Poulsen and J. Forrest. Population growth during the decade under review is attributed to natural increase among Maoris and Pacific Islanders and net immigration from Asian and Pacific Island countries. High levels of growth and movement are detected in Auckland, together with significant spill-over from major urban areas into hinterland communities. New Zealand Europeans displayed high levels of segregation. On the other hand, Maoris remained heavily clustered in rural areas and Asian communities became increasingly heavily concentrated, particularly in Auckland. 'The ethnic geography of New Zealand: a decade of growth and change, 1991–2001', *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 44 (2003), 109–30, refutes the view that Maori and Pacific Island peoples are becoming increasingly segregated in towns. There may be indications here of long-delayed improvements in educational, occupational and economic and social achievement and mobility. In 'Towards a new conceptualisation of settlements for demography', *Population and Development Rev.*, 29 (2003), 277–97, Graeme Hugo, Anthony Champion and Alfred Lattes suggest that the conventional distinction between 'rural' and 'urban' should now be discarded. Like Robert Woods in the article mentioned above, the authors argue for a 'continuum' with 'real people and communities falling somewhere between the two hypothesized extremes'. However, they acknowledge that this will create methodological difficulties – deciding on the number of categories to be employed to budget for the full spectrum between under- to densely over-crowded areas: and finding a workable conceptual balance between 'people' and 'place'. (The latter issue is currently being addressed by epidemiological and social historians of medicine concerned with the decline of infant mortality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.) Finally, in this cluster of articles, John M. Shandra, Bruce Lundon and John B. Williams argue in 'Environmental degradation, environmental sustainability and over-urbanization in the developing world: a

quantitative, cross-national analysis', *Sociological Perspectives*, 46 (2003), 304–29, that countries suffering from high levels of resource depletion are likely to experience excessive movement from countryside to city. The underlying position here, based on data from fifty-eight countries, is that as natural resources become increasingly over-exploited in rural areas, those working the land have no alternative but to move away from village areas. The authors also claim that economic linkages with multi-national corporations play a major role in increasing the size of cities in parts of the developing world bedevilled by resource and pollution problems and, allied to that, an inability to legislate against uncontrolled urban-bound migration.

Alastair Durie's 'Medicine, health and economic development: promoting spa and seaside resorts in Scotland c. 1750–1830', *Medical History*, 47 (2003), 195–216, ruminates gloomily on 'limited reputation and appeal'. The author explores the reasons underlying the failure of Peterhead and the factors that prevented Moffat from developing into a Scottish version of Harrogate. Cultural issues clearly loomed large. North of the border resorts tended to champion 'respectability' – what others called 'dullness' – rather than opt for 'modern' commercialization. No Scottish centre would ever be as alluring as Marienburg or Menton. 'Moffat', Durie concludes, 'was only a fall-back . . . if time or money were short.' Finally, of course, there was the rain and the cold. A different conception of what constituted the 'healthy life' and how it could be achieved provides the focus for Stephen Mosley's 'Fresh air and foul: the role of the open fireplace in ventilating the British home', *Planning Perspectives*, 18 (2003), 1–22. The author confronts the question of why it was that the state found it so difficult to take measures to reduce atmospheric pollution attributable to the 'domestic hearth'. First, he discusses difficulties associated with discovering a 'technically' efficient alternative to the coal fire. Secondly, he points to the problems – as powerfully present in the later as at the early nineteenth century – of devising an effective legislative code. Thirdly, the article draws attention to the fact that public support for anti-pollution measures remained exceptionally weak throughout the period under review. Finally, Mosley homes in on the 'ventilation factor' and substantiates the point that the domestic hearth was widely perceived to be an unusually effective means of aerating a potentially unhealthy room. Indeed, in his *Cottage Plans and Common Sense* (1902), Raymond Unwin claimed that the open, smoky fire continued to constitute one of the most 'gratifying' ways of securing a 'sufficiency of air'. Venerable ventilationist-cum-miasmatic ideas died hard. In 'To relieve the sufferings of humanity, irrespective of party, politics or creed? Conflict, consensus and voluntary hospital provision in Edwardian South Wales', *Social History of Medicine*, 16 (2003), 247–62, Steven Thompson situates his findings within the context of John Pickstone's study of Manchester and Martin Daunton's exploration of the conditions most likely to underpin effective provision of associational welfare. The author uses a wide range of sources to suggest that bitter political conflict would not necessarily be reduced as a result of the establishment of hospitals in south Wales. In some communities, such as Blaina and Pontypridd, the process proved to be socially divisive with 'voluntarism [reflecting and exacerbating such] divisions'. Moreover, as new hospitals came into being, employers and elite groups, particularly in Monmouthshire, were frequently marginalized by working-class interest groups. In communities of this kind 'industrialists were content to become involved in administration', but little more. Overall, 'the establishment and administration of hospitals and medical services created their own unique

social relations within communities that often coincided with class or industrial relations but, at other times, differed from them or transcended them'. Louise A. Jackson's 'Care or control? The Metropolitan Police and child welfare, 1919–1969', *Historical J.*, 46 (2003), 623–48, focuses on the role of those whose task it was to enforce the law within the domestic sphere. Between the immediate aftermath of the First World War and the late 1960s, women officers frequently found themselves having to deal with child abuse and neglect and female 'delinquency'. Concentrating on the Metropolitan Women Police branch, Jackson interrogates the 'negotiation of a social work ethic' and engages with the issues of 'care' and 'control' within shifting frameworks of welfare legislation and professional practice. She concludes that the Women's branch conceived of these two roles as 'naturally reinforcing rather than conflicting concepts', a position said to have meshed in with developing ideas in social work practice and the main objectives of contemporary policing.

An impressive group of articles represent the ever-broadening range of urban-based cultural themes. In 'Madame Tussaud and the business of wax: marketing to the middle-classes', *Business History*, 45 (2003), 6–22, Pamela Pilbeam sets the scene by describing Marie Grosholz's career as a sculptor in wax in Paris in the 1780s. Marrying Francis Tussaud in 1795, she toured Britain during the Peace of Amiens as a supporting artist to Philipistal and his Phantasmagoria, a magic lantern showman. Establishing herself as a popular solo act, Tussaud enthralled British audiences with masks modelled from death. It was now thrillingly possible to gaze at the 'real' faces of the guillotined king and queen. Only in 1835 would the pioneer show-woman finally 'settle down' in Baker Street. Revolutionary changes in transport and consumer mobility helped to bring hoards of visitors to the new exhibition. Tussaud ended her demanding touring schedule, and mass publicity kept the crowds thronging into central London. In a felicitous phrase, *Chamber's Journal* told its readers that the skills of the pioneering modeller of dead celebrities had made it possible to 'walk, as it were, along the plank of time'. In 'Periclean Preston, public art and the classical tradition in late nineteenth-century Lancashire', *Northern History*, 40 (2003), 299–324, J.R. Moore focuses on the Harris Library and Art Gallery. The author emphasizes the central role played by an unusually creative and culturally well-informed architect, James Hibbert. The latter conceived of the building in terms of a 'monument to the cult of the classicism, while expressing the particular concerns of political modernity'. Moore also finds space for less elevated detail. An intriguing but ominously gloomy illustration shows absorbed readers in the Library in the mid-1890s; in the background a policeman stands ready to pounce on drunkards and 'loungers'.

John Plunkett's 'Celebrity and community: the poetics of the *carte-de-visite*', *J. Victorian Culture*, 8 (2003), 55–79, brings an informed literary-cum-cultural eye to a cult that had its origins in the early 1860s. A small photo, about 9 by 6 cm in size, was pasted on to a visiting card, featuring the famous, the not so famous and the ordinary. This leads Plunkett to ponder the issue of cultural democratization and the extent to which the *carte-de-visite* threatened a 'populist broadening of the public sphere' as well as the 'introduction of a more superficial notion' of what it meant to be 'famous'. In 'The theatre of social change: nobility, the opera industry and the politics of culture in Bologna between papal privileges and liberal principle', *J. Modern Italian Studies*, 8 (2003), 341–69, Axel Korner follows in the footsteps of John Rosselli, and illustrates how the art form can be made to

reveal the contours of social inequality and social change. The author contends that, following an extended debate, the Bologna nobility gradually lost the right to demand that only traditional opera should be heard at the inaptly named Teatro Communale and other houses. However, as more doors were opened to a bourgeois audience, *bel canto* and ballet gradually gave way to 'modernist' works by Verdi and Wagner. From the mid-1880s opera in the city finally began to fall into line with the general European trend. Nevertheless, holders of private boxes continued to exert intermittent pressure, even though season tickets were no longer granted *gratis* to the social elite. Thus 'avant-garde' works, including Verdi's *Otello* and Wagner's *Tristan*, were still sometimes subjected to boycot by the 'old guard'. Privilege lived on. Nevertheless, 'ecclesiastical, municipal and government authorities had to abandon the boxes reserved for officers, and civil servants and their families'. Yet 'only a very small portion of the public' were admitted at the box office, stimulating radical councillors to launch a tirade against the continuing power of 'privileged classes of society'. As late as 1911 a conservative mayor unapologetically described the Teatro Communale as an 'ancient, aristocratic theatre with a limited capacity'. A topic fit for di Lampedusa or Visconti, this article reveals both the 'progressiveness' and ingrained inflexibility of music theatre as a popular spectacle and some of the reasons underlying the continuing conservatism of programming in the early twenty-first century.

Why, asks Michael Saler, in a densely argued contribution to cultural and intellectual history, would any grown man have joined the Baker Street Irregulars; listened to papers about the minutiae of the life of Sherlock Holmes; and referred to Conan Doyle as Dr Watson's 'literary agent'? Beginning with a restatement of Weber's thesis that 'modernity' and 'enchantment' are inherently incompatible, Saler argues for a late nineteenth- and earlier twentieth-century interaction between 'ironic imagination' and 'animistic reason' – a mix that would have been wholly alien a couple of generations earlier. '"Clap if you believe in Sherlock Holmes": mass culture and the re-enchantment of modernity c. 1890-c. 1940', *Historical J.*, 46 (2003), 599–622, takes a wide sweep and creatively narrows the gap between 'fact' and – literally – 'fiction'. Phil Hubbard, Lucy Faire and Keith Lilley engage with urban representation in 'Memorials to modernity? Public art in the "city of the future"', *Landscape Research*, 28 (2003), 147–70. Focusing on the Godiva myth during the rebuilding of Coventry, the authors draw, as in earlier work, on oral testimony to establish a tension between the experimental and the traditional during the white heat of reconstruction. A statue of the much-loved local heroine was commissioned from Sir William Dick-Reid; an anthropomorphic work, it attracted a degree of popular support. Then Donald Gibson, the master-mind behind the remodelling of the city, insisted that a 'vulgar', 'Anglo-Saxon' version of the myth also be located at the very heart of Coventry; this took the form of a Godiva Clock and incorporated the mechanism and bell from the Old Market Hall. Unfortunately, there were repeated technical problems; Godiva failed to make her regular chronological appearances and local commentators insisted that this 'vulgar version' of Coventry's central urban myth was both 'modernistic' and perversely incomprehensible. From this the authors conclude that public monuments are 'fragmented, multiple and complex rather than universal'. The 'diversity of the population' made it unlikely that Coventry would celebrate its 'spirit' through a single image.

Among contributions to gendered urban history Margaret Ponsonby's 'Ideals, reality and meaning: homemaking in England in the first half of the nineteenth century', *J. Design History*, 16 (2003), 201–14, draws on inventories to demonstrate that during this period it became increasingly commonplace to separate off a room for formal use and/or 'social ritual'. In addition, between the 1770s and the earlier nineteenth century homemakers gradually made greater use of objects – and particularly items incorporating textiles – to increase both aesthetic and functional appeal and effectiveness. The precursor of interior design was beginning to become a female skill – and art. In '"The manly game": cricket and masculinity in Savannah, Georgia in 1859', *International J. History of Sport*, 20 (2003), 77–98, Timothy Lockley documents a brief period of southern experimentation with the classic English game. The author argues that team sport allowed young men to express gender, character and 'hopes for the future'. (Technical expertise evidently remained at a low level: on one occasion four innings were completed in a couple of hours. A bumpy pitch? Sticky wicket? Multiple baseball-type run outs?) As war threatened, Savannah's cricket players opted for the more individualistic activity of target-shooting, which attracted female attention more readily than donning whites and pads or spending a day in the slips. Rachel Rich's 'Designing the dinner party: advice on dining and décor in London and Paris 1860–1914', *J. Design History*, 16 (2003), 49–62, emphasizes that authors of manuals insisted that formal meals must now be taken in a separate room, close to the kitchen but insulated from the smell of cooking. Drawing-rooms were depicted as masculine spaces, to be furnished in wood rather than softer and more 'feminine' material. By the second half of the nineteenth century a 'mellowing process' had established itself, with increased attention being devoted to place settings, quality of cutlery and table decorations. Women were instructed to acquaint themselves with the minutiae of entertaining and urged to add 'a personal touch to the dinner parties they hosted'.

A distinctively modern and 'female' malady is the subject of Andreas Killen's 'From shock to *schrek*: psychiatrists, telephone operators and traumatic neurosis in Germany, 1900–26', *J. Contemporary History*, 38 (2003), 201–20. Shock-type symptoms were widely reported among a new breed of 'technological' workers. Killen relates this theme to a shift in perceived interactions between self, body and machine and conflicts between mechanist and organic views of the natural and social worlds. The venerable theme of the male as dominant bread-winner resurfaces in Elaine S. Abelson's '"Women who have no men to work for them": gender and homelessness in the Great Depression', *Feminist Studies*, 29 (2003), 10–27. Documenting the activities of the Women's Division of the Emergency Work Bureau, the author concludes that wives and mothers (or unmarried women) 'outside of families . . . without work and often without shelter, were so marginal the they were very nearly invisible'. Penny Tinckler's 'Refinement and respectable consumption the acceptable face of women's smoking in Britain, 1918–1970', *Gender and History*, 15 (2003), 342–60, dwells on inter-class differentials. Drawing on material from *Woman*, *Vogue* and *My Weekly*, the author describes the 'centrality of refinement' among the middle classes and the extent to which this fashion-oriented concept came to include cigarettes as what would now be termed fashion accessories. In working-class culture, however, what was deemed 'decent' and 'proper' explicitly excluded smoking among women.

Contributions concerned with plans, projects and the economic and social histories of individual towns and cities this year include Richard Haw's 'The

opening of Brooklyn Bridge: consensus or exclusion?', *New York History*, 84 (2003), 153–78. The author sets up a tension between officially legitimated – and semi-rigged? – celebrations and popular conceptions and evaluations of the performance of politicians, entrepreneurs and planners. The bridge was formally opened amid a fanfare of self-congratulation, reinforced by a parade, official speeches, fireworks and massive press coverage. But was this the whole story? Haw is sceptical both of the manner in which the events themselves were managed and presented and a historiographical tradition which has lauded the completion of the bridge as a triumph for city government and civic democracy. Drawing on the concept of organized consent, he emphasizes that popular disquiet centred on the fact that between 30 and 40 workmen had lost their lives during the construction of the project and identifies rumours of 'fraud, delay, uncertainty and mistrust'. He concludes that 'spontaneous expression of assent had been formulated, shaped and staged by a group of . . . elite New Yorkers'. In 'Battersea Power Station: planning, politics and pollution', *Local Historian*, 33 (2003), 99–111, Stephen Murray highlights the ways in which a controversial building has mirrored shifting urban aspirations and priorities. Focusing on a transition from the 'technological' to the 'social', the author notes that several of the objectives of the *County of London Plan* (1943) have in fact been belatedly fulfilled. Sixty years after the publication of that document industry vacated the site occupied by the power station and the Tate Modern found a place for itself in the 'redevelopment of the [area] in a manner worthy of its position in the heart of London'. Stephen Petrus' 'From gritty to chic: the transformation of New York City's SoHo', *New York History*, 84 (2003), 50–87, provides a comprehensive account of the discourses and counter-discourses of big city planning. The area with which he is concerned had its origins in the South Houston district, in the wake of a period of plummeting deindustrialization. In 1969 Mayor John Lindsay vetoed plans to build a property-value reducing expressway. This cleared the way for SoHo to become a loft-dominated quarter for a vibrant artistic community. Indeed, co-operative action on the part of the new bohemian arrivals ensured that the City Planning Commission effectively legalized what amounted to a spontaneous transformation to low-rent accommodation in formerly depressed South Houston. In a concluding section Petrus analyses the gentrification of SoHo and invalidates the loft community's claims that this was underpinned by profiteering cultural vandalism master-minded by non-artists and affluent boutique owners. In 'From concept to completion: a critical analysis of the urban village', *Town Planning Rev.*, 74 (2003), 165–93, Michael Biddulph, Bridget Franklin and Malcolm Tait present a lengthy account of the 'life' of an idea. Attention is devoted to community, design and sustainability; implementation and 'lived experience'; and 'unfixing'. This latter concept incorporates debates and contradictions in urban policy-making, tensions between competing professional agendas, clashes between urban village design and what local communities claimed to want, and absence of consensus between professional discourses and the aspirations of interested residents. Reading this contribution, one wonders about the degree of 'progress' that has been made in relation to fundamental issues of democracy and self-determination that were alive and kicking as early as the 1930s. Has planning 'moved on' or are the same dilemmas being recycled – rugby-scrum style – under different and technically less accessible labels?

Chelmsford (as near as makes no difference, the present writer's 'home town') has never been a place to set the pulse racing. Now, out of the blue, we have

two articles on an architecturally undistinguished county town, so different, in social and cultural terms, from the extra-metropolitan suburbia (unfairly?) associated with 'Essex man'. Neil Raven's 'Chelmsford during the industrial revolution, c. 1790–1840', *Urban History*, 30 (2003), 44–62, creatively complicates the picture. Engaging with problems generated by Joyce Ellis and John Langton in the *Cambridge Urban History* – these weighty volumes are already beginning to generate new research topics – the author draws on the census returns for 1841 and trade directories to depict an 'agricultural marketing and servicing centre', with 'links to no fewer than twenty-one other market towns'. Raven correctly focuses on the 'London variable' and confirms that 'proximity to the metropolis' interacted with and reinforced the 'dynamism of the traditional sector'. Finally, he hypothesizes that low population growth failed to hinder economic consolidation and modest expansion. Shirley Durgan's '"Providing for the needs and purses of the poor": council housing in Chelmsford before 1914', *Local Historian*, 33 (2003), 175–89, is an informative piece of work which claims that, by the beginning of the twentieth century, a market town had been converted into 'a significant industrial and administrative centre'. Only 150 houses – 'a pragmatic approach to a temporary dislocation in the private . . . market' – had been built before 1914. Revealingly, J.C. Thresh, an eminent medical officer of health who published on an astonishingly wide range of health issues, devoted much of his attention to quality of accommodation and sanitary provision in *rural* environments. Durgan argues that the mini-impetus experienced in the local housing market in the run-up to the First World War is best explained through a 'coincidence of the interests of the employers and the skilled workers in the industrial sector'. However, as a result of this 'experiment' the council was well primed for the 'revolutionary' shift towards state subsidy in 1919.

Two articles on Swansea avoid pitfalls inherent in perceiving that city as an exclusively Welsh rather than British community. Reaching back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, Louise Miskell argues for the existence of a 'dual identity' before 1850. A centre of industry, Swansea was nevertheless a place in which 'intellegence' was valued and closely linked to economic activity. After mid-century, the traditional image of a 'Welsh metropolis' began to lose its validity, not least since within the British context, comparisons could now be meaningfully made with massive new centres that had grown up during the 'great age of cities'. At the same time, as a delegate to the British Association noted in 1880, '[Swansea is] . . . surely the only place in the world in where the unpleasantness of manufacture is so clearly allied to the beauties of a seaside resort.' Swansea developed a 'modern' urban infrastructure about two decades later than comparable towns in England. Nevertheless, as Miskell' s contribution – 'The making of a new "Welsh metropolis": science, leisure and industry in early nineteenth century Swansea', *History*, 88 (2003), 32–51 – clearly emphasizes, there is a strong historiographical case for assessing its development within a British rather than exclusively Welsh framework. What, however, of the heavily loaded issue of 'City status for Swansea, 1911–69', *Welsh Historical Rev*., 21 (2003), 534–51? John Beckett notes that the campaign began on the same day in 1905 when Cardiff finally achieved its long-awaited aim. Until the late nineteenth century no town was eligible for city status if it lacked 'architectural distinction'. However, in 1889 Birmingham which at that time lacked the essential prerequisite of an Anglican cathedral – so much for 'architectural distinction'! – received the official

imprimatur and was followed in quick succession by Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, Hull and Nottingham. In Swansea, however, although the campaign was lengthy and intermittently well organized, there was no clear-cut communal consensus as to the kinds of benefits that would be derived from the up-grading. Here Beckett adopts an exceptionally down-beat position, arguing that, when the call finally came, Swansea Town was transmuted into Swansea City but that few other economic or other advantages could be identified. However, he goes on to make the point that when, in 1998, the Home Office announced a 'competition' for city status for the millennium, town clerks rushed to fill in application forms. Wrexham, Newport, St Asaph, Newtown, Machynlleth and Aberystywth applied and, following complications and delays, Newport took the palm. The truth of the matter is that, at the beginning of our own century, city status carries significant advantages in terms of self-confidence, self-presentation, tourism and potential for heritage revenue. This is as true for recent creations as for those, like Swansea, which moved up a tier in the later twentieth century.

What, one wonders, would J.B. Priestley, whose magnificent war-time *Postscripts* have recently been revived on BBC Radio 4, have made of Dave Russell's 'Selling Bradford: tourism and northern image in the late twentieth century', *Contemporary British History*, 17 (2003), 49–68? This is a highly provocative though abbreviated article which raises all the right questions but fails fully to come to grips with any single dominant theme. Noting that the disturbances during the summer of 2001 tended to attune public opinion to the idea that racism is a distinctively 'northern' phenomenon, the author concludes that 'exposing a place to the public gaze can be a double-edged weapon' – a point that would certainly be confirmed by admissions tutors at the University of Bradford. Beginning with a background section on 'history and image', Russell examines successive tourism initiatives. Bradford is now the starting-point for the million visitors a year who make the trek to Haworth. In addition, the National Film Museum, Saltaire, Esholt, the home-village for Emmerdale, formerly known, during its less sex- and sensation-dominated incarnation as the more homely *Emmerdale Farm*, and 'salubrious Ilkley'. Hence, perhaps, the slogan – and the city appears to have become addicted to slogans – 'Bradford – The Surprising Place'. However, Russell gloomily notes that economic benefits have failed to match cultural ambition. The five inner city districts remain among the most deprived in Britain: and Bradford is one of the five poorest places in urban England and Wales. In 2000 unemployment was running at 5 per cent above both national and *regional* levels. In relation to 'Bradford and the national imagination', Russell cites the arch-pessimist David Selbourne as describing a particular city centre street as 'an urban wilderness as bleak as anything in Britain'. (Shades of Priestley, in *The English Journey* (1934), on Jarrow.) Will Hutton has spoken in terms of an absence of 'redemption' and Andrea Dunbar's *Rita, Sue and Bob Too* received a mixed response, including the memorable 'Thatcher's Britain with its trousers down'. In 1980 the city welcomed its first 'official tourist', the Sussex pensioner, Edward Adams, who was greeted at the station by a brass band and the mayor brandishing a 'two-foot stick of Bradford rock'. Twenty years later the national press greeted the city's application for European Capital of Culture with derision, and travel writers – Bill Bryson and the comically snobbish, anti-northern Charles Jennings – joined the ranks of unimpressed visitors and commentators. Somewhat sombrely, Dave Russell concludes with the thought that stereotypical images may have become even more

deeply imbedded as a result of the city's seemingly sensible attempt to reinvent itself. Up until the fairly recent past, local newspapers created and consolidated a sense of civic and cultural identity. Following the fortunes of titles such as *The Northern Echo*, *The Morning Leader* and *The Star*, Paul Gliddon identifies a point of transition in what would now be termed the 'media' policies of the Rowntree family. Detecting a decline in direct political influence attributable to newspapers during the first half of the twentieth century, the author charts a process whereby 'position campaigning' failed to halt the slide of the beleaguered Liberals. As a consequence, in aftermath of the Second World War the Rowntree dynasty changed track and channelled money both into central and local party organizations. Papers were closed and 'survivors' could no longer be relied upon automatically to offer support to the ailing party. 'The political importance of provincial newspapers, 1903–1945: the Rowntrees and the Liberal press', *Twentieth Century British History*, 14 (2003), 43–60, concludes with brief comments on the new era of mass television propaganda in the 1950s and the party's shift towards the recruitment possibilities of doorstep and community politics.

Finally, Ann Firth's 'State form, social order and the social sciences: urban space and politico-economic systems 1760–1850', *J. Historical Sociology*, 16 (2003), 54–79, promises more than it delivers. The article seeks to make connections between seismic shifts in economic thought and changing conceptions of the 'ideal city'. It is argued that key texts in late eighteenth-century London sought to reshape and improve the capital in a manner which celebrated England's greatness: this was located within a predominantly mercantilist environment. Firth goes on to suggest that the aftermath of the crisis of the American War witnessed the replacement of 'pre-capitalistic' by more 'more bureaucratic and technical forms of state authority'. This is claimed to have involved the creation of 'increasingly specialised government bureaucracies', with significant attention being paid to sewage disposal and public water supply systems. The author too readily 'read offs' transitions in urban policy-making from chronologies of economic thought that are now known to have been a good deal less linear than was once believed to have been the case. There is also a tendency to underplay the rationality and scientific logic underlying measures of environmental and public health reform in the capital in the eighteenth century. Finally, taken as a whole, the analysis exaggerates the extent to which a still small and weak nineteenth-century liberal state was capable of enforcing its agendas either on to London or new provincial centres.