Review of periodical articles

GERVASE ROSSER, MARK JENNER and
BILL LUCKIN
St Catherine's College, Oxford, OX1 3UJ
Dept of History, University of York, Heslington, York, YO1 5DD
Division of Humanities, Bolton Institute of Higher Education, Bolton, BL2 1JW

Pre-1500

There is only one true city, wrote St Augustine, and it is not of this world. The pessimistic Christian response to the fall of Rome in AD 410, epitomized in Augustine's *City of God*, affected the development of the later medieval city to a degree which has yet, even now, to be fully appreciated. In the Christian city of the Middle Ages the divinity was normally confined to the sanctuaries of his churches, whose topographical prominence and harmonious proportions made manifest an otherwise hidden spiritual order. Outside the cloister gates, disorder reigned: a general lack of planning revealed the meaninglessness of the outward, secular life. This dichotomy between an inner world of spirit and a public world of transient matter was embodied in the recurrent tensions between spiritual and secular space which ran as a motif throughout the history of medieval towns. Modern studies which have emphasized (not, of course, without reason) the secular political and economic power of ecclesiastical institutions in the medieval city have perhaps distracted attention unduly from the real differences of ethos which, within the town, distinguished religious space from that of the sur-rounding lay world.

   That segregation is underlined, in the context of the cities of northern Italy, by M.C. Miller, 'Religion makes a difference: clerical and lay cultures in the courts of northern Italy, 1000–1300', *American Historical Rev.*, 105 (2000), 1094–1130. Miller's particular interest is in the design and function of administrative halls, where she notes a telling distinction between the wide halls of communal governments, conducive to open and equal discussion, and the elongated halls of the bishops who in this period still ruled many of the Italian cities. The latter spaces, with their dais ends, expressed the hierarchical vision of the dominant churchmen. The iconography of fresco decorations in the same halls bears out and reinforces the difference of emphasis. As civic communes increasingly competed with episcopal authority, tensions were focused in the sites and structures of these buildings. Miller reconsiders the familiar but intensely interesting case of Bergamo, where a communal church of Santa Maria, known as 'the chapel of the city', was begun in defiance of the adjacent cathedral of San Vincenzo, and used for civic meetings. The bishop, however, evidently counter-attacked by extending his own hall in such a way as to block the completion of Santa Maria with a nave. A partially analogous case is that of the contemporary bishops of Amiens who, in order to bolster their prestige and contain civil strife, associated themselves with holy places in the urban landscape, granting charters to shrines, publicizing the lives of local saints, and carrying out relic translations.

The argument is that of J.S. Ott, 'Urban space, memory, and episcopal authority: the bishops of Amiens in peace and conflict, 1073–1164', *Viator*, 31 (2000), 43–77. So Bishop Guy de Ponthieu established the monastery of Saint-Martin-aux-Jumeaux in 1073, on the putative spot where Martin himself was said to have shared his cloak with a beggar. The foundation charter celebrates the bishop's patronage, and thus his connection both with one of Amiens' holy protectors and with this particular site at the unruly city limits. The collective urban memory was thus tapped and partially appropriated by the bishop, who thus consolidated his own paternalistic identity in relation to the townspeople.

Of course, the very fact that the leading citizens of Bergamo focused their activities in a chapel of the Virgin Mary proved that bishops (whatever they might claim) had no monopoly on the creation of holy space. The making and promotion of urban saints repeatedly illustrates the successful borrowing by secular civil governors of a cloak of spiritual authority. A classic case is that of Padua, whose commune in 1259 adopted the Franciscan Sant'Antonio as the city's official protector, after he was reputed to have saved the town from the tyrant Ezzelino. The saint's burial place became the civic church *par excellence*, even though it was not the cathedral. Apart from making contributions to the building and maintenance of this basilica, the city governors in the 1440s commissioned from Donatello a splendid and complex bronze altarpiece representing Antonio and other Paduan saints. These large, gilded bronze statues must have made a startling impact, and may have helped to achieve the evident aim of identifying the urban elite with this highly charged location. The artistic commission is reviewed in its civic context by G.A. Johnson, 'Approaching the altar: Donatello's sculpture in the Santo', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52 (1999), 627–66.

The communal memory in pursuit of a collective identity could also draw on other themes, additional to the lives of saints and potentially no less resonant. At Rome, where this issue was distilled with unusual clarity, sites especially associated with pagan history were competed for no less than the tombs of the Christian martyrs. During the course of the Middle Ages a particular series of carnival games and processions known collectively as the *ludi agonis et testatie* was detached from papal control, to be organized and perceived as a focus of Roman civic identity – an identity which the popes themselves endeavoured to resist. A. Sommerlechner, 'Die *ludi agonis et testatie* – das Fest der Kommune Rom im Mittelalter', *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 41 (1999), 339–70, is a useful addition to the literature of medieval civic ritual. The nodal points of this Roman festival were the Piazza Navona, which as an ancient arena was associated with imperial games, the Capitol, with its obvious links to the foundation of the Roman republic, and the extramural Testaccio, connected in the popular imagination with Remus, who was supposedly buried under the pyramid of Cestius. It was during the papal exile from Rome during the fourteenth century that the nascent commune consolidated its hold on these games and processions, which doubtless held all the greater perceived civic importance in the absence of developed communal institutions of government.

This study of Rome reminds us of the endurance of tales about the antique past in the sphere of medieval urban vernacular culture. For too long the self-styled 'humanists' have gloried in their claimed responsibility for the supposed 'rediscovery' of ancient history. Yet these learned figures of the 'Renaissance' owed a crucial debt to traditional vernacular history, as is illustrated incidentally

by C. Branca, 'Filippo Villani, Coluccio Salutati e il ''De origine'' ', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 13 (1999), 221–9. This lecture delivered on the occasion of the publication of a new edition, by G. Tanturli, of Filippo Villani's *De origine civitatis Florentie* underlines the link between the descendant and continuator of the Florentine vernacular chronicler Giovanni Villani and the humanist chancellor and historian Coluccio Salutati. Antiquity never vanished from medieval consciousness to the extent that has often been claimed. At the same time, the medieval vision naturally filtered classical survivals through Christian spectacles – and this remained true even for the 'humanists'. Earlier pilgrim guides and historical accounts such as Boncompagno da Signa's description of ancient Rome in his *Liber de obsidione Ancone* of *c.* 1200 noted the dereliction of classical buildings in the city; and Boncompagno recorded the difficulty of appreciating their former meaning (*doctrina*) with the passage of time and change of culture. The latter is discussed by P. Garbini, 'I ''Mirabilia urbis Romae'' di Boncompagno da Signa', *Studi romani*, 47 (1999), 13–24. But notwithstanding their uncertainties such accounts clearly evince a sense of historical perspective and of development over time. In the same way Petrarch, supposedly the inventor of a new way of looking at ancient Rome, recorded the architectural evidence of Rome's Christian conversion in time – notably the pagan temples adapted to Christian use – and lamented the city's abandonment by the popes of his own day. Contrary to a widely held view, Petrarch does not support the case for a supposed break in civic historical writing with the advent of 'humanist' scholarship in the mid-fourteenth century. This valuable point is made by J. Summit, 'Topography as historiography: Petrarch, Chaucer, and the making of medieval Rome', *J. of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 30 (2000), 211–46. The differences of emphasis found in these various medieval writers on pagan Rome are to be attributed less to variant conceptions of history than to the diverse particular interests of these authors in contemporary debates. The various rhetorical uses of images of urban decay are exemplified again in the letter which Manuel Chrysoloras addressed in 1411 to the future Byzantine Emperor John VIII Paleologos, in which the scholar compared his personal impressions of the cities of Rome and Constantinople. The letter is analysed by A. Kioussopoulou, 'La ville chez Manuel Chrysoloras', *Byzantinoslavica*, 59 (1998), 71–9. Although both capitals presented scenes of degradation from former greatness, Chrysoloras urged that the monuments of antiquity in Constantinople were part of a more vital civic culture than those of Rome, and that on this basis the eastern city, and not the western, was destined to enjoy future pre-eminence.

The experimental and creative process of civic image-making in the Middle Ages is famously exemplified in frescoes of the 1330s in the town hall of Siena. Q. Skinner, 'Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Buon Governo* frescoes: two old questions, two new answers', *J. of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 62 (1999), 1–28, restates the author's (persuasive) conviction that the enthroned figure who presides over the painted scenes is an embodiment, not (*pace* N. Rubinstein) of an abstract 'common good', but of the ideal governor or government of the city – in fact, of the contemporary Sienese regime of the Nine. In these *tableaux*, however, the Nine have taken care to identify themselves with positive images of justice. Skinner also shows that the (nine) dancers shown in the frescoes would have been recognized as making the appropriately joyful response to peace, the supreme benefit of this idealized regime.

The discourse of the medieval city was not confined to the sphere of urban politics. As an element of the wider culture, it pervaded the whole of life, and made itself available for creative adaptation to a host of circumstances. When an Italian poet of the early Trecento wished to write about an unattainable lover, it was natural for him to invoke the language of civic exile. For in the communes, exile was both a familiar reality (most recently described by C. Shaw in *The Politics of Exile in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge, 2000) and one with intense associations of painful separation and distance. C. Keen, 'Images of exile: distance and memory in the poetry of Cino da Pistoia', *Italian Studies*, 55 (2000), 21–36, sensitively describes such a case of literary borrowing from urban culture.

Within the social world of the medieval city, historians have for long sought the origins of 'bourgeois culture', a comportment and mentality distinctive to the bureaucrats, merchants and industrial entrepreneurs who in a subsequent age would define themselves as a 'middle class'. Yet medieval citizens repeatedly elude such categorization. Perhaps this should surprise us less than it does. A townsman's attachment to his city coexisted with a strong sense of continuity between the town and the wider cultural environment. The languages of religious piety or chivalric nobility were as likely to be heard in the market-place as in the rural hermitage or the knight's castle. This cultural cross-fertilization complicates the social and economic distinctions which the modern historian might wish to draw. A recurrent tendency of wealthy citizens to emulate their social superiors, rather than remain true to a hypothesized 'bourgeois' identity, was famously noted by Fernand Braudel. But for some, at least, there was simply no contradiction between money-making and the noble lifestyle. M. Boone, 'Apologie d'un banquier médiéval: Tommaso Portinari et l'état bourguignon', *Le Moyen Âge*, 105 (1999), 31–54, gives a sympathetic account of one case in point. Portinari, who went to Bruges in 1440 as an agent of the Medici bank, advanced both his employer's and his own financial fortunes through his role as a counsellor and courtier of the duke of Burgundy. Like Portinari the merchants of late medieval Barcelona appear, from inventories of their goods, to have tended increasingly to affect the noble lifestyle. As their luxuries of dress and household goods multiplied, their city, whose greatness had previously been built up on the back of Mediterranean trade, was losing economic ground to other centres. Perhaps it is tempting to connect these phenomena in a causal relationship, and to blame the nascent 'bourgeoisie' of the Catalan port for its 'betrayal' of the cause of continuous economic growth. J. Aurell i Cardona, 'Culture marchande et culture nobiliaire à Barcelone au XVe siècle', *Revue historique*, 302 (2000), 33–53, does just this. But cultural history is more complex than such neat distinctions recognize. For example, Aurell cites as one of the symptoms of the merchants' 'progressive adaptation to the forms of the noble life, to the detriment of the itinerant and risky commercial activity of the preceding centuries', their reading of chivalric tales listed in their inventories of books. Yet were these cultures really so distinct? One might suggest that the spirit of commercial enterprise, the readiness to risk all on the cargo of a fragile ship, could be traced even more readily to a habit of reading tales of the Knights of the Round Table than to study of Pegolotti's manual of book-keeping.

The beguiling quest for the defining qualities of a supposedly distinct 'merchant culture' in the medieval cities has given rise also to the suggestion that

the pressures of the medieval urban economy led to the adoption of a new and more regular measure of time. The argument was famously articulated in an essay by Jacques le Goff. But have we been correct to assume that the construction of town clocks marked the advent of the regularized working day, calculated according to equally measured hours? No, according to the careful research of E. Poulle, 'L'horologerie a-t-elle tué les heures inégales?', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 157 (1999), 137–56. Poulle's study establishes that experiments in mechanization of time-keeping from the late thirteenth century did not challenge the traditional usage of 'unequal' hours, calculated not as standard twenty-fourths of a twenty-four hour cycle but as twelfths of the period (variable according to season) from sunrise to sunset. The medieval townsman, though he worked hard, was not yet the slave of the mechanical clock.

The polyvocality of medieval urban culture is underlined by the presence, if not necessarily the integration, of Muslim and Jewish settlers in the towns of the Christian West. Both communities were vulnerable, and suffered changing fortunes over time. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for example, saw north African merchants establish themselves in Christian cities from Valencia and Majorca in the realm of Aragon, via Marseille in Provence, to Genoa and Pisa in Italy. In the later Middle Ages, however, these Muslim traders recede from the record – marginalized, apparently, by the growing contemporary scale of Christian merchant shipping. The shift is charted by D. Valérian, 'Ifríqiyan Muslim merchants in the Mediterranean at the end of the Middle Ages', *Mediterranean Historical Rev.*, 14 (1999), 47–66. A rare perspective from within one of the 'alien' communities within the medieval Christian cities is provided by a late thirteenth-century poem, written by a Jew of Norwich in England. Composed shortly before the expulsion of Jews from this country in 1290, the verse commemorates the sufferings of the community in the period. The evidence is likened to similar writings from Jews in contemporary France and Germany by S.L. Ginbinder, 'Meir b. Elijah of Norwich: persecution and poetry among medieval English Jews', *J. of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), 145–62. The piece should be read in conjunction with P. Brand, 'Jews and the law in England, 1275–90', *English Historical Rev.*, 115 (2000), 1138–58, which reconstructs the real persecution of the period and the moves towards expulsion, connecting them in particular with the Crown's need for money. We need to see the fact of cultural plurality in the medieval city against the tendency to exclusion and persecution when political or economic pressures mounted.

Nonetheless, immigrants to towns in the medieval period did not lack social resources. One of the most widely encountered means by which incomers negotiated their place in the new environment was through participation in a confraternity or guild. Thus the membership of the guild of Our Lady of Pity in the northern Hungarian town of Bardejov or Bástfa around 1500 was dominated by residents of German origins who, like many others, had been drawn for economic motives to settle in the region. M.M. de Cevins, 'Les confréries en Hongrie à la fin du Moyen Âge: l'exemple de la confrérie ''Mère de Miséricorde'' de Bardejov (1449–1525) (1re partie)', *Le Moyen Âge*, 106 (2000), 347–68, analyses the register of this society, in which it is also interesting to note that women comprised the majority. A guild of a somewhat different kind, more prominent by virtue of its association with a major urban institution, was the confraternity of the Apostles in late medieval Toulouse. This fraternity's links with the great

basilica of Saint Sernin went beyond the usual ties of patronage, for it made regular and significant contributions towards the construction and decoration of the church. This role must have given the society a quasi-official status within the city, and indeed civic officials appear amongst its members. Alongside these, the many other subscribers drawn from throughout the city must have experienced a sense of civic pride through their participation. The evidence is presented by F. Fantuzzo and C. Saint-Martin, 'La confrérie des corps-saints de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse au XVe siècle', *Annales du Midi*, 111 (1999), 155–67, and by F. Fantuzzo, 'Une grande confrérie urbaine', *ibid.*, 169–83.

The associations formed by medieval townspeople were often less grand than this; they tended to be pragmatic and transient, and most operated close to or beyond the margins of the historical record. Yet through painstaking and sensitive recovery of their activities the historian can discern some of the ways in which individuals negotiated their way in medieval urban society. Collaboration was vital to much economic production in medieval towns, but the modes of interaction between artisans are often undocumented. J. Steinhoff, 'Artistic working relationships after the Black Death: a Sienese *compagnia*, *c.* 1350–1363 (?)', *Renaissance Studies*, 14 (2000), 1–45, advances the hypothesis that a shortage of labour after the plague fostered a reconfiguration of working practices amongst painters. Steinhoff's use of the term *compagnia* is not justified by the documents in this case; moreover it is not clear that such collaboration as is here demonstrated – on the basis of visual evidence – for mid-fourteenth-century Siena was absent from other periods. Nonetheless the proposal is valuable as an encouragement to think more widely about urban working relationships in the context of economic change.

Sworn associations of a political character could also at times wield an influence disproportionate to their semi-official status. The towns of southern Italy tended to be politically 'underdeveloped' by comparison with the more autonomous city-states of the centre and north of the peninsula. Nonetheless, under the umbrella of Angevin royal government, a town such as Taranto in the fourteenth century could manifest a degree of communal identity and organization through its *parlamento*, which probably, as in other cases in the region, met in the principal civic church. Notwithstanding its constitutional weakness the political community, describing itself as the *universitas hominum civitatis Tarenti*, negotiated with the Angevin princely governors for a significant measure of practical self-government. This story is teased from limited evidence by A. Airò, 'Per una storia dell'*universitas* di Taranto nel Trecento', *Archivio storico italiano*, 158 (2000), 29–84. At other times the sense of shared identity amongst townspeople could be intensified by inter-urban competition, exemplified by the mounting tensions in the later thirteenth century between the rival cloth towns of Lille and Douai. In the latter place a spring festival was celebrated annually with jousting tournaments (blurring again the notional boundary between civic and chivalric culture). But in May 1284 the organizers of the celebrations determined to exclude the inhabitants of Lille from participation. The latter protested, whereupon the townspeople of Douai staged a variety of attacks upon citizens of Lille. Significant features of these events were the use of civic ritual as a means to express a particular view, and the fact that little real violence ensued, the quarrel being contained within the bounds of dramatic posturing. The story is related by L. Feller, 'La fête faillie: les événements de mai (1284, Lille-Douai)', *Revue du*

Nord: Histoire, 334 (2000), 9–33. On such occasions civic pride acquired intensified importance as a vehicle for economic competition.

Perhaps Augustine was right about the transience of the earthly city. At any rate, his pessimistic view continued to enjoy enormous influence throughout the medieval centuries, and beyond. Despite this, however, medieval lay towns-people repeatedly found ways, some of which have been illustrated in the articles noted here – and, indeed, in others discussed in this column in recent years – to borrow for themselves the language of the eternal city, and so to lend a sense of dignity and purpose to their mundane lives.

1500–1800

Academic articles rarely make the past sing, but Robert Darnton's 'An early information society: news and media in eighteenth-century Paris', *American Historical Rev.*, 105 (2000), 1–35, does. Surveying the *bruits publics* of early and mid-eighteenth-century Paris, and using police reports to uncover the topical songs and political gossip that could be heard in its cafés, Darnton reconstructs the oral and written networks of communication in the *ancien régime* and traces progressive popular disenchantment with the monarchy. What will make this an invaluable (if noisy) teaching aid is that through the electronic version of this article at www.indiana.edu/~ahr/ you can listen to recordings of the songs Darnton discusses. Brendan Dooley's 'De Bonne Main: les pourvoyeurs de nouvelles à Rome au 17e siècle', *Annales HSS*, 54 (1999), 1317–44, lacks such high-tech plug-ins, but is perhaps a more original discussion of the news networks which developed in early modern cities. Exploring the *avvisi*, manu-script newsletters turned out by Roman notaries retelling rumour, diplomatic information and other news, Dooley shows how they are best understood with reference to the city's aristocratic patronage networks. Moreover, because of this relatively specialized readership, they complemented rather than competed with printed newspapers. However, as in eighteenth-century Paris, the affairs they retold could spill out into the wider domain; the *avvisi* overlapped with the culture of the pasquinade and had a real impact on the reputation of princes and other elite political figures.

As Gillian Russell demonstrates in '"Faro's daughters": female gamesters, politics, and the discourse of finance in 1790s Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33 (2000), 481–504, graphic satire unquestionably impinged upon the public image of the British nobility by the end of the eighteenth century. The West End, she observes, had long been the site of elite gaming clubs, but by the 1790s some prominent noblewomen had become the bankers at the centre of long-standing games of faro, presiding over accumulated stakes of up to £30,000. After Lord Chief Justice Kenyon castigated such gambling in a judgement of 1796 they became the focus of sustained satiric attack – revealing how their activity could symbolize aristocratic excess in the hard times of war, and how gendered iconography could figure speculation and the spiralling national debt. Elaine Chalus's richly documented 'Elite women, social politics, and the political world of late eighteenth-century England', *Historical J.*, 43 (2000), 669–97, meanwhile, shows that such aristocratic women were important political actors as well as potent symbols. For once the political elite established permanent residences in London, party politics was enmeshed with elite sociability. As hostesses, brokers,

purveyors of news, elite women were at the centre of the social politics of the eighteenth century.

Helen M. Dingwall's '"To be insert in the *Mercury*": medical practitioners and the press in eighteenth-century Edinburgh', *Social History of Medicine*, 13 (2000), 23–44, focuses on press publicity rather than political news. Eighteenth-century Scottish newspapers, she shows, were complex entities, open to all styles of medicine. On the one hand institutions like Edinburgh University used them to publish and thus publicize their rules and the instruction which they provided, on the other newspaper adverts facilitated individual enterprise such as private courses in chemistry and the less respectable popular forms of healing provided by figures like the sex therapist, James Graham. The complexity of print is powerfully brought out by Adrian Johns' 'Miscellaneous methods, authors, societies and journals in early modern England', *British J. for the History of Science*, 33 (2000), 159–86. Although the minuteness of his analysis of *The Philosophical Transactions* and similar publications may try the patience of some readers, it highlights the cultural and economic endeavour necessary for the success of an early modern serial publication. From his analysis it is clear that the forms of knowledge production associated with *The Philosophical Transactions* rested for many years upon relatively fragile foundations.

In their concern with media of communication these studies share themes with Peter Lake and Michael Questier's 'Puritans, papists, and the "public sphere" in early modern England: the Edmund Campion affair in context', *J. Modern History*, 72 (2000), 587–627. Although its provocative general thesis that the confessional disputes of post-Reformation England involved debates about what could be publicly debated and rhetorical appeals to a public is almost buried in its dense exposition of Recusant history, they offer a stimulating revision of Habermasian histories of the public sphere. Their case would, however, have been strengthened by more sustained discussion of the spatiality of politics, exploring, for instance, the significance of the Tower of London in the imaginative and actual construction of public debate. Such an attention to place is an important theme of Stuart Carroll's judicious 'The Revolt of Paris, 1588: aristocratic insurgency and the mobilization of popular support', *French Historical Studies*, 23 (2000), 301–37. He stimulatingly compares the symbolic significance of English embassy in Paris with that of the US embassy in Teheran after the 1979 revolution and explores the micropolitics of parish and *quartier* in order to revise the historiography which sees the Day of the Barricades as an authentically popular revolt. The events, he argues, are better understood as the result of the interaction of different social groups. Not least of these was the Guise family, for Henri de Guise had cultivated a following in the capital and also intervened personally at a crucial point in the insurrection.

The interpenetration of urban and aristocratic patronage networks and the connections between local politics and wider structures of power are further highlighted in Catherine Patterson, 'Corporations, cathedrals and the crown: local dispute and royal interest in early Stuart England', *History*, 85 (2000), 546–71, Newton E. Key and Joseph Ward, '"Divided into parties": exclusion crisis origins in Monmouth', *English Historical Rev.*, 115 (2000), 1159–83 and Christopher A. Whatley, 'The Union of 1707, integration and the Scottish burghs: the case of the 1720 food riots', *Scottish Historical Rev.*, 78 (1999), 192–218. Patterson highlights how the policies of Charles I and his Archbishop, William

Laud, intensified the endemic tensions between civic and ecclesiastical authority in cathedral cities. Whereas Elizabeth and James largely left corporations to their own devices in ways which marginally favoured secular powers, the personal rule of the 1630s provoked jurisdictional battles and saw much greater privy council intervention in matters of urban government. The aldermen of Norwich, forced by royal decree to attend cathedral services on Sundays in seats where their social inferiors could spit and urinate upon them, were not the only secular authorities who lost power and dignity after Charles' interventions. Examining what would seem at first to be a minor dispute between the schoolmaster and usher of a Monmouth school, Key and Ward explore the political polarization which scarred the town's society and the way in which the town's factions intersected with the Haberdashers' Company in London (the patrons of the school) and the Marquess of Worcester. Local divisions around the question of Exclusion are shown to have grown out of pre-existing ideological and religious groupings. Whaley's article is unusual in linking urban history with the history of Britishness. For he convincingly relates the wave of food rioting in eastern Scottish towns to the situation of urban workers squeezed by an economic downturn and affronted by the large-scale export of grain to England. Urban elites involved in the export trade found new opportunities after the Union, not least in grain export bounties, but the lower orders were faring far less well.

The more traditional preoccupation with the prosopography of an urban elite of Mauro Hernández's 'Forging nobility: the construction of a civic elite in early modern Madrid', *Urban History*, 27 (2000), 165–88, seems more conservative than the preceding studies. However, it effectively challenges the traditional portrait of Spanish urban elites as subject to the hegemony of the nobility and demonstrates that in fact most of Madrid governors came from a background in the state bureaucracy. However, when one reads Katô Takashi's description of the development and administration of Edo in the seventeenth century, 'Edo in the seventeenth century: aspects of urban development in a segregated society', *ibid.*, 189–210, one cannot but be struck by how far the shogun's authority in his capital exceeded Habsburg power over Madrid.

In 'The space problem in early United States cities', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 57 (2000), 505–42 and 'Urban agriculture, commons and commoners in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the case of Sudbury, Suffolk', *Agricultural History Rev.*, 48 (2000), 171–99, Carole Shammas and Henry R. French present contrasting studies of the uses of urban space. The population of the thirteen colonies had proportionally fewer town-dwellers in 1800 than in 1700, but these communities were extremely densely populated even though there was plenty of land available for expansion. Shammas suggests that the answer to this paradox lies partly in the demographic structure of these communities, with very high numbers of young single people packed into lodging houses, and partly in the costs of new urban infrastructure. Builders often could not afford to pave streets and provide the other amenities needed if they were to build houses on suburban fields. Until cities underwrote such costs they simply subdivided house lots near the centre of towns and thus further increased population density. French's study, meanwhile, highlights the green spaces in and around English towns throughout the early modern period. After a survey of the wide variety of urban commons, he gives a detailed analysis of the common lands in the small Suffolk clothing town of Sudbury. He shows how many town-dwellers were involved in

agricultural production, and brings out the importance of grazing land for the horse-drawn urban economy. The ownership of animals on the town commons was skewed towards the wealthier members of the community, but the income supplement offered by a cow and the fee revenue which the commons generated for the town's poor law could greatly assist poorer households.

The supplementary number of *International Rev. of Social History*, 45 (2000), including Monserrat Carbonnel-Esteller's 'Using microcredit and restructuring households: two complementary strategies in late eighteenth-century Barcelona', 71–92 and Jeremy Boulton's '"It is extreme necessity that makes me do this". Surviving in London's West End: strategies and the "survival" of pauper households in the early eighteenth century', 47–69, is concerned with the survival strategies of such households. Using remarkable archives, Carbonnel-Esteller explores both the enormous importance of small loans for many plebeian households and the structure of these households. In the 1760s no less than one household in eight used the *Mont de Pietat* (the municipal pawnshop) for small loans. Revealingly, however, only half of these households found themselves able to redeem the goods they had pledged. Taking in lodgers was also crucial in the household economy of the poorer sort; household listings reveal a high number of complex household forms with many co-resident non-kin. Such strategies helped keep people out of debt – larger, more complex, households were less likely to go to the *Mont de Pietat*. Boulton, meanwhile, draws on evidence from the West End parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields to show that parish relief was only ever provided to a relatively small minority of its aged inhabitants and that it was rarely anything other than one part of a pauper's income. Poor women and men were to be found doing an enormous range of casual work; their lives also were often embedded in kin support systems, either through providing lodging or by grandparents looking after grandchildren. His findings (not least the emphasis on the provision of lodging) find support in Ilana Ben-Amos's more impressionistic 'Gifts and favors: informal support in early modern England', *J. Modern History*, 72 (2000), 295–338, emphasizing that 'markets, towns, and the state could . . . act as catalysts of informal support' rather than dissolving the ties of neighbourhood. However, having built up his vivid catalogue of expedients and of appeals to kin, Boulton stresses with admirable hard-headedness that the abandonment of household members (wives or children) remained a dominant theme within the straightened lives of the urban poor.

In 'Bankruptcy: family and finance in early modern Augsburg', *J. European Economic History*, 29 (2000), 53–75, Thomas Safley explores the practices by which families at the other end of the social scale sought to manage economic disasters. Although notions of familial honour continued to feature prominently in the workings of trade, between *c*. 1550 and *c*. 1650 there was a gradual reformulation of the workings of bankruptcy. State regulation formalized its legal context, but also systematized the establishment of credit worthiness and paradoxically made families more likely to invest with members of their own kin groups.

Stefano D'Amico's 'Crisis and transformation: economic organization and social structures in Milan 1570–1610', *Social History*, 25 (2000), 1–21 and Jeremy Boulton's 'London's dark ages: food prices and living standards in London, 1580–1700', *Economic History Rev.*, 53 (2000), 455–92, meanwhile, are distinguished examples of the economic macrohistories which Safley's emphasis on family is seeking to supplement. Whereas the decline of the Lombard economy

in the seventeenth century has traditionally been attributed to the inflexibility of the guild structure, D'Amico argues that the Milanese economy was being restructured from the 1590s (not the economic slump of the 1620s). By that date the city contained a large concentration of female workers rather than masters; its decline was partly the result of a loss of technological superiority, partly the consequence of plague mortality, and partly the result of increasingly protectionist policies followed by northern European states. Although hedged around with qualifications and not an easy read, Boulton's study of the capital presents new price series for food and fuel drawn from institutional and private accounts. The results of this major contribution to seventeenth-century history are, as he notes, both 'reassuring' and 'provocative'. They fit well with the peaks and troughs of other price series, but suggest London's economy diverged considerably from the rest of England in the later seventeenth century. While provincial workers' standard of living improved, Londoners' real wages did not increase and may even have fallen.

D'Amico highlighted how in Milan there was a shift from the conception of the city as a collective of male-headed households to a more individualized (and often feminized) workforce. Clare Crowston's 'Engendering the guilds: seamstresses, tailors, and the clash of corporate identities in Old Regime France', *French Historical Studies*, 23 (2000), 339–71, is a valuable contribution to the growing literature on gender and urban work. In a detailed study of Paris and Caen, Crowston shows how the formation of seamstresses' guilds after Colbert's decrees of the 1670s produced divergent gendered models of the guild. Seamstresses were that unusual creature – the female master – pursuing independent careers, rarely marrying and training (female) apprentices. Tailors' campaigns to re-establish control over all garment-making by contrast laid a new stress upon the male-headed household. Their daughters' range of options, however, were paradoxically reduced – either they had to join the seamstresses or they had to work as subservient workers in their father's household.

The issues of sexual honour broached by Crowston also feature in Manon van der Heijden, 'Women as victims of sexual and domestic violence in seventeenth-century Holland: criminal cases of rape, incest, and maltreatment in Rotterdam and Delft', *J. Social History*, 33 (2000), 623–44. Although somewhat list-like, this study demonstrates that cases involving the rape or assault of young women were treated more seriously than those involving older women because sexual honour was more central to the former cases. Issues of spousal violence were generally framed with reference to the disturbance of the peace, while incest victims were often themselves held to be partly to blame – such offence-oriented morality often imputed culpability to women who would now be regarded as the victim. In her careful analysis of the 'book of punishments' and the other court sources of Frankfurt am Main, 'Jews in the criminal-justice system of early modern Germany', *J. Interdisciplinary History*, 30 (1999), 407–535, Maria R. Boes paints a depressing picture of systematic and largely unrelenting prejudice – Jews were prosecuted more often, were more likely to be tortured and executed than Christians, and the general mitigation of sentences from the early seventeenth century which did not apply to Jews convicted by the courts, included those who had converted to Christianity. Irene Silverblatt's 'New Christians and New World fears in seventeenth-century Peru', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42 (2000), 524–46, meanwhile, explores the fears which crystallized

around the figure of the Jew in seventeeth-century South America and which led to the execution of eleven people by order of the Lima Inquisition in 1639 for 'Judaising'. Threatened by Dutch expansion and by the social fluidity of colonial society, the Peruvian Inquisition promulgated a racialized view of culture which sought to subordinate Indians, Portuguese and black people and which even saw the drinking of cola as evidence of 'Juduaising'.

Darlene Abreu-Ferreira's 'Fishmongers and shipowners: women in maritime communities of early modern Portugal', *Sixteenth-Century J.*, 30 (2000), 7–23, is informed by less sophisticated historiography and less extensive source material. However, her study reveals that in Portuguese ports women could be extensively involved in the cod trade, as fish merchants, not just hucksters; her suggestion that women played an unusually active role in fishing and maritime communities chimes with anthropological literature and would repay further investigation. In 'Women, men, and residential patterns in early modern Venice' *J. Family History*, 25 (2000), 6–25, Monica Chojnacka uses late sixteenth-century parish censuses to question about our models of Mediterranean family forms. Her study shows that marriage was closely linked to the establishment of a new and separate household and that neither women nor men retained particularly close ties with their blood families after marriage. Young unmarried adults, furthermore, rarely resided with their parents; young women, contrary to the stereotypes of Mediterranean sexual honour, were to be found living as servants in their masters' and mistresses' lodgings, sharing boarding houses with other women or even heading households made up of servants and lodgers. As she observes, this picture is rather closer to the standard image of northern European society than to the Tuscan model described by Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber. Either Venetian household forms were untypical of Italy or we need to revise some of our assumptions about the familial structures of Mediterranean cities.

Simon Szreter and Eilidh Garrett, 'Reproduction, compositional demography, and economic growth: family planning in England long before the fertility decline', *Population and Development Rev.*, 26 (2000), 45–80 and Pat Hudson and Steve King, 'Two textile townships, *c*. 1660–1820: a comparative demographic analysis', *Economic History Rev.*, 53 (2000), 706–41, similarly challenge demographers' conventional generalizations. Szreter and Garrett argue that post-war policy concerns about family limitation have led population historians into misleading assumptions about what was involved in the control of marital fertility. Drawing on a class-specific study of Banbury they suggest that there was a considerable variation of marriage age and marriage patterns among different social groups in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England; furthermore, late and prudential marriage became more widespread among the bourgeoisie in the early nineteenth century. In conclusion they argue powerfully that the national aggregate is not the most useful category by which to tell demographic history. Working from detailed case studies of Calverley and Sowerby, industrializing townships in Yorkshire, Hudson and King reach similar conclusions. They show that there were striking variations in the demographic experience of various subgroups in these townships. Average mortality, illegitimacy and fertility all shifted, but this was the result of the changing behaviour and experience of relatively small groups rather than general shifts in the demography of the whole community. Demographers, they suggest, need to

understand the motives and reproductive regimes of these groups as well as applying macro-economic theories of human behaviour.

The cultural management of death rather than mortality levels is the focus of Susan Schroeder, 'Jesuits, Nahuas, and the good death society in Mexico City, 1710–1767', *Hispanic American Historical Rev.*, 80 (2000), 43–76, describing a Jesuit-sponsored sodality established in Mexico City not long after the rebellion against colonial authority in 1690. Far from the only religious association of native people, Schroeder suggests that it may have fostered Nahua solidarities in the urban context – both women and men seem to have held significant offices in the organization and the register becomes increasingly full of Nahuatl-language entries from the late 1730s. Although the analysis is hampered by a reliance on the single surviving source and the incorporation of largely irrelevant material about Roman practices, the article suggests some fascinating possible survivals of Aztec practices in forms of Christian devotion. Margo Todd's examination of the impact of the Reformation in Perth and Aberdeen, 'Profane pastimes and the reformed community: the persistence of popular festivities in early modern Scotland', *J. British Studies*, 39 (2000), 123–56, similarly explores the complexities of religious conversion and cultural change, for she suggests that Scottish Reformers did not create a new Jerusalem with speed. Evidence from Kirk Sessions reveals that there was, for instance, widespread festive transvesticism at Yuletide in early seventeenth-century Aberdeen and equally popular celebration of May Day in Perth at the same time. Todd concludes not only that Scottish culture may have been less dourly Calvinistic than stereotypes might suggest, but that Reformers preferred to concentrate on fostering conversion and constructing a positively Protestant culture rather than spend their energies trying to stamp out ritual. David Hickman, 'Religious belief and pious practice among London's Elizabethan elite', *Historical J.*, 42 (1999), 941–60, also seeks to reformulate accounts of the Reformation which present it as a process of social disciplining imposed from above. Highlighting traditional forms of religious practice like charitable benefactions and the abiding centrality of the parish, he suggests that historians of the urban reformation should never forget the profoundly religious world-view in which *all* early modern Londoners operated, and how often this meant there was shared ground between hotter Protestants and their less godly fellows.

N. Stirk, 'Manufacturing reputations in late eighteenth-century Birmingham', *Historical Research*, 73 (2000), 142–155, David A. Brewer, 'Making Hogarth heritage', *Representations*, 72 (2000), 21–63, and John Styles, 'Product innovation in early modern London', *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), 124–69, together provide complementary examples of how there can be fruitful dialogue between cultural and economic history. Stirk focuses on the role of the Birmingham Commercial Committee and other groups, like the successful campaigners for a Birmingham assay office, in improving the reputation of the city's manufactures. Their activities helped replace caricatures of cheap and shoddy Brummagen goods and projected a sense that there were clear, equitable and proper forms of production within the town. Brewer, meanwhile, explores how Hogarth, that most urban of graphic artists, came by the early nineteenth century to be seen as quintessentially English. His study downplays the role of works like Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, stressing rather the way in which Hogarthian images were assimilated into political caricature, play and song and came to decorate

consumer goods ranging from fans to punch bowls. Such appropriations often inverted the original satiric meanings of such images, but they exemplified how '[t]he public domain – "public property" – . . . paradoxically stems from the proliferation of private claims upon the same artwork, from the oscillation between individual appropriation and imagining the individual appropriations of others'. His arguments accord with Styles' proposition that historians should avoid overly stark distinctions between consumers and producer, but rather consider goods as the result of a complex negotiation between the two. Using examples as various as patent medicines, silver teapots and cotton shirts, he illuminates the dynamism and fluidity of the London world of goods between 1550 and 1750. On occasions, as with cotton shirts, well-funded attempts to introduce a new commodity tailored to the English market failed completely. On the other hand, silversmiths managed to mimic the forms of Chinese ceramics, and through the silver tea-pot assimilated new forms of elite consumption to the culture of plate. London purveyors of pills, furthermore, anticipated most of the forms of branding associated with the early twentieth century.

None, though, were flamboyant as *Le Grand Thomas*, the Parisian tooth-puller discussed in Colin Jones's rich and witty 'Pulling teeth in eighteenth-century Paris', *ibid.*, 166 (2000), 100–45. Examining the successful career and the many representations of the man he mischievously terms 'the first . . . post-modern dentist', Jones not only illuminates the history of medicine and the kinds of political culture described by Darnton, but also links new attitudes to dental care (and the smile) to the dynamic, middling-sort market for body-care which grew up over the eighteenth century.

Post-1800

Following the publication of James Winter's *London's Teeming Streets*, increased attention has been paid to aural pollution in the past. John M. Picker introduces 'The soundproof study: Victorian professionals, work space, and urban noise', *Victorian Studies*, 42 (1999–2000), 427–53 with an atmospheric account of the death, probably from stress-related angina, of Dickens' illustrator and intimate, John Leech, an event which briefly distracted the indefatigable author from his preternaturally punishing compositional regime. Leech was among a growing number of mid-century home-working writers, academics and artists whose peace of mind was repeatedly shattered by the outpourings of itinerant street musicians, of whom there were conservatively estimated to be more than a thousand in the capital in the early 1860s. Like Winter, Picker describes Charles Babbage's vituperative attempts to rid the streets of attention-destroying organ-grinders and his unhinged conviction that he was 'fighting the battle of every one of my countrymen who gains his subsistence by his intellectual labour . . . [and protecting] those 4.72 persons per cent who are constantly ill'. Michael Thomas Bass of the brewing dynasty, who represented Derby from the late 1840s until the early 1880s, introduced a Bill into the Commons in 1863 and published an anthology of anti-street music diatribes, which numbered Tennyson, Millais, Wilkie Collins and E.M. Barry among its disgruntled contributors. According to Picker, this book displayed nothing less than an 'acute contempt for the less educated'. The Bill – supported by Leech's increasingly splenetic cartoons in *Punch* – passed into law and organ-grinders and others were formally banished

from the streets. However, the Act failed to bite and, with the passing of time, complaints became less frequent and intense. Gradually, 'itinerant musicians became quaint curiosities, exotic reminders of the life that had once animated [London's] streets'. In the late nineteenth century the young George Bernard Shaw lamented that there were now 'thousands of children in London today who have never heard a barrel-organ. That is a tremendous fact'. Picker concludes that unwanted urban street noise had become 'one of the facts of life . . . for writing in . . . modernity'. Just before the First World War T.S. Eliot informed a friend that he found it 'quite possible to work in this atmosphere. The noises of a city so large as London don't distract one's mind; they become attached to the city and depersonalize themselves'.

In 'Spaces of capital: bank office building in the City of London, 1830–1870', *J. Historical Geography*, 26 (2000), 351–75, Iain S. Black traces an analogous rupture in the traditional patterning of metropolitan life. Documenting a transition from face-to-face exchange to commercialized attempts to reach out to a new clientele, he chronicles the ways in which 'trust in the fidelity of the joint-stock banker [came to rely] more on the scale and richness of the bank's architecture to compensate for the loss of personal contact'. Black makes exemplary use of contemporary visual material, including depictions of Sir Charles Asgill's splendid early nineteenth-century private banking-house in Lombard Street: the Kings Cross-like National Provincial in Bishopsgate in the mid-1860s: and, most impressive of all, an interior of the same bank's sepulchrally massive booking hall. Within two generations, urban reformers would be envisaging the construction of idealized semi-rural environments consciously distanced from the hurly-burly of production and exchange. In 'Civic leadership and education for democracy: the Simons and the Wythenshaw Estate', *Contemporary British History*, 14 (2000), 3–26, Andrezej Olechnowicz presents an intellectual biography of a local and national politician who became convinced that predominantly working-class inhabitants of the recently constructed Mancunian garden city suburb would be inexorably attracted towards mass participation in fascism. The extraordinarily successful head of a second generation international engineering concern, Ernest Simon, was elected as a Liberal to the city council in 1912 but rapidly became impatient with what he perceived to be over-bureaucratized and unbusinesslike municipal procedures. Thereafter, he and his wife, Sheena – a pioneering historian of the city – directed their energies into the construction of an intimate and village-like community at Wythenshawe. The estate was bought in 1921 and purchase completed in 1926. However, from the very outset there were problems: private industry failed to invest in local enterprise and in the early 1930s, as many as 60 per cent of the inhabitants of the new suburb were still having to make the expensive daily journey back into a city that they had so recently left. In addition, by 1933 less than 1 per cent of the total housing stock was being financed out of private funds. As Olechnowicz explains, Ernest and Sheena Simon now became convinced that the absence of enlightened middle-class social leadership might plunge Wythenshawe into an abyss of uncontrollable political extremism. However, between 1934, the year in which Ernest founded the Association for Education in Citizenship and 1939, when he completed his anti-totalitarian text, *The Small Democracies*, their joint preoccupation with rural revivalism proved counter-productive. Olechnowicz suggests that the quest for an extra-urban arcadia brought them into unlikely contact with

cultural and political propagandists such as the rabidly right-wing Arthur Bryant. The author concludes that the elitist Simons were never capable of engaging with the 'actual experience' of living in Wythenshawe. In a geographically complementary contribution, 'Salford Labour: a party in waiting 1919–1932', *Manchester Region History Rev.*, 14 (2000), 47–63, John Henry focuses on the consolidation of an anti-socialist coalition. Divisions within the party itself, failure to generate sufficient support for quintessentially working-class issues such as unemployment and the relief of poverty, and intimate links with the local Catholic community which provoked a conservative Protestant backlash – each is proposed as part explanation of why it was that Salford Labour significantly under-achieved in the decade immediately preceding the full-scale collapse of the northern staple industries.

Like Olechnowicz's contribution, C. Edmund Clingan's 'More construction, more crisis: the housing problem of Weimar Germany', *J. Urban History*, 26 (2000), 630–44, documents an attempt to reshape mass perceptions of urbanism. Emphasizing the virtues of larger and airier apartments, the German government deliberately raised expectations in relation to public housing projects. By the time the economic bubble burst in 1932, those committed to paying high, decontrolled rents, found themselves either unemployed or compelled to accept wage-cuts. The logical response would have been to move back down the housing ladder but this proved difficult – large numbers of smaller and cheaper apartments were already occupied or had been destroyed as a result of slum clearance programmes. Clingan concludes that 'on the housing front, at least, the Weimar Republic's mission was accomplished. Ironically, in redeeming its pledge, [it] would make things much more difficult for many who hoped for a better life'. In 'An archaeology of dereliction: poetics and policy in the governing of depressed industrial districts in England and Wales', *J. Historical Geography*, 26 (2000), 630–44, D. Linehan traces shifting terminologies within the context of the precise converse to modernism. In the 1920s the phrase 'derelict area' commended itself to policy-makers as a shorthand designation before being replaced by 'depressed area' and, in the aftermath of the far-reaching legislation of 1934, 'special area'. Linehan suggests that the 1930s witnessed discursive confrontation between officials and those actually living in localities labelled as having been most savagely devastated by the depression. As for the usage of 'derelict region' itself, this remained current until the return of the Labour government in 1945, thereby constituting 'part of the lexicon of protest against [official] policy'.

Planners emerge quite creditably from Nick Tiratsoo's 'The reconstruction of blitzed British cities, 1945–55: myth and reality', *Contemporary British History*, 14 (2000), 27–44. Far from imposing utopian ideas on post-war Britain, they are claimed to have behaved in the style of 'mild reformers'; attempting to collaborate with the populations they were employed to serve. Tiratsoo identifies other participants who played a key role in the task of reconstruction, including central government and 'largely conservative . . . ordinary people'. In 'Mancunian perceptions of Labour in the Second World War', *Manchester Region History Rev.*, 14 (2000), 91–102, Michael Pateman guides the reader through the evacuation, the brief but horrific experience of the Blitz and premature efforts to imagine a blueprint for the future. Pateman concludes that for the great majority of inhabitants between 1940 and 1942 party politics appeared less important than the collective tasks of avoiding defeat and then moving uncertainly

towards victory. Only in 1943 would significant numbers of Mancunians begin meaningfully to engage with the issue of progressive reconstruction: two years later, no fewer than nine out of ten constituencies in the city contributed to Labour's landslide triumph. Viv Carvana and Colin Simmons' 'The promotion and development of Manchester Airport, 1929–74: the local authority initiative', *Local Historian*, 30 (2000), 165–77, raises doubts about the municipality's ability to make a rapid response to economic opportunity but then suggests that, year in, year out, desire for increased regional prestige and a determination to '[resist] the ambitions of an interventionist state', encouraged the development of increasingly adventurous policies. J.R.D. Bednarek's overview of 'City planning and municipal airports, 1927–40', *Planning Perspectives*, 15 (2000), 349–76, focuses on Philadelphia and New York and concludes that, in both cities, 'while airports played a role in [the regional planning of the period], the regional played little role in the development of airports'. In 'Keeping their eyes on the skies: jet aviation, Delta Air Lines and the growth of Atlanta', *J. Transport History*, 21 (2000), 73–91, Drew Whitelegg lists factors that may account for an inherently conservative company's expansion up to a point at which it now carries more passengers than any of its rivals. Non-union policies, combined with financial restraint and subtle strategies for the fostering of staff cohesiveness are identified as ensuring the maintenance of high levels of efficiency. Remarkably, employees were so contented with corporate policy in the early 1980s that they clubbed together and purchased a brand-new Boeing 767 to augment the Delta fleet!

During the 1930s, European towns, both large and small, were either persuaded or coerced into sustaining the mystique of all-powerful dictators. In Iurii Gerchuk's 'Festival decoration of the city: the materialization of the communist myth in the 1930s', *J. Design History*, 13 (2000), 123–36, we are provided with an eye-witness account of morale-boosting fake-festivities in Stalinist Moscow, which featured the decoration of buildings and the construction of tableaux representing 'enormous models of factories, aeroplanes and engines'. Other themes included the 'crisis of capitalism', 'giants of industry' and, tragi-comically, 'Mr Ballbearing'. Following the collapse of the USSR imageries were radically transformed. This topic is explored by Serhii Plokhy in 'The city of glory: Sevastopol in Russian historical mythology', *J. Contemporary History*, 35 (2000), 369–83. Plokhy delineates the process whereby representations have become dependent on more traditional sources rather than continuing to be dominated by the heroic events of the Second World War. He argues that Cold War symbolism failed to provide a basis for Russian chauvinism in relation to the dispute with Slavic Ukraine and also suggests that post-Soviet discourse has encouraged the expression of nostalgia for a 'lost empire' within a cultural context dominated by insecurity about the nature of Russianness. Issues of representation also lie at the heart of the astonishingly prolific John Foot's 'The urban periphery, myth and reality, Milan, 1950–1990', *City*, 4 (2000), 7–26. Interrogating social construction, location, keywords and dualisms, 'new ways of imagining' and 'solutions', Foot argues that earlier interpretations now seem 'out-of date'. Illustrations hammer home the point that it is now possible to travel from Milan to Como without ever moving out of a fully or peripherally urban landscape. Jeri Johnson's 'Literary geography: Joyce, Woolf and the city', *ibid.*, 4 (2000), 199–214, eloquently concludes that:

Both [writers] repeatedly and insistently returned to site their novels in the urban space of the Modern City. Both saw the city as significantly, profoundly, embedded within specific, material and political histories. For both the sedimented layers of history lay beneath, behind and upon the surfaces of Dublin and London.

Steven Cooke's 'Negotiating memory and identity: the Hyde Park Holocaust Memorial, London', *J. Historical Geography*, 26 (2000), 449–65, summarizes a convoluted narrative concerned with symbolic meaning, the location of an emotionally loaded monument and the roles played by the Board of Deputies and its president, Greville Janner, in the summer of 1983. The original plan was to locate the memorial close to the Cenotaph but this foundered on tensions between 'the perception of ''Christian'' forgiving as opposed to ''Jewish'' memory and revenge'. Cooke concludes that the memorial has 'blended' anonymously into its parkland location, thereby revealing more than a little about the 'ontological framework of Anglo-Jewry . . . and the Holocaust'.

    Among contributions to demographic, medical and infrastructural history in towns and cities, Peter Hennock's ambitious 'The urban sanitary movement in England and Germany, 1838–1914: a comparison', *Continuity and Change*, 15 (2000), 269–96, documents a 300 per cent lag in relation to mortality from 'dirt diseases' in Germany during the 1870s, and a continuing and substantial differential in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, it is not always clear that like is being compared with like within the gastro-entiritic category as a whole. Thus 'dysentery' in Germany is juxtaposed against the highly problematic 'diarrhoea and dysentery' in the English data and 'weakness of life' is included in the German faecal-oral group when, according to the Registrar-General's returns, this cause was by no means exclusively associated with conditions of this kind. In addition, massive discrepancies in death rates from diseases of the 'digestive system' suggest that different national diagnostic criteria were continuing to be used. Nevertheless, Hennock's subtly nuanced and periodized argument convincingly demonstrates that, in relation to diseases which thrived as a result of the dissemination of unsafe drinking water and inadequate sewage disposal systems, England was still probably twice as healthy as Germany in the period immediately before the outbreak of the First World War. In a complementary article – 'Profit is a dirty word: the development of public baths and washhouses in Britain, 1847–1915', *Social History of Medicine*, 13 (2000), 63–86 – Sally Sheard traces the historiographical and quantitative background to an underresearched topic. Case studies of Liverpool, Belfast and Glasgow prepare the way for an analysis of the urban hierarchy as a whole, with in-depth information on numbers of facilities, attendance per 100,000 population, receipts as a percentage of expenditure and relevant levels of aid out of the rates. In her conclusion Sheard notes that 'the problem of disentangling the sanitary from the recreational demands for public baths [has not been] an easy one'. In 'Jane Addams and the ward boss revisited: class, politics and public health in Chicago, 1890–1930', *Environmental History*, 5 (2000), 194–222, Harold L. Platt adopts a novel and refreshing perspective on the long-running American theme of corruption and reform. Critically re-evaluating the ideological and methodological preoccupations of the Hull-House tradition, Platt focuses on the 'political formation of urban space'. Jane Addams' detailed analyses of differential death rates from

typhoid and the diseases of childhood failed to dislodge canny manipulators of precinct power: in this respect, one of Platt's less sanguine conclusions is that the 'politicians [in question] simply moved their base of operations from the health to the building department'. Nevertheless, Addams' initiatives would in time become increasingly influential in the struggle against unequal access to environmental amenity.

Making use of the revealing life expectancy route, Muriel Neven examines 'Mortality differentials: the peculiarities of mortality in an urban industrial population: a case study of Tilheur, Belgium', *Continuity and Change*, 15 (2000), 297–330. Suggesting that occupation played a central role in explaining higher than average death rates, with miners and day-labourers suffering significantly worse levels of mortality than other groups, Neven detects disturbing levels of fatalities among infants and toddlers, adolescents and the 'aged' category. This is claimed to be related to 'the micro-economic life-cycle . . . of households'. In a succinct contribution on 'Disease environments in Victorian England and Wales', *Historical Research*, 33 (2000), 72–82, Robert Woods and Nicola Shelton express a relatively high degree of confidence in the accuracy of the annual and decennial *Reports* of the Registrar-General. They emphasize that in urban areas aggregate mortality remained at high levels as a result of 'crowding and poor air and water quality'. The authors also argue that the nineteenth-century public health movement was intensely preoccupied – over-preoccupied? – with the tasks of securing safe supplies of drinking water and non-polluting sewage disposal systems. Although impressive results were achieved in both these spheres, mortality remained high as a result of continuingly unacceptable death rates associated with viral and bacterially-transmitted droplet infections. Woods and Shelton conclude with highly pertinent comments on the intractability of tuberculosis as a theme in urban and demographic research. More specifically, they are sceptical of McKeownite interpretations which deploy 'the decline of t.b. mortality as a general indicator of rising living standards and, especially, improved nutrition'.

Further light is thrown on the cultural history of air-borne conditions in Michael Bloor's 'The South Wales Miners Federation: miners' lung and the instrumental use of expertise', *Social Studies of Science*, 30 (2000), 125–40. Juxtaposing lay against professional perceptions, the author documents processes whereby union leaders insisted that there were closer connections between coal-dust and fatal respiratory disease than medical orthodoxy had hitherto acknowledged. Representing their members at public forums and tribunals, spokesmen nobbled witnesses, manipulated scientific data and distorted findings. In the longer term, lay conceptions of the etiology of this cluster of conditions colonized the professional mainstream, with 'local' knowledge appropriating the cultural space occupied by 'those who knew better'. Little wonder that Aneurin Bevan famously declared that 'the debunking of the expert is an important stage in the history of democratic communities because democracy involves the assertion of the common cause against a special interest'. William H. Hubbard's 'The urban penalty: towns and mortality in nineteenth century Norway', *Continuity and Change*, 15 (2000), 331–50, concludes that death rates in towns were higher than those in the countryside but that an increasing rate of urbanization did not in itself lead to yet further deterioration. This argument is supported by data which demonstrate that urban centres – and particularly larger ones – experienced a more rapid decline in mortality than rural areas. Using cause of death material

from Bergen and Kristiania, Hubbard suggests that public health intervention may have played a key role in consolidating Norway's national mortality transition. Support is provided by quantitative data relating to 'epidemic', 'TB', 'air-borne' and 'water and food-borne' categories.

Although not directly concerned with reductions in mortality, Angela Gugliotta's 'Class, gender and coal smoke: gender, ideology and environmental injustice in Pittsburgh, 1868–1914', *Environmental History*, 5 (2000), 163–93, conveys much about the quality of life in a notoriously degraded urban location. Tracing genealogies of concern in relation to atmospheric pollution, Gugliotta emphasizes that conditions in Pittsburgh's factories subjected working-men to the gravest health threats of all but that the dominant bourgeois ideology demanded that communal concern be expressed in terms of damage inflicted on women and children. In 'Clearing a thousand waste-waters: water pollution Finland 1945–1970', *Scandinavian Economic History Rev.*, 48 (2000), 81–99, Pirkko Leino-Kaukiainen contends that, while the deterioration of rivers constituted a major problem in the 1960s, it was only during the following decade that urban areas began to benefit from the construction of larger numbers of modern sewage plants. Between 1970 and 1975 treatment facilities doubled, reducing both the biological oxygen demand and phosphorous levels found in samples of municipal waste-water. Nitrogen loads nevertheless remained dangerously high. On the issue of the relationship between cultural triggers and environmental action, Leino-Kaukiainen suggests that the 'pressure generated by a new nature-conscious public opinion' may have been crucial. In her synoptic 'Reconstructing race and protest: environmental justice in New York City', *Environmental History*, 5 (2000), 223–50, Dolores Greenberg confirms that, as late as the 1990s, people of colour continued to be excluded from crucial policy debates centring on the maldistribution of urban pollution. Devoting a key section of an impressive critique to Harlem, Greenberg presents a vivid account of the kinds of multiple degradation afflicting this district towards the end of the twentieth century: multifarious contaminants emanated from 'toxins from six of Manhattan's seven diesel-fuelled bus depots . . . six line high-ways on both the east and west borders [and] a transfer station for dumping garbage on to barges'. A major contribution to anthropometric history, Stephen L. Morgan's 'Richer and taller: stature and living standards in China, 1979–1995', *China Quarterly*, 44 (2000), 1–40, is incisive on the issue of the traditional urban-rural divide. Morgan argues that Chinese economic reform has benefited a majority of social, geographical and occupational groups. This is substantiated by height data which indicates that improved real wages have enhanced nutritional status, thereby ensuring a more successful realization of genetic potential. However, in Hunan, Anhui, Shaanxi and Guandong, stasis or deterioration were intermittently detectable. In terms of chronology, progress was tightly packed into the decade between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s, and conspicuously so among the seven to eleven age-group. There was also a narrowing of the embedded gap between town and country, with 'children in . . . prosperous provinces [benefiting] from improved nutrition that . . . allowed them to grow in stature more than their urban counterparts'. Children living in 'rust-belt' regions like Shaanxi experienced 'little or negative shifts in stature'. Morgan contends that, despite the existence of evidence pointing to a selective worsening in the distribution of income, the data nevertheless strongly imply 'widespread improvements over the reform period'.

A blurring of conventional chronologies, as well as a preoccupation with language and representation, continue to characterize contributions on political organization and action in urban contexts. In 'Chartists and Owenites – many parts but one body', *Labour History Rev.*, 65 (2000), 2–21, Edward Royle returns to familiar territory and argues that the line between the two 'tendencies' – this now seems to be the appropriate historiographical term – were never fixed. Claiming 'that the divisions between some Chartists and some Owenites were no greater than the divisions within Chartism, and, indeed within Owenism', Royle analyses strategy and political interaction in the period after 1848. He characterizes Owenism in terms of diversification and moderation as well as commitment to a highly flexible agenda which simultaneously criticized the values of capitalism and proposed a new kind of 'co-operative economics'. Owenism is said to have been both practical and inherently 'classless', and characterized by programmes or 'ways of seeing' which appealed to 'all classes of all nations'. Royle concludes that Chartist-Owenite ideology was more ubiquitously present during this period than the Marxist-socialist tradition has implied. In 'Crowd power: Chartism, Carlyle and the Victorian public sphere', *Representations*, 70 (2000), 87–114, John Plotz joins a growing band of social historians critical of the explicitly historical work of Jurgen Habermas. Examining the implicit meanings and intentions of the mass meeting, Plotz characterizes the rational crowd as itself constituting a new form of discursive speech act. To substantiate this novel point, he highlights the example of the petition and Bronterre O'Brien's proposal in 1837 that 'the poor of England be heard by council at the bar of the House of Commons' in order to express their detestation of the 'late tyrranical and inhuman enactment miscalled the Poor Law Amendment Act'. Turning to Carlyle's massively influential *Chartism*, Plotz suggests that this work sought to invalidate a new and radical presence in the public sphere. In 'Speech and writing in the *Northern Star*', *Labour History Rev.*, 65 (2000), 22–40, Cris Yelland focuses on the 'dynamic of orality' and anatomizes the extent to which earlier nineteenth-century newspapers were designed to be read and/or read aloud. Noting that editorials were couched in a style which lent itself to proclamation, Yelland evaluates the tone of reports of meetings and less overtly rousing articles which may have been designed to be discussed in small group forums. It is claimed that the *Northern Star* either addressed its audience in the mass, or adopted an editorial strategy which was both individualistic and 'dialogic and dramatic'. Like James Vernon, Yelland is concerned with the narrowness of the frontier between speech and writing, and the ways in which both modes were explored and exploited by the radical press.

Pamela J. Walker's '"A carnival of equality": the Salvation Army and the politics of religion in working-class communities', *J. Victorian Culture*, 5 (2000), 60–82, engages with perceived complementarities between mass conversionist and plebeian ideologies. The author claims that non-elite strata were sympathetic to struggles centring on bureaucratic efforts to ban marching, playing and singing in public as well as the Army's tacit attempt to appropriate popular commercial culture. Wim Mellaerts's 'In the shadow of justice: popular uses of the law in urban Normandy, *c.* 1880–1905', *French History*, 14 (2000), 174–200, focuses on Caen. Disputing the widely held assumption that workers felt natural antipathy towards the justice system, Mallaert detects diverse sets of attitudes *via* a neo-Marxist and anthropological analysis of legal aid and the role of the JP.

'Overall', he concludes, 'the process was one of interaction, of context and collaboration, the outcome of which could not be planned'. The prolific Laura Lee Downs' 'Municipal communism and the politics of childhood: Ivry-sur-Seine 1925–1960', *Past and Present*, 166 (2000), 203–41, opens with an impressively evocative reconstruction of a dilapidated town situated within striking distance of Paris. She then interrogates a distinctive local welfare system which developed the 'minds and bodies' of the younger generation and consolidated a left-wing politics, rooted in the problems of everyday material life. Concentrating on *colonies de vacances*, Downs divides her analysis into sections dealing with 'repairing the body, restoring the soul', 'the child-kings of Ivry', and 'a new kind of man: politics and pedagogy'. Based on a wide range of in-depth interviews, this contribution deftly identifies tensions between local cultural autonomy and centralized party control. Alun Howkins and Linda Merricks' '"Dewy-eyed veal calfs": live animal exports and middle-class opinion, 1980–1995', *Agricultural History Rev.*, 48 (2000), 85–103, engages with a quite different kind of politics. Focusing on the campaign in 1994–95 to prevent the export of live animals, the authors identify key events and interest groups and emphasize the seminal contextual importance of Ruth Harrison's *Animal Machines: The New Factory Industry* (1964) in alerting town-dwellers to the conditions under which their daily food was being produced. When the furore died down, the farming community immediately found itself confronted by an even more disturbing prospect – posited links between BSE and human CJD. No longer would it be possible for the NFU convincingly to claim that urban attitudes towards the mass production of food were either 'sentimental' or 'romantic'.

Linked contributions cast doubt on the findings of two classics in the field of urban historical investigation. In 'Rowntree revisited: poverty in Britain, 1900', *Explorations in Economic History*, 37 (2000), 174–88, Ian Gazeley and Andrew Newell engage with the contradiction of a well-documented increase in real wages in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and contemporary reports of continuingly high levels of chronic poverty in large urban centres. This seeming anomaly is presented in terms of a conflict between Hobsbawm's venerable 'immiseration' thesis and Charles Feinstein's recent identification of 'modest but positive wage growth after 1900'. In their evaluation of Rowntree's seminal survey of York, Gazeley and Newell argue that the pioneering social scientist may have made misguided assumptions about the needs of children as compared with those of adults. They claim that this persuaded Rowntree to overestimate the 'extent of primary poverty by about 50 per cent. Rather than [identifying] just 10 per cent of the population in primary poverty, [he] should have found 5 or 6 per cent'. Gazeley and Newell nevertheless conclude that it would be treacherous to extrapolate the York findings to the rest of urban Britain. In a complementary contribution Timothy J. Hatton and Roy E. Bailey suggest in 'Seebohm Rowntree and the postwar poverty survey puzzle', *Economic History Rev.*, 53 (2000), 517–43, that the third and final publication in the series committed a number of basic errors. Reworking the original data, Hatton and Bailey arrive at conclusions which suggest that nearly 12 rather than 4.6 per cent of households should have been designated as being in 'primary poverty'. They also claim that social welfare reforms between 1936 and 1950 may have been responsible for reducing the proportion of severely deprived households by approximately 10 and not 20 per cent. This leads to the conclusion that the reaction against the

posited near-universality of unprecedented affluence during the 1960s constituted a distinctly less unexpected phenomenon than is sometimes claimed. In this respect, Hatton and Bailey state that their 'results . . . fit with the increasing tendency to interpret the Beveridge Report as a set of incremental changes to social security, rather than as the birth of an entirely new system'. Useful links are made here between economic growth and the distribution of income, the roles of the central and local state in the 1940s and 1950s, the outreach and structural diversity of welfare provision, and optimistic and pessimistic readings of the material outcomes of progressivist, consensus policies between the end of the war and the mid-1950s. Different concerns inform Kiyoshi Nakagawa's 'Ambitions, "family-centredness" and expenditure patterns in a changing urban class structure: Tokyo in the early twentieth century', *Continuity and Change*, 15 (2000), 77–98. The author summarizes contemporary investigations into ghetto life and stereotypical images of urban social stratification in modern Japan and identifies three well-established groups – 'high society', the property-owning middle classes and 'lower-class society'. To these, during a period of rapid economic and social change, are added factory workers and – a weak translation, this – 'new middle-class people'.

The histories of gender, sexuality, the family and childhood continue to flourish. Philip Howell's exemplary 'A private Contagious Diseases Act: prostitution and public space in Victorian Cambridge', *J. Historical Geography*, 26 (2000), 376–402, depicts the regulatory system with which it is concerned as a '*lex loci* designed to deal with the . . . moral infection of streetwalkers in a town dominated by collegiate institutions'. Howell contends that the 'proctorial system constructed the problem that it set out to control' and, to this end, he provides detailed information on the numbers and geographical distribution of brothels and 'houses' between the 1840s and 1870s as well as the residences of arrested women in the bench-mark years of 1840 and 1880. Cartographic representation reveals a significant clustering in the Maid's Causeway area, abutting on to Midsummer Common and the still semi-rural and under-populated village of Chesterton. Howell tracks down the spatial incidence of streetwalking and soliciting offences between the 1820s and the 1890s – here the data indicate a heavy concentration in the central Trumpington Street area. Aggregate numbers of arrests during the same period point to peaks in the mid-1830s and throughout the 1840s. Many of Howell's sample migrated to Cambridge from the 'small villages and the country parishes surrounding the town'. The sources from which this information has been derived include police records, holdings relating to the activities of the Cambridge Female Refuge, archives of the proctorial syndicate and the committal books of the 'reforming' Spinning House in St Andrew's Court. This latter institution had been used by the Cambridge authorities to punish 'public women' since the late sixteenth century: 'at the very end of Victoria's reign . . . it was demolished to great satisfaction'. Charles Upchurch's 'Forgetting the unthinkable: cross-dressers and British society: the case of the Queen vs. Boutlon and others', *Gender and History*, 12 (2000), 127–57, provides a vivid contextual portrait of the half-hidden metropolitan world of 'mollies' and 'mary-annes' – men who dared to appear in public dressed partly or wholly in women's clothing. The author organizes his contribution around an extended narrative of a complex series of court hearings, involving the eminently respectable Frederick William Park and Ernest Boulton. During the trials *The*

Times advised its readers that reports of proceedings as foul as these should be locked away lest they corrupt the minds and morals of the young. No less potentially shocking was the fact that both men had been known to consort with the notorious Arthur Pelham Clinton, referred to in demi-monde circles as Lord Arthur – ex-MP, the son of the Duke of Newcastle, and organizer of risqué theatrical events which dared to feature men openly embracing men. Like many cross-dressers, Park and Boulton frequented the notorious West End red-light district bounded to the north by Regents Park and to the south by Charing Cross and the Strand. Arrested in April 1870, they were brought before a magistrate and subjected to full medical examination, the results of which allegedly confirmed that they had for a number of years regularly engaged in anal intercourse – a judgement successfully contested by defence lawyers who convinced the court that tests of this kind could only rarely be conclusive. Boulton and Park received a small fine and were placed on probation for two years, with the additional and somewhat comical condition that they must desist from cross-dressing 'for any reason'. The police had wanted to make an example of randomly selected cross-dressers in order to quell a perceived epidemic of male prostitution. But the strategy backfired, and the trial revealed to an astonished public that men like Boulton and Park frequently came from upper- or middle-class families, sustained 'normal' relationships with friends and relations, and held respectable professional positions wholly divorced from the metropolitan sex trade. Katherine Newey's 'Climbing boys and factory girls: popular melodramas of working life', *J. Victorian Culture*, 5 (2000), 28–44, is less concerned with narrative than the ways in which social stereotypes fed into popular cultural conventions and, from there, into the mainstream diet of middle-class fiction. Concentrating on a handful of works written and first performed in 1832, Newey engages with the 'circulation of common plots'. She argues that her selected melodramas 'created a vocabulary of social protest which [was] utilised by novelists in the following decades'. In the empirically-grounded 'Determinants of institutionalization of orphans in a nineteenth century Dutch town', *Continuity and Change*, 15 (2000), 139–66, Hanna Van Solinge, Evelien Walhout and Frans van Poppel focus on Delft between 1860 and 1879. The authors tracked each selected individual up to the point of marriage, death or the age of twenty-three. Institutional care appeared to constitute a popular – or necessary and/or convenient? – option, with four out of ten individuals going to such a place within six months of the death of their last biological parent. Only 27 per cent stayed in their own home and, from this and other information, the authors conclude that orphanage life may have been preferable in terms of diet, clothing and the 'physical and moral well-being of . . . children'. Education was widely available and, as a result, these young people were eagerly sought after in local labour markets. But we are not told how they may have been treated by employers.

Sian Reynolds' 'Running away to Paris: expatriate women artists in the 1900 generation, from Scotland and points south', *Women's History Rev.*, 9 (2000), 327–44, draws on the voluminous letters of the Edinburgh-born sculptor Ottilie Mclaren to evaluate the pros and cons of seeking a creative fortune in the most cosmopolitan city in the world. The choice was between opting for a formal education at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, or sitting at the feet of a major figure in the post-impressionist and modernist movements. The latter option could be as

dispiriting as the former. Thus Brancusi described his six-month period with Rodin as an interlude which finally convinced him that 'under tall trees nothing grows'. When gender entered the equation, subjugation could be more subtly inflicted – 'when a male artist marries a woman he acquires a housekeeper, a model, a brush-washer and perhaps a publicity agent. When a woman artist marries . . . she perishes as an artist'. Nevertheless, and despite many obstacles, numerous women 'pack[ed] a modest carpet-bag and catch the boat-train to Paris'. Hsu-Ming Teo's 'Women's travel, dance and British metropolitan anxieties, 1890–1939', *Gender and History,* 12 (2000), 366–400, presents an overview of the larger cultural context before engaging with 'anxieties [associated with] atavism, sexuality and anti-colonial resistance'. Teo examines dance both in terms of its central role within modernism and as a 'morally questionable activity'. Sally Alexander's 'Men's fears and women's work: responses to unemployment in London between the wars', *ibid.*, 401–25, argues that the 'nerve touched was the nerve of sexual difference'. At the end of the First World War London women were widely accused of having 'taken all the work'. As Ellen Wilkinson noted of Jarrow, which recorded a 73 per cent unemployment rate at the depth of the depression, the problem of being out of work was best defined as the 'problem of adult men'. Drawing on a number of seminal texts – Wight Bakke's study of Greenwich, the Carnegie Trust's *Unemployed Men* and H.L. Beales and R.S. Lambert's *Memoirs of the Unemployed* – Alexander evaluates contemporary claims that occupational inactivity generated mental instability and the vague condition of neurasthenia. Many contemporaries believed that the latter might prove 'contagious' and even threaten the existence of Western civilization – a motif already developed by Freud in his *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. Beginning her article with the bald statement that 'hunting has a history', Lisa M. Fine argues in 'Rights of men, rites of passage: hunting and masculinity at Reo Motors of Lansing, Michigan, 1945–1975', *J. Social History,* 33 (2000), 305–24, that the sport constituted a 'right won' rather than a cure for 'blue-collar blues'. The article concludes with the assertion that 'as surely as Reo's workers came to expect enough to support their families, to rely on the state to ensure minimum wages, hours, working conditions, and fringe benefits . . . they also expected time and space to hunt'. This is an enjoyably up-beat contribution. The issue of self-identity, within an Asian context, is also explored by Kingo Tamai in 'Images of the poor in an official survey of Osaka, 1923–1926', *Continuity and Change*, 15 (2000), 99–116. The author describes and interprets daily life in the 'Manchester of the East' and points to the roles of 'family formation and national assistance' as primary means of minimizing deprivation and enhancing feelings of self-worth. A complementary article – Eriko Yamamato's 'Cheers for Japanese athletes: the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics and the Japanese American community', *Pacific Historical Rev.*, 69 (2000), 399–430 – differentiates between those who had been born in Japan (Issei) and those raised in the United States (Nisei). Providing a full account of subtle mechanisms of exclusion – the Nationalization Act of 1906, the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907–8 and the California Alien Land Laws of 1913 and 1920 – the author describes how the Los Angeles Olympics 'encouraged [a surge] of collective ethnic sentiments that transcended divisions of age, group affiliations, or strategies for acceptance'. Lon Kurashiga's 'The problem of biculturalism: Japanese American identity and festival before World War II', *J. of American*

History, 86 (2000), 1632–54, focuses on divergent immigrant ideals and demonstrates how the Japanese American Citizen's League gained cultural hegemony in Los Angeles. Military authorities viewed the ethnic group as a whole as a 'monolithic (enemy) race' and this ensured that Japanese Americans emerged from the war 'more divided than ever'. Charlotte Brooks' 'In the twilight zone between black and white: Japanese American resettlement and community in Chicago, 1942–45', *ibid.*, 81 (2000), 1655–87, suggests that Nisei tended to subscribe to dominant theories of black inferiority in order to win white approval. In a world dominated by crude racial stereotypes, recently arrived Japanese sought to occupy the twilight zone of 'in-betweenness'.

Continuing a seemingly unending debate about the status and personal and ideological characteristics of an indisputably great historian, David Eastwood begins his 'History, politics and reputation: E.P. Thompson reconsidered', *History*, 85 (2000), 634–54, with the very nearly exorbitant praise that *The Making of the English Working Class* should be perceived as nothing less than a work of 'Mahlerian symphonic splendour'. Nevertheless, in Eastwood's view, there was another and quite different Thompson – activist, unyielding advocate of socialist humanism and conflator of localized and highly subjective conflicts with macrocosmic issues of state. *Warwick University Ltd* is cited as a key exemplar and linked to Thompson's commitment to traditional notions of dissent and Orwellian preoccupation with the 'secret state' – 'Cromwellian major-generals, the Home Office and its phalanx of spies in the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods, the new police of the nineteenth century, the Official Secrets Act of 1911, and the emergence of M15, M16, the Special Branch and the twilight world of the "intelligence services"'. Eastwood is convinced that this cluster of associations oversimplifies the nature of the British state and confuses key relationships between social and political history. In his evaluation of Thompson the activist – and particularly the stance that he adopted during the general election of 1983 – the author fails to make a clear enough distinction between the necessary exaggerations of the public platform and the measured disinterestedness of the study-bound scholar. Eastwood maintains that too little attention has been given to the fact that, when he completed *The Making of the English Working Class* at the precocious age of thirty-nine, Thompson had effectively committed himself to a large-scale volume on pre-class formations – and hence to the task of evolving into an eighteenth- rather than nineteenth-century historian. While contemporaries and admirers eagerly awaited the appearance of volumes two and three of the *magnum opus*, others felt it to be part of their professional and ideological duty to concentrate on the mid- and later nineteenth century, thereby collaboratively augmenting the most influential historical work of its generation. Finally, Eastwood argues that 'Thompson's historical and political writings . . . are of a piece [with] their thin readings of the state, their denial of the real power of formal political processes, and their sometimes bold, sometimes sentimental, celebration of dissent'. Throughout the article, there is a tendency to underplay the significance of Thompson's clash with Althusserianism and his theoretical disputes with the big guns of the *New Left Review*, and particularly Perry Anderson. Eastwood also too readily assumes that it is possible to separate the scholar from the human being and determine what kind of historian an individual might have been had he or she been less deeply involved in the messy business of political activism.

Readers of *Urban History* will be saddened to hear of the death of David Englander, whose 'Research notes: from the abyss: pauper petitions and correspondence in Victorian London', *London J.*, 25 (2000), 71–83, appears posthumously. The author of *Landlord and Tenant in Urban Britain 1838–1918* (1983), Englander, together with his wife, Rosemary O'Day, founded the Charles Booth Centre for the History of Social Investigation at the Open University. Several studies – including *Retrieved: Social Investigation in British History 1840–1915* (1995) – flowed from this project. In 1998 Englander published *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in Nineteenth Century Britain*. Interrogating the life-worlds of the socially, economically and culturally deprived, the present article contends that the 'workhouse principle' ensured that innumerable individuals were stripped of their civil rights and sense of moral worth. Touching on the work of authors as diverse as Goffman, Foucault and Crowther, Englander claims that the reconstruction of the lives and thoughts of those officially castigated as paupers may not be as elusive a task as it is usually assumed to be. Drawing on PRO MH12, the article focuses on pauper petitions in Poplar, Whitechapel, Mile End Old Town, Bethnal Green, St George in the East and Stepney. Englander comments on the frequency with which long-stay patients, whose complaints had finally been deemed worthy of investigation, subsequently retracted allegations. Nevertheless, there were significant and revealing exceptions. A mother adamantly insisted that her son had been interfered with during a medical examination. An official concluded that 'although there does not appear to be any proof that he had any immoral motive, I do not think anyone so indiscrete should remain in charge of boys'. A kind of victory had been won. Among the allegedly insane, a man suffering from epilepsy stated that he ought not to be 'put in a ward with idiots, imbeciles and lunatic persons'. Aged inmates railed against petty-fogging bureaucracy and regulation for the sake of regulation. Stylistically, there tended to be a pronounced mimicking of the 'elevated style of official communications', a point developed *via* the interpretative gloss that 'the lodging of complaints in writing [constituted] an act of cultural and political participation which implies, among other things, that plaintiffs possessed a picture of the social and political order and of their situation within it'. Those seeking to protect their basic human rights possessed a resilient image of themselves as full participants in civil society rather than as social non-beings who had been permanently 'cast out'. It is to be hoped that fellow historians will heed David Englander's Thompsonian plea that 'we now require fewer institutional histories of social policy and more studies of the place of public relief and private charity in the social economy of the poor'.