

Review of periodical articles

BÄRBEL BRODT, PAUL ELLIOTT and BILL LUCKIN

9, The Willows, Witney, Oxfordshire, OX28 3HN

School of Geography, University of Nottingham, NG7 2RD

Division of Humanities, Bolton Institute of Higher Education, Bolton, BL2 1JW

Pre-1500

Few – if any - would deny that cartography is one of the most essential disciplines within the multi-layered scope of urban history. Elizabeth Baigent pays tribute to the possibilities and problems posed by maps in her 'Fact or fiction? Town maps as aids and snares to the historian', *Archives: The J. of the British Records Association*, 29, 110 (2004), 24–37. By looking at a map of Gloucester, compiled in 1455, and two late medieval Bristol maps (one by Robert Ricart, the other by William Smith), she outlines their usefulness as well as the problems that the modern urban historian faces. Although medieval maps can clearly help to identify 'lost' streets, and to elucidate the town's social geography, it is essential to consider the purpose for which any individual map was drawn, the context in which it was published (and re-published) and not least the skills of the cartographer concerned. Cartography may be an essential tool for the urban historian, but there are many other tools and topics, and this year's medieval urban periodical literature again reflects the wide scope of the subject. This is especially true for the German language periodicals which tend to relate to traditionally powerful concepts rather than to recent departures. This trend largely reflects the nature of those periodicals concerned for they are almost entirely devoted to strictly local, or at most regional concerns. They are naturally home to brief essays on mainly local matters, particularly the commemoration of anniversaries of urban charters (e.g., Paul Wietzorek, 'Zum Titelbild: 100 Jahre Stadtwappen Zons – 1904–2004', *Der Niederrhein. Die Zeitschrift des Vereins Niederrhein*, 71, 1 (2004), 2–5; Paul Wietzorek, 'Zum Titelbild: 750 Jahre Stadtrechte Grieth 1254–2004', *ibid.*, 71, 2 (2004), 54–5; Paul Wietzorek, 'Zum Titelbild: 650 Jahre Stadt Dahlen (Rheindalen) 1354–2004', *ibid.*, 71, 3 (2004), 114–15), overviews of town histories (e.g. Eberhard Lebender, 'Die Weizackerstadt Pyritz. Ein Gang durch die Geschichte – von der Bronzezeit bis zur Zerstörung 1945', *Pommern. Zeitschrift für Kultur und Geschichte*, 42, 2 (2004), 8–17) and recent archaeological excavations (e.g., Sven Spiong, 'Archäologische Ausgrabung an der Paderborner Stadtmauer', *Die Warte*, 65, 123 (2004), 23–6; Sven Spiong, 'Den Stiftsherren auf der Spur: Archäologische Ausgrabung nördlich der Busdorfkirche in Paderborn', *ibid.*, 65, 124 (2004), 9–10). Anna Helena

Schubert's 'Archäologische Untersuchungen im Bereich der "Untersten Stadtmühle" in Olpe', *Heimatstimmen aus dem Kreis Olpe*, 75, 3 (2004), 195–202, is another example of local archaeological case studies. Olpe received its urban charter in 1311; in the German context such an urban charter necessarily involved fortification. Schubert is concerned whether the 'lower mill' which was situated outside the first urban wall was erected at the same time or at a later date than this wall, yet has to admit that despite extensive archaeological excavation this question has to remain – at least for the time – unanswered. English articles on local excavations are too numerous to be dealt with adequately in this short review. Two examples may suffice: Robert Cowie's 'The evidence from royal sites in Middle Anglo-Saxon London', *Medieval Archaeology*, 48 (2004), 201–8, looks at the evidence for palaces c. 650 – c. 850 that emerged from recent archaeological investigations in the Cripplegate area of the City and at the Treasury in Whitehall. Mary Alexander, Natasha Dodnell and Christopher Evans have published 'A Roman cemetery in Jesus Lane, Cambridge', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 93 (2004), 67–94. 32 corpses were unearthed (three of them decapitated), and modest grave goods were found. This cemetery seems to have served a suburban settlement within the lower Roman town. Pottery assemblage indicates industrial activity. The excavation added significantly to our knowledge of the layout and scale of Roman Cambridge. Cambridge clearly remained a significant centre during the fourth century and sustained an economic and commercial role.

Urban economies again featured strongly in the 2004 periodical literature. J.D. Hurst and Christopher Dyer both looked at Droitwich and its salt-making industry. In 'Fuel supply and the medieval salt industry in Droitwich', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd ser., 19 (2004), 111–32, Hurst argues that the Droitwich salt industry consumed a large quantity of fuel, usually wood, and that this must have led to a constant pressure on woodland. A direct connection between the salt production and the fuel supply is given by some Domesday Book references which can be interpreted as early arrangements aimed at securing fuel. (Hurst provides an appendix showing the estimated sizes of woodland in Worcestershire in 1086.) Late fourteenth-century accounts recording the production of salt for the Westwood Priory, near Droitwich, are used by Hurst to estimate the amount of the firewood consumed annually by the whole industry, and its possible equivalent in terms of woodland area. Clearly the salt industry of Droitwich had a major influence on the surrounding countryside, especially in north Worcestershire. In 'Salt-making at Droitwich in the fourteenth century', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd ser., 19 (2004), 133–40, Christopher Dyer edits the text of an account for salt boiling in 1385. William Hynton was in charge of the *bullary* of four leads of brine of the prioress and convent of Westwood. The costs and financial arrangements of boiling for

seven weeks from October to December 1385 become clear, bearing in mind that these were only part of the whole picture as boiling usually started in June. In a two-part essay, Manfred Luda is concerned with the close connection between the marketing of iron in late medieval Cologne and the role played by the Hanseatic family of Meinertzhagen ('Die Vermarktung südwestfälischen Eisens, die Handelsmetropole Köln und die hansische Familie von Meinertzhagen (1. Teil)', *Der Märker. Landeskundliche Zeitschrift für den Bereich der ehemaligen Grafschaft Mark und den Märkischen Kreis*, 53, 1 (2004), 5–12; part 2, *ibid.*, 53, 2 (2004), 62–71). Mike Burghardt and Job Weststrate, in their 'Ein holländisch-seeländischer Zolltarif für die Hanse aus dem Jahre 1454', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 84 (2004), 9–34, provide a welcome edition of a toll-register of 1454 which lists the tolls and customs payable by all Hanseatic merchants in Holland and Zealand. Though by nature not strictly an 'urban' source, the authors rightly stress the economic and mercantile implications of the taxable goods and their volume for the four major 'staple' (or customs) towns of Geervliet, Bergen op Zoom, Gouda and Gouwesluis. The article gains further relevance when read in conjunction with Bas J.P. van Bavel and Jan Luiten van Zanden, 'The jump-start of the Holland economy during the late medieval crisis c. 1350 – c. 1500', *Economic History Rev.*, 57, 3 (2004), 503–32. In 'Skora – corium – ledder – Innovation und Professionalisierung im Lederhandwerk des südlichen Ostseeraumes', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 122 (2004), 87–116, Joern-Martin Becker, Doris Bulach and Ulrich Müller introduce a new interdisciplinary and comparative research project based at the universities of Greifswald, Berlin and Kiel. It centres on technical innovation, technological and cultural transfer with special regard to late medieval urban leather trade and tanning. Although considerable emphasis is being placed on linguistic sources, it is intended also to use archaeological evidence. The – admittedly – early first results confirm the extent to which technological progress and regional exchange influenced the urban leather production which became the dominant trade within the towns of the late medieval Baltic region. Horst Wernicke's article, 'Anklam in der Hanse. Landesherrliche Forderung und hansische Möglichkeiten', *Pommern. Zeitschrift für Kultur und Geschichte*, 52, 2 (2004), 10–17, not only underlines the ongoing strength of 'Hanseatic' scholarship, but also demonstrates the seemingly re-juvenated concern with the relationship between a town and its lord. (For early medieval evidence see Caspar Ehlers, 'Königliche Pfalzen und Aufenthaltsorte im Rheinland bis 1250', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 68 (2004), 36–63.) Full urban status and early judicial privileges do not necessarily guarantee a major central status within a territory. Crailsheim in Franconia was privileged early on: known as an *oppidum* in 1289, it obtained the full urban status and imperial charter of Schwäbisch-Hall in 1338. In due course the town became one centre of the growing Hohenzollern territory, yet, as Wolfgang Wüst in his 'Crailsheim unter

den Hohenzollern im Reichskreis – die Crailsheimer im Ritterkreis. Eine fränkische Region und ihr makrohistorisches Bezugsfeld', *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 63 (2004), 39–66, convincingly argues, it never became a dominant focus of Hohenzollern political power in Franconia. Peter Schiffer focuses on the early history of the small town of Röttingen (c. 1230–1345) and its close dependence upon the local gentry family of the Hohenlohe. His 'Die Hohenlohe und Röttingen', *Württembergisch Franken*, 88 (2004), 193–206, stresses the importance of the two Hohenlohe brothers Gottfried and Konrad who obtained ownership over the settlement from the emperor Frederick II and established the local castle as their main stronghold. They granted urban and mercantile privileges to the growing town (fortified in 1275) which remained under the family's lordship until 1345 when it was mortgaged to the diocese of Würzburg. Hubertus Seibert's essay title, 'Neue Forschungen zu Bistum, Bischöfen und Stadtgemeinde von Worms', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 152 (2004), 53–95, is slightly misleading. Although he provides a very detailed account of the structure and ecclesiastics of the bishopric of Worms with special emphasis on its early history, he deals with the relationship between the bishops and the administration of their town only in passing (80–3). Here Seibert focuses on the development of a civic commune which culminated in the establishment of an urban council in 1198. He rightly stresses the first major conflict between civic officials and clerics of 1231 – often referred to as the result of the town officials' insistence on meeting in the newly erected urban guildhall rather than at the bishop's palace. These conflicts became a recurrent theme of Worms' history; Seibert refers to ongoing research here, but has very little of his own to add. Although Burkhard Hofmeister in his 'Bad Reichenhall. Eine stadtgeographische Skizze der Salinen- und Kurstadt', *Die alte Stadt. Vierteljahresschrift für Stadtgeschichte, Stadtsoziologie, Denkmalpflege und Stadtentwicklung*, 31, 3 (2004), 210–28, focuses to a considerable amount on the modern history of this spa, his article also provides interesting details of Bad Reichenhall's early development. Hofmeister stresses the disputed lordship over Reichenhall. The thriving commune and its lucrative salt works eventually became Bavarian in 1587, but no fewer than 17 fortified castles in the immediate neighbourhood tell an eloquent tale of changing seigniorial rights.

Urban medievalists are rightly hesitant to undervalue the importance of ritual and ceremony in the daily life of towns. Christoph Dartmann's 'Schrift im Ritual. Der Amtseid des Podestà auf den geschlossenen Statutencodex der italienischen Stadtkommune', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 31, 2 (2004), 169–204, is an exhaustive investigation of the relationship between the ceremonies and the vocabulary of power in the working of the civic constitution of numerous Italian communes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Dartmann emphasizes the key significance of the culminating ceremonies in which the *Podestà* took a fundamental oath over a closed book containing the commune's

statutes. Due attention is given to the work of such a contemporary theorist as Johannes of Viterbo. Dartmann provides important insights on what might be termed the 'general communal scene' in high medieval Italy, for example on the significance of the attempts and manoeuvres of the emperor Henry VII. It will be interesting to see to what extent Dartmann's future work will take in the interesting article by Fabrizio Ricciardelli on political propaganda and urban ritual in late medieval Arezzo: 'Propaganda politica e rituali urbani nella Arezzo del tardo Medioevo', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 162, 2 (2004), 233–58. The urban landscape of medieval Italy is the topic of a French article. Etienne Hubert's 'La construction de la ville. Sur l'urbanisation dans l'Italie médiévale', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 59, 1 (2004), 109–39, is a valuable article which draws widely on a wide range of published work (most of it recent) and discusses an important set of possibilities and probabilities. Hubert begins with a survey of the evidence (in detail sometimes ambiguous, but in sum most convincing) for the expansion of Italian towns, in area and population, between the eleventh century and the earlier fourteenth, which were such as to make Italy the most urbanized part of Europe with 20 to 25 per cent of the population living in towns. He takes a specially valuable interest in the way in which space was provided for increasing populations. Hubert's account of urban landlordship and of the legal devices associated with it is notably worthwhile. He stresses the importance of the development of urban estates by ecclesiastical landlords. While admitting the difficulties arising from the better survival of ecclesiastical archives he contends for significant differences between ecclesiastical and secular urban estates' organization, and hints at possible social and other implications. He also provides useful observations on the activities of civic authorities in, for example, enacting relevant legislation.

Communication was at the heart of medieval administration. In 'Pourvoir communal et communication politique dans les villes de l'empire à la fin du Moyen Âge', *Francia: Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte*, 31, 1 (2004), 121–40, Pierre Monnet most interestingly brings out the importance of the organized messenger services of imperial towns in the later middle ages. An indication of their scale, and of the richness of some of the sources, are the *Botenbücher* of Frankfurt, 1381–1530, some 1,100 folios each giving details of about 20 messenger missions. Monnet brings out the importance attached to urban messengers and puts their activities into wide and important contexts. Thus the frequency of organized communication between towns was important in the development of a common urban consciousness and in the development (or would-be development) of organized relationships between groups of towns. The elaborate systems of communications belong to an important system of urban sense and aspiration which was to be changed by the Reformation and the increase of seigniorial power.

That town does not equal town is a truism, but like all truisms, it contains a lot of truth. Take London and take Haverfordwest, for example. Derek Keene's 'Metropolitan comparisons: London as a city-state', *Historical Research*, 77, 198 (2004), 459–80, is an exceedingly clever, and worthwhile, version of the inaugural lecture given by him as Leverhulme Professor of Comparative Metropolitan History. The subject is one of an appropriately wide scope for the display of the width of his knowledge and the fertility of his mind. He provides a ranging survey of city states and of the concept of a city state. Keene emphasizes the importance of 'the overwhelming scale of London's size and wealth within Britain as a whole, a more or less constant factor from Roman times onwards'. He is importantly emphatic that London has always been outstandingly productive, pointing out that, for example, by the measure of gross value added per head inner London ranks highest among European city regions, while more than 300 years ago 'London, with 10% of the population was contributing half of the government's ordinary revenue.' A short lecture necessarily has its lacunae, for example, we have almost nothing about London as the centre of the transport system. This is a brilliant article, though, and required reading for many. On the other end of the medieval British urban scale lies Haverfordwest, subject of Spencer Dimmock's article 'Haverfordwest: an example for the study of southern Welsh towns in the later middle ages', *Welsh History Rev.*, 22, 1 (2004), 1–28. This is a judiciously careful analysis of a significant Welsh town, one which is somewhat unusual in the survival there of a very considerable number of late medieval deeds and agreements. Some of the conclusions are predictable (though worthwhile): for example, privileges granted in the royal charter of 1479 were largely the confirmation of what already existed *de facto*. A fair degree of overseas trade is shown to have been a significant feature. The fairly common suggestion that the history of Welsh towns was such as to minimize seigniorial/municipal conflict is partly disproved for Haverfordwest. Possible evidence for the rise or decline of the urban economy is scrutinized with due reserve, and interesting questions are raised about the apparent 'underdevelopment' of such towns as Haverfordwest from the later sixteenth century.

During the past year Karsten Igel has published two articles on medieval Osnabrück and another in which he compares this town to medieval Greifswald. Chronologically 'Von der vorkommunalen zur kommunalen Stadt. Zur frühen Stadtentwicklung Osnabrücks vom 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert', *Osnabrücker Mitteilungen. Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Landeskunde von Osnabrück*, 109 (2004), 27–67, comes first. Here Igel engages in the still thriving debate about 'planned' and 'unplanned' processes within medieval urban growth. Incorporating recent archaeological evidence as well as literary sources Igel concentrates on roughly 200 years of Osnabrück's history: starting with the town's eleventh-century development as a bishop's see he follows its history

until the old town surrounding the early ecclesiastical centre was officially united with the suburb or 'new town' and its own civic administration in 1307. He argues convincingly that the importance of the new town development has often been underestimated and that even today main features of this thriving community with well over 2,000 inhabitants and an important weaving industry remain unrecognized. Igel carries his arguments further in 'Möglichkeiten einer Sozialtopographie des spätmittelalterlichen Osnabrücks', *Osnabrücker Mitteilungen. Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Landeskunde von Osnabrück*, 109 (2004), 69–85. Unlike earlier studies which focused almost solely on one urban tax of 1487 and a resulting division into six taxation groups, Igel spreads his source bases much wider. His analysis focuses on surviving salaries lists, as well as on internal taxation, property and rent records. He then concentrates on three groups within the town: brewers, bakers and council members. He successfully locates their premises within the town; this and the accompanying maps demonstrate again that the Osnabrück *Neustadt* was very much the industrial equal – if not better – of the older settlement. In considering the social structure and social topography of medieval Greifswald and Osnabrück, Karsten Igel again approaches this central issue. His 'Stadt-Raum und Sozialstruktur. Überlegungen zu Quellen, Methoden und Problemen an den Beispielen Greifswald und Osnabrück', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 122 (2004), 1–53, outlines the more recent research on this subject before comparing two seemingly incomparable towns: Greifswald, a seigniorial town dominated by its maritime trade, and Osnabrück which under its ecclesiastical lordship was one of the four largest and important towns in medieval Westphalia (and at least about twice the size of Greifswald). Igel provides both a detailed account of the surviving legal records for either town as well as an overview of their respective development; he then focuses on late fifteenth-century urban taxation lists as a means to determine the towns' social strata. Individual case studies are (understandably) high on Igel's agenda, and quite rightly so as they not only help to illustrate diverse lives, but also add to our understanding of a very diverse society in either town. Igel reconstructs income, tax quota and life from people as diverse as a common labourer of Osnabrück (Johan Francke) to a fairly well-to-do family in the weaving trade at Greifswald (the Slupwachters) who obtained considerable property near the urban commercial centre. Igel also addresses the important question of whether taxable wealth – almost by definition at a particular time – is sufficient evidence of a person's social standing, always bearing in mind the large number of the urban populace left out of such estimation because they had no taxable income. As it is virtually impossible to 'reconstruct' these within the urban landscape, significant portions of the social map of towns like Osnabrück and Greifswald remain uncharted territory. Here Igel develops interesting parallels to older works on the social topography of Lübeck and Würzburg.

The value of testaments for the study of social topography is undisputed. Amongst those archival materials which were requisitioned by the Soviet occupational forces after the end of the Second World War and only returned to Lübeck in 1990 are around 4,000 testaments of the period 1400–1530. Some 1,000 of these were examined by Carsten Selch Jensen for his Danish Ph.D. thesis 'Fromme gaver I senmiddelalderlige lybske testamenter' (Odense, 1997). 'Remembering the dead and caring for the poor. Aspects of religious life among the people of late medieval Lübeck', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 84 (2004), 35–52, now provides a welcome English summary of his analysis. Unlike those who turn to testaments primarily in order to establish social and family strata personal wealth and – often – mercantile connections, Jensen is almost exclusively concerned with their more strictly religious background, especially the so called *memoria*, 'remembrance' – both in the sense of remembering and to be remembered. Here he stresses in particular the aspect of caring for the poor as exemplified by rich donations to favoured poor houses and hospitals in return for intercessory prayers. This is hardly a revolutionary thought; however, Jensen's clearly meticulous case study helps to underline this all-important socio-religious relationship between the medieval urban living and the dead.

Public and private places and their conception still occupy ongoing research. Joseph L. Grossi Jr's long 'Imaging Genoa in late medieval England', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 35 (2004), 387–434, is largely literary in its emphases, paying special attention to, for example, the account of the 'Genoese giant' in the alliterative *Morte Arthure*. It does, however, collect a considerable number of late medieval references to Genoa, its buildings, public places and not least Genoese activities in England and English attitudes to Genoa. An entirely different kind of place-conception lies at the heart of David C. Mengel's article 'From Venice to Jerusalem and beyond: Milič of Kroměříž and the topography of prostitution in fourteenth-century Prague', *Speculum: A J. of Medieval Studies*, 79, 2 (2004), 407–42. This is an illuminating study of the activities of the Czech zealot and preacher Milič of Kroměříž (d. 1374) in relation to the prostitutes of Prague. Mengel introduces his study by a survey of prostitution there, making use of the record of an archdiaconal visitation of 1379–80. He shows how Prague resembled other cities, for example in the presence of municipal brothels and in the ways in which prostitutes were classified. A major centre of prostitution was called 'Venice'. Milič of Kroměříž enlisted the aid of the emperor Charles IV to transform 'Venice' into 'Jerusalem' (1372), an anomalous religious community of reformed prostitutes. The emperor's action fitted into his scheme for the replanning of Prague as a capital. The 'Jerusalem' community was unpopular in other clerical circles. After its dissolution in 1374 – having lasted less than two years – its site was granted to the Cistercians for a theological *studium*. The interest of the article lies not only in its contribution to the popular

subject of urban prostitution and its sites, but also for the light cast on the strangely important career of Milič of Kroměříž, and on Charles IV's capital schemes. Shannon McSheffrey combines the theme of space with another popular one: that of marriage. Her 'Place, space and situation: public and private in the making of marriage in late medieval London', *Speculum: A J. of Medieval Studies*, 79, 4 (2004), 960–90, is chiefly concerned with extra-ecclesiastical contracts of marriage. The author emphasizes that these should by no means be necessarily characterized as 'clandestine'. A principal point of interest for the urban historian is that legal records show that some drinking-houses were respectable places for the meeting (and sometimes marriage) of a number of people. However, not everything was marital bliss. Urban civic marriages very often served 'political' and economic purposes, as Maria Elisa Soldani has demonstrated for Tuscan merchants in medieval Barcelona in her 'Alleanze matrimoniali e strategi patrimoniali nella Barcellona del XV secolo: i mercanti toscani fra integrazione e consolidamento della ricchezza', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 162, 4 (2004), 667–96. Often they were formed under duress (see Sara M. Butler, "'I will never consent to be wedded with you.'" Coerced marriage in the courts of medieval England', *Canadian J. of History/Annales canadiennes d'histoire*, 39, 2 (2004), 247–70), and quite frequently they ended in the violent death of one of the people involved. Trevor Dean provides four telling case studies in his 'Domestic violence in late medieval Bologna', *Renaissance Studies*, 18, 4 (2004), 527–43. By comparing trial records to other narratives of the crime, and by understanding these trial records as a product of a sex-gender system which defines women's roles, he seeks to explore to what extent these documents both define female subjectivity and to what extent they reveal contradictions in the construction of the wifely role in the ideology of marriage.

Another theme which featured prominently was that of public health and hygiene in its widest context. In an ambitious and wide-reaching article Peregrine Horden meticulously traces early hospitals ('The earliest hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe and Islam', *J. of Interdisciplinary History*, 35, 3 (2004), 361–90). Felix Czeike seeks to establish the earliest traces of 'professional' pharmacies in Vienna in his 'Die Anfänge der Apotheken in Wien. Überlegungen für die Zeit des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters', *Studien zur Wiener Geschichte. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 60 (2004), 101–16, and argues convincingly for their existence as early as the mid-fourteenth century (1339, 1342 and 1350 respectively). A fourth pharmacy was established by 1380. At least 60 professional pharmacists were registered by the end of the fifteenth century, yet most of these may well have been itinerant, as the number of pharmacies remained the same. Herta Beutter outlines the history of the seven late medieval and early modern public baths and their associated barbers in her 'Bäder und Bader in Hall', *Württembergisch Franken*, 88 (2004), 41–69. This imperial city obtained its first privilege for a public

bath as early as 1349; by 1500 the urban populace was required to use only the baths within the town. Her detailed examination of the scant surviving private sources indicates regular use, roughly once a fortnight. Using urban taxation lists, Beutter also establishes the social background of those employed in those baths; the picture which emerges underlines their relatively low social status. This case study adds significantly to our understanding of public hygiene and its close interrelationship with rather basic medicinal provision. No town could have survived without water supplies. This simply is a truism. Klaus Grewe in his 'Die Eifelwasserleitung nach Köln. Vom römischen Aquädukt zum Steinbruch für romanische Bauten', *Die alte Stadt. Vierteljahrszeitschrift für Stadtgeschichte, Stadtsoziologie, Denkmalpflege und Stadtentwicklung*, 31, 4 (2004), 247–58, outlines this close interdependency between water supplies and urban growth. Here he focuses on Cologne. Known from AD 30 as *Oppidum Ubiorum*, the town had become a Roman centre of government and authority and by AD 90 it was effectively the capital of *Germania*, and its governmental/legal status was reflected in its new name: *Colonia*. Looking at Cologne today, situated as it is on the Rhine river, one tends to forget the extent to which such a thriving settlement depended on fresh water supply. Grewe does not restrict himself to the impressive technicalities of providing water supplies through aqueducts; he also provides a historical overview of Cologne's water system in the aftermath of the Frankish destruction of the aqueducts.

Again considerable emphasis has been placed on religious matters. In 'Zwischen Kutte und Schwert – Ein Orden im Wandel. Der Deutsche Orden mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ordenszentrale in Wien', *Studien zur Wiener Geschichte. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 60 (2004), 129–52, Ingrid Ganster first provides a brief overview of the colourful history of the Order of Teutonic Knights before focusing on the Order's house at Vienna which was established between 1204 and 1206 under the patronage of Duke Leopold VI of Babenberg. The Babenberg dukes were the Order's most influential benefactors in medieval Austria; in Vienna the knights increased their property considerably up to the end of the fifteenth century. Ganster's case study adds significantly to our understanding of the socio-religious structure of medieval Vienna. Strictly parochial duties in and around the diocese of Konstanz are Sabine Arend's concern in her 'Mir hebent ietz den nun und zwungisten priester in fierzitt iaren. Zur Mobilität des Pfarrklerus im Bistum Konstanz vor der Reformation', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 152 (2004), 189–200. Hers is a meticulous prosopographical study of clerics and especially stresses the high degree of their mobility. Continuity of clerical care was very clearly lacking and led to frequent complaints by the parishioners. Sources for and evidence of parochial care and the structure of English medieval parish life are currently debated by Beat Kümin and Clive Burgess. Kümin in 'Late medieval churchwardens' accounts and parish government: looking

beyond London and Bristol', in *English Historical Rev.*, 119, 480 (2004), 87–99, attacked some of Burgess' views. Burgess' vigorously expressed and over-long response 'A broader church? A rejoinder to looking beyond', *English Historical Rev.*, 119, 490 (2004), 100–16, fails to close the matter.

The relationship between Christians and Jews in the medieval town is still much under consideration. Geoffrey J. Cohen's 'The flow of blood in medieval Norwich', *Speculum: A J. of Medieval Studies*, 97, 1 (2004), 26–65, is an attempt to exalt the status of Thomas of Monmouth's life of William of Norwich. 'Thomas and the other sanctifiers of William's blood discover in a horrific murder the chance to transcend racial differences that have long hindered the forming of a local community. Dead William, an English boy with a Norman name, supposedly slain by Jewish malice, is transformed by the *Vita* into blood that flows and washes away epistemological uncertainties, into blood that cleanses not just the trauma of finding a child brutally murdered but also the trauma of 1066 as a postcolonial moment with repercussions that continued long afterwards.' The case is overargued and depends heavily on assumptions about what may be implicit. Although the article is too long for its content, it is vigorously expressed and deploys a range of useful references. The German/Austrian research on Jewish–Christian relations is – as ever – productive. Three articles, all resulting from an international conference held at Vienna in 2002, bear witness to this: Edith Wenzel, 'Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen: Kulturelle Kontakte zwischen Juden und Christen im Mittelalter', *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden*, 14, 1 (2004), 1–7; Markus J. Wenninger, 'Grenzen in der Stadt. Zu Lage und Abgrenzung mittelalterlicher deutscher Judenviertel', *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden*, 14, 1 (2004), 9–29; and Martha Keil, 'Kulicht schmalz und eisen gaffel – Alltag und Repräsentation bei Juden und Christen im Spätmittelalter', *Aschkenas. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden*, 14, 1 (2004), 51–81. Wenzel is responsible for the introduction to this *Aschkenas* volume, and she reflects on possibilities of a harmonious relationship between the two groups. She argues that with regard to most medieval cities our contemporary notion of 'ghetto' is greatly misleading; there were very few medieval towns which had strictly segregated Jewish quarters. Thus she urges to reconsider ideas of strict separation and isolation and poses the question to what extent there were possibilities for a bilateral cultural exchange. This theme is taken up by Markus Wenninger. He reconsiders the first urban privilege of Speyer which mentions Jews; granted in 1084 by Bishop Rüdiger Huozman it has previously been regarded as early evidence of clear topographical separation. By placing this charter in its historical context and by comparing the Speyer evidence to that of other towns (for example Magdeburg, Breslau, Vienna, Mainz, Nürnberg, Cologne and Regensburg) he argues that such segregation despite numerous waves of persecution only occurred late in the fifteenth century, primarily as

a result of reinforced Christian church doctrine. Until then most Jewish quarters contained Christian houses and vice versa; Jews and Christians shared the same wells and public baths, celebrated joined urban festivals and participated jointly in urban defence. Martha Keil also stresses the close relationship between Jews and Christians with regard to everyday life and material culture in German and Austrian towns until the late fifteenth century. She concentrates on an analysis of the *Leket Joscher* by Josef Bar Mosche, dating from c. 1460/1475, a *Minhagim*-booklet outlining the rituals, traditions and customs of the Jewish community of *Wiener Neustadt*. This booklet contains some 200 German terms, written in Hebrew letters, which refer to household goods, clothing and meals. Keil points to the close similarities in terms and organization of everyday life and material culture; differences seem to occur only when strict religious and cultic regulations required different usages of identical objects. Michael Toch provides a much more general overview of Jewish everyday life in his 'Jüdisches Alltagsleben im Mittelalter', in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 278, 2 (2004), 329–45. Toch is a renowned expert of Jewish history and although he has recently come under attack from Friedrich Lotter, 'Sind christliche Quellen zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Juden im Frühmittelalter weitgehend unbrauchbar', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 278, 2 (2004), 311–27, for his use of sources, 'Alltagsleben' is a solid, if general, piece. Two further English articles are also concerned with 'internal' Jewish social history: Judah D. Galinsky looks at thirteenth-century Spain in his stimulating 'Jewish charitable bequests and the Hekdesh Trust in thirteenth century Spain', *J. of Interdisciplinary History*, 35, 3 (2004), 423–40, while Mark R. Cohen looks at Cairo in his 'Feeding the poor and clothing the naked: the Cairo Geniza', *J. of Interdisciplinary History*, 35, 3 (2004), 407–22; a forceful reminder – if required – that medieval urban history is neither restricted to Europe nor that it cannot be anything but internationally comparative in scope, nature and language.

1500–1800

Spacial and demographic issues in the early modern town are explored by Dave Postles in 'The market place as space in early modern England', *Social History*, 29 (2004), 1–41; Daniel Brewer in 'Lights in space', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37 (2004), 171–86; and Nesta Evans, 'The Hearth Tax returns as a source for population size and the incidence of poverty in Suffolk during the reign of Charles II', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 40 (2004), 455–9. Evans uses Hearth Tax returns from the 1660s and 1670s to demonstrate that they are not a reliable guide to either population or poverty, but that historians have little choice but to use them as the best source available prior to the nineteenth-century census returns. Postles shows how market places in early modern England were spaces of social and political action and interaction including

their significant role in crime and punishment. He uses office causes in ecclesiastical act books and instructions by magistrates at quarter sessions to illustrate how the market places were utilized using the archdeaconries of Colchester, Leicester, Nottingham and Essex and sessions for Wiltshire and Somerset. He concludes that market places illustrate how such special places were public and open sites both officially sanctioned, informal and hidden action and sociability, which are worth the attention of historical geographers and spatially informed social historians.

A number of studies examine the importance of networking and economic migration in the early modern economy. These include: Natasha Glaisyer, 'Networking: trade and exchange in the eighteenth-century British empire', *Historical J.*, 47 (2004), 451–76; John Stobart, 'Personal and commercial networks in an English port: Chester in the early eighteenth century', *J. of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), 277–93; Graham Ullathorne, 'Migration from Derbyshire to Hallamshire: the evidence of the Cutler's Company records, 1624–1814', *Northern History*, 41 (2004), 81–109; and Osman Gumuscu, 'Internal migrations in sixteenth-century Anatolia', *J. of Historical Geography*, 30 (2004), 231–48. Gumuscu emphasizes the growth in towns that occurred in the Ottoman empire. The migration patterns were apparently not the result of economic success but a relative reduction in agricultural productivity caused by population growth and land division. Glaisyer argues that, with sensitivity to global regional differentiation, models of networking from the history of science and economic history can be used to appreciate the empire as a set of networks 'through which knowledge was exchanged, trust was negotiated, people travelled' (including against their will) and commodities traded. Although she acknowledges the importance of kinship networks, knowledge networks and Kathleen Wilson's emphasis upon the English provincial manifestations of empire, the role of urban centres, which were surely crucial to many imperial networks, remains implicit rather than explicitly articulated here. At the local urban and regional level, Stobart uses probate records and other material to explore the basis of business networks in the port of Chester, whilst Ullathorne uses the Cutler's Company records to examine apprenticeship migration from the lead-mining areas of the High Peak to Sheffield. Stobart argues that although families were an important part of business networks in merchant communities, it was the local, civic and wider merchant community that structured their economic worlds of wealth creation. He concludes that by the early eighteenth century, Chester already had 'complex network of local and wider inter-personal linkages' which helped to integrate regional space and link with the national economy and society. Family life, however, was less important in shaping business networks than the 'communal and civic life of the city' and the merchant fraternity.

Whilst not apparently directly related to urban history, Maxine Berg's detailed and important essay, 'In pursuit of luxury: global history and

British consumer goods in the eighteenth century', *Past and Present*, 182 (2004), 85–142, is well worth reading and considers the early evidence for economic globalization rather than European importance. Berg emphasizes the importance to British commerce and industrialization of the growth of the trade in luxury goods with China and India from the late seventeenth century which stimulated a programme of product innovation or rather imitation in Europe, directed at a growing consumer market beyond court and aristocratic circles. The importation of Asian goods required the creation of new markets for products little seen or desired previously which had 'far-reaching effects in transforming both consumption and production'. Berg concentrates on the connection between global luxury, European consumerism, industrialization and the role of the household and global markets rather than consumer society as a whole in stimulating economic growth. This presents a challenge to urban historians as the role of urbanization in Europe and especially Britain in stimulating these markets, in particular the markets in luxuries rather than general consumption, is not here emphasized. The possibilities for social advancement through trade in luxury goods are evident in Brett Harrison's 'The Gossip family of Thorp Arch: settlement in the eighteenth century, a crisis', *Yorkshire Archaeological J.*, 76 (2004), 177–88. Harrison presents a case study of William Gossip and his family who become wealthy enough through the trade in fashionable hosiery goods and astute lending and borrowing to rise into the ranks of the landed gentry. He examines Gossip's rise to social respectability in York as his father becomes well placed in society, on the social round, director and treasurer of the assembly rooms. However, the difficulties of sustaining such a position and living the leisurely aristocratic life are apparent as George, the eldest son, becomes weighed down by debt and has to be bailed out.

Received geographies of urban growth and development are challenged by Hannah Barker in "'Smoke cities": northern industrial towns in late Georgian England', *Urban History*, 31 (2004), 175–90, and Balazs Szelenyi in 'The dynamics of urban development: towns in sixteenth and seventeenth century Hungary', *American Historical Rev.*, 109 (2004), 360–86. Szelenyi challenges the traditional view that locates the divergence of eastern from western European development in the subjugation of towns by nobility in the early modern period with a case study of Hungarian towns. He shows that there is no logical connection between the rise of the manorial system and urban decline and proposes a different theory and narrative. He argues that there was in fact a diversified geography that intermixes evidence for decline and urban growth including many examples of public and private building in large and small centres. Szelenyi discerns some evidence for modernization of urban constitutions, the reform of family and social organization of communal brotherhood, conversion to Lutheranism and generally greater continuity than previously expected. Barker uses her knowledge of Georgian newspapers to help correct what she regards as the

relative neglect of pre-Victorian northern industrial towns. Using printed sources including newspaper advertising and directories, and the evidence of public building and improvement in Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield, Barker argues that there is plenty of evidence for the emergence of a middling consumerist society distinctive to these types of manufacturing town. Decennial surveys of advertisements in the Manchester, Leeds and Sheffield newspapers between 1760 and 1830 reveal that the ratio of references to the metropolitan, provincial and foreign provenance of goods remained 'remarkably balanced', with the former two appearing at roughly equal levels. The pertinacity of local characteristics challenge our notion of the relationship between metropolis and province, often framed in terms of national values of politeness and consumerism, by placing insufficient weight upon regional variation and provincialism.

Domestic servants and slaves remain a much understudied aspect of Georgian society, despite the fact that they may well have accounted for so much of the working population in Britain and its colonies. Although theoretically the result of the problem that servants and slaves present to conventional class models of society, this has partly been due to the paucity of the documentary record. Two articles explore the importance of servants and slaves in the development of class relations. Carolyn Steedman in 'The servant's labour: the business of life, England, 1760–1820', *Social History*, 29 (2004), 1–29, utilizes the records of taxation of domestic servants' labour initiated in 1777 to help fund the escalating costs of the war over the American colonies. Under the act, servants, who were not liable to tax, had to be distinguished from masters and mistresses, which provides an opportunity to analyse servant employment and perceptions of their place in the Georgian economy. Steedman argues that the legislation concerning the poor law and taxation in defining domestic service played a crucial role in the crystallization of the working class from the later eighteenth century. Slaves were of crucial importance to the colonial economy as Leslie M. Harris, 'Slavery, emancipation, and class formation in colonial and early national New York City', *J. of Urban History*, 30 (2004), 339–59, demonstrates. Harris argues that slave labour and race were both important factors in social relations in New York during the colonial and post-colonial period. Like servants, slaves were crucial to the economy especially in Manhattan, yet despite some attempts to abolish slavery during the war for independence, the status of slaves continued to deprive African-Americans of political and economic equality.

There were opportunities in early modern cultures for social groups perceived as marginal to transcend social distinctions to a limited extent. Ann Winter argues in 'Vagrancy as an adaptive strategy: the Duchy of Brabant, 1767–1776', *International Rev. of Social History*, 49 (2004), 249–77, that vagrants displayed a variety of patterns of movement and that they cannot be regarded simply as a distinctly marginal category, which

perpetuates a distorted elite view. Likewise, as Marc Baer shows in 'Islamic conversion narratives of women: social change and gendered religious hierarchy in early-modern Istanbul', *Gender and History*, 16 (2004), 425–58, using Shari'ah court records, there were opportunities for free and enslaved Christian and Jewish women to ameliorate their position in seventeenth-century Ottoman society by converting to Islam. However, their position remained highly circumscribed in the patriarchal system with boundaries between Muslim and non-Muslim, slave and free person remaining strong in the context of gender and religion. Equally, as Sheilagh Ogilvie finds in 'How does social capital effect women? Guilds and communities in early-modern Germany', *American Historical Rev.*, 109 (2004), 325–59, and Toby L. Ditz in 'The new men's history and the peculiar absence of gendered power: some remedies from early-American gender history', *Gender and History*, 16 (2004), 1–35, the bonds of patriarchal society remained very hard to break. Ditz contends that although some of the historiography of gender, especially the growth of men's history, has problematized notions of masculinity it has also tended to underestimate the strength of patriarchy in some contexts. Evidence for this appears in Ogilvie's study of Wurtemberg guilds and communities as examples of social capital at work which examines the evidence for gender-specific economic activities. She concludes that social capital 'provides a conceptual framework useful for identifying and analysing the precise characteristics of those social institutions that facilitate gender discrimination'. Ogilvie argues that the strong social networks evident in close-knit guilds and communities in Wurtemberg reinforced patriarchal attitudes to a much greater extent than in states such as Holland, England, France, Scotland and even Prussia.

Charitable institutions are examined in Jennie Batchelor's "'Industry in distress": reconfiguring femininity and labour in the Magdalen House', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 28 (2004), 1–20, and Susan Broomhall's 'Poverty, gender and incarceration in sixteenth-century Paris', *French History*, 18 (2004), 1–24. Batchelor explores Georgian literature on prostitution, especially by Defoe, Mandeville and Fielding to highlight the concerns that were evinced concerning the moral decline of the nation and the various proposals promoted to improve the situation such as John Fielding's reformatory for deserted girls and penitent prostitutes. Broomhall uses the archives of the ecclesiastical gaol at St-Germain-des-Prés between 1537 and 1579 to show how gender and poverty influenced practices of incarceration, treatment and release.

Religious networks and identities are explored in Bem Kazimiertz, 'Protestant solidarity in the eighteenth century: relief efforts of the Walloons for the Polish reformed churches', *Church History*, 73 (2004), 90–113; Colin Kidd, 'Subscription, the Scottish Enlightenment and the moderate interpretation of history', *J. of Ecclesiastical History*, 55 (2004), 502–19; Tadhg O hAnnrachain, 'Conflicting loyalties, conflicted rebels:

political and religious allegiance among the confederate Catholics of Ireland', *English Historical Rev.*, 119 (2004), 851–72; and Andrew Cambers and Michelle Wolfe in 'Reading, family religion and evangelical identity', *Historical J.*, 47 (2004), 875–96. Kazimiertz argues that the degree of moral and financial support given to the Polish reformed churches by the Dutch *Eglises Wallonnes* confirms the existence of a 'Protestant International'. Religious conflicts in different contexts are explored by O hAnnrachain and Cambers and Wolfe. O hAnnrachain shows how in the context of mid-seventeenth-century Ireland the problems of religious and temporal allegiance pulled confederate Catholics in different directions, contributing towards their demise. Although the different stands of the peace party tried to reach lasting agreement, it was distrusted by both the Catholic and Protestant communities and stability proved impossible due to fundamental divisions within the confederacy and Puritan English hostility. Cambers and Wolfe show, in contrast, how categories of religious division are more problematic than is often accepted. They use the printed and manuscript memoirs of John Rastrick, a Lincolnshire clergyman, to demonstrate that Anglican and nonconformist identities were blurred in practice, and that there was 'a continuity of evangelical identity' connecting Puritanism with Georgian Evangelicalism.

The character of early modern English government and the challenges facing it are examined by Francis Dodsworth in 'Civic police and the condition of liberty: the rationality of governance in eighteenth-century England', *Social History*, 29 (2004), 199–216; Alexandra Shepard, 'Litigation and locality: the Cambridge university courts, 1560–1640', *Urban History*, 31 (2004), 5–28; H.R. French, 'The creation of a pocket borough in Clithero, Lancashire, 1693–1780: honour and odd tricks', *Northern History*, 41 (2004), 301–26; Peter King, 'The summary courts and social relations in eighteenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 183 (2004), 125–72; and Jonathan D. Oates, 'Jacobitism and popular disturbances in northern England, 1714–1719', *Northern History*, 41, (2004), 111–29. French shows how although a small unincorporated town with some significant administrative functions and the growth of a political oligarchy based upon the accumulation of electoral property as a 'burgage' borough with a small electorate, Clithero was apparently political stable. However, he reveals that underneath a significant degree of local management was required to manipulate even the narrowest electorates. Shepard argues that, as the case of Cambridge shows, rather than the university courts providing opportunities for social reconciliation and conflict resolution, they actually offered opportunities for vengeance and the escalation of tensions. Although they were used for the speedy resolution of conflicts they also allowed the unnecessary prolongation of many types of dispute, cutting across university and town rivalries rather than fostering traditional community values. According to King, although the legal nexus of Georgian England embraced the King's Bench, the assizes and quarter sessions, the borough courts, various forms of civil tribunal and the 'increasingly residual forest' of manorial and

ecclesiastical courts, King argues that it was in the summary courts 'more than anywhere else that the people met and experienced the law'. This has important implications for our understanding of Georgian social relations, particularly the relations between litigants (largely the labouring poor) and the landowners, gentry and clergy who usually served on the courts and therefore had to act as administrators of justice, arbitrators and mediators. Hence although emphasis upon Georgian justice has usually focused upon the drama and rituals of the trials and punishments in assizes towns, experience of the law was largely at a more local, though increasingly formalized, level, the summary courts significantly limiting the powers of vestry and employers. This is equally evident in Oates' study of religious and political conflicts in northern towns where Jacobin riots were often aimed at dissenters and sometimes had tacit support from the clergy and magistrates. However, although there were some serious riots, the economies of the northern towns were never seriously disturbed and no one was killed.

The role of clergy in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English government and charitable institutions is examined by Christopher Haigh and Alison Wall in 'Clergy JPs in England and Wales, 1590–1640', *Historical J.*, 47 (2004), 233–60; R. A. Houston in 'Clergy and the care of the insane in eighteenth-century Britain', *Church History*, 73 (2004), 114–38; Deborah Madden in 'Medicine and moral reform: the place of practical piety in John Wesley's Art of Physic', *Ecclesiastical History*, 73 (2004), 741–58; and another paper by Wall, 'The greatest disgrace: the making and unmaking of JPs in Elizabethan and Jacobean England', *English Historical Rev.*, 119 (2004), 312–32. Wall contends that there was much greater instability and complexity to the appointment and tenure of magistrates than has previously been supposed, with national purges, local rivalries and the uncovering of individual mistakes or corruption contributing towards 'widespread sackings' between the 1550s and 1620s. Haigh and Wall argue that the number of clergy nominated as JPs increased during the early seventeenth century despite some opposition, but that the proportion declined after 1625. However, as Houston argues, clergy pursued greater charitable and professional roles in society with clerical doctors being 'a very English phenomenon'. Many clergymen entered the 'mad business' easily given their educational and professional status and there were few barriers to the medical occupation. Unlike Scotland, there was a considerable overlap in England between clerical and medical occupations. Houston argues that this was the result of the nature of English ecclesiastical government, the social status of clergy, the relationships between the professions and the means of financing the clergy as much as spiritual concerns. In contrast, Madden contends that piety and theology played a large role in encouraging Methodist clergy to practise physic. This was part of the 'Enlightenment campaign to avoid disease through a combination of health, welfare, and medical reforms' underpinned by 'a philanthropic principle of practical piety'.

Challenges to early modern European governments are examined in Benjamin Roberts's 'Drinking like a man: the paradox of excessive drinking for seventeenth-century Dutch youths' and B. Ann Tlusty's 'Drinking, family relations, and authority in early-modern Germany', *J. of Family History*, 29 (2004), 237–52 and 253–73, respectively, and Leonard Rosenband's, 'Comparing combination acts: French and English papermaking in the age of revolution', *Social History*, 29 (2004), 165–85, and John Walter's 'Popular iconoclasm and the politics of the parish in eastern England, 1640–1642', *Historical J.*, 31 (2004), 261–90. Roberts shows the degree of social problems presented to government and family authorities by practices associated with drinking in early modern Europe. Both Roberts and Tlusty contend that whilst ordered family life and religious principles apparently proscribed excessive drinking and encouraged moderate consumption, in certain contexts such as rites associated with male communality and coming of age, excessive drinking was allowed, indeed regarded as an inherent part of masculine identity. The dogged indefatigability of workforce co-operation and tactics of resistance is evident in Rosenband's comparative study of the operation of combination acts against paper worker combination simultaneously enacted in France and England in 1796. In both cases, although government regulation and mechanization tilted the balance in favour of employers, especially in Paris and London, various tactics were successfully utilized by the workforce to continue their opposition.

Aspects of the role of knowledge in government are explored in Paul Slack's 'Government and information in seventeenth-century England', *Past and Present*, 184 (2004), 33–68, and Sean Quinlan's 'Physical and moral regeneration after the terror: medical culture, sensibility and family politics in France, 1794–1804', *Social History*, 29 (2004), 139–64. Slack tries to examine afresh the relationship between organized information and seventeenth-century government, setting political arithmetic into context and considering the wider social and political consequences. He notes the growing importance of political economy in the restoration period utilizing governmental and statistical surveys, and evident in the activities of the Board of Trade, parliamentary lobbying of economic and trading interests, which were sensitive to historical perspectives. Thus 'new intellectual constructs . . . refashioned the frames of reference governing the collection, manipulation and interpretation of information', national government initiative being important, but the greatest input being from 'people on the fringes of the central executive', 'gentleman and merchants, projectors and virtuosi'. Quinlan examines the role of natural philosophy and moral progressive argument to support social control by considering the role of medical professionals in devising and policing new standards of cleanliness and thereby morality and social responsibility. Backed by new presentations of theoretical arguments, French medical men considered that they could reverse some of the excesses of the reign of

terror by encouraging a bio-medical programme of regeneration including the physical and moral rehabilitation of women to secure their maternal position within the domestic environment.

Government of London, of course, provided probably the greatest challenge to local and national governments, as evident in Vanessa Harding's 'Recent perspectives on early-modern London', *Historical J.*, 47 (2004), 435–50, and Derek Keene's 'Metropolitan comparisons: London as a city-state', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), 459–80. Harding examines recent views of the early modern metropolis and the 'extraordinarily productive' historiography of the subject over the previous decade. She concludes that whilst a few years ago debate focused primarily on issues of social stability, this has now diversified, blurring disciplinary boundaries, with scholars 'paying more attention to experience, perception, imagination, and morality' and the 'cultural construction of the metropolitan milieu'. She contends that recent work reinforces the argument that although 'social problems' were exacerbated, by 1700 London 'dominated the nation's cultural life and fostered the evolution of a modern society, secular, leisured, comfortable'. Keene makes a number of comparisons between London in different periods and between London and other metropolises. He is primarily concerned with using the notion of city state as a 'heuristic device' with which to explore aspects of the early modern metropolis. Typical definitions of city state have tended to focus upon the political creation of commercial metropolis, enlarging its territory through war, diplomacy or purchase, but it is recognized that they need not necessarily be autonomous, but can be, like London has been, subordinated to external government. Keene argues that this subordination has actually suited the development and prosperity of London well and that the city has long shared key interests with the state including in areas of foreign policy, warfare and empire, where the city has provided leadership, direction, manpower and financing. With the advantages of its geographical situation, the city even has a history of challenging the government and monarchy and these have usually been required to come to some understanding with the metropolitan population and elite before successfully becoming established.

Different aspects of urban intellectual culture are considered by Ian Jackson in 'Approaches to the history of readers and reading in eighteenth-century Britain', *Historical J.*, 27 (2004), 1041–54; James Livesey, 'The Dublin Society in eighteenth-century Irish political thought', *Historical J.*, 47 (2004), 615–40; and William L. Chew, 'Life before Fodor and Frommer: Americans in Paris from Thomas Jefferson to John Quincy Adams', *French History*, 18 (2004), 25–49. For Chew and Livesey, associational intellectual culture helped to reinforce and develop national identity. Livesey shows how the Dublin Society was founded to try and counter the relatively subordinate position of Ireland in the British empire, although it drew upon established forms of improving associate activity such as agricultural societies and the

Society of Arts. For Chew, the importance of travel in developing American notions of its government and cultural institutions and self-perception is evident in Chew's study of travellers in France during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These helped to inform American notions of its republican systems and government institutions. Jackson is interested in the growth of reading and uses book trade records, correspondence and diaries to reconstruct the reading lives of individuals and groups linking intellectual and cultural developments with social and political change. He argues that the relevance of reading to the urban historian is evident from the work on centres of book trade and consumption, and in Robert Darnton's concept of the 'communications circuit' emphasizes the importance of the reciprocal relationship between authors, printers, booksellers and readers. Jackson contends that much further work is required on the activities of institutions connected with reading including booksellers, circulating libraries and book clubs. This can illuminate the nexus between civil society and reading and provide information about the socio-economic and cultural character of individuals engaged in the book trade and consumption of great relevance to the urban historian such as Stephen Colclough's study of the reading and library membership of a Sheffield apprentice. Town and county histories, directories and chorographical literature were, of course, some of the most popular texts, many of which drew from Camden's *Britannia* which is examined afresh in R.C. Richardson's 'William Camden and the re-discovery of England', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 78 (2004), 108–23.

The debate concerning the validity of the Habermasian public sphere as a model for analysis of late Stuart and Georgian English society continues. In a couple of articles ('Mr. Spectator and the coffeehouse public sphere', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37 (2004), 345–66, and 'The rise of the coffeehouse reconsidered', *Historical J.*, 47 (2004), 21–46), Brian Cowan continues his examination of coffee houses. He makes further criticisms of the argument that they were a prime site for the development of a rational Habermasian public sphere distinct from monarchy and government. According to Cowan this is old-fashioned whiggish history which 'has been repackaged for recent audiences under the more fashionable guise of a public sphere' and regards the coffee house as central and innovative in political culture. In fact, the coffee houses were not straightforwardly progenitors of liberty or a rational public sphere, but neither are they irrelevant facts to be disregarded according to the revisionist historiography that emphasizes the continuing prominence of the *ancien régime*. Cowan argues that, in fact, as the post-Restoration issuing of licences suggests, the legitimization of the coffee house derived from its newly regulated relationship to state power. Likewise, the coffee house of Queen Anne's reign was regulated by the model of Addison and Steele which emphasized political restraint, civility and the reformation of

manners rather than free debate in a public sphere, few Whigs or Tories countenancing 'a normative public sphere in the Habermasian sense'.

Post-1800

Over the last decade and half urban history has been transformed, not least at that point at which planning studies interact with *longue durée* analysis of cultural change. Current concerns in the field include constructions and reconstructions of ideal communities, contradictions between lay and expert perceptions as to how urban space should be restructured and reformed, and subjective and cognitive rather than professionally mapped representations of city, suburb and hinterland. A cluster of recent articles, some creatively echoing recent developments in heritage studies, engage with self-image and regeneration.

In 'Nostalgic modernism and the invention of Paris in the twentieth century', *French Historical Studies*, 27 (2004), 115–44, Rosemary Wakeman paints a devastatingly downbeat portrait of the capital in the generation between the 1920s and the 1950s. In the immediate aftermath of the First World War streets of sub-standard housing crumbled into decrepitude. To the north and east, squatting posed a large-scale problem. At the periphery, a rash of war-time factories created a new and politically inflammatory suburban ring. Discontent with deficiencies in medical and public services festered in an environment in which increasing numbers of blue-collar workers found themselves commuting for two or three hours a day on a 'paucity of trains'. The 'nostalgic modernism' that eventually came to underpin plans for renewal proved inadequate, not least since it created a featureless civic vacuum between periphery and historic centre. Wakeman concludes that economic, social and spatial separation and isolation ensured that the later twentieth-century capital would witness the establishment of antagonistic zones comprising culturally 'different worlds'. David P. Jordan's contribution to the same issue of *French Historical Studies* – 'Hausmann and *Hausmanisation*: the legacy for Paris' (pp. 87–114) – chronicles the ambiguous achievement of a controversial urban visionary. The author argues that, despite declarations to the contrary, the Third Republic remained in thrall to the Director of the Seine's monumentally standardizing project. Subsequently, Le Corbusier 'raised *hausmannism* to another level'. After the war, the de Gaulle and Pompidou eras witnessed half-hearted attempts to escape from the chains of the past. In the 1980s Mitterand supported the construction of spiraling additions to the Parisian sky-line. But as late as the 1960s no more than a minority of professionals had committed themselves to alternatives to models rooted in the mid-nineteenth century. Qinghua Guo's 'Changchun: unfinished capital planning of Manzhouguo, 1932–42', *Urban History*, 31 (2004), 100–17, presents contextual information to guide European readers towards an understanding of political and dynastic processes

involving the installation of 'puppet' Puyi (1906–67) as 'chief executive' of an expropriated state. Guo sketches in the development of the South Manchurian Railway, a convenient instrument of neo-imperial control, and describes *lebensraum*-like plans to settle a million emigrants entrusted with producing a new generation of 'continental Japanese'. Changchun, a 'small riverside town with a total population of about 130,000 in 1931', developed into both the (unfinished) administrative hub of a satrap and 'model capital' of the Japanese empire. Guo engages with divergent east Asian responses to disorienting encounters with western planning, technology and architectural form.

Centring on economic change in a real rather than imagined capital, Peter Scott and Peter Walsh differentiate in 'Patterns and determinants of manufacturing plant location in interwar London', *Economic History Rev.*, 57 (2004), 109–41, between the inner city, a locale for traditional batch production and new forms of peripheral factory activity dependent on an expanding system of arterial roads. The authors identify the growth of non-metropolitan industrial regions, centred on Slough, Welwyn and Watford and argue that these worked against regeneration of areas to the north blighted by appallingly high levels of unemployment. In an intriguing coda, Scott and Walsh claim that in the here and now 'pilot and other high value-added manufacturing activities' continue to be sited in and around the London region, with later phases of production being farmed out to centres traditionally associated with low-wage factory employment. The reinvention and greening of two great northern cities provide the focus for Aidan While, Andrew E.G. Jonas and David Gibbs' 'The environment and the entrepreneurial city: searching for the urban "sustainability fix" in Manchester and Leeds', *International J. Urban and Regional Research*, 28 (2004), 549–69. While *et al.* claim that in the late 1980s key political agencies and decision-makers in the latter centre embraced ecological issues and insisted that they be closely tied to the task of regeneration. In Manchester, however, town hall professionals viewed the quest for sustainability as antagonistic to the much-heralded cultural transformation of Cottonopolis. Only in the later 1990s would central governmental regulation force a change of heart. In 'Civic culture and housing policy: Manchester, 1945–79', *Twentieth Century British History*, 15 (2004), 410–25, Peter Shapely, Duncan Tanner and Andrew Watling provide a reminder of the political, administrative and planning chaos that characterized the city's attempts to solve a festering mass accommodation crisis during the generation between the demise of the post-war *Plan* and the final destruction of the massively degraded Hulme estate. Taking a somewhat complacent attitude towards rumoured corrupt dealings between councillors, architects and contractors, the authors deploy dispiriting interviews which depict 'old' Labour politicians as the unwitting pawns of a fiendishly intelligent corps of *avant garde* technical experts. Incisive policy formation, foresight and courage appear to have been in short supply. However, during the 1990s, former radical

Graham Stringer turned against combative militants and insisted that Manchester could only rise from the ashes if clusters of activists were ousted from local power and influence. If this were to be achieved, it might be possible to apply public-private remedies to the city's housing crisis. To at least one first-hand observer of a stormy period, Shapely *et al.*'s survey carries the ring of truth: a sad tale, but with an uplifting kick in the tail.

Urban-environmental history continues to attract intriguing contributions. In 'Sewers, wastewaters and newspapers: the early environmental debate on water pollution in Turku', *Scandinavian Economic History Rev.*, 52 (2004), 34–51, Rauno Lahtinen and Timo Vuorisalo confirm that intense press controversy predated meaningful action on the part of successive civic administrations, with the decision to construct purification plant to protect the polluted river Aura only finally being made in the 1960s. Reportage concentrated on the noxious impact of sewage and ignored or exonerated the misdemeanors of industrialists. At the same time, public opinion castigated the municipality for the state of the river but failed to acknowledge that manufacturing interests had made little effort to seek out an alternative 'ultimate sink'. Connie Y. Chiang's 'Monterey-by-the-smell: odors and social conflict on the California coastline', *Pacific Historical Rev.*, 73 (2004), 183–213, ventures into sensory territory first classically explored by Alain Corbin. Chiang highlights two episodes – widespread anxiety about the activities of Chinese squid-dryers during the 1890s and interwar conflict over the spread of stench-producing sardine plant in Cannery Row, the neighbourhood classically memorialized in the novels and short stories of John Steinbeck. According to Chiang, debate about the impact of odour generated differences as to whether an exceptionally beautiful Pacific community should become a base for fishing-related industry or a jumping-off point for tourist exploration of the still relatively unspoilt Californian coastline. Eda Kranakis' 'Fixing the blame: organizational culture in the Quebec Bridge collapse', *Technology and Culture*, 45 (2004), 487–518, recreates physical and environmental context to chronicle a notorious construction accident in 1907 which caused the death of 75 workers and injured 11 others. Revising a long-accepted official version, which emphasized the guilt of engineers Theodore Cooper and Peter L. Szlapka for poor design of compression chords, an underestimate of the weight of the bridge and a decision to risk unprecedented stress limits, the author redirects attention to organizational shortcomings. Individual error, she argues, played a less significant role than corporate policy and deadline fixing: construction 'allowed production concerns to influence [design] in detrimental ways'. According to this revisionist account, Cooper and Szlapka found themselves pressurized into error. Popular doubts about technological innovation loom large in Ben Highmore's 'Machinic magic: IBM at the 1964–65 World's Fair', *New Formations*, 51 (2003–4), 128–48. Drawing on insights derived from Hayden White and Roland Barthes,

Highmore explores the historical-cultural meanings of a trend-setting display ensemble, the so-called Information Machine, mounted by what was then the largest computer corporation in the world, for the edification of a mass audience. Drawing on the idea of 'phantasmagoria', the author claims that the exhibit evoked deep ambivalence towards technological change, a tendency first identifiable in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Over the last decade and a half, medical and demographic aspects of the past have firmly established themselves within the mainstream of interdisciplinary analysis of urban change. The McKeown paradigm has been central to liberation from the straitjacket of methodological procedures associated with the venerable standard of living debate and in recent years historians have alighted upon increasingly sophisticated ways of investigating nutrition, diet and cause-specific mortality and morbidity. Anthropometric styles of analysis, and research into epidemiological change, now hint at answers to questions first implicitly raised, in isolation from medical and demographic variables, by Hobsbawm and Hartwell in the late 1950s. McKeown's ideas have also encouraged urban historians to unpack the notion of 'sanitary reform' and make connections between differing levels and categories of municipal expenditure, investment in infrastructure and provision of public services. (Here the articles of Robert Millward and associates have set a high standard.) An apt moment, then, for a critical overview of a highly influential paradigm, a task undertaken, with due attention to bibliographical detail, by Bernard Harris in 'Public health, nutrition and the decline of mortality: the McKeown thesis revisited', *Social History of Medicine*, 17 (2004), 379–407. Surveying the long period between 1750 and 1914, Harris argues that, although associations between mortality decline and nutritional change are indeed detectable, 'precise quantitative estimates [as] to the impact of different determinants at different points in time' remain elusive. Identifying shortcomings in McKeown's conceptual vocabulary, notably a failure to distinguish between diet (or nutrition) and 'nutritional status', the author emphasizes that the latter term assists researchers to develop a clearer understanding of 'the synergistic relationship between nutrition and infection on which so many aspects of human health depend'. Citing provocative work by Preston and van der Walle dating back to the late 1970s, Harris draws attention to the extent to which 'reductions in the incidence of water- and food-borne diseases may have contributed to the decline in nutrition-based diseases by improving the population's capacity to absorb essential nutrients'. He also argues that the 'expansion of urban conditions' created or exacerbated problems that would only be partially solved via increased infrastructural investment. (Nutritional improvement between the 1830s and 1870s may, in that sense, have been undermined by what Floud *et al.* have termed – in a somewhat under-specified phrase – the multiple environmental stresses of urban-industrialism.) Finally, Harris

suggests that overcrowding and its relative amelioration proved more causally significant than McKeown acknowledged. Rising levels of net disposable income allowed town-dwellers to climb the housing ladder, thereby reducing some at least of the ravages of infection. The author ties his analysis to tuberculosis, thereby underplaying the extent to which obstinately high levels of infant and early childhood mortality reproduced themselves among vulnerable siblings as a result of the intensive passage of microorganisms in single-room dwellings, conditions that increased both the virulence and infectivity of viral diseases like measles. Harris presents a complex list of pluses and minuses, but arrives at much less negative conclusions than Robert Woods, who recently suggested that a line be drawn under the McKeown approach, thereby transforming long-established hypothesis into little more than a minor demographic irritant.

Urban historians have been backward in coming forward with detailed studies of changing patterns in the consumption of food in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Good reason, then, to welcome James Simpson's 'Selling to reluctant drinkers: the British wine market, 1860–1914', *Economic History Rev.*, 57 (2004), 80–108. The author analyses patterns of consumption, paying detailed attention to the role played by intermittent volatility associated with outbreaks of vine disease in France. Focusing on substitution effects, Simpson evaluates the rival attractions of sherry, port, claret and champagne and arrives at the startling conclusion that *per capita* consumption of mainstream table wine may have been no higher in 1914 than it had been in the 1870s. Many consumers found themselves fobbed off with 'villainous trash' and lacked knowledge of what to purchase in an era lacking an effective regulatory system. In conclusion, the author notes that product standardization, middle-class tourism and the growth of supermarkets proved central to the development of an expanding, and then a mass British market for wine. At the other end of the drinking spectrum, Alistair Mutch surveys developments in Merseyside in his 'Shaping the public house, 1850–1950: business strategies, state regulation and social history', *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004), 179–200. This contribution appears in the first volume of the new, and belated, journal of the Social History Society. Afficionados will note the subtle theoretical-cum-methodological implications of the title and marvel that it has taken so long – nearly a generation? – for so energetic an organization finally to take the plunge into the swirling tides of scholarly publishing. However, they may also lament the disappearance of the pocket-sized *Bulletin* which carried some of the best and pithiest reviews in the business and, by way of bonus, a world-wide e-mail listing of academics working in every nook and cranny of the discipline. A boon for conference organizers! The first volume of *Cultural and Social History* carries articles, notably by Peter Mandler and Colin Jones, which trade blows over theoretical tendencies and definitions. Mutch's less controversial contribution argues that it should not be assumed that ownership *per se* – and particularly the evolution of

that convenient kicking-boy, impersonal 'management' – single-handedly reduced communal interaction within traditional drinking environments. Acknowledging that the gigantic 'improved houses' of the interwar era exerted powerful top-down control, Mutch nevertheless argues that in several other respects, pub administrators proved themselves to be in advance of conservative clienteles, particularly through their efforts to make women feel more at ease in the public sphere. (This tends to sideline the point that male working-class Liverpoolians would have perceived policy changes of this kind as retrogressive, a violation of the privacy and exclusivity of public bar and snug.) Real transformation, Mutch contends, occurred after 1950, and, one might add, all the more so in the 1970s, the era of Watney Red Barrel, the replacement of wooden interiors by fake-leather banquettes and the eradication of the murmur of boozy conversation by high-volume muzak. In this latter period, the art of shouting became a *sine qua non* for drinking in public. What, one wonders, would Mutch's witnesses have made of Liverpoolian councillors' plans to take the lead and ban smoking in every place devoted to leisure and public entertainment? Another instance, perhaps, of the pace being set by social progressives in a culture seminally shaped by an urban working-class imbued with the values of conservative Labourism rather than political correctness or the requirements of the new public health.

Jonathan Reinartz's 'Loyal and strong long-serving workers? Labour turnover in the England provincial brewing industry, 1870–1914', *Historical Studies in Labour Relations*, 17 (2004), 111–26, focuses on Flower and Sons of Stratford-on-Avon and suggests that the annual leaving rate in his chosen firm rarely rose above 40 per cent. The author contends that earlier work in the field has underplayed the significance of a 'transient and less visible segment of the Victorian labour force'. Reinartz also issues words of warning to historians who too readily assume that business records can ever provide even-handed accounts of industrial conflict. In 'Leonard Covello, the Covello papers and the history of eating habits among Italian immigrants in New York', *J. American History*, 91 (2004), 497–521, Simone Cinotto relies on the extensive testimony of a pioneering sociologist, ethnographer and educator to unravel the meanings of food in east Harlem in the 1930s. Lampooning the unsophisticated eating habits of a new generation of rural black migrants, second-generation Sicilian-Americans tended to suppress the fact that their parents had frequently been forced to survive on pasta and beans. Cinotto interrogates relationships between food, culture, cooking and diet and the ever-shifting ethnic mix of a neighbourhood in transition. This is an original and compelling entry into a venerable set of problems in American urban and cultural history, based on a uniquely comprehensive archive. Gareth Shaw, Louise Curth and Andrew Alexander confront 'Selling self-service in the supermarket: the Amerianization of food retailing in Britain, 1945–60', *Business History*, 46 (2004), 568–82. Basing their findings on the voluminous Somerfield archive,

the authors have also undertaken detailed scrutiny of that extraordinarily informative source, the *Grocer*. They uncover a gradated chronology. Government and a wide range of trade organizations produced seductive propaganda to convert traditional retailers to a potentially revolutionary and, in the longer term, self-destructive set of changes. Shaw *et al.* identify two distinct phases – the first, ending in the mid-1950s, centred on ‘experimentation’, while the second witnessed the gradual consolidation of self-service and signalled closing-time for larger numbers of small-scale family retailers. For readers of a certain age, this article summons up images of manual bacon-slicers, the glint of the cheese wire and the whirr of coffee blenders. Might more family firms have resisted what industry leaders clearly believed to be the onward and unstoppable march of progress? Probably not, though future researchers may also feel the lure of the *Grocer* and seek to reconstruct the economic status, cultural *mentalités*, social and educational background – and political affiliation – of family firms in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War.

The last fifteen years have witnessed a revolution in the ways in which researchers investigate the behaviour and the individual and collective impact of infection in the past. Working within a broadly anthropometric framework, Deborah Oxley examines “‘The seat of death and terror’”: urbanization, stunting and smallpox’, *Economic History Rev.*, 57 (2004), 623–56. Focusing on London between the late seventeenth and late nineteenth century, and examining relationships between disease and height, the author claims that that prisoners’ records comprise an under-exploited source. Establishing a negative association between data on pock-marks and height, Oxley provides a comparison of urban with rural England and Ireland. She concludes that the connection between carrying life-long facial stigmata and stunting varied according to degree of urbanization. She also makes the claim that associations between virus and height had less to do with ‘medical’ – a somewhat misleading term – determinants than density of population. In this latter sense, smallpox can perhaps be used as a proxy for overcrowding and disamenity. We have clearly travelled a long way from Peter Razzell’s controversial and trend-setting articles of the early 1970s. Smallpox remains an intriguing topic for social, medical and anthropometric history and, as Oxley demonstrates, surprising sources can still be unearthed to clarify the dynamics and impact of the disease. Brian Lancaster explores ‘The “Croydon case”: Chadwick’s model town under siege’, *Local Historian*, 34 (2000), 17–27. Having grabbed banner head-lines in the early 1850s as a result of a typhoid epidemic which grievously damaged the reputation of Britain’s sanitary generalissimo, the town seemed ready to return to respectable obscurity. However, according to Lancaster, by the early 1860s, Croydon had rocketed up the public health league to claim third place, with only Stratford and Salisbury turning in more impressive performances in the *Annual* and *Decennial Reports* of the Registrar-General. Focusing on the records of the local board of health, the

author claims that its members were able creatively to borrow from the metropolitan sanitary *avant garde*. In addition, and confirming a persuasive idea associated with Simon Szreter, Lancaster argues that, as early as the mid-1850s, public health reform had come to be 'subsumed under the general heading of "improvements" which benefited rich and poor alike'. It seems that in Croydon, the epidemiological and environmental tide turned at an early date. In 'Cleanliness and squalor in inter-war Tel-Aviv', *Urban History*, 31 (2004), 72–99, Anat Helman presents a somewhat over-simplified account of developments in Britain between the heyday of the Chadwickian sanitary movement and the Public Health Act of 1875. This material is presented by way of introduction to an exceptionally complex set of colonial, local and ethnic pressures that shaped attitudes in the 'first Hebrew city'. Noting the tenacity with which the municipality protected its autonomy, Helman documents strategies whereby relevant agencies sought to exclude non-indigenous interference in 'popular' areas of sanitation policy. Acknowledging that British interference became more intrusive whenever Tel-Aviv succumbed to disturbingly high levels of epidemic mortality, the author documents the extent to which, during normal times, ethnic and pre-class variables influenced day-to-day cleansing procedures in relation to the public, private and domestic spheres. On occasion, municipal employees expressed near-hatred of the tasks they were required to undertake. A woman asked for her garbage to be removed more regularly and received the response that, next time round, she might not be visited at all: why, as part of a privileged elite, should she have access to a two-bedroom apartment and expect her dirty work to be carried out by city employees forced to live in huts? Helman concludes that, during the period of the mandate, cleaning and sanitation in the first Hebrew city 'reflected intertwining and occasional clashes of material conditions, colonial policies, national aspirations, ethnic and social conditions, patterns of mundane conduct and deeply rooted norms'.

Contributing to a growing literature on the administration and organization of health care, Martin Gorsky's "'Threshold of a new era: the development of an integrated hospital system in northeast Scotland, 1900–39', *Social History of Medicine*, 17 (2004), 247–67, provides a detailed account of developments in Aberdeen. Gorsky identifies a complex urban network in which formal 'ownership' of institutional provision proved less important than functional integration, degree of specialization and the development of academic research. The growth of a 'medical-governmental-academic complex' appears to have depended on the activities of three medical officers of health who played a major co-ordinating role in bridging the gap between public health and longer-established traditions associated with the voluntary hospital sector. Clifford Rosenberg's 'The colonial politics of health care provision in interwar Paris', *French Historical Studies*, 27 (2004), 637–68, describes the manner in which the foreign-born population of the capital doubled

during the 1920s, reaching half a million by the mid-1930s. In 1935 the city opened a hospital, costing 25 million francs, in the northern suburb of Bobigny. Refusing to open its doors to needy Parisian working-class patients, this institution debarred immigrants who were unable to prove that they had recently arrived from north Africa. Rosenberg claims that the project received support from left, centre and right. This enables him to identify widespread agreement that Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians should be subjected to a strict though subtle and half-hidden regime of Foucauldian disciplinary reform.

Among contributions to the history of gender, Peter Bailey's 'Adventures in space: Victorian railway erotics, or taking alienation for a ride', *J. Victorian Culture*, 9 (2004), 1–21, interrogates the implications of the trial in 1875 of Colonel Valentine Baker, explorer and intimate of the Prince of Wales, who was found guilty of the indecent assault of a young woman on a train journey from Woking to London. The victim opened the carriage door and stepped out on to a narrow footboard, and hung there until the next station five miles down the line. The case became a *cause célèbre*. For Bailey, however, it provides the jumping-off point for an extended discussion of female experience of public urban space in the later nineteenth century. He concludes that the period witnessed a tendency for women to become increasingly adept at 'negotiating an expanded modern townscape, particularly in [a] new heterosocial, democratized . . . leisure zone'. In Adam C. Stanley's 'Health, love and steering wheel: gender and modernity in France after the Great War', *The Historian*, 66 (2004), 233–53, the author samples documentation from *Le Matin*, *L'Action Française* and *L'Œuvre* to survey dominant images of women employed in growing numbers in shops, offices and, at lower numerical levels, in the professions. Stanley avers that this material makes repeated connections between a partially liberated workforce, electrically powered domestic technologies and the motor car. However, sub-textually, dominant interpretative frameworks retained a degree of traditionalism. Gloria Nemeč's 'The redefinition of gender roles and family structures among Istrian peasant families in Trieste, 1954–64', *Modern Italy*, 9 (2004), 35–42, documents the movement of nearly a quarter of a million migrants from the countryside to a cosmopolitan city. Drawing on interviews, memoirs, literary material and official sources, Nemeč demonstrates that the new arrivals became more heavily dependent on welfare provision than on networks of assistance that had protected earlier generations of newcomers from some of the potential pitfalls of an alien and frightening environment. At the same time, urban life-styles and the acquisition of new rights and opportunities radically changed women's expectations and collective self-image.

Among studies of political activism, constitutional process and social structural change, M.L. Bush's 'The women at Peterloo: the impact of female reform at the Manchester meeting of 16 August 1819', *History*, 89 (2004), 209–32, chronicles a 'terrible defeat' from a new and unexpected

perspective. Raising the possibility that military intervention in the urban north-west may have set back the cause of manhood suffrage by more than 50 years, the author turns the spotlight on to pressure exerted by groups of women which had been growing in size and number in the weeks and months leading up to the fateful confrontation. This new and ideologically precocious presence made itself fully visible at Peter's Field and, Bush suggests, became central to the growth and vitality of the political union movement, boisterous activity surrounding the Queen Caroline affair, the abolition of slavery, temperance propaganda and Chartism. The author concludes that all this occurred a long time before the development of demands for the enfranchisement of women. In 'A united people? Leaders and followers in a Chartist locality, 1838–1848', *J. Social History*, 38 (2004), 179–204, Robert G. Hall focuses on Ashton-under-Lyne, a community in which, out of a population of 23,000, no fewer than 14,000 individuals were claimed to have signed the great petition. Hall traces interactions between activists and 'plebeian intellectuals' and, confirming the near-contemporary experience of Samuel Bamford, argues that working-class policy pace-setters tended to be 'one of them yet still far apart'. At root, relationships in Ashton were significantly shaped by differences in background and educational status.

Edwin Jaggard's 'Small-town politics in mid-Victorian Britain', *History*, 89 (2004), 3–29, contends that between 1832 and 1867 commitment to party in communities of this size and scale played a significantly more influential role than the existing historiographical consensus tends to suggest. Accounting for between a quarter and a third of the total membership of the House of Commons, such seats required careful cultivation. Moreover, viewed collectively, small towns cannot be assumed to have been politically and electorally identical to classic early nineteenth-century rural backwaters. Indeed, in a number of important respects, they approximated to patterns detectable in large urban centres. Jaggard's conclusions augment the findings of a wide range of studies constituting what may now be termed a new wave of local and regional political and psephological inquiry. What will this new style of detailed micro-analytical research eventually reveal about relationships between embryonic party centre and locality, conceptions of local self-government, the internal dynamics of improvement commissions and the background and social status of 'typical' members of parliament? Graham Ford's 'Positive integration in Wilhelmine Germany: the case of Nuremberg's building workers, 1899–1914', *European History Quarterly*, 34 (2004), 215–44, explores power struggles around what is now usually called health and safety legislation. Union pressure played a significant role with a lively campaign integrating working-class organizations into the larger structures of state and society. Nevertheless, Ford believes that the impact of local and regional pressure counted for less than changes at the level of state and Reich.

In an ambitious survey of 'Class, identity and the urban: the middle-class in England, c. 1790–1950', *Urban History*, 31 (2004), 29–47, Simon Gunn divides his time-span into three sub-periods: 1790 to 1850, 1850 to 1900 and 1900 to 1950. Gunn argues that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries moral and political definitions predominated. Over the next half-century, social and cultural aspects came increasingly to the fore during a period in which informed contemporaries noted 'a changing perception of the spatial configuration of the town, the distinction between centre and periphery, and between different functional spaces'. Attention now focused on the stark contrast between suburb and slum, and sharp differences between those parts of the urban world in which 'a deeper distance' defined and separated territory occupied by the rich, the well-to-do, the respectable, the poor and the deprived. During this sub-period, Gunn suggests, the 'meanings of urbanity' became intimately intertwined with what it meant to be middle class. Finally, for the years between 1900 and 1950, the author homes in on the shift from urban to national formations. He highlights the census of 1911 and the distinction that it made between an 'upper middle class' of professional and business families, now placed, with landowners, in Class 1 and the next category, comprising the lower middle class, and less affluent members of the community involved in retail and commerce. Pinpointing the role of the state and social science, Gunn outlines how, in the interwar period, increased scrutiny came to be devoted to what were believed to be objective and quantitatively definable criteria. Thus when Roy Lewis and Angus Maude published their pioneering study of *The English Middle Classes* in 1949, they concentrated on 'income, occupation, accent, spending, habits, residence, culture, leisure, pursuits, clothes, education, moral attitudes, and relationships with other individuals'. Gunn's concluding comments focus on the relative weight to be ascribed to traditional empirical and discursive forms of analysis. 'Social identities', he writes, 'were not a simple reflection of changes on the ground, but nor were they wholly independent of them; the real and its representation, discourse and the realm outside it cannot be separated off from one another in a definitive, once-and-for-all manner'. All but unshakeable converts to the cultural and linguistic turns will concur with this pithy formulation.

Luigi Tomba's 'Creating an urban middle-class: social engineering in Beijing', *China J.*, 51 (2004), 1–26, presents a bird's-eye view of processes whereby employment in the public sector has regained high occupational status and secured greatly improved salaries and working conditions for a once reviled but now fully restored urban elite. State assets have been diverted in favour of a new, pampered and meritocratic class rather than the population as a whole. As a consequence, urban space has been restructured in favour of high-security, gated communities in which young Beijing professional couples lead a classically bourgeois life-style devoted to introverted family formation, fashion, keeping up with the

Chens and social separation from the capital's teeming, migrant-worker-dominated streets. The Cultural Revolution, the Little Red Book and the ideological ordinances of the Great Leader have been consigned to oblivion by a totalitarian-cum-corporatist leadership committed to social engineering via educational achievement and financial and psychological reward. The new salariat copes as well as it can with underground oral commemoration of an earlier generation subjected to ritual humiliation, torture and premature death.

Among studies of urban outsiders Timothy J. Gilfoyle's 'Street rats and gutter-snipes: child pickpockets and street culture in New York City, 1850–1900', *J. Social History*, 37 (2004), 853–82, argues that, excluded from middle-class notions of morality and social cohesion, marginalized youngsters nevertheless developed a highly individualistic sense of self and the world of economics and exchange. Working as free-lances, rather than in teams, street children escaped time-dominated routines associated with home, school, factory and church. Mutuality and a sense of 'shared suffering' may only rarely be detected. Gilfoyle suggests that this largely uncategorizable sub-group operated in a social and moral vacuum. Working the streets to eke out a survival, these rootless children failed to develop a sense of community with other outsiders who found themselves excluded from the possibility of aspiring to even a modicum of respectability. Street-rats and gutter-snipes sought less to 'turn the world upside down' than 'inside out'. Paul Burnham recalls a now largely forgotten moment in immediate post-Second World War Britain. 'The squatters of 1946: a local study in national context', *Socialist History*, 25 (2004), 20–45, traces the ways in which the homeless, who had been requested to show 'restraint' by the responsible minister, Aneurin Bevan, descended in large numbers on empty houses, bombed out tenements, blocks of flats and ex-POW camps. Michael Foot believed – but this was surely an over-statement – that 'the government faced widespread disorder... an outburst of direct action which could have spread like a prairie fire'. Burnham evaluates events in Wycombe and Amersham and concludes that, because it forced the authorities to kick-start a building reconstruction programme and encouraged local councils to give higher priority to the mass problem of homelessness, 'squatting worked'. More might have been said about similar kinds of action in major industrial centres and in the capital. And how were squatters perceived by the great majority of the population who followed Bevan's quietist advice? In a chronologically complementary article Edgar Jones, Robin Woolven, Bill Durodie and Simon Wessely engage with 'Civilian morale during the Second World War: responses to air raids re-examined', *Social History of Medicine*, 17 (2004), 463–79. Surveying a literature dominated by Titmuss, Calder and more recent authors whose contributions have been regularly noted in this overview, the authors conclude that, although a small number of individuals collapsed or lost control, collective 'neurotic' panic proved to be rare. (The Bethnal Green underground disaster in March 1943 may

have been the exception that proved the rule.) Jones *et al.* also make the point that since combat casualties greatly outnumbered civilian deaths and injuries, powerful identification with 'conflict neurosis' suffered by those involved in front-line action militated against an eruption of the kind of 'non-combatant panic' that had been given massive publicity during the 1930s. The authors pinpoint the effects of scale and cite Tom Harrison's conviction that small urban centres, in which 'every piece of damage is a disaster to one's own town', tended to be considerably more vulnerable to problems of morale than 'great agglomerations' such as London or Liverpool. Finally, Jones *et al.* identify a more problematic aspect of mass reaction to intensive inner city air-raids: the fact that individual civilians were less likely than those involved in combat to receive an offer of psychiatric treatment or other form of institutional care. Dominated by the complex problem of differentiating between official and 'subjective' definitions of morale, this particular debate has only just begun.

Traditional studies of urban social reform now appear much less frequently than they did in the 1970s. In her "'A work to do": Edward Caswell and pastoral ministry at the Birmingham Oratory during the 1850s and 1860s, *Recusant History*, 27 (2004), 103–23, N.M. de Flonn straightforwardly narrates the life and times of a mid-nineteenth-century moral and environmental activist who committed himself to observing and documenting the deprived streets and lanes of Smethwick. Beginning his career as a priest in the rural arcadia of Stratford-sub-Castle, near Salisbury, Caswell doubled up as a composer of popular hymns. Falling under the influence of Newman and the Tractarians and buttressed by a private income, he decided to dedicate himself to the salvation of the urban working class. Discovering 'a preponderance of households in which even the lower class of virtues are scarcely found, such as cleanliness, sobriety, industry, prudence and honesty', Caswell canvassed predominantly spiritual solutions to problems of squalor and deprivation. Ruth Livesey's 'Reading for character: women social reformers and narratives of the urban poor in late Victorian and Edwardian London', *J. Victorian Culture*, 9 (2004), 43–67, suggests that in the 1880s and 1890s middle-class female investigators tended to distance themselves from tragi-sentimental, tableau-like representations of extreme poverty and social and environmental need associated with massively influential publications such as George Sims' *How the Poor Live*, Andrew Mearns' *Outcast London* and General William Booth's *In Darkest England*. (A similar form of discourse may be detected in the concluding non-quantitative, moral-cum-religious volume of Charles Booth's monumental study of late nineteenth-century London.) Livesey argues that the 'ethical individualist' *fin de siècle* mentalité with which she is concerned placed character firmly at the centre of the investigatory process. In the eyes of women reformers this dimension of working-class existence must be reconstructed and interpreted in the light of numerous examples of visually authenticated

detail of everyday life, including the 'smallest object choices'. In the words of the ever-assiduous Helen Bosanquet, 'one had to peer over alley walls, between the washing lines and make a study of back gardens'. All this, she claimed, constituted the most effective means of comprehending the moral environment of extreme poverty.

In the field of community, cultural and leisure studies, Pamela Dixon, Neal Garnham and Andrew Jackson's 'Shareholders and shareholding: the case of the football company in Victorian England', *Business History*, 46 (2004), 503–24, focuses on Sunderland Albion, Middlesbrough Ironopolis and Newcastle West End, and concludes that individuals investing in these pioneer enterprises tended to be male, married and middle-class. Very few, the authors suggest, risked their money in the hope of making a significant profit. Rather, benefit tended to be perceived in terms of communal return, and a means of augmenting social rather than financial capital. All this is a long way from Manchester United and Arsenal plc, c. 2005. In "'The golden hunger years": music and superpower rivalry in occupied Berlin', *German History*, 22 (2004), 76–100, Elizabeth Janik undertakes a wide-ranging survey of the complexities and contradictions of denazification. Focusing on the period between 1945 and 1947, the author demonstrates the continuing centrality of the classical tradition to German culture and the ways in which the allied powers sought to capitalize on this basic fact of national life. The Soviet authorities viewed this form of creative expression as a means of ideologically reshaping national consciousness and identity. For their part, the Americans emphasized the importance of music as popular entertainment. Quadripartite control in Berlin worked to the advantage of conductors and instrumentalists believed either to have dallied with or become fully paid-up supporters of the Nazi party. The administrative complexities of the occupation ensured that many artists returned to the podium or regular employment in orchestras at a considerably earlier date than might have been expected. As a consequence, the city rapidly developed into a thriving, and heavily subsidized, centre of cultural activity. By May 1947, and following tense and complex negotiations between the American and Soviet authorities, Wilhelm Furtwangler, who had more than once performed at the personal request of the Führer, made a post-war return as conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic. (More might have been said here about Herbert von Karajan, who fought off semi-suppressed accusations of collaborationism throughout his massively influential professional life.) Janik emphasizes the role played by civic public opinion, summarized by the comment in *Berliner Zeitung* that neither the city nor Germany could do without the 'artist Wilhelm Furtwangler'. This is an excellent and unusual article. In 'Subcultures, pop music and politics: skinheads and "Nazi rock" in England and Germany', *J. Social History*, 38 (2004), 157–78, Timothy S. Brown adds to a growing body of research into the ideological implications of urban-based musical forms stretching from Elvis Presley and Bill Haley

in the later 1950s, through the classic period of the Beatles and the Beach Boys and on into an era of bewildering stylistic diversification that developed out of punk and post-punk in the later 1970s. Committed to a comparative approach, Brown clears the theoretical ground by breaking with Adorno's bleakly elitist progressivism – the German social theorist deplored and feared the populist implications of the 'mere mechanical reproduction' of jazz and jazz-inflected forms of music. Brown also rejects Marxist schema which attempt to revivify structure-superstructure analysis by reversing the causal roles of the political-economic and cultural spheres. The author proposes an alternative approach whereby successive waves of mainstream and semi-marginal pop constitute dynamic sites for the social construction of extremist ideology. In Brown's view, a lineage running from reggae to skinhead punk revivalism, and thence to Nazi rock, generated cultural imageries that have allowed the merging of racial anger and anti-authoritarianism. In that sense, rock-related musics of every kind – folk, heavy metal and heavy metal revivalism, glam rock and the hydra-headed indie *genre* – have gained an autonomy that simultaneously celebrates and, it might be added, threatens the social and ethnic plurality of city and *polis*.

As already noted, Peter Mandler's 'The problem with cultural history', *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004), 94–118, gets a new journal off to a lively start. Refusing to take prisoners, Mandler attacks 'all that language play, all that pretend philosophy, those puns and nonce-inversions, the adrenaline rush of free association'. He accuses cultural historians – some named, others anonymous – of selecting texts which depict an under-nuanced and hence inaccurate picture of the past. Focusing on Robert Knox's *The Races of Men* (1850), Mandler claims that Robert Young and others have drawn on this unrepresentative text to depict the adoption of racial and biological modes of thought among members of the Anthropological Society of London. At this point, Mandler turns the fire on Martin Weiner's first generation, pre-linguistic turn cultural text, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850–1980* (1981) and, advocating a rejection of 'theory' from Foucault onwards, argues the virtues of returning to social anthropological and social psychological interpretative frameworks. Finally, he lists 'three modest proposals' for reform: a higher valuation 'of those toilers among us who do research into the mechanisms for the production and diffusion of culture'; a more precise location of the relationship between 'noumenal and phenomenal evidence'; and the development of a more rigorous 'theory of meaning'.

In a succinct riposte, 'Peter Mandler's "problem with cultural history", or, is playtime over?', *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004), 209–16, Colin Jones deplores the 'painting of a straw-person', defends Robert Young against the charge of misreading and mis-contextualizing Robert Knox, excoriates the 'fancy (Kantian) nomenclature' of 'noumenal' and 'phenomenal' and questions the choice of Martin Weiner as an apt author

to substantiate a plea for a rejection of the new – or now not so new? – culturalism. Finally, Jones rebuts a ‘vague invocation to go back to the social sciences for our inspiration, rather than rely on Derrida, Foucault and the “playground gang”’. Carla Hesse’s ‘The new empiricism’ (pp. 201–8) and Carol Watts’ ‘Thinking about the x factor, or, what’s the cultural history of cultural history?’ (pp. 217–24) stir the pot and add to the fun.

It would be wrong to conclude these reflections on the salvo of theoretical and methodological fireworks that have marked the inauguration of *Cultural and Social History* without paying tribute to Harold Perkin, founding-father of the Social History Society and pioneering evangelist for the discipline for many years at Lancaster and Chicago. Recently re-reading notices of his two indisputably major works, this writer was struck by the extent to which reviewers as various as David Cannadine, Pat Thane and Gertrude Himmelfarb found quite different things to praise and interrogate. Moving towards its grand, vituperative finale, *The Rise of Professional Society* approximates more to openly scathing criticism of Thatcherism than controlled contemporary history. Indeed, here one re-engages with the trenchant and challenging tones of Perkin, Labour centrist, contesting the positions of both Marxist theorists and Conservative traditionalists with whom he so rarely agreed during the strife-torn 1960s and 1970s.

Sixteen years is too long a period for the same writer to have been providing an annual overview of post-1800 periodical literature for the readers of *Urban History*. During that time approximately 1,600 articles have been surveyed and roughly 800 described or evaluated. The choice has been over-subjective and probably too heavily focused on health, disease, medicine, demography, urban infrastructure and public utilities. Historians are, however, what they are, and what they have learnt to be. Pointless, also, to deny a degree of bias or the grinding of historiographical axes. Historians and writers are meant to have opinions and preferences and some, like this one, prefer engaging with music, sport, cinema and heritage than education, elections, trade and taxation. On the other hand, an effort has been made throughout to sample a veritable flood – ocean – of women’s and gender history. The histories of urban administration and class (now, alas, in the doldrums), politics and social and occupational structure have also received regular attention. The survey has attempted to cover what have seemed to be significant contributions to our knowledge of the modern urban history of the United States and South America, France, Germany, Italy, China, south-east Asia and Australasia. A weather eye has been kept on theoretical and historiographical debate, activities in neighbouring sub-disciplines and the passing of distinguished contemporaries, some of them close and valued friends.

One conclusion is inescapable. From the early 1990s onward more – many more – urban historical articles have been accepted for publication

by journals which seem to have little to do with towns and cities. At the same time, more authors now give the impression of writing what read like identical articles in two different places in the same year – imitating, perhaps, the young undertaker's assistant who decided to ring the changes by switching from black to a darker shade of grey. In the United Kingdom, the Research Assessment Exercise has much to answer for, not least the possibility that the estimate, arrived at about a decade ago, that a typical historical and social scientific article could be expected to be read by 1.2 individuals should now be subjected to downward revision. One consequence of this obsession with 'production' is that the wise, informed and readable general essay has become an endangered species. The overall quality of scholarly book reviewing has undoubtedly declined dramatically over the last decade and a half: senior scholars are too busy making grant applications and co-ordinating research projects to devote scarce time to evaluating other people's work. (The *American Historical Rev.* remains an honourable exception and seems to this writer to carry an astonishingly wide range of critically creative notices. Long may it prosper.)

Finally, however, one needs, as Eric Idle sagely advised, to look on the bright side. Tracing 'trends' – even in an era dominated by the rise and rise of women's and gender history, the decline of Marxist methodology, the emergence and decline of post-modernism, heated debates about the cultural and linguistic turns, the belated emergence of a sophisticated historiography relating to the twentieth century: rumination about all this, and much more, can easily degenerate into pretension and error. (After all, many members of the urban historical, like the political historical, community have paid scant attention to the sound and fury generated since the mid-1980s by successive waves of theoretical and methodological debate.) Better, perhaps, to draw on the analogy of a railway journey. Cities, towns, villages and hamlets loom up after two or three hours of near-nothingness in Lincolnshire, central France or the Polish plain. Once glimpsed, this particular place in this particular region demands to be visited, revisited and visited again. The very best journal articles reverberate and engender a desire to be read and reread: they possess originality, passion and charm and are suffused with a genuine love and commitment to their subject. For these reasons, and very unfairly selecting a single item out of 800, I opt for Andrew Hurley's luminous evocation of 'Hash house to family restaurant: the transformation of the diner in post-World War II consumer culture', *J. American History*, 83 (1997), 1282–1308. A fine historian: a veritable feast of a theme.