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Reviews of books

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C.E. Challis, G.C.F. Forster and S.J.D. Green (eds), *Essays on Northern History in Honour of Maurice W. Beresford. Northern History*, Volume 37. Leeds: Maney on behalf of The School of History, University of Leeds, 2000. £26.00, $46.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802213085

Most urban historians uncover the fields beneath after peeling back layers of urban development. Maurice Beresford started with fields, discovered lost villages beneath them and then began to study the way towns developed upon them. The countryside and the landscape emerge in Ernest A. Kirby's fascinating essay on this distinguished historian as the keys to his work for his ability to read the landscape enabled him to reveal its economic history. Beresford's inaugural lecture at Leeds in 1960, 'Time and Place', emphasized the visual evidence in the detection of past economic activity. Not surprisingly, he was an early enthusiast for the use of aerial photography as a means of historical investigation.

Unlike the *Festschrift* of 1989 which was a tribute to the influential work Beresford has done on medieval settlements and deserted villages (*The Rural Settlements of Medieval England*, edited by Michael Aston, David Austin and Christopher Dyer), this special edition of *Northern History* has no such consistent focus in period or genre of history. A number of the essays relate to subjects and methods, the development of Leeds and other Yorkshire towns, close comparisons of agricultural buildings and the tracing of boundaries over time, which are quintessential Beresford territory but the volume as a whole is a wide-ranging, bumper edition of *Northern History*. The focus is on place, northern England, and it is perhaps fitting that this should be so for the volume demonstrates the vitality of the study of the regional and local study of the north to which Maurice Beresford has given an enormous stimulus.

Urban historians will be particularly interested in the essays on Leeds, a town that gets the lion's share of attention from the contributors, understandably given Maurice Beresford's work on its development. Joan Kirby's essay on Richard Sykes describes the property and position of a leading merchant as Leeds took its first steps towards prosperity in the seventeenth century. J.A. Chartres considers the town's role as a distributive centre of luxuries in the later eighteenth century while K. Grady reveals the tardiness of Leeds Council in regulating the cattle and meat trades in the nineteenth-century town. R.J. Morris's study of the effect of family strategies of small builders and property owners on the development of the built environment in the 1830s and 1840s

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provides new insights into the dynamics of the town's expansion. The clothing industry was central to the economy of Leeds in the twentieth century and Katherine Honeyman demonstrates that the rise and fall of the menswear multiples was bound up with the time when the suit was ubiquitous. S.J.D. Green gives us a portrait of the Christian socialist E.S. Talbot whose politics were the result of the interaction of his Anglo-Catholic beliefs with his experience as Vicar of Leeds.

The growth of two other Yorkshire towns, Ripon and Wakefield, are the subjects of essays by, respectively, Glanville R. Jones and B.J. Barber. The former reveals how the organization of the ancient Ripon estate predicated the shape of the medieval town and the latter describes how an ambitious exercise in property development foundered on the economic stagnation of early nineteenth-century Wakefield. The Yorkshire emphasis of this collection is modified by G.C.F. Forster's study of civic government in Chester during the Civil War and Interregnum which adds to the growing evidence that, whether inclined towards King or Parliament, civic elites were primarily concerned with preserving the economic privileges of themselves and their towns.

Approximately half the essays in this volume are thus devoted to urban history. The rest are varied indeed. Subjects include: Yorkshire's southern boundary, which David Hey reveals as having fluctuated over time, C.E. Challis's study of the degree to which northern apprentices were recruited to the London Company of Goldsmiths in the early modern period, J.R. Killick's micro-study of a firm engaged in Liverpool's Atlantic trade and L.A.S. Butler's piece on 'Suffragan Bishops in the Medieval Diocese of York', which recovers such exotic titles as Bishops of Philippopolis, Rages/Edessa, Corbava and Syene. K.J. Allison's essay on the provision of allotments in East Yorkshire, a development that moved from the rural to the urban, confirms the eclecticism of this volume.

If Maurice Beresford's work on agricultural history is reflected in P.S. Barnswell's comparisons between the agricultural buildings and economies of Northumberland and Cheshire in the age of agricultural improvement, many essays have a more diffused relationship with Beresford's work. Norman McCord analyses the diaries of Richard Lowry, a curious but likeable man who was a middle manager for the North Eastern Railway; the diaries constitute a rich source for the social history of the North East. W.B. Stephens questions why a relatively affluent section of workers such as the North East miners should have had such a high rate of illiteracy. If the great variety of subject matter in this volume needed justification, then it is surely to be found in Yvonne Fennell's select bibliography of Maurice Beresford's publications between 1943 and 2000, which reminds us of the range of Beresford's work to which these essays pay tribute.

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M.H. Hansen (ed.), *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures*. An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 21), Copenhagen, 2000. 636pp. 600 DKK.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802223081

This book by the Copenhagen Polis Centre is the most thorough work on city-states ever published. The book consists of an introduction, where Hansen offers a definition of the concept 'city-state' and introduces a new concept 'city-state culture'. Thereafter follow 34 chapters written by different authors dealing with city-states in a wide range of regions and periods. The contributions vary from the Sumerians to the Aztecs in Central America, the Malayan Negeri, the Yoruba or Mzâb in Africa, and the Dutch during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Every contributor tries to adapt Hansen's definition of city-state culture to his or her particular region. In four cases the result is negative (the Celtic oppida, Novgorod and Kiev as Viking cities, the German imperial and free cities – which are accepted as city-states although not united into a city-state culture – and the Indian *mahajanapadas*) and therefore Hansen ends up with a total of 30 city-state cultures. However, the four extra chapters are kept as examples of civilizations which share some of the characteristics of a city-state culture, but not enough to deserve inclusion.

The merits of this book are manifold. Especially important is the awareness of the city-state as a widespread phenomenon of world history, as well as the belief in comparative history as a means to study it. The attempt to clarify the definition of the concept 'city-state' is also most welcome. 'City-state' was invented in the nineteenth century as a heuristic term describing the occurrence at different stages in history of small, self-governing states with their territory centred upon one town. The city-state concept has during the twentieth century become generally accepted, although scholars have used it in slightly different ways, partly due to the lack of a clear-cut definition.

One of the main problems connected to the city-state concept is whether it is correct to interpret the communities described as city-states as states. Hansen is well aware of this problem and discusses how to define a state at length. Taking into account Hansen's meticulous awareness of definitions and terminology it is surprising that he chooses to name the clusters in which city-states tend to occur 'city-state cultures'. Thereby he introduces a new concept consisting of an even more ambiguous word than 'state', i.e. 'culture'. A city-state culture is described as a Weberian ideal type with 15 different characteristics (pp. 16–17), but the concept of culture is left without any definition at all. Here one would perhaps have wished some more elaboration.

According to Hansen's definition of a city-state culture, the Irish Hiberno-Viking towns, the North Italian cities between 1200 and 1400, the Swiss cities from the late fourteenth century to 1848 and the cities of the Dutch republic would be embraced by the concept in medieval and early modern Europe. It is difficult to see the usefulness of such a selection, which excludes not only the Flemish and German medieval cities but also the North Italian cities of Machiavelli's time (based upon the chapters written by M. Prak, P. Johanek and S. Epstein). In all three cases the exclusion can be questioned and a different picture may have been reached on the basis of slightly modified definitions.

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The coverage of city-states of different periods and regions in this book is impressive. However, the Greek *poleis* during the Hellenistic and Roman periods could perhaps have deserved a chapter of their own. Now they are included in Hansen's chapter on the Hellenic city-state culture which, however, concentrates heavily on the reality of the Archaic-Classical periods. One wonders, for instance, to what extent Ai Khanoum in northern Afghanistan, a Hellenistic Bactrian city (was it even a *polis* in the sense of a city-state?) differed from the Greek colony Emporion in Spain (p. 141), and whether it is correct to include the *poleis* founded by Alexander the Great in the Far East in the same city-state culture as the Archaic-Classical *poleis*?

Despite such criticism this is a book which those interested in urban history cannot afford not to get acquainted with. It will definitely form the basis and constitute a stimulus for any further research on city-states. Perhaps we may even hope for an elaboration of the concept 'city-state culture' in the planned Supplement volume due to appear in 2002.

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Bryan D. Palmer, *Cultures of Darkness: Night Travels in the Histories of Transgression [From Medieval to Modern]*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000. xiv + 609pp. 19 figures. $24.00 pbk, $55.00 hbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802233088

Comus, Milton's spirit of an unruly seventeeth-century colonial Welsh peasantry, knew that 'Tis only daylight that makes sin'. Bryan D. Palmer writes a long book in pursuit of the point. *Cultures of Darkness* is essentially a study of the politics of social and cultural trangression silhouetted against the glare of capitalism and its deformations of society. Palmer's methodology involves presentation of multiple nodes of such transgression extracted from an extended history of Western Europe and North America, although – understandably enough – treatment of the modern heavily outweighs the book's gestures towards the medieval. Thematic cement is provided by the fact, idea, concept, connotations or metaphor of 'night'; meanwhile the title-phrase 'night travels' comes to suggest not only those tendencies towards the nocturnal in the practices of transgression which Palmer foregrounds, but also, in a reflexive/postmodern manner, the author's own polemical structure of chapter-long forays into highly discrete fields of study (his own sequential 'travels' as nocturnal scholar). However, that the term 'cultures of darkness' is by these means sharply illuninated (or, perhaps I should say, starkly shadowed forth), validated as coherent, meaningful, and so destined to become a universal token of academic exchange is, I fear, doubtful. Beyond the continuity of oppositional stances towards global capitalism and its roots that Palmer finds in the foci of his study, loose metaphors and contingencies play too large a role in suggesting a literary unity for Palmer's book and indeed the coherence and utility of historical interpretation to which he aspires.

None of this alters the fact that in its parts *Cultures of Darkness* is a highly enjoyable and stimulating book and (not unrelatedly) a rather sexy one: 'an almost libidinal charge', confirms Palmer, 'comes with involvement in topics of transgression and the night, where sensualities and sociabilities, aesthetics and

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the arts of resistance, are an unmistakable presence' (p. 453). Indeed, how could this be otherwise when his heterotopic menu runs to separate courses in peasant festivity and disorder, witchcraft, Enlightenment pornography, Jacobinism, monsters, prostitutes, pirates, tavern-life, workers' organizations, revolutionary festival, transgressive sexuality, national socialism, blues and jazz, the beat movement, the noir phenomenon, mafias and civil rights? Few of us have not been intellectually and pleasurably tickled in one or more of these areas.

Yet what – in terms of 'cultures of darkness' – gives Palmer's particular list fine definition, sufficiency, closure, or even primacy? How do these topics escape appearing arbitrary in their choice or indeed merely a reflection of the author's 'proclivities'? Beyond the arrow of time, the sense of a necessary progression through the book's topics is lacking and perhaps also a desirable proportion (slavery and civil rights constitute a bigger subject than piracy; piracy a bigger subject that the private lives of jazz musicians). Moreover, readers will pose their own additions to Palmer's menu and be left wondering what criteria of 'cultures of darkness' determine inclusion and exclusion. Where, for example, are Guy Fawkes, Jack the Ripper, Mr Hyde and highwaymen – surely as much epitomes of 'transgression and the night' as Frankenstein's monster or Dracula (who are included); do not Irish dissidence, or the Rebeccas riots or the match-girls' strike or a thousand and one other acts of nocturnal-related transgression offer equivalent connotations of darkness and resistance to the subordinations of capitalism? In short, it may be difficult to conceive of many transgressive movements which would not fall, one way or another, within a category of 'cultures of darkness'; that being so, the value of the category tends to lapse.

Palmer's key term might well be cheerfully accepted as mere colourful marketing of a study of transgression if he did not press the point along the way – if intermittently and with differing degrees of intensity and success. Anything that can be seen to have happened 'at night' or 'in the evening' is especially stressed, yet counter-evidence of daytime activity seldom figures (just how many pirates attacked at night, carouse as they might?); one senses such evidence has simply been downgraded as lacking in noctural interest. False emphases are certainly produced (e.g. the role among radical workers of night-shift bakers).

In the final analysis, Palmer has used the idea of 'night' too blithely to cue disparate, if attractive, material. At the very least, a more rigorous conceptualization and theorization of night in terms of historical and cultural relativities is needed (what made a medieval peasant's night different from that of a Harlem rioter's?). Moreover, the findings of that analysis need to determine the particular trajectories of the individual discussions far more pointedly than they do.

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Lorraine Attreed, *The Kings Towns: Identity and Survival in Late Medieval English Boroughs*. New York, Bern, Oxford, etc.: Peter Lang, 2001. xv + 359pp. 12 tables. Bibliography. £40.00.
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Professor Attreed's study concentrates on royal boroughs and their relations with the English crown between 1377 and 1509, and fills a real gap in the literature.

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Most of the larger and wealthier towns of late medieval England were royal rather than seigneurial, but despite a considerable number of analyses of individual towns, there has been no satisfactory general study of crown–town relations for this period, such as, for example, Charles Young attempted in *The English Borough and Royal Administration, 1130–1307* (1961). And this is altogether a more satisfying study than Young's: for whereas he covered many towns and events all too briefly, Attreed studies in depth a sample of four major provincial centres, Exeter, Norwich, Nottingham and York. Despite all being county towns, and all but one cathedral cities, they varied sufficiently in size, wealth and economic fortunes to make for fruitful comparisons and contrasts.

After introducing the four towns and their earlier history down to the 1370s, Attreed considers in turn aspects of local administration (chartered privileges, royal visits and patronage); borough wealth (royal fiscal demands, military demands and commercial resources); and peace, justice and settlement of disputes. Between them these chapters cover most aspects of crown–town relations, and they are helpfully underpinned by a clear sense of similarities and differences (whether between towns or between reigns), and by a wide range of central and local records. The financial analysis is strengthened by tabulations not only from borough accounts but also from those of the crown, including systematic use of the (unpublished) fifteenth-century Pipe Rolls. Perhaps the most interesting findings are her tentative calculations of the total sums extracted from the four towns by successive kings, including fee farms, taxes and loans. The results suggest a real imbalance between urban size and wealth and the demands of the crown: thus York paid consistently, and considerably, more than Norwich, even though it was for much of the period apparently the smaller and poorer of the two; while similarly Nottingham paid consistently more than the rather larger and increasingly prosperous Exeter.

The importance of the sample towns means that the study has wider implications than the theme of crown-town relationships alone. Many of the examples of lordship and patronage illuminate power structures at local and regional levels, demonstrating that even in cities of the first rank like Norwich and York, local lords often impinged as much as distant monarchs. The financial analysis ushers in an important discussion of urban 'decay', and makes a valuable new contribution to that well-worn theme; kings are here seen as responding seriously, and rightly, to pleas of urban poverty, especially from York: though, as Attreed reminds us from her own earlier work, the generosity of Richard III's fee farm cut proved illusory. And she vigorously and successfully challenges the assumption, still prevalent among some early modern historians, 'that advances in self-government and autonomous behaviour date only from the post-Reformation period'. Given that stance, it would have been good to see the study extended by another twenty years: the date of 1509 has no particular significance in English urban history.

Author and publishers deserve praise for a beautifully accurate and well-structured text which is a pleasure to read. The detail is copious but not overwhelming, much detail being relegated to lengthy endnotes, and the argument is always clear. That does not, of course, mean that, in such a controversial field, it is always unarguable, and nor could it be with the incompleteness or ambiguity of many of the sources. The author argues, for instance, that Edward IV and Henry VII 'must have been achieving something new and effective in public

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policy regarding towns' (p. 314), though there is much to be said for the view that they were reasserting an older pattern of tight control after an interlude of crown weakness, as she herself goes on to suggest. The impossibly high figure of £3,000 a year extracted from York by twelfth-century kings (p. 13) seems to rest on a figure by Edward Miller for taxes (admittedly not all royal exactions) over fifty years, while the 'Austrian' merchants trading with England (p. 183) were surely Flemings and other Netherlanders. These are, however, minor points which do not affect the main arguments of an excellent study.

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Matthew Wollard (ed.), *New Windows on London's Past: Information Technology and the Transformation of Metropolitan History*. Glasgow: Association for History and Computing, 2000. ix + 133pp. 44 figures. 16 tables. £8.00 (UK), £9.00 (Overseas).
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802253080

Up until relatively recently it could justifiably be claimed that the history of London, a city of bewildering size and complexity, was understudied relative to other urban places in Britain. However, new ways of 'doing' urban history have begun to stimulate greater interest in the metropolis as an object of study. On the one hand, epistemological shifts have led to the emergence of a whole range of what might loosely be termed 'post-positivist' approaches, enabling scholars to side-step the seemingly insurmountable task of constructing 'total histories' of cities like London around 'grand narratives' of their development. Once the hallmark of disciplinary endeavour, these latter approaches have been replaced by more detailed qualitative studies of metropolitan life. At the same time, the growing sophistication of information technologies has enabled historians to take on more detailed quantitative studies of London that *do* attempt to grapple with the city's size and complexity in a way that critics of quantitative approaches cannot dismiss as 'crudely empiricist'. While historical computing perhaps lacks some of the glamour enjoyed by cultural history at present, this short book seeks to showcase the application of information technology to the history of large cities like London, revealing how it can open up fresh lines of historical inquiry.

Cities like London are ripe for quantitative analysis. Each of the four essays that make up the book analyse large datasets, the product, as Derek Keene puts it in his preface to the book, of the 'culture of numbers and listing' (p. vii) that was a prominent feature of metropolitan urbanism. The volume follows a chronological structure and opens with a chapter by James Galloway examining London's distributive trades at the turn of the fifteenth century. Through the analysis of a database of some 7,800 debt records from the Court of Common Pleas, he explores the often remarked upon, but rarely systematically investigated, relationship between London and its domestic trade hinterland. Galloway demonstrates that by the early fifteenth century the capital's sphere of economic influence stretched over much of southern and central England but could not yet really claim to be national in scope. However, the real insight from this computer-based approach comes in the form of the detailed patterns of linkages for specific trades that he is able to reconstruct between London and different

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towns and regions. Craig Spence shifts the focus to the 1690s and is more concerned with the internal social and economic structure of the metropolis than with its links to other places. As well as demonstrating the results that can be gained from using computerized techniques, this chapter, like that by Graham Mooney that follows it, also engages with the overall purpose of the book by describing how such techniques were developed and analytical challenges overcome. Drawing upon various tax records, he examines the geography of rental values and maps gender and household structure. Graham Mooney moves to Victorian London to study epidemiology and hospital catchment areas. Starting with the observation that an institutional death was far more common in nineteenth-century London that it was elsewhere in Britain, he explores the resident origins of those who died in the city's hospitals and other institutions. Using a Geographical Information System framework he not only examines the geography of hospital catchment areas, but also takes on the more complex task of redistributing hospital-based deaths according to the residential origins of decedents. Thus Mooney is able to correct patterns of crude death rates in the metropolis and, in turn, reassess epidemiological trends. In the final chapter, Kevin Schürer presents a detailed study of the population of Bethnal Green in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, examining the social and economic fortunes of East European migrants relative to those of 'native' East Enders. Similar to Galloway, Schürer is less concerned with methodological issues relating to the application of information technologies, and more keen to demonstrate the end result of such analyses. As such, the chapter is an impressive and weighty contribution to long-running debates about 'urban degeneration' and the fortunes of migrants who came to the imperial metropolis, deserving a wider readership than this book is likely to command. That said, the 22 pages of bar diagrams in this chapter were rather reminiscent of an over-enthusiastic undergraduate dissertation and, more seriously, highlight somehing of the challenge of presenting and visualizing quantitative analyses effectively!

The claim implicitly made in the title of the book that information technology has brought about a 'transformation of metropolitan history' overstates the significance of this short volume of four essays. Indeed, there is no attempt to demonstrate such a 'transformation' or draw out common themes from the chapters through an introduction to the book (the editor of the volume makes no direct contribution himself). Moreover, as hinted at above, there is an unevenness to this volume in terms of the extent to which authors discuss 'methodologies' as opposed to 'findings' (in doing both, Mooney's chapter is perhaps the most convincing). However, individually these essays will be of considerable interest to historians of London and will offer students a sense of the ways in which information technology can raise new questions about the history of large cities.

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Martyn Bennett, *The Civil Wars Experienced. Britain and Ireland, 1638–61*. London: Routledge, 2000, xxvi + 227pp. £47.50.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802263087

Over the last generation historians have moved away from the image of a distinctively English (and Welsh) civil war, of a limited, civilized and dignified conflict between factions of the cultured elite, and of a contest in which the common people appear – if at all – as a mindless, deferential, anonymous mass. Instead, historians have recently stressed the British-wide nature of the wars of the mid-seventeenth century, have portrayed those wars as brutal, bloody and all-pervasive, and have explored far more fully and sympathetically the role, allegiance, outlook and involvement of the non-elite. Martyn Bennett's *The Civil Wars Experienced* is very much in this mould. Adopting a three kingdoms approach, the text repeatedly stresses how the wars of the mid-seventeenth century were very disruptive, impacting heavily upon people's lives, even in those regions of England which largely escaped direct military action. Above all, it seeks to explore the lives and involvement of the non-elite by focusing upon sources which give insight into their experiences. Some of these sources are familiar and have been used many times before, but many are new and fresh and are a testament to the author's extensive archival research. Brought together here, they provide a portrait – a mosaic, perhaps – of the various ways in which the civil wars could impinge upon common people and in which individuals and communities might react to those experiences.

Sticking closely to his sources, quoting or paraphrasing them extensively, the author creates a sense of freshness and immediacy, as well as bringing home the huge variety of experiences, good and bad, which touched the ordinary men, women and children of the mid-seventeenth century. The reader is presented with an abundance of colourful images, of strong and sometimes touching vignettes, which illustrate the nature and impact of the wars. Both the text and the extensive bibliography of primary sources will doubtless be quarried gratefully by other local and national historians. At times the impression of an assemblage of sources is almost overwhelming and more sustained analysis would have been helpful in drawing out the importance and significance of the material. Indeed, as extant source material of this type is evidently very patchy and limited, we may wonder how far broader conclusions may safely be drawn from the diverse pockets of surviving sources so ably presented here. Many different locations are mentioned, but do the sources and their stories provide a coverage sufficiently deep and crisp and even to provide a truly regional, national or British-wide interpretation of the popular experience of the wars, rather than a collection of suggestive and very interesting local case studies? The numerous presentational and factual slips are unfortunate – within a couple of pages we are told that the Long Parliament first met in November 1641 and that Oliver Cromwell died in September 1653 – and the book badly needed much tighter copy editing and proofing.

The coverage of villages, hamlets and rural communities is markedly stronger than that of established urban centres, fairly reflecting the overwhelmingly rural nature of the seventeenth-century population. However, the experiences of two dozen or so British and Irish towns and their inhabitants are recounted in some detail. As in the countryside, so in the towns, the emphasis is upon the disruptive

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and destructive nature of the wars: a rise in war-time burials and illegitimacy at Chepstow; the townspeople of Irvine compelling their magistrates to stay and negotiate terms with an approaching royalist army in 1645; the hard-pressed authorities in Glasgow requiring the poor of the town to find and inform on strangers claiming relief or lose their own benefits; and Haverfordwest enduring siege, free quarter, heavy taxation, the demolition of its castle and damage to other buildings, only to find itself unhappily in the front line of preparations for the English reconquest of Ireland at the end of the 1640s. But the fullest coverage here of a single town is of Scarborough in Yorkshire, unfortunate in changing hands several times through conquest or defection and suffering two substantial sieges, so that by the end of the 1640s the town was described as 'almost utterly ruined'. This well-researched study, inevitably revealing and reflecting the limitations as well as the strengths of the surviving source material, throws new light upon the ways in which the wars of the mid-seventeenth century impacted upon a range of urban and rural communities and substantially adds to our knowledge of non-elite involvement in and reactions to the conflicts.

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Emrys Jones (ed.), *The Welsh in London 1500–2000*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000. xi + 273pp. 41 illustrations. 11 figures. £14.99 pbk, £20.00 hbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802273083

The Welsh, in the words of Glanmor Williams, have long been regarded by the English as 'the closest and most familiar of foreigners'. This was never more true than when the Welsh made their presence felt in the midst of the capital city. Whether or not they formed modern London's first ethnic minority, as this wide-ranging study suggests, the pursuit of the history of that minority over a period of five hundred years raises issues of broader interest for historians of urban migration and settlement. One is how to define and locate a small and scattered national group in an ever-changing city, the other is how to identify, under a series of very different historical circumstances, the persistence within that city of an 'ethnic' community. The first is resolved by narrowing the definition to the statistically-verifiable Welsh-born and those with Welsh names, and by focusing in the main on first-generation migrants. The second is addressed by exploring the changing occupational and cultural outlines of a highly disparate group of settlers. The preponderance of men of Welsh descent in the importation of cattle, wool and milk, and of women in garden weeding, domestic service, drapery shops and, in the twentieth century, teaching, emerges clearly from the evidence. But the absence of an area of particular concentration, a 'defensive enclave', is itself symptomatic both of London's highly diverse Welsh population and of others' tolerance of their distinguishing linguistic and cultural characteristics. The symbiotic though often tense relationship with the home country is well described, as is the leading role played by London Welsh writers and artisans in developing a sense of Welsh national consciousness through political debate, printing, the eisteddfod and education. It is appropriate to note that this book is published on behalf of the Society of

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Cymmrodorion, itself an important contributor to Welsh intellectual life since its initial foundation in London in 1751. Major essays by W.P. Griffith on the Welsh in Tudor London and Rhidian Griffiths on the centrality of Welsh chapels as 'reception centres' for new migrants add important new material to Emrys Jones' own demographic research, while shorter pieces respectively by Peter Lord and Wynn Thomas on the visual and musical cultures of the London Welsh, and Hafina Clwyd's overview of London-based Welsh writers, provide a useful and occasionally provoking epilogue. Despite some repetition, this is a readable and nicely illustrated volume about a significant if often elusive group that belongs simultaneously to the histories both of London and of Wales.

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Thomas Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History 1721–1794*. London: Arnold, 2000. xii + 249pp. Bibliography. Index. £45.00 hbk, £13.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S096392680228308X

Thomas Munck's book will come as a boon to all seeking an up-to-date synthesis of research on the infrastructure of the Enlightenment: that is, its multi-faceted audience; the mechanisms of dissemination, from the spread of literacy to the mechanics of the printing process; and the social and political ramifications. Munck concentrates on a 'golden Triangle' between London, Paris and Hamburg, albeit with numerous pertinent sallies beyond this area, mainly into Prussia and Scandinavia. He has comparatively little to say on the peasantry, although he does not neglect them, and suggests that, in France at least, they may have been more open to echoes of enlightened ideas than they are often given credit for. This remains, however, a book firmly ensconced in an urban setting. Chapter 2, 'Tradition and communication in daily life', is particularly effective at conveying the vigour and excitement of great city life and the indispensability of that setting for the basic mechanisms of the enlightenment process.

The development of a mass reading public, a lively periodical press and an aggressive book trade characterized the capitals (but not only the capitals, especially in Britain) of his 'Golden Triangle'. It is difficult to see how they could have been duplicated in almost overwhelmingly agrarian eastern Europe; Munck's forays into Denmark and Sweden, where outside the capitals, not much happened (and not all that much in them) reaffirm the impression of conservative torpor. If this book is about anything, it is about one of the Enlightenment's key objectives – the creation of a genuine public opinion: volatile and irrational, but increasingly there and something for governments both to reckon with and to exploit. Indeed, the book could be described as being concerned with the burgeoning of mass (if mainly urban) politics. Munck candidly acknowledges that some of even the most basic issues, such as the development of mass literacy, are far from fully explored; but he flags up the problems and directs readers towards the appropriate literature. He is very conscious of the protean nature of his subject, questioning the point of any division into 'Enlightenement' and 'anti-Enlightenment' literature. Readers are reminded of just how difficult any kind of

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reform could be, even in the supposedly propitious atmosphere of England – witness the Gordon Riots.

Overall, the reader is left with a sense of incipient modernity: a genuine public opinion in the process of formation; governments seeking to extend their activities into the many spheres in which they operate today, but held back by a lack of resources and inadequate technology. The main criticism, if it is that, is that Munck has not covered more ground: he says something about the conservative climate in the Dutch Republic, but it is a pity he is not as informative on Amsterdam as on Hamburg. But such carping should not detract from the great value of this most stimulating and up-do-date synthesis.

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Isabelle Backouche, *La Trace du Fleuve: La Seine et Paris (1750–1850)*. Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2000. 430pp. 22 maps. 31 figures. 45 tables. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. FF 280.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802293086

This is a work of daunting erudition, born of a prizewinning 1995 doctoral thesis, and based on a scouring of Parisian archives that it requires eleven pages merely to list. Its subject matter is the relationship between Paris and its river from the heyday of pre-revolutionary *Vieux Paris* in the 1750s, a time that had already been mythologized by the 1780s, as is evident in the writings of L.-S. Mercier (p. 370), through to the threshold of the Haussmannian transformation of Paris under the Second Empire.

There is something which is remarkably unsurprising about this trajectory. The river of the 1750s was congested with a multiplicity of users and usages, riddled with contested jurisdictions, and the subject of lively rivalries, like any other Old Regime institution. It also 'lived' close to the urban people: rising up periodically into their homes; providing much of their drinking-water and bathing opportunities; cleansing their linens; and transporting many of the goods on which they relied to a multitude of 'ports' that were in many cases simple beaches where boats were pulled ashore, and from where a competing and overlapping, but also corporate and hierarchical, economic structure worked at unloading and distribution. The river of the 1850s had been embourgeoised and professionalized. Its management had been confided to authorities above the urban level, the priority was its use as a national waterway, and it had been cut off from most of the population, confined between high *quais*, its bed deepened for rapid passage, and increasing numbers of bridges thrown across it – what was once the centre of the city becoming merely an obstruction to the smooth flow of traffic.

In this sense, the Seine might be seen as an exemplar of the development of French public life across this period. Even, if one were in a romanticizing frame of mind, as a metaphor for the French state, pushed and pulled in countless directions in the eighteenth century, intruding into individuals' lives in chaotic but understandably human-scale ways, becoming, with the assistance of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic interludes, a faceless, dehumanized, but efficient force for national ends. It is this note on which Backouche chooses to end, noting

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the inability of the historical record of the 1850s to reveal the 'consciousness of the river' which was discernible in the Old Regime records. The later river was 'foreign to the expectations of Parisians . . . those whose voice had disappeared from the banks of the Seine' (p. 371).

If the history of the Seine in its broad outlines lacks much surprise, the telling of the tale is nevertheless well worth hearing. The river was woven into the social fabric of the eighteenth century to a remarkable degree, not just in its solidarities, but also in its conflicts. It and its *quais* formed sites of extreme specialization. If, on the one hand, the boats of the Seine's washerwomen could be found along its length, there were on the other hand no less than nineteen designated ports with widely differentiated landing rights. The inhabitants of certain *quais*, and until they were cleared towards the end of the century, certain bridges themselves, formed their own communities, highly differentiated by occupation – so that for example the *quai de la Mégisserie* was often known, even on official maps, as the *quai de la Féraille*, from the ironmongery businesses there. Such communities often sought to privatize their space, gaining permission, for example, to close the access to their roadways with chains or gates at night, and to pay their own watchmen. In some cases, such as the *quai de Gesvres*, this marked a segregation which was also a close cohabitation: the seventeenth-century arcades upon which this *quai* was erected were themselves the rendezvous of a section of the vagrant population, while 'la bonne société' met behind locked gates above them (p. 51).

All this would pass away in favour of open spaces, a canalized, controlled river and a depersonalized cityscape. What is perhaps most worthy of note, and what again strikes a Tocquevillean note for the French historian, is how early, and how modern, were the attempts after 1750 to put the Seine in such a good, bourgeois order. Public and professional authority, with state sanction, drew up far-reaching plans for the reordering of the river as early as 1769, with the origins of such plans going back a decade earlier. If these plans took in some cases over half a century to come to fruition, they nonetheless show that 'urbanisme', the scientific and technical management of urban space, was an Old Regime invention that would persist in its goals through the vicissitudes of republican, imperial and restoration politics.

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Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, *L'invention technique au siècle des Lumières*. Paris: Albin Michel, 2000. 448pp. Bibliography. No price stated.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802303080

This is a comparative study of considerable merit. Liliane Hilaire-Pérez analyses the ways in which inventors were able to protect their rights in Britain and France during the eighteenth century. She contrasts first the systems of legal protection, patents in England and *privilèges* in France, both of which had their origins in a Venetian law of 1474. Patents in Britain were essentially proprietorial rights granted by the state in response to the supplication of an individual. In France, a *privilège*, as defined in 1762, was seen as a recompense for a service that had been provided by the inventor. Inventors in Britain tended to be technicians

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rather than scientists, but in France they were more likely to have an academic background of some kind. Hilaire-Pérez has an enviable mastery of British research on innovations, and builds effectively on Christine MacLeod's classic work on patents (*Inventing the Industrial Revolution: The English Patent System 1660–1800*, Cambridge, 1988), and on Maxime Berg's research on Birmingham and Sheffield. The book also examines institutions that stimulated inventions and provided protection for inventors' rights, in Britain principally the Society of Arts, founded in 1754. Drawing on the work of Dr David Allen, Hilaire-Pérez shows a commendable awareness of the Society's Irish and provincial antecedents and of its subsequent contacts with towns outside the capital.

Historians have learned in recent decades to be less dismissive about French industries of the *ancien régime*, partly through the surveys carried out by l'Inventaire Général on such topics as the woollen manufactures of Sedan (J.-F. Belhoste *et al., La Manufacture de Dijonval et la draperie sedanaise 1650–1850*, Paris, 1984), and partly through the late John Harris's work on industrial espionage (*Industrial Espionage and Technology Transfer: Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century*, Aldershot, 1998). This book approaches the subject of manufacturing in France in the eighteenth century from an entirely different angle, and adds significantly to our understanding of the subject. Hilaire-Pérez's accounts of millwrighting and of the chemical industry in France are particularly perceptive.

A weakness of any survey of this kind is that inventors and inventions tend to become abstractions. There is a fundamental difference between an innovation like James Watt's parallel motion, a mathematical solution to a mechanical problem that could readily be demonstrated and copied, and a development like Henry Cort's puddling process that depended on the presence or absence of trace elements both in raw materials and in furnace linings, as well as on the ability of a forgeman to judge the state of a heat of metal by its appearance and by how it felt when stirred. Nevertheless, as this book amply demonstrates, rates of recorded inventions, and the ways in which inventions were regarded by governments do reveal much about particular societies.

Hilaire-Pérez does not precisely analyse the role of towns in the process of innovation, but she raises many stimulating questions for urban historians. She shows that some towns in France, like Lyons, where premiums were given for innovations in silk-manufacturing technology, positively encouraged inventions, and points out the paradox that recorded innovations in eighteenth-century Britain were most prevalent in London and southern England, precisely those areas perceived to have been least affected by industrialization. Alfred Marshall (*Industry and Trade*, 1920) saw towns as places where innovations were discussed, appreciated, applied and improved. This book shows that much understanding can be gained from a comparative study of certain aspects of industrial innovation. It is to be hoped that it will stimulate future researchers to examine more closely the process of innovation in urban contexts.

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Charles More, *Understanding the Industrial Revolution*, London: Routledge, 2000. ix + 188pp. 9 figures. 9 tables. £45.00 hbk, £13.99 pbk.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802313087

T.S. Ashton once made reference to a student essay describing the industrial revolution as 'a wave of gadgets that swept over England' from about 1760. The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a number of important inventions; however, can their appearance explain the industrial revolution? This is the claim advanced by Charles More in a lively discussion of economic growth models and their application to the revolution. In this scenario, inventions stimulated economic growth by promoting more efficient use of resources, as well as providing new items of consumption. In accounting for the mid-eighteenth-century 'surge of inventiveness', exogenous forces, such as the role of science and sheer chance, are dismissed; instead, a convincing argument is crafted that by the 1750s the market was large enough to 'encourage numerous individuals to undertake expensive inventive activity'. The opportunity to profit from this activity derived from the commercial head-start such *improvements* afforded, along with the rewards reaped from a patent system which 'allowed sole exploitation of an invention'.

Whilst the cover picture – an image of the iron bridge spanning the river Wear from an early nineteenth-century Sunderland pottery plaque – holds much promise, the book is likely to have limited appeal to urban historians. The process of urbanization receives only passing comment in a rather brief introduction, with no mention made of the towns in which so much industrial activity took place. Similarly, towns receive little comment in subsequent chapters. Yet, on various occasions, the spectre of the town and its role in the industrialization process is glimpsed. In considering demand-side forces stimulating growth, towns are described as 'more ''consumerist'' than the countryside', but this observation is not developed. Likewise, in discussing the 'accumulation of practical skills' as a precondition for the 'surge in inventiveness', one is drawn to Everitt's portrait of eighteenth-century towns as nurseries of skill, although this is not mentioned.

More generally, the book's title is potentially misleading. With the exception of a chapter on living standards, it seeks to explain the industrial revolution as an economic phenomenon. Yet questions arise concerning the extent to which the industrial revolution can be *understood* without considering the growth of urban society, or changing social relations. On a different note, this reviewer is unconvinced by the rationale behind the multiple inclusion of certain data. Page 73 includes a bar-graph plotting Britain's population in 1751, 1801 and 1851; yet the same information is contained in the opening line of page 72 and in table form on page 92. Notwithstanding these reservations, More has succeeded in synthesizing many recent explanations of the industrial revolution, and has done so in an interesting and thought-provoking way.

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Martin V. Melosi, *The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. xii + 578pp. 95 illustrations. Bibliographical essay. $61.95.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802323083

In *The Sanitary City: Urban Infrastructure in America from Colonial Times to the Present*, Martin V. Melosi provides a sweeping overview of the history of water and sewerage development and garbage collection in the US from the 1700s to today. The product of a lifetime of work in urban and environmental history, the book is an impressive effort to move beyond the relatively narrow focus of most of the historical work on the development of water supply, waste water and solid waste disposal systems in the US. Melosi provides a comprehensive, systems analysis of the co-evolution of these interrelated infrastructures of urban sanitation over the whole history of the US. Although he begins with a theoretical chapter, Melosi is not at heart a theorist, and the book is, by and large, a straightforward narrative history. It is organized chronologically into three time periods characterized by their distinctive orientations towards theories of sanitation and environmental health: the 'Age of Miasmas,' from colonial times to 1880, the era of the 'Bacteriological Revolution', from 1880 to 1945, and the era of the 'New Ecology,' from 1945–2000. Melosi tracks the development of municipal water, sewerage and solid waste management systems in the US as a whole through these periods, showing how they were jointly moulded by urban population trends and developments in science and in the municipal engineering and public health professions.

Though too long and dense to be assigned to students, *The Sanitary City* is a must-have for historians doing research on any aspect of the history of the development of water, sewerage, waste management, pollution control and other aspects of public health and sanitation in the American city. Melosi's prodigious research and extensive bibliography, his lucid descriptions and many illustrations of colonial era and more modern sanitation technologies, and his discussion of the truly myriad accomplishments of the public health and sanitation professions make this book an essential research tool for historians working at the interface between urban, technology and environmental history.

Despite its lack of a theoretical or explicitly argumentative structure, the book contributes to the interpretive historiography of the history of the city and urban sanitation in two significant ways. First, Melosi conclusively demonstrates the value of approaching water, sewerage and garbage collection from an integrated, systems perspective. The book is very effective in showing how developments in one infrastructure ramified throughout the entire evolving system of urban sanitation infrastructures, both stimulating and limiting what was done and could be done in the other parts. Second, Melosi makes a very strong case for the creative problem-solving skills of the public health reformers and sanitary engineers who designed the technologies that made dramatic improvements in public health possible in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some contemporary environmentalists may be taken aback by this, wishing that Melosi had instead focused more on describing the flaws and limitations of these systems and the environmental problems that we now associate with them, such as the role of sanitary landfills in the pollution of ground water supplies. Melosi

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has, however, done an excellent job of putting the accomplishments of pioneering sanitary engineers and health reformers in their historical context. Despite its allusions to path dependency and rigidity of urban infrastructures, the book leaves one deeply impressed with the extent to which leaders in the public health and sanitary engineering fields engaged with many of the most important public health issues of their day and succeeded in developing, and actually implementing, technologies that made it possible to water and manage the wastes of America's increasingly dense urban populations in a manner deemed highly satisfactory by most people for nearly a century.

The book is less successful in explaining why the nation's pioneering sanitary engineers and health reformers were able to achieve so much. Melosi gives little attention to the political, economic and cultural factors that enabled a fairly small, elite group of health reformers and engineers to command the resources needed to wield such influence over the construction of the urban landscape. He gives equally little attention to explaining why their power waned during the mid and late twentieth centuries, a period he portrays as a time of declension and crisis in what had been a remarkable march of progress. These are important questions that need to be answered if historians are to help society prepare to meet the environmental and public health challenges that await urban populations in the future. What can we learn about the successes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that can help society deal more effectively with such emerging problems as threats to water supply engendered by global climate change, exhaustion of natural groundwater and river water supplies in the arid west, and pollution by hormone-disrupting chemicals and other toxic substances for which no protections currently exist? We can thank Melosi for writing a book that will, for the foreseeable future, give us a baseline understanding of what happened in the provision of urban sanitary services over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We can now move on and address the broader, even more ambitious 'why' questions that will enable us to place the history of urban sanitation in the broader context of the cultural, political, economic and environmental development of American society as we move forward into the twenty-first century.

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Dana Arnold, *Re-presenting the Metropolis: Architecure, Urban Experience and Social Life in London 1800–1840* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000). xx + 172pp. 40 figures. Bibliography. £45.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S096392680233308X

This engaging book by Dana Arnold is about the 're-presenting' of the Metropolis in the first four decades of the nineteenth century, a period of social, economic and political change that made such a re-presentation inevitable. This process inevitability also related to the need for the English capital city to reflect triumphalism and nationalism following victory over France. Arnold uses the interesting device of viewing the contemporary Metropolis through the eyes of a male *flâneur* or a female *flâneuse* from the vantage point of the viewing platform of St Paul's Cathedral. The use of the 'flâneur/euse' device implies a relatively

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dispassionate impression of a 'saunterer' through the streets of the cities of London, Westminster and the Borough of Southwark. The Foucauldian notion of '*un regime panoptique*', tied to Bentham's 'architectural device' the panopticon (or in Bentham's alternative description the 'observation house'), are used to explore the vista to the west, and south, of St Paul's Cathedral. The choice of Bentham's panopticon appeared most appropriate because the view from the superintendent's quarters of such an institution, with an inspection platform not dissimilar to the viewing platform of St Paul's Cathedral, was limited by the glass-block walls of the institution intended to admit light, but to inhibit vision. This exactly parallels Arnold's intention to obscure what Gareth Stedman Jones aptly called 'Outcast London', an area contiguous with the area that is the subject of this book. Arnold's purpose was best fulfilled by examining the bourgeois aspects of the area under scrutiny. The book, which is well illustrated with images, some of them very familiar, begins by providing a common interpretation of the architecture of the geographical area investigated. This is followed by the flâneur/euse's view of selected streets of the Metropolis, which provides a good basis for knowledge and interpretations on which to build re-presentations. Various aspects of this process are investigated. The first is of nationalism and triumphalism, in which the nature of the city was changed, indeed aggrandized, by the architecture of the classical periods, but also by importing a rural-idyll, interpreted by the landscape-architects Humphrey Repton and John Claudius Loudon, to the squares and gardens of the Metropolis. Repton's 'Brown Books', of his garden designs, indicated that 'rustification' ran alongside his creation of neoclassical garden buildings. Interspersed with these, largely private, gardens were monuments to military heroes and their victories, which emphasized the English victory over the French. It also created a city to outdo the Parisian Metropolis. The next section investigates the concept of 'police', or more properly 'social police', in terms of institutions created to control the citizenry. This aspect is investigated in relation to the architecture of the 're-presented' Metropolis, but also in terms of the 1832 Reform Act, which enfranchised an additional quarter of a million or so electors, including a large tranche of the bougeoisie living in the marginal areas bordering 'Outcast London'. The final section of the book investigates the impact of what might be called 'conspicuous consumption' in the Metropolis, which related directly to the contemporaneous creation of a consumer society. Clearly this led to a realignment of the social structure of the Metropolis, which was implicit in the 're-presentation' referred to in the book's title. The whole book is a satisfying investigation of aspects of social, economic and political history of the period 1800 to 1840 taken from the stance of an accomplished architectural historian. It inevitably takes a blinkered view, a position well explained by the author from the outset. The Postscript to the book provides some useful philosophical underpinning to this laudable perspective.

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Robert Fishman (ed.), *The American Planning Tradition: Culture and Policy*. Washington, DC: The Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2000. ix + 380pp. 11 plates. 24 figures. $24.95.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802343086

Thirty years ago when urban history was becoming a recognized sub-field, practitioners argued whether they should establish their own journals. Some believed it was more important to invade the mainstream journals and thereby bring an urban interpretation to bear on the mainstream of American history. Perhaps there has been a similar argument among planning historians, who have been establishing their own journals. There should be. Perhaps that is why the title of this intriguing volume recalls Richard Hofstadter's masterpiece, *The American Political Tradition* (1948). 'However much at odds on specific issues,' Hofstadter wrote in that influential work, Americans of every political stripe endorsed an 'ideology of self-help, free enterprise, competition, and beneficent cupidity'. The 'business of politics' had therefore been to protect and promote the free market 'but not to cripple it with a plan for common collective action'. In contrast, *The American Planning Tradition* recovers a rich history of just such planning, what editor Robert Fishman calls 'collective action for the public good . . . that concentrates on building and shaping the shared physical infrastructure for present needs and future growth' (p. 2). A 'planning interpretation' of American history will force us to rethink the past. As Fishman points out in his introduction to this volume, a weak state and an emphasis on individual rights did not prevent planning initiatives even in the nineteenth century. The 'absence of a controlling central power', Alexis de Tocqueville recognized, 'invites collective action outside a bureaucratic hierarchy'. The absence of national planning demanded an 'urban vision' and an 'urban conversation' to 'justify public action to a society that is deeply individualistic' (pp. 4–7). Thus without denying 'deep-seated, enduring constraints in the American political tradition' (p. 90) that made planning difficult, the contributors pay homage to the accomplishments of the past. Unlike planning histories that celebrate the progressive development of planning knowledge and practice, this one finds that the mere preservation of an early twentieth-century 'legacy of public spaces, public transit, public parks, public libraries, public schools, public health, and public safety . . . sometimes seems beyond our present capacities' (p. 1). Contemporary planning has failed precisely because it 'has forsaken the language and strategies of the urban conversation for the technical discourse of the academy and the bureaucracy' (p. 5).

Michael J. Lacey's 'Federalism and national planning: the nineteenth century legacy' shows that proposals for national planning, from Albert Gallatin's through Theodore Roosevelt's, were the 'focal points for political struggle' (p. 89). National planning was also at the centre of constitutional disputes, reflecting both the need for co-ordination and the fear of centralized tyranny. The interest in a constitutional amendment that would facilitate intergovernmental co-operation demonstrated that 'national planning was a live possibility in the early republic' (p. 108). Lacy shows that laissez-faire philosophy was not inevitable but rather a product of the failure of national planning, particularly Gallatin's plans for roads and inland waterways. Aggressive, unco-ordinated state financing of internal improvements followed in the antebellum period, often ending in

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financial disaster. Ultimately internal improvements would be secured by liberalizing the laws of incorporation and allowing private interests to define and appropriate the public interest. Where private interests required public authority, they secured it from municipalities through corrupt means. In the early twentieth century, Theodore Roosevelt advocated the regulation of corporations and conservation as the means to undo the evils that the abandonment of national planning had caused. Roosevelt's proposals, like Gallatin's, focused on wise use of natural resources in the service of nation-building and economic prosperity.

Although Roosevelt's national planning proposals suffered much the same fate as Gallatin's, the American planning tradition nevertheless reached its height in the period from 1900–33. How success came out of defeat, the volume does not make clear. But the debate between regionalists and metropolitanists testified to the vitality of the period. In 'Holding the middle ground', John L. Thomas argues that the regional tradition understood the middle ground as both an actual place, a dividing line between wilderness and metropolis, and a 'civic religion' (p. 36). The Scottish regionalist Patrick Geddes sought to get beyond 'abstract sociology' and its 'vague discussions of "Society"' to lay bare the essential issue of 'Cities and citizens' (p. 38). Another Scotsman, Ian McHarg, later defined regionalism as a mode of production that concerned itself with ecology, health and human aspiration. Lewis Mumford translated regionalism's civic religion into an American context, championing 'a distinct political economy and cultural outlook' of small producers, artisanal lifestyle, folk culture, respect for indigenous landscapes and civic education (p. 39). Defending the 'land-in-between' from the 'commercial sewage' of the expanding metropolis, Mumford hoped to preserve the middle ground as the seedbed of democracy rather than a captive colony of the metropolis (p. 42). Mumford condemned the metropolitan aggrandizement he saw in the *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs* (RPNYE), the most ambitious planning project of the 1920s. But Robert Fishman argues that 'The metropolitan tradition in American planning' was worthy of respect. The metropolitanists valued the social diversity and efficient use of technology that density made possible. Challenging the bleak view of urban alienation promoted by European sociology, the Chicago school of urban sociologists celebrated the vitality of the metropolis, extolling its capacity for nurturing diversity and individuality. While the regionalists wanted to resist the metropolitan capitalism that overwhelmed the middle ground, the metropolitanists embraced the economic dynamism of the manufacturing districts and the public utilities that served working-class neighbourhoods. Staging ground for the second industrial revolution and focus of a mass migration, their metropolis had democratized consumption and secured social peace within diversity. The only problem with the great city, the metropolitanists argued, was that it was no longer great enough. A reorganized and expanded metropolitan region would preserve economic dynamism and social diversity through a 'diffuse recentralization' (p. 75). Metropolitanists had participated in the massive nineteenth-century public projects that had made the great city possible. They reasonably thought that new public projects (especially rail transportation) could underwrite the replacement of aging factories with new manufacturing districts, close enough to retain efficiency and dynamism but easing mounting problems of congestion. Public projects could similarly promote the replacement of deteriorating housing with new middle- and working-class neighbourhoods close to jobs and provided

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with ample public services. Based on detailed studies conducted by the best planning talent, the RPNYE provided the blueprint for this new 'metropolitan social democracy' (p. 79).

The New Deal interest in giant public projects in transit and housing initially seemed to complement these plans. But the metropolitanists never mastered the post-depression forces that impoverished the urban core and promoted urban sprawl. Railroad corporations balked at mandated reorganization; small businesses either clung to the centre or used trucking to move further out; highways, electricity and telephones dispersed economic activity; suburbanites moved into the green belt that metropolitanists had hoped to preserve from development. The New Deal also seemed initially to promise a new chance for regionalism. The flowering of regionalism in academia found a small beachhead in the New Deal. But the collapse of a reform-minded New Deal, examined in Alan Brinkley's 'The National Resources Planning Board and the reconstruction of planning', opened the way for a federally-subsidized 'corporate regionalism' (p. 80). Driven by the search for profits and supported by a centralized state, corporate regionalism bypassed the industrial belt the metropolitanists had banked their hopes on and overwhelmed the middle ground the regionalists had hoped would promote civic renewal. The metropolitan and regional traditions might have been reconciled in the way suggested by Louis Wirth's observation that there 'is democracy in the scattered few, but there is also democracy in the thick crowd' (p. 83). Or it may be, as Thomas argues, that Mumford's critique of the RPNYE clarified the stark choice between metropolitan and regional futures. Neither tradition, however, could embrace what followed. As computer models and systems analysis supplanted civic and cultural ideals, urban development was no longer subject to normative concepts, but conceived as a process too complex to assert normative judgements about. Federal policies facilitated the suburban flight from the city, while urban renewal (burdened by racism as Arnold Hirsch's 'Race and renewal in the Cold War South' demonstrates) failed to renew. Jobs and development headed for edge city, where extreme mobility and placelessness replaced civic culture and settlement. Developers proceeded unchecked, offering the consumption of goods and packaged experiences in the place of city life. A new ecological regionalism soon emerged to confront edge city. This new regionalism seeks a middle ground between arcadian and imperialist views of nature and recalls the best aspects of the earlier traditions. James Wescoat examines the ecological aspects of federal planning in 'Watersheds in regional planning', while Margaret Weir assesses the difficulties in combining the environmental and social justice movements in 'Planning environmentalism and urban poverty'. Carl Abbott's 'The capital of good planning' dissects the success of ecological regionalism in Portland, Oregon. In 'Local initiative and metropolitan repetition,' Judith Martin and Sam Bass Warner, Jr assess Chicago's recent failures in finding ecologically-sensitive solutions to flooding and pollution.

The volume appropriately closes with an essay by Anne Spirn, 'Reclaiming common ground', that is an example of a revived urban conversation. In 1985 Spirn addressed Bostonians concerned with a neglected public realm that had saddled the city with a canyon-like, congested downtown, frightening, trash-filled neighbourhoods, and mounting problems of pollution. The city's existing public spaces, Spirn explained, were not just amenities but 'pragmatic solutions to environmental and social problems' (p. 299). Back Bay, Emerald Necklace, the

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Fens were massive, nineteenth-century public projects that addressed public health problems, provided building space and served as a storm drainage system. Frederick Law Olmsted had taken a leading role in designing the projects, but Olmsted was part of a larger urban conversation from which he borrowed ideas and gained support. With millions slated for new public works, Bostonians now faced another chance to turn seemingly intractable problems into an opportunity for rethinking the connections between social and environmental problems. Spirn envisioned a restored public realm, with water at the centre, that utilized low-tech solutions. Instead of a colossal sewage treatment plant in Boston Harbour, she called for a decentralized system of parks and adjoining treatment plants. Vacant lots dotted across the city could provide the necessary land. Thought to be scars of riots, the lots actually represented watershed and flood plain land that never should have been built on. Turned into parks, they could use sunlight and air to provide a final step in cleansing water. Construction and maintenance of these parks would provide local employment. Low-tech solutions could also benefit the central business district. Separating out sewage with heavy metals would allow the rest to be profitably converted to compost. Civic plazas could provide tiered basins that served as holding tanks during storms and skating rinks in winter. Low-tech, citizen-initiated solutions might blossom throughout the city, contributing variety and diversity to the urban fabric. Although the next ten years saw great improvement and citizen input, the centralized, engineering solutions to sewage treatment won out. No integrated social-environmental vision had taken hold. Spirn's vision, nonetheless, suggests what is possible if we continue the urban conversation. This volume, part of the Woodrow Wilson Center's effort to strengthen 'the fruitful relationship between the world of learning and the world of public affairs' (pp. v–vi) can contribute to that. In reshaping our understanding of the American past, planning historians can help shape the future.

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Alastair Johnson (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Giordani Wright, Newcastle Doctor, 1826–1829* (with an introduction, The Surtees Society, The Boydell Press, 2001), vol. ccvi, iv + 366pp. £40.00, $70.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802353082

A young apprentice doctor, aged eighteen, building his career in the 1820s needed a good reliable horse. This was not just to look well on, but to take him miles to visit his patients, sites of accidents in mines, factories and on the roads, and to social engagements. The diary of Thomas Giordani Wright, apprenticed to a Newcastle surgeon for the years from 1826 to 1829, demonstrates this and much more.

How this diary came to be in the local archive of Nanaimo in British Columbia is a mystery, but the Canadian local history society in that town returned it to Newcastle upon Tyne where Alastair Johnson has edited it for the Surtees Society. It makes for fascinating reading, dealing with the day to day work of a rather self-conscious young doctor, keen to improve his own writing and to show off his composition skills to his supportive parents, as well as to be recognized as

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a fine medical practitioner. The surgeon's practice in Newcastle was essentially a 'general practice', giving young Mr Wright a wide range of experience of largely lower middle- and working-class medical problems, combined with the specialist skills of the surgeon, James McIntyre, in whose house the apprentices lived. Thomas Wright had had some medical education in Edinburgh, and he felt this placed him above the other apprentices. It is this process of training; the medical and social positioning of a young medical assistant and that of his master in a mining and industrial area; the display and implementation of contemporary medical knowledge, how it was sought and received by a variety of patients, which makes this such an important publication. The particular surgical prowess that McIntyre provided was less intrusive than this particular medical specialism usually suggests. He was especially interested in bone-setting, identifying bone and joint defects and problems, and pioneered methods of setting, use of splints, etc. It is the confidence and initiatives that young Thomas displayed that are remarkable. He was quickly visiting and treating patients on his own, supervised by his master making subsequent visits or receiving reports. There was room here for some differences of diagnostic opinion, and Wright showed considerable capacity to form his own ideas as well as learn from observations of McIntyre's techniques of assessing patients' progress, use of bone-setting devices and the prescriptions to be made up in the house. In his diary he recorded enough detail to reveal the paucity of knowledge as yet available, or rather the range of ideas that he could draw on with patience, insight and care to deal with fevers and illnesses as well as accidents. He used bed rest, bleeding, poultices and 'blisters' as well as a variety of potions. His attention to detailed observation, visiting each patient frequently in their home to record and monitor their progress was very much the key to the success of this kind of general practice, gaining the confidence of the local population of Byker and Heaton.

As always, we can ask for more from the editor, perhaps on what is known of the medical profile of that population in that period, but the editing is meticulous and helpful. He gives a medical glossary, numbers of patients on Wright's list, an account of his social engagements including his attempts to learn the quadrille, as well as his overall career for which this episode in Newcastle was an important introduction. He became a well-liked and respected medical practitioner in Wakefield, living until he was 90. Such a diary opens up, through the eyes of a particular practitioner, his experiences, capacities and perspectives as he actually acknowledged them to himself from day to day. As a way of our assessing his life and milieu our expectations are somewhat grander. We hope, thereby, to learn a little more, and to understand what impinged on his life, his relationships, his sources of comfort and confidence in himself as a representative of his profession. It is his personal account of what a medical doctor was about in the early nineteenth century which essentially becomes our entry into his world. It is a direct transfer of a certain form of knowledge across the many decades to our own time, and it works well.

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R.L. Greenall, *The Making of Victorian Salford.* Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing Ltd, 2000. viii + 376pp. Illustrations. Appendices. £8.00.
Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class. Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City 1840–1914*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000. £45.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802363089

Both these books deal with the public life of the Victorian industrial city but from quite different perspectives. In Ron Greenall's book, public life is explored through the study of a city whose history the author argues is too commonly subsumed within Manchester. In fact Salford was formed into municipal and parliamentary boroughs in the 1830s , from the union of the townships of Salford, Broughton and Pendleton and from then on developed its own distinct governmental, political and religious traditions, all of which have a prominent place in this substantial study. The perspective is that of the local historian seeking to avoid a narrowly parochial approach, and having ambitions to provide a social history of the industrial city, reflecting the author's background in university adult education. The book is written mainly for Salford, however, 'first and foremost a local history', rather than as a contribution to academic debate, and whilst it raises some general issues, there are few references to the work of other historians of the industrial city, even those who have also written about its public life or that of Victorian Manchester. This is indisputably Greenall's Salford, therefore, and dependent on the author's skills as an experienced local historian able to draw on more than twenty years' research in the local archives.

What the book offers is mainly a narrative socio-political history, which focuses on the players in the drama of Salford's turbulent public life and reconstructs episodes that live still in the memory of Salfordians. It is by no means an anodyne account. Well written, terse and pointed, covering a lot of ground, it is underpinned by the author's almost defiantly uncompromising views about the consequences for Salford of rapid industrial change. For Greenall there *was* an industrial revolution and Salford was the product of it. Hence the attention paid to the economic and social forces that shaped a city whose making is represented as a 'protean and painful experience'. What is distinctive about this approach is the combination of structure and biography. Departing from the convention of having separate chapters on aspects of city development, the usual topics are organized around a series of biographical studies, which act as the focal points of the aptly titled chapters. Amongst the cast of leading players are to be found 'agitators', town councillors, church leaders, a Catholic priest, a business dynasty, and both liberal and conservative members of parliament. The range is impressive, encompassing working-class leaders along with members of the Salford elite, well-known public figures, who made the biographical dictionaries, such as Emmeline Pankhurst, along with others whose sphere of influence was entirely local. Several operated in various spheres, their careers providing numerous reminders of the interlocking dimensions of urban political life in the provinces.

These biographical stories, fascinating in themselves, are also illustrative of more general themes relating to the role of class, sect and party in the public life of the city. Much is made, for example, of the interplay between family connections, religious upbringing and political attitudes and ambition in a study of the

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borough and parliamentary careers of Elkenah Armitage, and his son Benjamin. The public lives of these and earlier political figures (the redoubtable Joseph Brotherton, for example) serve as a commentary on the changing character of early and mid-Victorian Liberalism but they also stimulate dryly pertinent reflections on why the newly rich sought political power and the nature of mid-Victorian paternalism. Similarly the stories of less well-known local councillors illustrate the transition to conservatism but also (in a chapter on Salford's notorious gas scandal) the power of local bureaucracy. The book is strong too on the interconnections between evangelical Protestantism, beer and bible conservatism and the strength of anti-popery feelings. Another feature is the insistence on conflict and division within as well as between organizations and movements, tensions between old and new dissent, Anglo and Irish Catholics, and in the secular sphere, the splintering of the labour movement and the splits in feminist organization. Familiar ground no doubt, but covered with a freshness that derives from the richness of the local detail, much of it drawn from local newspapers, and the skilful interweaving of personal and public matters (as so poignantly represented in the story of the catholic priest, the victim of a local vendetta, which illustrates at the extreme the tensions affecting the Roman Catholic church in Salford). As an exemplar of a tradition of social history based on the socio-political narrative, this enjoyable city study demonstrates very successfully how story-telling can evoke the sound and fury of a city's public life (and a powerful sense of the city itself) whilst providing in the best chapters a way of getting inside the public mind(s) of the age.

The quite different approach of Simon Gunn's book provides a contrast in styles of social history. In the first place, his book has a more evidently academic orientation, and some of its themes have already been anticipated in journal articles – these themes have to do with public life as a socio-cultural rather than a socio-political phenomenon, whose analysis is set into the context of current academic debate on the 'crisis of class' in social history. This is a relatively short book, thematic in approach, more in the nature of an extended argument about the construction of what the author insists quite deliberately on calling a bourgeois culture, defined as a way of life or set of codes and practices. The argument draws on his thesis on the Manchester middle class to an extent supplemented by further research into aspects of the public life of Leeds and Birmingham. It also incorporates the ideas and comments of theorists and other urban and social historians some of whose observations are embodied in the text to reinforce the points being made. Reading this book, in consequence, gives a real intellectual buzz.

Gunn's primary endeavour is to redirect attention from the city suburbs and the domestic life of the bourgeoisie. The focus here is the city centre as the locus for a new kind of public life in the mid to late nineteenth century in and through which, the book argues, an urban middle class, based in the English provincial industrial city, was made. It develops this argument by means of case studies, each of which yields insights into a variety of bourgeois worlds – the worlds of the public street and private club, for example, the chapel and the concert hall, the council chamber and the funeral procession. In combination, these studies project an intriguing picture of the cultural ethos of the late Victorian industrial city. It has to be said, however, that the selectivity of some of the examples makes for a partial view of some of the cultural worlds they are chosen to illustrate – the

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account of spiritual culture, for example, is drawn predominantly from the world of Dissent, whilst a foray into the world of musical culture is concerned mainly with instrumental music and the city orchestra, to the neglect of other aspects of the diversified musical life of the urban middle class. It may also be a problem that the argument is based on the experience of a particular category of industrial city which raises the question of how far it is contingent upon the characteristics of what he calls the regional metropolis, and this is not always made clear in the text.

This is nevertheless an imaginative book opening up new ways of looking at the public life of the industrial city by drawing on sociological and anthropological concepts and perspectives derived from an eclectic group of writers. Amongst these, the author singles out especially the American writer on the city, Richard Sennett, for the potential of his concept of symbolic space, and the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, whose theories of social and cultural reproduction underline the importance of looking for homologies between social and cultural capital in the past. The kind of strategy deployed in the case studies is also worth comment. It starts with descriptions – of the architectural and spatial transformation of the city centre, and the institutional developments which provided the infrastructure for the construction of a bourgeois culture. It goes on to conceptualize the activities involved in public life, in terms of representations, social categories and meanings, especially symbolic meanings, and the kinds of ritual associated with different cultural forms. Part of this draws on contemporary representations, making use of previously little used ephemeral sources for information on contemporary views on such matters as social types, public behaviour and dress. Part depends on the author's own analysis of what he calls the 'performative and ritualized behaviour' of people as social actors whether involved in commuting or concert going, sermonizing or processing. The clinching element in the exposition is a demonstration of how these various spheres of cultural activity offered opportunities for the expression of bourgeois authority.

This is a book that exemplifies, therefore, several recent trends in the writing of social history. It is necessarily more detached, and generalized, than the local city study, and the thematic approach is dependent on taking examples from the experiences of the three cities rather than providing a more rounded picture of their individual cultural histories. Moreover, the language employed in the analysis may raise some eyebrows, although Gunn's exposition is admirably lucid throughout. Indeed, this book brilliantly demonstrates a style of analysis which enables the author to go beyond the surface events and incidents of public life to make sense of the way that the bourgeoisie of the Victorian industrial city behaved in public – and in the context of a stimulating contribution to historical debate about class and culture-making in the Victorian period. An instructive book, then, which culminates in some thoughtful reflections on the public culture of the late Victorian industrial city, extending some of the points raised in the last chapter of Greenall's Salford, with the addition of some further pointers on why that cultural ethos was undermined in the twentieth century.

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Clemens Wischermann and Elliot Shore (eds), *Advertising and the European City: Historical Perspectives*. Historical Urban Studies series. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. xviii + 225pp. 47 figures. Bibliography. £49.50.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802373085

Advertising helped to shape the modern city. Parading the mass-produced goods of industrialization to a vast but anonymous market, it has been held responsible for urban anomie, as 'false needs' alienate viewers from 'social realities'. Yet it is celebrated by others (including some of the authors in this volume) because it provides an abundance of visual associations, which metropolitan citizens can recombine to create their individual lifestyles. According to the editors, since the 1890s the focus of advertising has shifted away from the representation of goods to the representation of the modern world. The city, the 'true field of orientation of a modern person', is itself evoked in this new visual culture by its adverts, the lights of Piccadilly standing for the whole London experience.

Thus the editors of this volume outline the significance of advertising to urban history, yet the papers concentrate as much on the business history of advertising, and the ideological battles it generated. Elliott Shore considers newspaper advertising in nineteenth-century Germany and Austria, which was denounced both by the socialist Ferdinand Lassalle and ultra-nationalist Heinrich Treitschke; right and left were united in their nostalgia for a golden age of personal relationships between artisan producer and consumer. Ideology is also at the heart of Aaron Segal's study of the poster campaigns of the French Third Republic. All political camps celebrated French pre-eminence in this field, particularly the posters of Jules Chéret: for the left they heralded the democratization of art, for the right they celebrated French national values. However, both sides also feared the suggestive potential of visual stimuli (an abiding concern of French governments since the Revolution at least). Republican civic authorities therefore attempted to control advertising, leaving themselves room to impose their own conception of the modern on public space.

Other papers touch on similar conflicts over the urban landscape: advertisers battled with radical parties for wall space in inter-war Germany according to Stefan Haas, while Esther Cleven notes in her study of Dutch advertising theory that the *Bond Heemschut* preservation society tore down 500 frames for electrical and neon signs from Amsterdam's canals between 1928 and 1935. Cleven's is the only contribution to examine a particular campaign in any depth, the massive promotion of 'Blue Band' margarine' but her paper is more about the professionalization of advertising, a subject also central to Haas' examination of the emergence of commercial advertising in Germany. In both countries advertisers distanced themselves from aesthetic concerns (a conception of advertising exemplified by Chéret's posters), as they moved towards a more psychological understanding of purchasing decisions, which in turn led to a more directed use of urban space. Both Haas and Cleven draw their sources from the nascent profession's own literature, such as the German *Die Reklame*, first published in 1891. (These professional journals provide a rich source of illustrations.)

Two papers, by Claire Walsh and Natacha Coquery respectively, examine advertising in eighteenth-century London and Paris, before the full development of this visual culture and the professionals who promoted it. In both cities retailers advertised more often than producers (with the exception of patent

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medicines). However, in London such advertisements were rather restrained, because shopkeepers wanted to present an air of civility and expertise in accordance with their middle-class customers' genteel self-image. They did not want to be associated with the brash promotional methods of street-hawkers. The absence of advertising leads Walsh to doubt the existence of a 'commercial revolution' in the eighteenth century. The few retailers who bucked the trend were warehouse-shops selling goods at a fixed price. Similar establishments existed in Paris, but, according to Coquery, Parisian shopkeepers were generally more willing to advertise, particularly in the form of letterheads. This was despite the fact that their clientele was more aristocratic (this is Coquery's assumption, which may not be justified). The English origin of goods was a major selling point, one shop even renamed itself 'Au ville de Birmingham'.

Although advertising is a phenomenon associated with urbanization, one might have expected more contributors to interest themselves directly with its impact on the urban experience. Uwe Spiekermann's paper comes closest, tracing the development of the display window in Germany from the 1830s onwards. This is a generation earlier than the arrival of department stores who are usually credited with this innovation, and undoubtedly their use of steel-and-glass architecture greatly enhanced the display window's potential. Yet Spiekermann, like the other authors, basically looks at advertising from the point of view of its creators, whereas recent histories of other aspects of consumer culture have concentrated on its effects. We only get occasional glimpses of what advertising might have meant for its audience, some of which suggest that the explosion of light and sensation at the end of the nineteenth century was as disorientating as the arrival of the railways fifty years earlier. Another collection will have to tell us how the European urbanite, like Aragon's *Paris Peasant*, coped with 'images, images everywhere'.

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Sam Davies and Bob Morley, *County Borough Elections in England and Wales, 1919–1938: A Comparative Analysis*. Volume 2: *Bradford-Carlisle*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. xiv + 707pp. 96 tables. 16 figures. 16 appendices. £85.00.
DOI: 10.1017/S0963926802383081

This work, the second in a planned series of eight volumes, along with its predecessor marks a considerable step forward in the study of local politics in the inter-war period. Until recently, a central characteristic of the study of twentieth-century electoral change among historians has been its strong emphasis on national, parliamentary politics. Many of the key features of British politics in the first half of the twentieth century – such as the decline of Liberalism, the rise of the Labour party and Conservative hegemony between the wars – have usually been examined with reference to successive general elections. This focus has been understandable, given the accessibility of national statistics and the difficulties of obtaining accurate local data. Yet historians have long recognized the importance of the 'politics of place', and this impressive series – once completed – will go a long way towards rectifying the absence of

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reliable data and so will enable a far more systematic analysis of the dynamics of electoral change to be undertaken. The series aims to provide the material necessary for a comparative analysis of all eighty-plus county boroughs in England and Wales between the wars, presented in alphabetical order. This volume covers Bradford-Carlisle, with an array of local sources being used to compile a range of information for each county borough: tables of data for population and employment structure; summary tables of municipal election results, showing party gains and losses and the overall composition of the council; and full lists of results arranged by ward, including candidate names, gender, party label and turnout. Maps are also provided for each county borough, showing how ward boundaries changed during the period. On the basis of this material, carefully assembled and clearly presented, the authors more than adequately meet their first stated objective – that of providing a comprehensive work of reference, one that scholars of twentieth-century politics will find invaluable in years to come.

They also go some way towards their second aim of providing a 'multi-layered analysis of municipal politics'. This is achieved, in the first place, through a series of informative introductions to each chapter, providing a longer-term historical perspective on the various country boroughs and highlighting differences between them. Bristol, for example, emerges as a Labour stronghold between the wars; Bury was dominated by working-class Conservatism; Liberalism proved surprisingly resilient in Cardiff; while Burton-upon-Trent had much in common with smaller local authorities where 'Independents' remained in control in the absence of strong party affiliations. Analysis of the data is also taken further in the conclusion to the book, though it is here that some readers may take issue with the approach used. The concluding chapter presents an analysis of trends, patterns of party competition and such like in the nineteen boroughs covered by the first two volumes. Although the authors go to great pains to point out that the selection of cases is alphabetical, it remains that any comparative analysis, with another six volumes still to be published, is skewed. This means that any conclusions reached are tentative at best. Compounding the problem here is the failure in most of the analyses to give an idea of the number of cases under consideration. This deficiency is acknowledged, for example, in the analysis of electoral turnout, a matter that is of considerable contemporary importance. What is plain is that some boroughs enjoyed high levels of turnout, while others did not. The authors speculate about the possible impact of factors such as regional effects, but more questions are asked than answered. Tables showing figures for turnout do not, for instance, calculate it as a percentage of eligible electorate, including electors from uncontested wards in the calculation. It is, of course, a difficult choice to have to make: to attempt a piecemeal analysis of data or to wait until the full picture is revealed? However, given the excellent quality of the essays accompanying each borough's results it might, on balance, have been better to postpone the comparative analysis until more sophisticated statistical techniques could have been employed on a more representative sample of data.

Despite such criticism we should be left in no doubt of the scale of the debt owed to Davies and Morley in compiling these results. For the first time we can now systematically compare patterns of voting at local and general elections during this critical period in our political history. When data are finally produced

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for the post-war era and then joined with the post-reorganization period of the early 1970s, there will be established a time series for virtually the whole of the twentieth century. Such a resource will provide an extremely useful tool, enabling a more detailed insight into the pace and diversity of political change than has been achieved before.

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