

REVIEWS

P. H. W. Booth, ed., *Accounts of the Manor and Hundred of Macclesfield, Cheshire, Michaelmas 1361–Michaelmas 1362*. Manchester: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 2003. lxiv + 96 pp. £25.00 hbk. ISBN 0902593536.

This is the second volume produced by the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire offering parallel Latin and English texts of records relating to medieval Cheshire which are to be found in the Public Record Office/the National Archives.

In some respects, the title is deceptive, since the accounts for 1361-62 represent only one part, albeit the major part, of the volume. The scholarly introduction runs to over fifty pages, almost as many as are occupied by the accounts themselves, and covers the administrative infrastructure of the Black Prince's Macclesfield lordship – essential background if the accounts are to be properly understood – and a masterly analysis of the cattle-rearing business established in the hills around Macclesfield, featuring within the accounts. Two appendices follow: one summarizing data on the cattle enterprise extracted from an almost continuous series of accounts from 1353-54 to 1375-76, the other laying to rest the mythical 'Great Rebellion of Cheshire of 1353'.

The North West has tended to be neglected in standard works on medieval farming and landscape, so the publication of manorial and hundredal accounts which shed light on the rural economy of Macclesfield in the period immediately after the Black Death is greatly welcomed. These are, in fact, the first fourteenth-century accounts of this lordship to appear in print, and while the decision to present those for only one year, Michaelmas to Michaelmas 1361-62, prevents readers from making their own comparisons and establishing their own trends down the years, the editor himself has done a fine job in interpreting the data for one particular aspect of the accounts, those relating to the cattle business. Drawing on figures from the accounts and on other

evidence such as the Black Prince's Register, and challenging the previous work of H. J. Hewitt from the outset, the editor offers a fascinating insight into this project, which started early in 1354, peaked in 1363 when there were 707 cattle in the herd, and was wound up in 1376, the year of the prince's death. This was a major commercial enterprise, intended primarily for the production of ploughbeasts for sale, and there is discussion not only of staffing and stock management, price fluctuations and mortality risks, but also of weather conditions and of the reasons why, as arable farming apparently declined in neighbouring parts of the country, the business came to an end. For those with an interest in the particular locality, there are also suggested identifications of the sites of the vaccaries in the landscape today.

All this is likely to be of more interest both to general readers and to economic historians than some of the other details in the accounts for 1361-62, relating to wage-rates, rents in cash, kind and works, judicial penalties, milling, trade, forest administration and the extent to which holdings were decayed: although all this is here, as a glimpse of conditions in the Pennine foothills in the aftermath of the Black Death. It is the absence of full accounts from one or two other years in the series which renders this data less useful than it might have been if set in a wider chronological context. There can be no doubting the scholarship which has gone into both the editing of the accounts and their interpretation, however, and everyone with an interest not only in the history of Cheshire but also in the farming activity and rural economy of fourteenth-century England as a whole will applaud this publication.

Graeme White, University of Chester

Charles F. Foster, *Capital and Innovation. How Britain Became the First Industrial Nation: A Study of the Warrington, Knutsford, Northwich and Frodsham Area, 1500-1780*. Arley: Arley Archive Series, Arley Hall Press, 2004. xviii + 373 pp. £16.95 pbk. ISBN 0951838245.

Why Britain was the first country to undergo an industrial revolution remains one of the big questions of history. When it

began, where it began and why it began are the deceptively simple questions that were to be central to the emergence of economic history as an academic discipline in this country. But even before the Great Exhibition of 1851 proclaimed Britain as the workshop of the world, writers were busy describing and explaining the economic and social changes that had occurred within living memory. The concept of the industrial revolution was minted. The opening pages of Friedrich Engels's insightful study, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), recognized the significance of the transformation. Engels acknowledged the centrality of the steam-powered cotton mill, which removed from human society one of the central occupations that had defined it from the beginning of recorded history, namely the spinning of yarn in the home. The hand-loom weaver had gone the same way as the hand spinner and others had followed. This was an analysis that also recognized the regional nature of the transformation, placing the North West at the centre of the industrial revolution. Later generations of historians offered other interpretations, introducing new, even novel, methodologies to squeeze more juice out of the thrice squeezed orange of the industrial revolution, to recall Clapham's memorable metaphor. The patient construction of quantitative macro-economic indicators of growth by historians in the second half of the twentieth century, for example, provided fresh perspectives, explanations in which the industrial revolution was less 'Lankycentric'. Other historians argued that although the changes begun in the late eighteenth century were dramatic, growth was best explained by a much longer upsurge of economic and entrepreneurial activity. For some historians, this meant seeking the origins of the revolution not in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century but in earlier centuries.

It is this latter perspective that frames Charles Foster's study. He is interested in the business culture that emerged in the early modern period in the North West, more particularly in the Bucklow Hundred and adjoining districts. The specific area is defined by the survival of a wonderfully rich range of documents. The first section of this carefully structured and clearly written book focuses on the economic implications surrounding new property rights and the shifting contours of property values

associated with them in the sixteenth century. Care is taken to identify the particular groups in rural society who benefited from these changes. Foster argues that the consequent redistribution of wealth helped to establish new patterns of consumption and investment. The 1544-46 tax assessment for the townships in the Bucklow Hundred is the empirical starting point for this part of the study. The story of what a surprisingly large number of small farmers did with these almost fortuitously acquired sums of capital underpins the next section of the study. Here, the argument advances into the seventeenth century. The dynamics of a business culture emerging out of an agricultural system that had broken the chains of subsistence farming are highlighted and analysed. A collection of wills and inventories covering many of the townships in the study area are combed for evidence relating to business activities. Although one can follow the argument and assess the evidence offered, it should be noted that the general thesis emerges out of Foster's earlier researches, especially his *Seven Households: Life in Cheshire and Lancashire 1582-1774* (2002) and *Cheshire Cheese and Farming in the North West in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (1998).

The argument that particular types of farmer – freeholders, copyholders and three-life leaseholders – appear to have been more willing to adopt an entrepreneurial outlook, participating more actively in the emerging businesses of the pre-industrial economy, is persuasively presented in the final section of the study. Of course, not all succeeded, but some were successful in establishing and extending their businesses in what was an expanding economy. A useful chapter on the Northwich salt industry provides support for the thesis. The businesses responsible for manufacturing sailcloth in Warrington are the focus of another chapter, a trade that is important in any discussion of the town's economic development at this time.

Foster takes us on a thought-provoking journey across the centuries, though for students of the early modern economy his arguments about the emergence of a business culture at the interface between land and industry, between the rural and urban world, will not come as a particular surprise. Agriculture was, after all, the leading industry of the pre-industrial economy, a source of raw materials, labour, markets, capital and entrepreneurship. The

business attitudes and methods of the farmer could and were transferred relatively easily to other sectors of the economy. Foster's identification of a group of entrepreneurially-minded businessmen sensitive towards and encouraging technological change, however, is valuable, especially in drawing us back to a consideration of the sources of industrial capital.

Although it might be suggested that the empirical building blocks of this study are small in number, Foster assembles his evidence with care and is generally sensitive to the dangers of overgeneralization. There is much here for local historians, preoccupied with their own patch, to ponder and admire. Foster takes a refreshingly long view for a local study. His analysis of the documents is considered and critical, and in contrast to many students of local history, he is able to point out some of the wider significances of his findings. Research into the tax returns, wills and inventories of a particular parish ought not to be an end in themselves; they take on greater meaning when related to larger questions. Indeed, in an ambitious final chapter, Foster recognizes that an understanding of the world's first industrial revolution requires us to study more than the British case. The study also reminds us that the long process of industrial and commercial innovation was a transformation brought about by the decisions of many individuals. We are drawn back to reconsider the particularities of different entrepreneurial and business cultures, of how and why specific individuals and groups obtained and used their capital. The groups identified by Foster were part of this process, a process in which the industrial revolution was financed not by rich landowners and merchants investing large sums of money – the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater was hardly a typical entrepreneur – but rather by many small property owners, businessmen and women investing comparatively small sums of money.

Foster is to be congratulated for helping to clarify our understanding of the development and responsiveness of that business culture in the North West at a most crucial period in its history. One would like to think that this study will encourage others to roll up their sleeves and test his arguments more rigorously in other regions, as well as in other parts of this region. Given, however, the critical decline in the study of economic

history in academic institutions in recent years, not least in the North West, one suspects that it may be some time before local and regional historians, as dedicated and determined as Foster, will provide us with comparable case studies.

Terry Wyke, Manchester Metropolitan University

S. J. Guscott, *Humphrey Chetham 1580-1653. Fortune, Politics and Mercantile Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. Manchester: Chetham Society, 2003. xii + 324 pp. £25 pbk. ISBN 1858251915.

The year 2003 was the 350th anniversary of the death of Humphrey Chetham, so it was not surprising that the Chetham Society decided to mark it by producing a new biography of the founder of Chetham's School and Library. One hundred years earlier, the Society had published *The Life* in two volumes by Canon Raines and Charles Sutton, and it was rightly thought that history had moved on since. The present work was commissioned from a young man who had just finished his PhD thesis on Chetham and it has now been handsomely produced. Stephen Guscott has done a tremendous amount of work on this topic. He has studied not only all the archives that Raines and Sutton saw but many which they did not use, and he has been able to refer to many collections that have been catalogued since 1903. In addition to all these, he has had the benefit of modern research into the business and middling communities, by such historians as R. Grassby, P. Earle and J. Barry.

Humphrey Chetham was born in 1580, a younger son in a Manchester textile family. Following custom, his family apprenticed him to a linen draper and gave him £49 capital to start in business. This was a typical 'middling' experience, but his business career happened to coincide with the early stages of a type of textile manufacture new to the area north of Manchester. Until this time, Lancashire had manufactured linens or woollens; the new textiles included a large amount of cotton. These new materials are familiar to us today as jeans, denims or corduroy, but were then all known as fustians, a name given to them in Italy, where they were first manufactured in Europe in the twelfth

century. The raw cotton all came into the port of London from the Levant and was then sent up from London and sold in Lancashire. Humphrey's brother, George, managed the London end of the business, while Humphrey himself stayed in Manchester. Humphrey bought finished fustians in Lancashire and sent many to London for sale there and for export. In the twenty years before George died in 1627, the two brothers made about £20,000.

In 1621, the brothers bought the Clayton Hall estate of at least 500 acres for £4,700. George had no children, so when he died, he left his share of the property and many of his trading assets to Humphrey, who seems to have continued trading on a reduced scale up until 1640. In the late 1620s, Humphrey also bought the Turton Tower estate near Bolton, which was of a similar size to Clayton.

Guscott describes these early years without significantly adding to the story as told by Raines and Sutton. Nor does he try to supersede *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780* by Wadsworth and Mann published in 1931, which remains the best account of the development of fustian manufacture. He includes a long section discussing Chetham's money-lending – a practice he is reluctant to approve of. However, it was almost universal among those who had cash available in the period before banks and solicitors developed as intermediaries in the eighteenth century. He reviews the social context of the various relationships Chetham had with his debtors, and describes how lending money brought him into contact with a much wider selection of his contemporaries than Chetham's business activities did. These new acquaintances included major gentry families, such as the Radcliffes of Ordsall, and also Catholic families, such as the Andertons of Lostock. He reviews the way in which these old landed families managed their estates and the various social relationships to which that gave rise.

In one of his most interesting chapters, Guscott recounts how Chetham was 'pricked' as sheriff of Lancashire in 1634 and therefore had to arrange the collection of two levies of Ship Money and also a contribution to Archbishop Laud's scheme to refurbish St Paul's Cathedral in London. He describes Chetham's social deftness in co-operating with the traditional grandees of

Lancashire county government, many of whom were Catholics, and how he was commended by the Privy Council in London, while not falling out with the godly, puritan, mercantile (and later firmly parliamentary) families among whom he had grown up, in Manchester. Guscott does not mention the story which Raines and Sutton include, of Sir David Foulis who was fined £8,000 and sent to the Fleet prison by Star Chamber for advising a friend to resist a royal commission. Such examples no doubt encouraged men with money, like Chetham, to demonstrate their loyalty to the crown in the 1630s.

This is followed by a detailed analysis of Chetham's religious beliefs, carried out by examining the positions of all his 'friends', being 'those who supported his status in the public world'. Finally, in the longest chapter in the book, the author discusses Chetham's attitudes and behaviour through all the twists and turns of political, religious and military events between 1640 and the king's death in 1649. Chetham was one of the earliest and largest contributors to the parliamentary cause in Lancashire and was treasurer of the county committee from October 1643 and again in January 1647, so his commitment to parliament cannot be doubted. Guscott's main interest, however, lies in analysing his relationships with the many different people he had contact with during this decade of turmoil, and in the development of his own attitude to the changing religious loyalties. Guscott's language is often convoluted and its meaning hard to discern, so that despite the wide spread of the discussion, we are left with little to hold on to.

When he died in 1653 Chetham left chattels worth £13,897 and his landed estate was probably worth around the same figure. He had never married, so he decided to leave about £9,000 to the school and library. Although the land which he had bought remained with his family into the nineteenth century and their archives survive, the extent and value of Humphrey's lands remain obscure.

Wealth of £26,000 was very large for a North Western businessman, although not for a London merchant. It is unlikely that, outside the Manchester area, there was anyone with comparable wealth and we do not learn in this book whether there were other Manchester families who did as well out of fustians as

the Chethams. This wealth was comparable to that of several major gentry families and exceeded some. By giving the greater part of his personal estate to the school and library and dividing his landed estate between two younger members of his family, he made it unlikely that his fortune would provide the base of a new major gentry family.

Charles Foster, Arley Hall

L. Bootham & R. H. Parker, eds, *Savage Fortune: An Aristocratic Family in the Early Seventeenth Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, for the Suffolk Records Society, 2006. lxxxvii + 248 pp. £35 hbk. ISBN 1843831996.

This volume, at heart a scholarly edition of an assemblage of contemporary documents now found in widely dispersed sources and repositories, traces the history and explores the various properties and fluctuating fortunes of the Savage family during the first half of the seventeenth century. A detailed and erudite introductory chapter places the seventeenth-century generations in context by showing how, via marriages and inheritances, lucky breaks and the failure of alternative lines, the long-established Savage family of Cheshire, by this time based at Rocksavage, came to acquire additional estates and honours, particularly Lumley House on Tower Hill in London and Melford Hall in Suffolk; a detailed inventory of the three properties, taken in 1635/6 after the death of Thomas, Viscount Savage, forms the centre-piece of this volume. The introductory chapter also reveals that, prominent Catholic recusants though they were, the Savages flourished in the opening decades of the seventeenth century. Thus Thomas Savage, who succeeded his father Sir John in 1615 and inherited not only his estates but also his recently-acquired baronetcy, became a successful courtier and administrator of lands and revenues under both James I and even more so Charles I, who ennobled him in 1626. The new Viscount Savage served as chancellor to Queen Henrietta Maria and as an executor of the Duke of Buckingham's will and he helped to tidy up the late duke's affairs. In 1630 he bought Halton Park, adjacent to his

existing Cheshire seat, and acquired the manor and lordship of Runcorn. But by the early 1630s he was becoming plagued by ill-health and financial problems and, on his death in 1635, he left no will but substantial debts.

The editors go on to record the dramatic and swift reversal of the family's fortunes thereafter. His widow, created Countess Rivers in 1641, lived on in Melford Hall for a time, but was caught up in anti-Catholic and pro-parliamentarian rioting there at the outbreak of the civil war, spent part of the 1640s abroad and after her return was in 1650 arrested and imprisoned for debt; she died the following year. Meanwhile Thomas's son John, the new Viscount Savage, created Earl Rivers in 1641, had also suffered at the hands of the parliamentarians who controlled most of Cheshire, for his seat at Rocksavage was looted and rendered uninhabitable during the civil war, his estates were sequestered and he was heavily fined at the end of the fighting and, although he then returned to Cheshire, he was forced to live in greatly reduced circumstances in Frodsham and may himself have spent part of his final years imprisoned for debt, before his death in 1654. How the once mighty had fallen, though like other great landed families who crashed during and after the civil war, the seeds of their fall were apparent well before the war began, seen in their allegiance to an outlawed faith and in their growing financial problems and indebtedness. The fluctuating fortunes of the Savages are clearly reconstructed and recounted by the editors in the full and erudite introduction, the detailed footnotes to which are testament to the meticulous research upon which the whole volume rests.

The bulk of the volume is then given over to annotated transcripts of eighty-three documents, covering the period 1602 to 1647, and illustrating a wide range of subjects related to the Savage family, their affairs and their properties. Thus we have assorted pre-nuptial and marriage settlements, wills and inventories, documents relating to business or property agreements, legal proceedings and settlements, together with an array of letters and papers which illustrate first the rise of the family, with its burgeoning business interests and powerful connections, and then its rather sudden fall – the selection ends with a handful of letters and petitions by or on behalf of the

family regarding the sale of some of their remaining possessions in the late 1640s. Understandably, given its publication by the Suffolk Records Society, many of the documents relate to the Savages' Suffolk associations, especially their seat of Melford Hall. However, there is also much here on their Cheshire connections – their roles as alderman of Chester, ranger of Delamere Forest and deputy lieutenant of Cheshire and their properties at Macclesfield, Frodsham, Halton, Runcorn and Rocksavage itself, the new house built by the family in the mid-sixteenth century, wrecked during the civil war of the mid-seventeenth century, restored by the family after 1660 only to be finally abandoned and quickly to fall ruinous in the eighteenth century. As well as inventories of Rocksavage taken in 1615 and 1635/6, documents reproduced here throw light upon the furnishing of Rocksavage in 1607 and 1615 and the disposal of this and the lesser Cheshire holdings after the death of Thomas, Viscount Savage, as well as the allocation of Cheshire properties to younger sons. Further Cheshire documents show Thomas suggesting to the Cheshire JPs in 1623 that a more equitable poor rate be levied on the wealthy, working to ensure the smooth payment in Chester and Cheshire of the forced loan of 1627, seeking favour for some Cheshire merchants, petitioning the king in 1630 for the lease of herbage and pannage rights in Delamere Forest and making arrangements with the bishop of Chester in 1627 to pay for a new window in the cathedral portraying the birth of Christ, assuring the bishop not only of his own friendship but also that he had spoken highly of him to the king and in 1628 discussing with Bishop Bridgeman the latter's (apparently abortive) plans to acquire land at Delamere Forest to establish a new seat there.

This very impressive and informative volume is rounded off with a detailed glossary of seventeenth-century terms, further discussion of the 1635/6 inventory as it relates to Melford Hall, biographical notes on the individuals mentioned in the documents, a bibliography of primary and secondary sources and indexes of persons, places and subjects. The text is also supported by family trees and a selection of colour and black and white plates. The editing, annotation and general presentation of the volume are all of the highest order, maintaining the standards of this well-established series, and although the documents

reproduced here lack the coherence which might be found in, say, a surviving set of detailed family or estate records, the editors have discovered and pulled together from now scattered repositories an interesting and varied range of material which successfully and thoughtfully illustrates the scattered holdings, disparate interests and changing fortunes of the Savage family over a turbulent half-century.

Peter Gaunt, University of Chester

Jonathan D. Oates, *The Jacobite Invasion of 1745 in North West England*. Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, 2006. 137 pp. £12.95 pbk. ISBN 186220179X.

At the outset, the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 seemed an improbable undertaking to the government in London. On raising the Jacobite standard at Glenfinnan on 19 August 1745, Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie) and his Highland supporters (then some 1,200 men) were considered neither a credible force nor, more significantly, possessing the potential to become one. A show of arms and the efforts of the Whig clans, it was believed, would be sufficient to suppress this final act in what was dismissed as a Scottish civil war. Manifest demonstration of Charles's charismatic personality throughout the summer of 1745 and the Jacobites' swift and sure-footed advance from the Highlands to capture Edinburgh in late September, having first out-foxed the government force led by Sir John Cope at the Corrieyairack Pass between Fort Augustus and Dalwhinnie and then defeating the same at Prestonpans, doubtless increased ministers' anxieties; but it was not until the growing Jacobite army crossed the River Sark and passed Gretna into England on 9 November and continued its march south that the government appreciated the need for a robust and organised response. Jonathan Oates's book is an admirable local study of this phase of the '45 rebellion, assessing the Jacobite progress through the North West of England from 9 November to reach Derby in early December and also, following the decision taken by the Jacobite

war council at Derby on 5 December to return to Scotland, their retreat through the same territory.

The book comprises all the appropriate qualities of a local history. It is solidly based on research into the archival collections held by the various local record offices and also the provincial private collections; while it is sharply illustrated by relevant photographs of the region's landscape and towns, local Jacobite memorabilia and tourist memorials, along with effective line-drawn maps. Only the stills of several primary documents seem an odd choice, given that their text or features are often indistinct. Significantly, while embracing such positive qualities of a local study, Oates's book eschews the corollary of narrow provincialism. This work is not a mere record of the military events of the rebellion in the North West; instead, it aims to locate the military history within the region's political, socio-economic and cultural milieu and thus explain the nature and character of the support shown both to the Jacobites and the national authorities, while also highlighting the diffidence of many towards either side.

This approach distinguishes Oates's work from books such as F. J. McLynn's *The Jacobite Army in England* (1983) and Evelyn Lord's *The Stuarts' Secret Army* (2004); however, Oates's insights and conclusions, while more variegated and detailed for the localities, ultimately hardly differ. The Jacobites had anticipated drawing considerable support from the North West, partly due to the comparatively high incidence of Catholicism within the region, the legacy of the Fifteen and reputed expressions of support. Nonetheless, on the march south such expectations were not fulfilled and, although there was little active opposition, few declared themselves for the cause and only the Manchester Regiment was recruited from scratch. On the retreat, loyalism was rather stronger, especially (albeit predictably) on the appearance of the Duke of Cumberland's pursuing force, but the crown might have hoped for the inhabitants of towns such as Preston, Lancaster, Kendal and Penrith to have inflicted more damage upon the Jacobites. Oates rejects a comprehensive explanation and argues instead that the patterns of support for either side sprang from various sources. The weakness of local militia forces and instinct for self-preservation greatly contributed

to the desultory opposition to the Jacobites in November; moreover, the Jacobites fostered local passivity by acting with restraint. However, such discipline increasingly broke down on the retreat, thereby encouraging loyalism in the form of property protection, while the knowledge that the government forces were en route emboldened those loyalists – always more numerous than the Jacobites, according to Oates – who, previously lacking support and supplies, had been reticent. Equally, many genuine Jacobites within the region remained unforthcoming through both November and December due to the memory of the failed Fifteen, the current lack of external support and insufficient military training. This analysis is persuasive and effectively presented, but arguably it is not principally derived from the non-military milieus Oates set out to examine. As both Paul Monod and Daniel Szechi have shown, such an emphasis needs to be underpinned by sustained assessment of the socio-cultural and intellectual mentalities of Jacobitism, which are largely absent in this work.

Jacobite scholarship has a long-standing reputation for contention and Oates commits himself at the outset to use language which avoids bias. This might be considered admirable, but the specific example given – George II's armies are to be labelled 'the regular troops' rather than the British army – is faintly ridiculous. Quite what bias is vouchsafed by referring thus to a constitutionally-established army of the British state comprised of, and commanded by, men from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland remains unclear. Moreover, Oates's claim, when explaining Jacobitism's historical context, that during the Revolution of 1688 the armies of William, Prince of Orange 'expelled' James VII and II from the country, surely breaches his ordinance on prejudicial language. James fled his kingdoms of his own accord, with the contribution of William's armies being explicitly non-physical inasmuch as William's men were likely ordered not to restrain James if he sought to escape from the 'open' prison at Rochester where he had been taken after his first failed attempt to flee. A residual sympathy towards the Jacobites is thus conveyed by the book, which does not condemn it, but it does arguably infect Oates's otherwise sure judgement of certain military realities. In particular, the decision taken at Derby to retreat cannot still be

held to be 'debatable'. A French invasion was not imminent and nor was mass support for the Jacobites about to reveal itself in and around London. Lord George Murray and others of the narrow majority at the Derby war council understood these circumstances, which left only the military judgement as to whether the 5,000-strong Jacobite force should fight through to London. The convergence upon Derby from the north and south of three separate columns of the British army amounting to more than double the strength of the Jacobites dictated the obvious answer.

Overall, notwithstanding the taint of Jacobitism and the absence of unique insights, Oates's approach to the analysis of local history, along with the book's embrace of the positive features of this historical genre, will mark it out as a work of considerable value to students and scholars alike.

K. A. J. McLay, University of Chester

Anthony Daly, *Ormskirk Clockmakers and Watchmakers*. Ashbourne: Mayfield Books, 2006. 142 pp. £19.00 hbk. ISBN 0 954052595.

Books on regional horology have enjoyed considerable success over the last twenty years, but rarely has a single town been so treated. Ormskirk has a special place in the history of Lancashire clock and watchmaking, so it is good to see a book in print that deals with the subject. The book's introduction defines Ormskirk with the aid of a regional map and several images. The regional map is used to indicate where characters mentioned in the text were located. The author discusses the Aspinwall family of watchmakers from Scarisbrick, three miles from Ormskirk, who moved to Toxteth Park, Liverpool in the 1590s and whose member, Thomas (d. 1624), is Liverpool's earliest recorded watchmaker.

The seven-page chapter on Ormskirk clock cases illustrates details of three from the 1800s, which is unfortunate because the casemakers were using wide proportions by this time. The elegant eighteenth-century cases are not illustrated in this

section of the book. Seven clock casemakers are identified and biographical details of these are given.

The third chapter deals with the Ormskirk verge watch. The author discusses the use of the Debaufre escapement and offers a number of suggestions as to the reason it was adopted, some being highly speculative. The simpler *fusee*-less, going arbor, form of the Ormskirk verge is discussed, and it is postulated that this form of the watch would have been cheaper to produce. The suggestion that these simpler movements could have been sourced from Switzerland is interesting and must be left for others to investigate further, there being distinct differences between the English methods and those used by the Swiss to manufacture wheels and pinions. Eleven makers of 'Ormskirk Verge' watches are listed, along with six from other local towns. The author says *fusee* chains were not made locally and in this he is mistaken.

The next and most useful chapter covers the clockmakers and watchmakers and about 116 makers are discussed. These include Henry Webster, John Taylor and James Barton. However, during the nineteenth century, movements were purchased ready-made from the clockmaking area between Ashbourne (Derbyshire) and Newcastle under Lyne (Staffordshire) and this is not discussed when dealing with cabinet-makers such as Richard Martlew. Nor is the country-wide supply of painted dials by specialist manufacturers in Birmingham, Halifax, Manchester, Newcastle on Tyne and Liverpool brought to our attention. These dial-makers usually 'signed' their dials and/or false plates and this greatly aids the dating of painted dial clocks. Nine pages are devoted to Thomas Barry and his work. Of all the Ormskirk makers, his clocks are the best executed. His spring-driven astronomical perpetual calendar clock of 1787 is shown in some detail and part of the broadsheet offering the clock for raffle is reproduced. Unfortunately, no details of the mechanism are discussed. The chapter does, however, illustrate some quite elegant clock cases from the eighteenth century.

The fifth section has 'notes of interest', being mainly horologically-relevant quotations from church records, wills and Nicholas Blundell's diurnal. The last and weakest section of the book discusses the prices a purchaser can expect to pay for Ormskirk signed clocks, watches and coin balances – details that

are out of date before they have been printed. There follows a bibliography and an index. Some errors are apparent in the acknowledgements section.

The single biggest omission from this book is a chapter discussing the different mechanical arrangements used by Ormskirk makers for their striking and moon phase work. This would have made the book far more relevant to the specialist, whereas its current readership is likely to be the non-specialist who owns an Ormskirk signed clock.

John Griffiths, Prescott Museum

P. Hyland, *The Herculaneum Pottery*. Liverpool University Press, 2005. 336 pp. £60 hbk, £18 pbk. ISBN 085323969X hbk, 0853239797 pbk.

This study of Herculaneum pottery is subtitled 'Liverpool's Forgotten Glory' and it is unfortunately true that the average Liverpool citizen of today will never have heard of this factory or the proceeding potteries that once operated in the town. The ceramic world, however, has been aware of the Herculaneum story since Alan Smith's pioneering study of the factory, published in 1970. This new book by Peter Hyland builds on that earlier one but also contains much new information and new discoveries. This is particularly true with respect to Herculaneum porcelain, where for the first time a clear and definitive account of this aspect of the factory's output is given.

The author is at great pains to place the Herculaneum pottery in its economic, geographical and cultural contexts and to bring life to the people who established, managed and worked at the factory. This makes the book of great interest to both local and ceramic historians, as well as being required reading for collectors of pottery and porcelain of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The ceramic background of Liverpool and its inter-relationship with Staffordshire are clearly established. The founding of the extensive factory on the Toxteth site and the acquisition of the raw materials required for production are

succinctly described. The development of the firm from a small partnership to a company with twenty-eight shareholders is followed, as is its subsequent growth and prosperity until the crisis of 1821 and the subsequent decline, punctuated by a brief revival, until the closure in 1840.

There is an evocative chapter on the workforce that gives interesting information on the life at Herculaneum with its Benefit Society and its chapel and Sunday school within the factory premises.

The collector is not neglected, however, and the author presents an authoritative overview of the earthenware, stoneware and porcelain produced at Herculaneum. The characteristic shapes and decorations of the various wares are illustrated in colour and pointers for the identification and dating of products of Herculaneum ware are examined. There is a good appendix, listing and discussing the various marks that were used, and another dealing with problem pieces, such as the wares decorated with a blueprinted Greek pattern and the jugs marked 'CM Liverpool'. Other useful appendices cover and give an account of a contemporary visit to the factory, a list of workmen and documentary prices and receipts.

This well written book provides the reader with a comprehensive and fully up-to-date account of the Herculaneum pottery by an author who has researched this subject for thirty-five years. He clearly demonstrates that this factory has a worthy place alongside the major Staffordshire factories of the time, due to the quality, variety and extent of its output. This volume's position as the definitive work on the subject is assured. The soft cover version is available at an extremely competitive price and looks set to become the ceramic book bargain of the year.

Maurice Hillis, The Northern Ceramic Society
(This review first appeared in The Northern Ceramic Society,
newsletter 141, March 2006, and is reprinted here with
the kind consent and permission of Mr Hillis.)

Margaret Burscough, *The Horrockses: Cotton Kings of Preston*. Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2004. 288 pp. £16.50 pbk. ISBN 1859361048.

The self-made businessman was a stock and contentious character in the drama of the industrial revolution long before academic historians began to ponder why England became the first industrial nation. Commentators such as Craik and Smiles held up the Arkwrights and Wedgwoods of the new industrial society as role models, individuals whose values and achievements were to be respected; writers such as Elizabeth Gaskell and Charles Dickens took a hammer to the pedestal on which such businessmen had been placed, finding in the Carsons and Gradgrinds of the industrial north more to despise than admire. In any discussion of such self-made men, the name of John Horrocks ought to be a prominent one. His *Curriculum Vitae* sparkles. Horrocks's involvement in cotton spinning started modestly with a few frames set up in his father's stone-cutting works in Edgworth, outside Bolton, in the 1780s. A quick learner, technically proficient and alert to the possibilities that the new industry offered, he moved to Preston in the early 1790s where he quickly established himself as the town's leading manufacturer. This giddy period in the development of the factory system saw him build and operate a number of large spinning mills. In addition, there was a network of textile outworkers, weaving the yarn that did not find its way to the export market. If any single individual was responsible for changing the economic trajectory of Preston it was Horrocks. His success in business was matched by an equally spectacular rise in Preston society and politics. This culminated in his election as one of the town's two MPs in 1802. In the following year, he was presented to the king, his journey from clogs to court dress made in a single lifetime. Whether Horrocks would have gone on to make a parliamentary career or an even more successful businessman became a matter of historical speculation following his unexpected death at his London house in 1804 aged thirty-five.

It is John Horrocks who is at the heart of Margaret Burscough's study, which sets out to trace the lives of the immediate Horrocks family in the nineteenth century. It is a

worthwhile task, the various mini-biographies offering insights into various corners of nineteenth-century society. Chapters are devoted to John's significant siblings, his elder brother Samuel and younger sister, Ann-Eliza. Samuel, who was born in 1766 (1768 is given on the contents page), lacked the dynamism of his brother, but was a competent enough businessman to extend the company's activities and its reputation, although in this he was assisted by Thomas Miller and other managers. One of John Horrocks's particular talents was spotting potential partners and appointing strong managers. Unlike his brother, Samuel lived closer to the centre of Preston, building Lark Hill, a substantial house in large grounds, a building that survives today as a sixth-form college. He also succeeded John as MP for Preston, but in a parliamentary career that lasted for more than twenty years he appears to have been a cipher, taking little part in parliamentary business, even on matters that directly concerned the cotton industry. Seventeen-year-old Ann-Eliza was left £5,000 by John in his will. Her marriage to a London barrister produced a large family, two of the daughters marrying sons of Thomas Miller, who was to become the dominant figure in the history of the firm as control passed out of the hands of the Horrockses.

The wealth created by the business meant that later generations of the family lived in some comfort, receiving an appropriate education, polishing their vowels and manners, and moving easily in county society. They included Samuel's son, also called Samuel, who might have been expected to have taken a greater part in the business. His interests lay elsewhere, however, including fathering a child, the mother being a local weaver. Of John's own sons, the eldest, Peter, who was only thirteen-years-old at the time of his father's death, also enjoyed the life of a gentleman, financed by the capital that he had been left in the firm. Interestingly, we are told that his father did not choose him as his heir, though the precise reasons behind this unusual decision are not entirely clear. Peter eventually married and produced a large family, and as money became short, some time was spent on the continent, including periods at the imperial court in Vienna. Of his children, one of the most interesting was John, who, financed by his father, emigrated to Australia, where he purchased land north of Adelaide, land which in true emigrant

fashion soon carried the Lancashire names of Stanley and Penwortham. John Horrocks junior, his father's choice to carry on the business, did not fulfil his deceased father's expectations. He lacked the interest and determination to carry on the family business. His life was not uneventful, but to the outsider it was marked by good living, travelling and enjoyment.

Once the family had lost control of the business, they were never to regain it, though, somewhat unusually, the name endured – indeed, becoming a byword for quality cotton goods, well into the second half of the twentieth century. One feels that this would have all been different had John not died so young. One might also have expected that he would have featured far more prominently in the early histories of the industry, not least in the account produced by the Preston-born Edward Baines.

The book is clearly written and will certainly find a wide readership in Preston, where Horrocks, if not quite the household name it once was, is still to be found on market stalls, heritage trails and the like. For an academic readership, the study is rather lightly footnoted, and one might have wished for more formal references to the family correspondence that supports a number of the cameos. In addition, whilst the majority of the illustrations support the family history, a number might have been sacrificed to provide the space for a good index. Even so, although this is not a study directly shaped by the agenda of the modern social and economic historian, as Margaret Burscough shuttles between the history of family members and the business, she offers further evidence on important issues, including the sources and character of industrial entrepreneurship, the decline of the commercial spirit and the diaspora of industrial fortunes.

Terry Wyke, Manchester Metropolitan University

K. Parrott, *Pictorial Liverpool: The Art of W. G. and William Herdman*. Liverpool: Bluecoat Press, 2005. 143 pp. £12.99 pbk. ISBN 1904438326.

The buildings we take for granted in Liverpool today date mainly from the Victorian period and later. This book shows how

Liverpool looked before this explosion of building, in other words in the late eighteenth and early and mid-nineteenth centuries. The medium is the versatile water-colour.

The publication of the book celebrates the bi-centenary of the birth of W. G. Herdman, Liverpool's main water-colourist, in 1805. Known mostly within Liverpool circles and probably not outside, W. G. (William Gawin) had the temerity to state, 'I have done more for art in England than any man living'. William Herdman was his son and the Herdmans can claim to be almost an art dynasty. Of the sixteen children of W. G., at least four worked as artists in their own right, although only William Herdman matched the skill of his father's work (or surpassed it in certain instances).

The question which any painting poses, as opposed to a photograph, is how authentic is it? How much artistic license is present in the representation of the scene the artist portrays? Some of the views contained in this volume present obvious difficulties, as for instance the view of Everton dated 1774 (p. 24), which depicts Everton thirty-one years before the artist was even born. Likewise, the son of W. G. Herdman, James Innes, portrays the old dock at Liverpool c.1809, well before he was born and when in fact his father was just four years of age! The author states that W. G. Herdman copied views of old Liverpool which had been commissioned by the antiquary, Matthew Gregson, in the late eighteenth century and perhaps thus he added his own embellishments.

An interesting opportunity to compare the styles of father and son is offered on pp. 34-5. Both executed paintings of Mann Island and only one of these is dated, to 1860. The scenes are taken from an almost identical viewpoint but are not the same. Do these images give the flavour of the times or can they be said to give actual definitions of it? Very few of the scenes, of course, survive today. One of the few views that can be recognized within today's modern environment is that of Chapel Street, depicted in 1861 (p. 46).

The main value of the images in this book is to show the transformation of Liverpool from its eighteenth-century past to the metropolis we know today. Again and again, we can see images that are totally unrecognizable in the modern city, such as

the view of Dale Street in 1859 and a later view of Dale Street in 1864 (pp. 58-59). The two following pages show the Municipal Buildings in course of erection. On p. 69 the location is shown of a large lime works in Hatton Garden on what would once have been open fields. By 1859, this was in the hands of administrators and the site was taken over eventually by tramway offices. Lime Street, of course, takes its name from the works.

Some streets were not only transformed but also changed name, signalling a complete severance from the past. Shaw's Brow (p. 89) is shown complete with surviving windmill. By 1868, the new museum and library had been built and the name of the highway changed to William Brown Street in honour of the benefactor who funded the project.

The North Shore of Liverpool is depicted before the dock system took hold and again active windmills are shown (pp. 108-10). In fact, looking at the aerial views of Liverpool at this time (c.1859) there are probably more windmills than industrial chimneys. How things were to change within twenty years!

The reproduction of the prints is superb and the book is a real pleasure to view and read. It should be noted that the book also covers images of the Wirral (pp. 127-41). Kay Parrott is to be congratulated on the meticulous nature of her research in hunting out images of the artist and his patrons, and also in chronicling W. G. Herdman's disputes with the art establishment. The captions are all very informative and, like any good librarian, Parrott has included a contents list, an index and bibliography. Too many of the other Bluecoat Press publications lack all three. If W. G. Herdman and his sons have lain in obscurity for two hundred years, this stimulating and well produced book should resurrect their deserved fame to a much wider audience than ever before.

Roger Hull, Liverpool Record Office

Peter Doyle, *Mitres and Missions in Lancashire: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Liverpool 1850-2000*. Liverpool: Bluecoat Press, 2005. 407 pp. £25.00 hbk. ISBN 1904438334.

One of the most striking developments in historical studies in recent years has been the accelerating interest in family history. Individuals and families have eagerly sought to explain and understand themselves by discovering where and how their families lived in the past. A parallel development has been an increasing concern with the history of communities – geographical, ethnic and religious – and how these communities related to each other and to the wider society. The Catholic community in England, and in particular in the North West of England, has long been involved in what German historians have called ‘the struggle with the past’. Peter Doyle’s *Mitres and Missions: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Liverpool 1850-2000* can perhaps be seen as both community and family history, as part of this ‘struggle’ of the Catholic community with its past. Doyle, of De Montford University, a son of Liverpool and of the Catholic community of North West England, demonstrates great sensitivity to, and awareness of, the strengths and weaknesses of that community. Drawing on the extensive archives of the diocese and on the burgeoning secondary literature on the history of the Catholic community, he seeks to ‘celebrate what should be acclaimed’ but is equally aware of ‘wrong turnings’ and ‘missed opportunities’.

Liverpool was the most populous of the new Catholic dioceses, which were set up in 1850 at the time of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales; its history can be seen as exemplifying the development of the Catholic church and community in England between 1850 and 2000. One of the major problems immediately facing the new diocese was the need to fuse into a coherent whole two widely different Catholic communities and traditions: the Catholicism of the migrant Irish and that of the ‘English Catholics’ with their history as recusants and their own subculture. The fault-line between these two communities in England was evident well into the twentieth century and is vividly illustrated in Evelyn Waugh’s *Sword of Honour*, where Waugh’s would-be alter ego, Guy Crouchback, scion of a recusant family

which could boast its own Catholic martyr, the Blessed Gervase Crouchback, dismisses, with barely disguised contempt, the offer of a glass of whisky after mass from the Irish priest Father Whelan. A further challenge to the early leaders of the diocese was the geographical one, the need to forge a unity which gave due weight to Preston, Wigan, the rural Fylde and north Lancashire, as well as to Liverpool. This problem would continue to challenge the best efforts of the Catholic bishops of Liverpool and their advisers up until, and beyond, the amputation of Lancashire beyond the Ribble from the diocese and its incorporation into the new diocese of Lancaster in 1925. Doyle concludes that this was a unity rarely achieved.

Doyle adopts a largely thematic approach, supplemented by broadly chronological treatment of the successive bishops and their episcopates, to trace the history of the diocese from its early days, when it seemed almost overwhelmed by the shock of the massive Irish immigration of the late 1840s, through the years of 'slow, grudging social acceptance' of the Catholic community against a background of bitter Orange and Green sectarian rivalry, which all too often led to street violence, especially in Liverpool, perpetrated by both sides. But these were years also of remarkable growth in numbers, churches, schools and welfare agencies and of developing self-confidence, even 'triumphalism'. A strongly clerical church emerged, one dominated by priests with little voice for lay people, a largely silent majority, at least until the reforms of Vatican Two in the 1960s, and some would argue beyond Vatican Two. From the 1960s, after Vatican Two, the people and priests of the Liverpool diocese faced the same issues as those confronting the Catholic community in England as a whole: rapid and often disturbing liturgical changes; a steep decline in religious practice along with other Christian communities; a crisis in the supply of priests and the collapse of vocations to the religious life of convent or monastery; the call for a new approach to authority at parish and diocesan level; and the challenge of ecumenism. The Catholic community had now to contend with and come to terms with a post-modern and post-Christian society. Doyle provides a sensitive, even-handed, analysis of these issues.

One of the most contentious issues with separated the Catholic community from the wider community in England

throughout much of this one hundred and fifty year period was that of education. The role of the Catholic school was seen by Catholics as crucial in their struggle to maintain the coherence of the community and to prevent 'leakage' or the 'lapsing' by the young from the practice of their religion. In the demand for 'justice' for Catholic schools over a period of at least a century, the diocese of Liverpool was in the van. The determination to maintain Catholic schools became crippling financially and distorted other pastoral efforts. It was believed, however, that the Catholic school would counter the widespread indifference and materialism so evident among nominal Catholics, as was reported by Catholic missionaries in St Helens in 1879, who were shocked by drunkenness and the neglect of parental duties, and where only 3,000 out of 17,000 Catholics in the town could be described as practising. Education, as Alexander Goss, Liverpool's second bishop, pointed out, could be a two-edged sword; he thought the education of the poor was not always beneficial and it often seemed to make them 'both saucy and indifferent'. Archbishop Richard Downey seemed to harbour similar suspicions about the consequences of secondary education for all as a result of the 1944 Education Act. Even as late as the 1950s, education was the single issue most likely to unite Catholics and keep alive the feeling that they were being treated as second class citizens. Up until then, the clergy continued to issue dire warnings from the pulpit about the dangers of Catholic children attending non-Catholic schools. Ironically, in the present increasingly secular age, when church attendances continue to decline, there is often intense competition for places in some of the diocese's schools, or at least in those perceived to be the most academically successful.

The other issue which divided Catholics from the wider community was that of mixed marriages. Perhaps no other single issue aroused so much bitterness, not only with their non-Catholic neighbours but also within the Catholic community itself, for despite the official tirades of the church against mixed marriages, delivered at least annually from the pulpits of the diocese, and the humiliating conditions imposed on those involved in such marriages, at times almost a third of all Catholic marriages were mixed marriages. The mixed marriage issue and the implementation of the Papal decree 'Ne Temere', which

attempted to regulate all Catholic marriages, led in the early 1930s to a highly publicised public quarrel between Archbishop Richard Downey and the Anglican bishop of Liverpool, Albert David, from which Downey emerged with less honour than David.

Doyle's own early research was a study of the episcopate of Alexander Goss, the second bishop of Liverpool, 1856-72, and here his treatment of Goss's relations with Rome is particularly enlightening. Goss felt that the 'dealings of Rome, at any time, with the Bishops have been of the ferula and bonbons type, they are not treated as grown-up men but as difficult children'. He had a low opinion of the ability of Roman curial officials. He was outspoken and honest and hated the intrigue of the curia. He wished to be left alone to get on with his main task, 'the advancement of religion' in his diocese. Interference by others only led to delays and often to decisions which took no account of local circumstances. By the time the Vatican council of 1870 was due to meet, Goss was in poor health and only got as far as Cannes on the journey to Rome. Doyle suggests that if had reached Rome, he would have been 'another voice arguing against any definition of papal infallibility'. Goss believed that a bishop should not make judgements on the basis of his own theological opinions, but he should act as a witness of the traditions and teaching of the church. Goss, Doyle insists, was not anti-papal: he accepted that the Pope was the supreme visible head of the church in matters of faith and morals. However, he continued to resist Roman interference in his diocese. In 1870, he refused to give any support to a pro-papal petition in England, being intensely annoyed that the petition argued that all Catholics, regardless of nationality, were citizens of Rome. He stressed that English Catholics were citizens only of England. Extreme pro-papal arguments would only resurrect, he argued, the old accusations made against Catholics of divided loyalties and strengthen the populist prejudice that Catholicism was foreign and un-English. Goss, a proud son of Lancashire, insisted, 'We are not Italians, but Englishmen'.

Mitres and Missions should become the standard work on the history of the diocese of Liverpool and will fill a yawning gap; the only other work which could remotely be regarded as a history of the diocese is Thomas Burke's *Catholic History of Liverpool*, which

was written almost a century ago (1910) and confines itself exclusively to the town of Liverpool. Doyle's book redresses this imbalance and, whilst recognising the inevitable attraction of Liverpool for writers and readers, does give due weight to the diocese beyond the city of Liverpool. *Mitres and Missions* is based on careful, thorough and rigorous scholarship and is carefully referenced, which should enhance its appeal to scholarly readers. It is, however, written in an eminently accessible style which should make it attractive also to a more general readership. I strongly recommend it to such readers, whether they are members of the Catholic community, eager to know more about the origins and growth of their own community, or whether they are members of other communities, seeking to understand a community, once regarded as alien, but which sees itself as part of the warp and woof of Lancashire.

John Davies, Liverpool Hope University

Thomas, Lord Stanley of Alderley, *The Stanleys of Alderley, 1927–2001: A Politically Incorrect Story*. Altrincham: AMCD Ltd., 2004. 192 pp. £19.95 pbk. ISBN 1897762356.

The Stanleys of Alderley are known to Cheshire historians from four volumes of correspondence between the brilliant Maria Josepha Holroyd, wife of J. T. Stanley, the first Lord Stanley of Alderley, and her family and friends.¹ The first two volumes cover the period 1777–1817 and the last two, in which the letters are mostly between Maria and Henrietta, her daughter-in-law, cover the years 1841 to 1865. These letters have been much admired for the elegance and wit with which they describe the public and private lives of members of a leading Cheshire family, who were active in the political and intellectual life of the country.

This new book has different aims. It appears to have been put together by the 8th Lord Stanley to describe to his children and

¹ J. H. Adeane, ed., *The girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd* (1896) and *The early married life of Maria Josepha, Lady Stanley* (1899). Nancy Mitford, ed., *The ladies of Alderley* (1938) and *The Stanleys of Alderley* (1939).

grandchildren the different phases of his own life. The opening section about his grandparents, his parents and their relations provides a splendid picture of how a small number of families with large landed estates dominated English life before 1914. They often had large families who married successful people in government, the services, business and intellectual life, so the social web covered a large area.

Stanley's description of his childhood visits to great country houses before 1939 is lively and the picture of the family playing Cocky Olly down the corridors of Longleat House to the detriment of the Chinese vases is memorable. Compared with this, his schooling and his years in 'the Coldstream' seem rather mundane. Unfortunately, he rather hurries over his taking up work as a tenant farmer near Oxford and the revolution in British agriculture that occurred in the period 1952-71 in order to focus upon his social networks. Skiing was a major interest and, more unusually, sailing in small boats – a sport at which his children won international prizes. After 1972, when he inherited a large part of the family fortune and became a landowner in Anglesey, his life became more conventional and hunting and shooting increased in importance. Finally, in the longest section, he tells us about the fun he had on his infrequent visits to the House of Lords. There, he concentrated on two or three subjects which he knew about, such as agriculture, and on several occasions managed to outwit the ministers to his great satisfaction.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book for North Westerners is the few details about how the family became separated from their ancestral estate at Alderley. Before the 5th Lord Stanley died in 1931, he settled the estate in tail male on the holder of the title. His son Edward, 6th baron, never worked and found the income from the 6,000 acres (a gross rental of about £9,600) inadequate to support his way of life. So in 1938 he sold it for about £300,000 and re-invested the proceeds in gilt-edged securities (the only investment allowed by the settlement), which gave him a larger income. To the writer of this book, who inherited the £300,000-worth of gilts in 1971, the 1938 price of £50 per acre, including all the farm buildings and cottages on the land, appeared derisory and he estimated the value of the old estate in the year 2000 to be £100 million. A large number of

landed estates disappeared between 1914 and the 1950s in broadly similar circumstances. This suggests that estate owners in that period had two serious problems. First, they were not able or willing to reduce their expenditure in line with their reducing incomes and secondly they had very poor judgement about the future of land values.

Charles Foster, Arley Hall

M. Stammers, *Crosby Curiosities*. Stroud: Tempus, 2006. 127 pp. £12.99 pbk. ISBN 0752438646.

Local history is increasingly undervalued in a world of widening international and global academic research perimeters. This slim volume, which comprises a written and pictorial account of the development of Crosby, Merseyside, encapsulates all that is worthy and valuable in the long tradition of local studies, and exemplifies a successful interrogation of the post-medieval development and history of this interesting suburb of Liverpool.

The relationship of Crosby to the coast has a long biography, beginning with the influence of the coastal resources, dunes and marshes on settlement in the area, in the prehistoric and Roman periods. Sporadic finds have been made of this date; however, Crosby proper seems to have developed during the period of Viking settlement in the North West. In chapter one, the biography of the settlement is linked with the proximity of the coastal resource, with fishing, smuggling and wrecking all prominent within the documentary and pictorial sources for Crosby. The emphasis here is the impact of the Mersey sands on life at Crosby. From the records of ships driven ashore to the military defence of the coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and later the establishment of a seaside resort, the coast has been both friend and foe to the community at Crosby and intimate to its historical development, even into the present.

The role of Crosby as a seaside resort is developed in chapter three, where it is shown to fit within the genre of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century seaside towns, from Brighton in the south of England to neighbouring Southport. The

development of housing in relation to the fluctuating economic climate of Crosby is charted well, with incisive observations on the role of the settlement as a holiday resort motivating substantial development, and much later a typical period of 1920s urban expansion can be identified. A chapter of particular interest is that devoted to transport and commerce, which highlights the impact of the railways on Crosby. More discussion here of the social impact of the railways on Crosby and its settlement form, exploring whether widening rail access promoted settlement expansion, would have been welcome. The chapter moves on to consider commerce and the role of small and household industry in the nineteenth century, with local craftsmen contributing agricultural implements and transport. The later development of specialised shops is discussed and latterly the arrival of multiple stores.

Part one is successful in its evocation of the long-lived rural atmosphere of this village/suburb which had only limited industry but a wealth of vibrant vernacular architecture, related to the settlement's role as a seaside resort and to the lavish provision of civic amenities. The grand Blundellsands Hotel stands as an evocative reminder of a late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century gentile resort of regional repute.

In part two, the building materials of Great Crosby and district are discussed. A well informed set of chapters are presented here, but these are not as entertaining as part one. In part two, the author remains significantly more authoritative on the later vernacular architecture and social history of Crosby than on the medieval, Roman and prehistoric eras. Although the evidence for a possible Iron Age roundhouse is introduced and brief mention is made of Anglo-Saxon halls, these seem out of context and spurious to the main thrust of the book. They are not discussed in detail and are not suitably placed within the context of the prehistoric to historic period in the North West. The author deals far more effectively and successfully with the later development of Crosby. This comprises the majority of the volume and represents the main aspect of its success.

This is a well written account and copiously illustrated. The quality of the drawings and maps and the photographic reproductions are exemplary and for the general reader this makes

an engaging and interesting volume. There is, as with many of the Tempus local histories, an absence of referencing, although a short bibliography is provided at the end for further reading. This is a book for those with an interest in North West life and the social aspects of Merseyside history. It offers a good read rather than a strictly academic account, but the value of the book is still significant as an engaging, well-written and entertaining narrative of this distinctive Liverpool suburb.

Sarah Semple, University of Durham

Manchester Region History Review, 17 ii (summer 2006).

This Society would like to welcome the appearance of this long established journal in a new and most attractive format. Reduced to a more convenient 170 x 240 size, this volume is a special themed issue on the literary culture of nineteenth-century Manchester. It contains articles on a wide-range of publications from Leary's History of the Manchester Periodical Press to the Livesey Collection of the British Temperance League. Historical studies in the North West will be enriched by this new and distinctive *Review*.

Charles Foster, Arley Hall