

REVIEWS

A. D. M. Phillips & C. B. Phillips, eds., *A new historical atlas of Cheshire*, Chester: Cheshire County Council and Cheshire Community Council Publications Trust, 2002. xi, 116pp. £25.00 hbk. ISBN 0 904532 46 1.

There can be very few historians interested in Cheshire who have not consulted Dorothy Sylvester and George Nulty's pioneering *The historical atlas of Cheshire* which was published in 1958. The importance of this book has been demonstrated by its many reprints and its imitation by other counties. However, 45 years later this deservedly popular work now has a worthy successor in *A new historical atlas of Cheshire*.

This volume has been 13 years in the planning and is to be greatly welcomed for expanding and updating the original work. The book is edited by Dr Tony Phillips, Reader in Geography at the University of Keele and Dr Colin Phillips, Senior Lecturer in Social and Economic History at the University of Manchester. There are 24 distinguished contributors and the illustrations have been produced by Andrew Lawrence of Keele University Digital Imaging and Illustration Services. The new *Atlas* consists of 180 maps and 14 plans and diagrams which illustrate specific points in the informative facing text. The book sets the scene with introductory chapters on the physical environment and administrative development and follows with chapters on Prehistoric and Roman Cheshire, place-names, Anglo-Saxon Cheshire, 400–1066 and Medieval Cheshire. From that point the chapters are largely thematic within a broadly chronological framework and cover war and society, Christian churches and worship, population and health, agriculture and rural society, industry, transportation, urban development, wealth, poverty, politics and public education. Internally the information within these later chapters is presented in chronological form.

The county is covered as fully as possible and every major period is covered with the themes of chapters reflecting the available existing research. One definite advantage to historians is the production of a definitive base map of parishes and townships for the county based on nineteenth century 6 inch Ordnance Survey maps. This map forms the basis of the maps in the book and a copy of it is placed in an internal back cover pocket and can be combined with the gazetteer of townships at the end of the book. The introduction sets out the history of the present *Atlas* and explains its aims and omissions. The aim of the book is to follow Sylvester

and Nulty's lead in presenting existing and new research through text and maps. It claims that it does not seek to replace the earlier work but to emulate and expand on it. The editors properly record their debt to Sylvester and Nulty and acknowledge the value of the earlier work by reproducing some of the original maps, such as those of industry in the middle ages and Georgian family seats. They also remind readers that Cheshire did not exist until the tenth century AD and that the maps in this book representing earlier periods are based on the related area.

This is a book with many strengths, not least of which are the clarity and attractiveness of the detailed maps. The illustrator in a book of this kind is at least as important as the editors. The use of colour, not available to Sylvester and Nulty, has enabled maps to be produced on a smaller scale than might normally be comfortable because the results are adequately clear. New techniques in creating maps and storing and managing data have made possible the presentation of a huge amount of original information available as a result of scholarship since 1958. The extent to which scholarship and discoveries about the county have progressed since then can be seen by making simple comparisons with the original *Atlas*. For example, comparing the maps of Roman Cheshire in both books it is easy to see that new research has greatly expanded our knowledge of the area's Roman occupation and road systems. Another of the book's strengths is the text which demonstrates not only the contributors' expertise in their subject but their enthusiasm for it. The text is detailed enough to engage historians but also provides a useful introduction to each subject which can be followed up through the chapter bibliographies at the end of the book.

It seems churlish to suggest weaknesses within a book which by any standards is a remarkable achievement. However, a few spring to mind, both practical and content-based. First, the end pocket map is important but like most unfixed extras will undoubtedly get torn or lost. This reviewer would have liked to have seen a smaller version also printed on the inside covers so that researchers interested in particular townships could turn to it for easy reference without having to unfold an unwieldy piece of paper. Readers used to the older *Atlas* might miss the larger size and more illustrative qualities of the original maps. This new volume presents as separate maps information that the older *Atlas* put into one map. There might be a case for saying that this makes making connections between maps more difficult without using an overlay. The small scale of the maps, while providing a good impression of change within the county over time might be irritating to those trying to pinpoint individual townships. Even when referring to the pocket map locating specific townships is tricky—and not all readers will have youthful eyesight. However, these are minor details.

The authors themselves admit to perhaps concentrating too much on the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and to neglecting the second half of the twentieth century, notably local government processes and the role of central government in shaping the county. They are inclined to blame this on available scholarship. These might seem like understandable faults but some other omissions seem curious. For example, there is no reason why there could not have been a map of twentieth century transport systems in the county bearing in mind the importance of changes such as the introduction of motorways and airports. Readers will have their own wish list of maps for inclusion in any future volume. Mine include a map showing the extent of ownership by the major nineteenth landowners rather than just their seats of residence. A map of the landowners' seats alone does not illustrate the extent of their holdings within the county which often extended well beyond township and even county borders. The extent of flooding in the county could also have been recorded given its effect on agriculture. But bearing in mind that a volume such as this needs to appeal to a wide audience any further expansion of the book would have probably priced itself out of the available market. We can only hope that the editors are inspired to create a second volume. Historians will welcome the references although in some cases these seem to be left hanging or are not easily connected to the relevant source. For example, a more detailed reference to the Cheshire Parish Register Project would have been helpful.

Finally one must ask, has the wait been worth it? The answer must be yes. Not only has scholarship moved on since the 1950s but a growing interest in local history means that a broader range of subjects need to be tackled for both historians and general readers. The text and illustrations bring together a great deal of useful information about the county that would normally be time-consuming or difficult to obtain from the original sources. Historians will welcome a wealth of disparate and detailed information presented in one place; general readers will find this a readable and interesting introduction to the history of Cheshire.

Polly Bird, Bedlington

Terry Cooke, *Little Italy: A history of Liverpool's Italian community*, Liverpool: Bluecoat Press, 2002. 95 pp. £7.99 pbk. ISBN 1 872568 97 1.

During the week of intensive bombing of Liverpool by the German Luftwaffe in May 1941, the north end dockland area of the city where I lived was extensively damaged. The Saturday night raid proved to be the most devastating and, after the sounding of the 'all clear', we emerged from the cellar which served as an air raid shelter to be met by police and fire wardens shouting hysterically that an unexploded bomb lay buried outside

a nearby fish and chip shop. We were ordered to leave the area as quickly as we could. It was mid-June before it was safe to return, and in the meantime we stayed with an aunt and her family, who lived a mile or so away in the Catholic parish of St Joseph, in the heartland of Liverpool's Italian quarter.

Terry Cooke's memorialisation of Liverpool's Italian community has revived childhood memories of that disruptive and dark period of wartime Liverpool. The names of my aunt's neighbours: D'Annunzio, Tremarco, Santangelli, Podesta, Gianelli—and others—are scattered throughout Cooke's text, and are shown to be part of an enterprising, inventive and skilled community grouping, determined to overcome the poverty that enveloped their immigrant parents and grandparents when they settled in Liverpool during the nineteenth century. Most of the food my aunt so generously provided for us was purchased from Romeo's, a popular grocer's noted for its high quality and variety of Italian foods, in nearby Springfield Street. The owner, Romeo Imundi, grew so prosperous that at a comparatively early age he sold his business and returned to Italy.

In his introduction, Cooke explains that the majority of Italian immigrants came from Picinisco, a mountain village situated half-way between Rome and Naples, and close to Monte Cassino. They settled in the Gerard Street area of Liverpool, where a small number of Italian families already lived, presumably from an earlier phase of immigration. They were ready and willing to give practical help and accommodation to their newly arrived compatriots. By 1891 the community had increased numerically, and had spread from Gerard Street into several adjacent streets—marking the formation of Liverpool's 'Little Italy'. The photographs included in the book provide graphic evidence of the squalid living conditions endured by the community until the slum clearance schemes of the 1930s.

Cooke structures his narrative around three main themes: the enterprise shown by Italian families in establishing small businesses; their involvement in professional sports, and their contribution to the devotional aspects of parochial Catholicism. He argues that it was because of their conspicuous successes in these areas that they gained the respect and friendship of those outside their community. The Santangelli, Fusco and Gianelli families (and there were many more) were successful in the ice cream and fish and chip trades. The Carrara family made religious statues and other pious objects that embellished many Catholic churches in the Archdiocese of Liverpool. Some became professional musicians—Tony Ventre, for example, was a highly regarded radio and music hall entertainer. Boxing produced outstanding fighters and promoters such as Volante, Vairo and Butcher (formerly Bacciono), and Antonio Louis Page became an English international soccer star and captain of Manchester United.

The Italian influence in Catholic parochial life was particularly evident at times of street processions, when elaborately designed and coloured

decorations were hung across court dwellings, and 'human statues' of the Virgin Mary and saints were carried in prayerful dignity through the streets. Surprisingly, Cooke fails to mention the Church of St Mary of the Angels in Fox Street, a large Italianate building close to St Joseph's church—famous for its Italian Renaissance altar and other religious artefacts, brought to the poor of Liverpool at the expense of Elizabeth Imrie, the White Star heiress. St Mary's was staffed by Franciscans, hence its nickname 'The Friary', who provided confessions weekly in Italian.

In spite of their popularity in the area, Mussolini's entry into the war in support of Hitler in June 1940 led to the internment of Liverpool Italians between the ages of sixteen and seventy, some being placed in camps at Woolfall Heath, Huyton (just outside Liverpool) and in the Isle of Man. Regrettably, Italian owned shops and business premises were attacked by thugs.

Terry Cooke deserves the thanks of all who are interested in the social and cultural history of Liverpool. This book is a brave attempt to open a window into the history of a community which has been obscured with the passage of time, and his book should spur other local historians to undertake further research because, in spite of its merits, the book leaves many gaps that should be addressed. For example, why are there so few references to the influence of women in the community? How did Italian family life compare with that of non-Italians in the area? What was the numerical strength of the Italian presence in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and, indeed, what is that strength today)? On p. 35 the author writes 'In 1935, members of the community were provided with an opportunity to learn Italian . . . The organisation which provided the Italian lessons . . . also presented food parcels and clothing . . . However rumour claimed that the Fascist Party were possibly promoting a subtle campaign to convert the community towards fascism.' What is the evidence for this, and what was the reaction of the Catholic Church in Liverpool? After all this was a period when fascism had the support of the Catholic Church in many parts of Europe.

Finally, Cooke clearly intended his book as a tribute to the Italian community, a stance to which he is clearly entitled, but it is also a stance which is uncritical and sometimes superficial. And is professional boxing worth so much detail? A more thorough source-based approach awaits the skill of an enthusiastic researcher.

Frank Boyce, Rainhill

Trevor Griffiths, *The Lancashire working classes, c.1880–1939* (Oxford Historical Monographs), Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001. viii + 390 pp. £55.00 hbk. ISBN 0 19 924738 2.

Trevor Griffiths' long-anticipated monograph based on his 1994 doctoral thesis has been well worth the wait. Not only has he made a significant contribution to the burgeoning social history of the Lancashire working class, but his work will also be drawn upon in a range of debates on the historical sociology of work, the periodisation of class formation, the character of British working-class culture and on the contested relationship between social structures and political behaviour. That is a lot to pack into a monograph, even one weighing in at fractionally under 400 pages, but Griffiths does so with considerable analytical skill and a rigorous attention to empirical detail. If it is not always an easy read, it is nevertheless an absorbing and challenging one.

Griffiths' analytical framework embodies an iconoclastic rejection of several current approaches to the historical sociology of the working class and working-class identity. He vigorously dispatches old notions of working-class cultural homogeneity: the plural 'classes' in his title is significant and symbolises this critique. He also firmly rejects the 'linguistic turn' advocated by historians such as Patrick Joyce, in a previous incarnation an earlier pioneer of labouring communities in Lancashire who has more recently explored the diversity of discursively-created popular identities. For Griffiths, 'the possibility of reconstructing identities through the study of language alone remains open to question' because the 'terms of discourse' available in the historical record 'were rarely those of the workers themselves' (p. 3).

Institutional labour history, a traditional approach undergoing something of a revival in the face of discourse analysis, is similarly dismissed: in both coal and cotton trade unions are held to have merely articulated the interests of skilled, male minorities and 'must be judged, at best, a marginal factor in the moulding of popular attitudes' (p. 8). Nor does he endorse the structural approach of analysts such as Mike Savage and his colleagues who have sought to explain the growth of support for Labour, in Lancashire and elsewhere, in terms of growing residential segregation and the satisfaction of economic aspirations through local welfarism. Instead, Griffiths elaborates a sophisticated and innovative conceptual framework in which labour markets displace traditional emphases on the labour process and the family is seen as the crucial working-class institution in the search for work, the culture of thrift and, via religious adherence, political allegiance.

Although Griffiths ranges at times across the non-metropolitan, industrial areas of the county, his central focus is held tightly on south-central Lancashire, in particular Wigan and Bolton. He begins by a substantial

consideration of 'the work experience' in cotton and mining. In the former, he demonstrates the continued authority of male minders and the growing privileges of grinders; trends which led to the consolidation and extension of wage differentials and which were reinforced by managerial compliance. If mining lacked such developed sectionalism, hewers enjoyed significant autonomy and, argues Griffiths, continued to do so throughout the period. In pursuit of this general argument he tends to minimise the impact of mechanisation—over a quarter of the Lancashire coalfield's output was cut mechanically by 1930 but he concludes 'the impact on work practices was slight' (p. 50) and 'contemporary expectations of the intensification of control underground were not borne out in practice' (p. 51). More evidence is required to support such conclusions. The point is not unimportant for the thrust of Griffiths' argument in this introductory chapter is to reject conventional assumptions that work became 'a progressively more homogeneous experience in this period' (p. 54).

The lack of conflict over working practices among miners and textile workers leads on to an examination of trade union organisation in these industries. Once more, Griffiths' intentions are relentlessly revisionist. The prolonged nature of disputes in mining between 1912 and 1926, for example, have been portrayed, in his view crudely, as evidence of 'an enduring capacity for collective action, drawing on solidarities generated in the workplace and expressed in the world beyond the pit' (pp. 56–57). Griffiths proceeds to provide a nuanced account of trade unionism in the two industries which emphasises its sectionalism and domination by skilled male majorities. If there is much that is persuasive in this account—for example, his argument that colliers in Lancashire's urbanised coalfield often resorted to mobility rather than strike action when confronted by difficult working conditions is convincing—there is nonetheless neglect of the major disputes which informed more traditional views.

In 1921 Lancashire colliers stood solidly through the three month lockout; in 1926, their solidarity endured from May until the end of September, before collapsing in the face of tempting offers from a number of large employers. That they were far from passive during these disputes is evidenced by the disorders between police and miners at St Helens in August and at Pemberton in October 1926, yet Griffiths eschews examination of such incidents. The General Strike, conventionally regarded as the major expression of class solidarity during these years, witnessed a sophisticated level of organisation in Bolton with a Council of Action, over 2,000 organised pickets, regular contact with every town in Lancashire and a daily bulletin. While previous labour historians have plausibly interpreted such solidarity as evidence of a pervasive sense of class, for Griffiths it merits only the passing assertion that it 'was informed more by particular, regional concerns than by any underlying "militancy"' (p. 90).

Griffiths concludes simply that trade unionism failed to act as a unifying force. This is too one-sided a conclusion to adequately address the contradictory facets of trade unionism and its inherent, competing tendencies towards solidarity as well as sectionalism.

In subsequent chapters Griffiths provides an innovative analysis of labour markets, recruitment and the search for work. He points up the lack of familial employment to suggest that the stereotypical territorial link between factory and locality in the nineteenth century had significantly diminished by the early decades of the twentieth. This, he suggests, created 'an instrumental attitude which stripped work of much of its broader cultural significance' (p. 133) and thus further questions attitudes to work as critically shaping class identities. This point is underlined by an examination of employers' relatively ineffectual attempts to recast such instrumental attitudes through company welfare initiatives. Instead, Griffiths points to the neglected significance of 'thrift', both in terms of cultural attitudes and institutional forms, in shaping survival strategies of working-class families. He draws particularly effectively on the records of colliery relief funds to explore the moral imperatives their case files disclose. Yet Griffiths' summation is once again merely assertive of his overall argument rather than manifestly demonstrating its validity: 'Although expressive of class identity, both in the forms it took and the motives which inspired it, thrift was essentially a vehicle for individual rather than collective advance' (p. 219). In his treatment of family life the point is hammered home: it was the bonds of family, not the ties of work or neighbourhood, which 'constituted the moral and material centre of working-class life' (p. 264).

Griffiths' concluding chapter on electoral politics, the longest in the book, seeks to apply his analysis of working-class life and culture to the fragile growth of Labour politics. He takes issue both with those who have seen Labour's 'forward march' as expressive of class formation and more recent accounts which emphasise local contingency and the need to construct popular political support. The chronology of Labour's irregular advance in Bolton and Wigan does not support explanations based on work or class, he concludes. Rather, economic developments displayed a conditioning role while Wigan's larger percentage of Irish Catholics was the central element in the presence of forty Labour councillors out of fifty-six in 1930, compared with only thirty out of ninety-four in Bolton.

Griffiths has produced an impressive, meticulously researched book of a sort which has become a rarity under Research Assessment Exercise pressures on academics to publish quartets of articles swiftly or be damned. Everyone interested in social and labour history, not only in Lancashire but far beyond, will find much to engage with in it, whether or not they agree with the author's interpretation of every point of empirical detail or the broader elements of his overarching argument. In the

continuing debates with which this book has engaged so forcefully, it will certainly not be ignored.

Alan Campbell, University of Liverpool

George Ormerod, *The history of the County Palatine and City of Chester* [1819; 2nd edn, revised & enlarged by Thomas Helsby, 1882] CD-ROM, £17.50.

J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire past and present: or a history of the Hundred of Macclesfield in the County Palatine of Cheshire* [1878] CD-ROM, £17.50.

25-inch to one mile Ordnance Survey maps of Cheshire [2nd edn published between 1900 and 1912] two CD-ROMs, £30.

All published by the Family History Society of Cheshire (Ormerod CD-ROM in conjunction with the Cheshire Local History Association). All available from Cheshire & Chester Archives and Local Studies, Duke Street, CHESTER, CH1 1RL: 50p per item should be added for p&p.

It is not usual to review a series of publications of which the oldest was published a decade short of two centuries ago, and the most recent was appearing when my grandmother was a small girl. To seek to assess the content of these three very different but important works might perhaps seem superfluous—if I were to criticise Ormerod as a historian, as I could well do, would it really make much difference? Nonetheless, it is important not to assume that because a work is a ‘classic’, however that term might be defined, it is necessarily without fault. Joseph Hunter, the great South Yorkshire antiquary and local historian, and a perceptive critic of Ormerod, had a rather low opinion of the work of his contemporary, condemning the over-attention to high-status genealogy and the complete absence of any analytical or explanatory text: ‘a succession of facts detached . . . a rope of sand’, was his description of Ormerod’s *Cheshire*. Despite such reservations, Ormerod has remained a cornerstone of Cheshire local and county history ever since (though we should acknowledge that a substantial proportion of his mammoth work is in fact a straightforward reprinting of the much earlier history prepared by Sir Peter Leycester, and the work of others is lifted, scarcely altered, into Ormerod’s text).

Ormerod—who left Cheshire the moment his history was finished and went to live near Chepstow—was deliberate and steadfast in his refusal to recognise that the county, in the post-Waterloo years when he did most of the work, was not what it had been (but was it ever in reality the county he thought it was?). He specifically explains that he excludes manufacturing, industry and related topics because they had no part in the history of the

Cheshire he wanted to record, a world of comfortable gentry, country churches, a cathedral city, manorial descents and arcane medieval documents (which were mainly prepared for him by others). It was left to Thomas Helsby, 'of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law' to be the somewhat unlikely agent whereby in the early 1880s Ormerod's huge work was updated to recognise the existence of Birkenhead, cotton mills, railways and soapworks. It is this revised (and considerably more useful) edition which the Cheshire Family History Society have published on CD-ROM. Instead of the three immense volumes of the original work which—had I been lucky enough to acquire them—would have occupied a large section of shelf space, my copy of Helsby's Ormerod is now tucked away next to the phone on my desk and if I want to refer to it I do not run the risk of a hernia from lifting the great weight and bulk.

The CFHS carried on their bold venture by publishing another classic nineteenth-century work on the history of the county, Earwaker's *East Cheshire*. Its author was a better historian than Ormerod, though he too sought pastures new—being, *inter alia*, chairman of the Abergale and Pensarn Local Board—but his great work on East Cheshire is another of those texts which, almost for want of a replacement, has remained essential reading for generations: essential, but, like Ormerod's work, neither easy-going nor always pleasurable. The value of these histories does not necessarily lie in what they tell you about the history of an area—they are not, in truth, all that much good for that. If you read Earwaker on, say, Alderley Edge you do not learn a great deal about the history of Alderley Edge as a community, little on its social or economic history, and more or less nothing on the experience of 95% of the population (though he does give coverage to the mining industry). Rather, you have an impressive quarry from which to hew your material as background to continuing research—there are excellent pedigrees, fine descriptions of country houses, very good summaries of ecclesiastical history. In short, Earwaker, like the first Ormerod, contains plenty of raw material, not analysed or assessed but lovingly transcribed and accurately reproduced, which we can exploit for our own work.

The third CD-ROM is what we long ago called a double album. Two CDs are provided in one cover and this is, I think, the most innovative and impressive of the three CDs reviewed here. The entire (bar a couple of missing sheets) third edition 25-inch to one-mile Ordnance Survey coverage of the county, published in 1904–1910, is contained therein. That in itself is extraordinary—several hundred large sheets in two CDs is a demonstration of what still seem to me to be 'the wonders of technology'. But not only that: the maps are exceptionally clear and the technical quality of scanning and transferring to CD-ROM has without doubt been outstanding. I have seen many demonstrations of digitising projects, involving

maps, documents and printed work, where the printout quality is very poor, so I was sceptical of this one. Would it produce printout which was fuzzy and useless? I need not have worried. The printout is superb, and the ability to reproduce at almost any scale—an entire sheet reduced to A4, or a small detail hugely magnified to A4—is of exceptional value. The convenience of using the CD-ROM cannot be overstated. Instead of going to the library or record office, having these great sheets removed from map drawers or cabinets, trying to look at them without leaning on the map and incurring the wrath of archivist or librarian, we can click a couple of times and there is the place we want to see. Or, in some ways even better, we can simply browse, travelling through Cheshire a century ago at leisure and choosing a route as it occurs to us. No more pestering the staff—‘sorry, I know it’s a nuisance, but could I just see *another* couple of sheets’—and no pulled muscles from stretching across the desk. Wonderful: I can’t recommend it enough.

The CD-ROMs are easy to use and represent excellent value for money. Users of Ormerod and Earwaker should of course be aware of the caution and discretion which is required in employing these sources, but that applies equally to the printed works. I suppose every review should include a criticism. Mine is that the bibliographical details are somewhat deficient. The CD-ROMs include printed inserts giving technical specifications and instructions for use, but these don’t give quite enough information about the contents. In the case of the Ormerod CD, Mike Eddison has written a valuable summary of the historian’s work, which is included as an introductory section on the CD itself, but it would have been helpful to have a brief bibliographical statement on the printed insert. This apart, the publishing venture is highly commendable and I hope that it continues. For any local, regional or family historian of Cheshire these CD-ROMs are likely to prove useful, while the OS maps discs are, I think, invaluable.

Alan Crosby, Preston

Alan Crosby, *A history of Warrington*, Chichester: Phillimore, 2002. x, 197pp. £16.99 ISBN 1 86077 222 6.

In the last few years there have been a number of newly-commissioned histories of their respective towns by the local authority, Pete Arrowsmith’s *Stockport: A history* (1997) and Brian Law’s *Oldham, brave Oldham* (1999) being two examples. It is almost sixty years since the last general history of Warrington appeared (Crowe’s *Warrington ancient and modern*, 1947). In the intervening years much has changed in, to and around the town, and it was high time that a new history was produced. The impetus for such a

project came from Warrington's former Heritage and Archives Manager, Sally Coleman, who 'saw the need for an accessible, informative and attractive single-volume history of Warrington, which would provide an overview of the town's development and give readers suggestions and ideas for carrying on their own investigations and research'. Dr Crosby's book is the result and has been well worth waiting for. It is a joy to handle, being well produced, with both text and illustrations clearly printed, and admirably meets the criteria.

The treatment is chronological, each of the seven main chapters (though they are not styled as such) being then sub-divided into a number of sections. Each section concludes with suggestions for further reading on that section only, including theses, dissertations and articles in journals. The resources of Warrington Library's excellent local studies collection are constantly referred to, with their reference numbers quoted—an invaluable aid to both staff and student. The main chapters are 'Warrington before the Norman Conquest'; 'Medieval Warrington'; 'Warrington 1500–1700'; 'Eighteenth-century Warrington'; 'The growth of industrial Warrington'; 'Victorian Warrington: Town and people'; and 'Twentieth-century Warrington'. The *Sources and further reading* section at the end of the book draws the reader's attention to the extensive range of materials available in both Warrington Library and Warrington Museum (sharing the same building but with separate entrances) and archival sources, and concludes with a list of general titles which the author has consulted. The book concludes with a more than adequate index but, surprisingly perhaps, there is neither a list of illustrations or an author's general introduction.

Two inter-linked themes dominate the Warrington experience: commerce and transport. Throughout its existence the town has never been wholly reliant on one industry in the way that the cotton textile towns of Lancashire were, and consequently it never experienced the depression caused by the contraction and subsequent disappearance of a single, dominant, industry: rather, as its older trades gradually declined, the incoming service and technology-based industries, encouraged by the establishment of out-of-town retail parks such as the Gemini Park, created, indeed expanded, the employment base.

Dr Crosby quite rightly also emphasises the crucial role which transport links have played in ensuring the town's survival. For centuries it has been the lowest bridging point of the Mersey, a feature which influenced the Romans in establishing their fort at Wilderspool. The influence of the Mersey, tidal as far as Warrington, the importance of Warrington Bridge in the transport network, and the trading routes provided by the Mersey and Irwell Navigation, the Runcorn and Latchford Canal and the Sankey Navigation are all chronicled. The extent of the town's network of railways and waterways can be seen in diagram form on p. 75. In more recent times

roads have become the key factor in the transport revolution; the contrast between the diagram on p. 157 (the main road network in 1939) and that on p. 167, which shows the motorways and new trunk roads built in the Warrington area in the last forty years, is quite striking.

The Warrington story is richly documented in the many photographs (mainly but not exclusively in sepia tones), plans, diagrams and maps which profusely illustrate this book. Some of the images are well known but there are many which I suspect are being published here for the first time—certainly I have not seen them anywhere before—and very interesting they are. For me, as for many others, this will be one of the main reasons for buying the book. Personally I could have done without the boxes in the margins: the information given here simply duplicates the main text, and I found them a distraction. In at least one case—the paupers—box and main text seem to offer opposing views, the box (p. 50) telling us that the town ‘had a large number of paupers and treated them relatively well’, while the text (p. 51) has it that ‘Warrington’s poor were not treated generously, though they were saved from starvation’.

There are some omissions (perhaps for reasons of space?) from the otherwise comprehensive bibliographical references: in section 22, on population, the pamphlet by C. D. Rogers, *The Lancashire population crisis of 1623* (Manchester, 1974) should have been included in preference to Appleby’s book; section 36, ‘Education and the Warrington Academy’, might have listed Tom Jackson, ‘The Warrington Bluecoat School cotton factory’, *Lancashire History Quarterly*, 1 (1997); section 33, on the workhouse, has no ‘further reading’, but might have listed Harry Wells, ‘Warrington Workhouse and child labour in the nineteenth century’, *LHQ*, 1 (1997); section 56, ‘Shipbuilding’, should have H. F. Starkey *Iron Clipper—the White Star Line’s ‘First Titanic’* (Bebington: Avid Publications, 1999), and Tom Jackson, ‘Sail canvas making in eighteenth century Warrington’, *LHQ*, 1 (1997); and section 39, ‘The turnpike roads and the bridge’ might have referred to William Harrison’s papers in *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, IV (1886), IX (1891) and X (1892).

Dr Crosby’s prose style is very readable, with hardly a trace of *academia* to be seen. The standard of proof-reading sometimes leaves something to be desired—there are a number of silly and quite unnecessary errors throughout the book, none of them fortunately of major importance—but these detract from the otherwise informative text. Nevertheless, this reasonably priced book should appeal to all those interested in the history of the town, at whatever educational level, whether resident or, in the case of the present reviewer, an exile, and to anyone interested in the wider history of the two counties which, in recent times, have claimed Warrington as their own!

Morris Garratt, Cheadle Hulme

Neville King, ed., *Liverpool History Society Journal*, no.1 (2002), no.2 (2003). Liverpool History Society. A5, 56p. £3.00 per issue. ISSN 1477-3597.

Though it has been a long time coming, the formation of a local history society for Liverpool is now an established fact, and in its short life to date much has been achieved. Founded on 18 February 2001, its first meetings were held in the Central Library, but now, after a short sojourn at Hope University College, it has found a home at the Liverpool Institute for the Performing Arts, in Mount Street.

The Society from the outset decided to publish a regular *Newsletter* and an annual *Journal*. In the *Journal's* first issue, the Society's founding Chairman, Frank Boyce, expressed the hope that we 'have struck a balance between academic research and popular interest'. When asked to review that first issue (my review was delayed and not published!) I said: 'The range of interest in this first issue is very wide and augurs well for the future'. The major articles were *German immigrants in nineteenth century Liverpool*; *James Chadwick's map of Liverpool-1725*; *[The] impact of the second world war on Liverpool school children* (this latter being an abridged version of an Open University essay), and *Felicia Dorothea Hemans 1793-1835*, who the author describes as 'Liverpool's largely forgotten poetess'. These contrast nicely with shorter, less weighty, but no less interesting, contributions such as *Four Liverpool philanthropists*; *The Codman family-six generations of puppeteers*; *Liverpool and hydrotherapy* (would you be surprised to learn that the eighteenth century town had a reputation as a spa resort?), and *Liverpool-Ireland: the French connection*, the story behind Liverpool Record Office's 'Accession 0189'.

My hopes have been confirmed with the arrival of the second issue. Again we have a mix of academic and popular articles, ranging from part 1 of *A Liverpool mariner and merchant: Isaac Abraham (died 1613)* (by Dr Alan Crosby); *The Liverpool Collegiate School* and *A lover of stone and clay: Thomas Mellard Reade, architect and geologist 1832-1909* on the one hand, to *The folklore of Scotland Road* (by Rev. Dr D Ben Rees) and *County cricket in Liverpool and the W. G. Grace connection* on the other. In both issues the articles are interspersed with extracts from local newspapers giving a flavour of life two centuries or more ago. Reasonably enough, perhaps, there is no index, but there is a very useful listing of *Some recent publications*. Neville King, the editor, and the members of the Publications Committee, are to be congratulated on producing the *Journal*, and I look forward to next year's issue with interest.

Morris Garratt, Cheadle Hulme

Margaret Blundell, *A Lancashire squire: The life of Nicholas Blundell of Crosby, 1669–1737*, Charlbury, Oxon: Day Books, 2002. xvi, 271 pp. £9.99 pbk. ISBN 0953 2213 42.

With the republishing of this book, fifty years after it first appeared in print, Margaret Blundell has finally been given the credit due to her for her tremendous efforts. The book is largely based on the diary of Nicholas Blundell, which covers the years 1702–28, supplemented by material drawn from his letter book. The book is arranged into thematic chapters, following the life of Nicholas Blundell and his family in chronological order. The whole book is very much focused upon the family and internal family affairs, and where the lives of the 'ordinary' people of south-west Lancashire are mentioned, this is usually only with reference to their connection to and/or interaction with, Nicholas Blundell. For some readers this might be one of the book's main attractions; for others it might be its most frustrating element.

This focus on the Blundell family is perhaps not surprising, given the nature of the source material and the fact that Margaret was a direct descendant of Nicholas, but since the publication of the diary, in three volumes, between 1968 and 1972, the much wider scope of the diary is now readily appreciated by a large and diverse audience. Margaret's 'editing', therefore, and the selectivity with which she chose her 'evidence' is now more apparent than it was in 1952.

However, this book stills provides a useful service. It does provide a very readable account of Nicholas Blundell's life in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, and for the casual reader or student of local history this volume makes an important contribution to knowledge. There is nothing like exposure to original texts, and especially the private words of an individual, to bring the past back to life. Reading this volume adds considerably to one's historical imagination, which is an important element of the historian's craft. Nicholas Blundell, his family and acquaintances, are brought to life by this volume, in a way in which most history books fail to get anywhere near. For the more serious researcher, this volume provides a readable introduction to the Blundell archive, but is not entirely satisfactory. Undoubtedly, to pursue research into the family one would have to go back to the published diaries and the many other manuscript documents in the Blundell archive at the Lancashire Record Office.

There are a number of problems. The title is slightly misleading, as the only part of the text covering the first thirty-three years of Nicholas Blundell's life is in the preface to the first edition. Important aspects of the life of Nicholas Blundell and the local economy in the early eighteenth century receive only passing reference. For instance, out of the 250 pages of Margaret Blundell's text only eleven are given over to a discussion of 'the

fields'; only fifteen are devoted to 'workfolk and craftsmen'. Much more could have been made about these issues. Although the intention was to produce the original text, and therefore the content was 'fixed', an opportunity has been lost here to place the Blundells into a much wider context. A fuller introduction, taking into account the wealth of research that has been carried out over the last fifty years, would have added considerably to the worth of the book. David Brazendale's list of thirteen additions and corrections (p. xvi) are mainly referring to typographical errors or minor factual elements. Indeed only one of those additions refers the reader to research published since the first volume appeared in print.

However, these criticisms are not intended to detract from the book's many strengths and it deserves to be read by a wide audience. If its reissue introduces a new generation of students and local historians to the Blundell family and engages interest in the fascinations of eighteenth-century rural society, then it will provide a very worthy service to the subject.

Andrew Gritt, University of Central Lancashire

Ian Whyte, *Transforming fell and valley: Landscape and parliamentary enclosure in North West England*, Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, 2003. x, 102 pp. £11.50 pbk. ISBN 1 86220 132 3.

'Next time you go out on the fells I hope that you will look at the landscape around you with fresh interest and insight'. With his last sentence Professor Whyte confirms the reviewer's suspicion that his attractive booklet on upland enclosure is mostly intended for those who enjoy the fresh air and fun of walking the northern hills and dales; it's history for Wainwright's people. And why not? They need it. There are 47 black and white photographs, 10 maps and 9 tables.

Yet it also claims, with some justification, to be 'the first detailed study, based on original source material, of why this enclosure was undertaken, who was responsible for the decision-making, how the new landscapes were created and the effects the changes had on rural society' (back cover). So it is also intended, as one would expect from a university publisher, for serious students of rural history. It may not fully satisfy both readerships.

Like weather forecasters, the Centre for North-West Regional Studies enjoys a usefully vague idea of the geographical extent of 'north west England', whether hyphenated, capitalised or neither. Whyte's formal analysis of parliamentary enclosures covers Cumberland (127 awards), Westmorland (98) and north Lancashire (31). Despite this specificity, the author does not make it easy for the reader to uncover the geography and

chronology of awards. In figures 4–6, the extent of land enclosed by act is mapped in three selected, and curiously overlapping, areas. Awards (or is it acts?) are differentiated for three periods, 1770–1799, 1780–1820 and 1821–1900; but the first is almost redundant, including only 1,210 acres in the Yealands and Silverdale. The all but invisible depiction of relief would only have worked in colour. Even if there is one, the maps show no systematic relationship between height above sea level and the pattern of enclosure. More useful than all this would have been a comprehensive list with accompanying maps which also showed township boundaries.

As Whyte implies, the voluminous writings on English enclosure have mostly concentrated on the conversion of lowland arable and commons. This neglect of the late enclosure of sparsely populated northern fells may be because, although the acreages involved are large, the populations affected were relatively small. That question and its wider context are hardly explored here; the perspective is firmly regional. As in most regional studies of enclosure the author confronts the problem of how to reconcile familiar but incompatible approaches. Thus the economic motives for enclosure versus the social arguments against it (a familiar old historical debate in agrarian history) is interleaved with discussion of the mechanics of enclosure, the records it has left, and the landscapes that survive it. In so far as this booklet is any guide, Professor Whyte seems less keen to engage with the social issues of land appropriation than the striking (a favourite word of his) effect it had on the matchless landscapes of our northern fells. That's fine, provided the reader knows there is another story.

The author cannot be faulted on his attention to detail. Readers are guided to published and unpublished research by generous notes and bibliographical advice; the text is supported with full references to the awards and other enclosure papers on which the study is based. It is also packed with local detail drawn from local enclosure records of every kind—on walls, new barns and farms, roadways, boundary disputes, the origins of local commissioners and surveyors, monetary costs, the intervals between acts and awards (a significant contribution), and much else.

To sum up, Ian Whyte has written an authoritative and well-documented regional study based on far more primary research than might be expected from a booklet of this scope and kind. He clearly knows these enclosed acres well and his attentive general reader will be infected by his enthusiasm as well as learning a great deal. Some social historians may be less enthusiastic. They should go walking, perhaps starting in Cartmel; an attentive social historian would notice the plaque commemorating an enclosure meeting in the Cavendish Arms. Something that could well be missed by Wainwright's people.

Paul Laxton, University of Liverpool

Jennifer Lewis, *The Medieval earthworks of the Hundred of West Derby: Tenurial evidence and physical structure* (BAR British Series, 310), Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd, 2000 (available from Hadrian Books, 122 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7BP). xix + 434 pp. £53.00. pbk. ISBN 1 84171 158 6.

This volume aims to survey the tenurial framework and medieval earthworks of the Hundred of West Derby in south-west Lancashire, from the eleventh to the sixteen century. In essence, this is a book that reviews the archaeological evidence for medieval settlement and attempts to link material remains to patterns of landholding at a local level.

The result is a large and extremely detailed volume that contains a wealth of information on the historic archaeology of this region. The physical geography of the study area is reviewed first and this is followed by a series of chapters on the structures of landholding in the pre- and post-Conquest period. Lewis has done much here to elucidate the historical geography of this part of Lancashire and this discussion is followed by an extensive archaeological survey of the earthworks that lie within the Hundred. In terms of source material, this book brings together a substantial number of detailed local and regional historical and archaeological studies, and from here attempts to draw out wider conclusions.

The majority of this volume is made up of a detailed catalogue organised by township. This details manorial descents together with often extensive descriptions of moated sites, and lists of castles and other manorial earthworks. This is illustrated throughout and will prove to be most useful to other researchers in the field. In addition, there are supplementary appendices detailing, amongst others, grants to religious houses, lists of castles and moated sites within the study area. In many ways, this is the chief value of the work.

It is a real shame that although a great deal of work has gone into researching this volume it never really offers substantive conclusions or attempts to ground itself in more recent discussions of the development of the early medieval landscape. Some of the final conclusions seem unremarkable or fragile when measured against the amount of data amassed. The distribution of moats, for example, is associated with geographical areas that lend themselves to settlement; no surprise then that they are not generally found in areas of peat moss that constitute extensive parts of the study area.

One strong conclusion of the work is that members of the moat-building class had a great deal of tenurial freedom when it came to constructing earthworks. This is potentially interesting but the question of how this may have evidenced itself in the morphology of moated sites or the impact of this upon our understanding of the chronology of moat construction is not

really addressed. Equally, there is very little discussion of the contribution made by moated sites to the wider economy and landscape of the region. Again this seems odd given the level of information provided in the catalogue. While there are extensive discussions of features such as woodland, deer parks, castles, fairs and fisheries the results never seem to be integrated with the main theme of the text. Given the wealth of data collected for this study it is surprising that so little is made of broader issues currently under review within mainstream landscape history. This constitutes the main weakness of the book: it is seemingly written in isolation of recent trends in the study of high-status settlement and landscape studies. This ultimately seems to stem from the limited scope of the source material used to compile the catalogue.

Unfortunately, this does become a serious problem at key stages. Despite the fact that the study area is characterised by both nucleated and dispersed settlement patterns, little use is made of the recent work by Christopher Dyer. The same could be said of other areas, where interaction with the recent scholarly literature is apparently lacking. The section on place-names could have been much improved by reference to the work of Gillian Fellows-Jensen and the discussion of Viking artefacts is written without reference to the work of James Graham-Campbell. Equally, it is surprising not to see the work of Denise Kenyon or Nick Higham mentioned anywhere in the text, despite both having written accessible and relevant volumes in *The origins of the shire* series.

Although this inevitably detracts from the value of the work there is much here that others will find useful. This book makes a contribution to wider scholarship in as much as it provides a wealth of data that will be of use to all those wishing to develop research on medieval settlement in this part of the world. However, those who do so would be wise to expand their bibliographies. Although not at the cutting edge, local historians and archaeologists will thank Jennifer Lewis for her efforts—even if more significant conclusions about the tenurial development and archaeology of West Derby Hundred and its region will have to wait.

Robert Liddiard, Centre of East Anglian Studies,
University of East Anglia, Norwich

James Stonehouse, *The streets of Liverpool* (1869), Liverpool: Liverpool Libraries and Information Services, 2002. [lxxix], 230 pp. £13.50 pbk. ISBN 0 902990 21 7.

This reprint by Liverpool Libraries and Information Services of Stonehouse's 1869 publication is the second in a series celebrating the history of

Liverpool in the approach to the 800th anniversary of the Charter of the City of Liverpool in 2007.

The streets of Liverpool is a synthesis of work sourced from notable historians of Liverpool including Brooke, Enfield, Mayer, Picton and Baines, amongst others. This, combined with anecdotal sources, results in a quirky, tightly-packed read. The book is constructed, as the title suggests, as a sort of historical gazetteer making it a useful reference work for local historians. Chapters are organised geographically, covering what is now Liverpool city centre as well as areas northwards and southwards. The chapters vary in their chronological range but most of the histories begin at the mid-eighteenth century. Origins of street names are explored, as is the history of the ownership of surrounding land. In addition, Stonehouse provides details of residents and buildings for each chapter. Intertwined with this narrative are the anecdotal snippets that give this book its appeal. Details such as the beef-eating congregation of Gill Street chapel (the Sandemanians), the abduction of Miss Turner of West Derby Road and Mr Meadows of Scotland Road and his six wives, undoubtedly add to the flavour of the book, although some of them obviously enter the realm of urban myth!

As a balance to this, Stonehouse's own observations do appear and, as an historical recorder, he provides valuable material to the modern historian. For example, as a visitor to the well-known Williamson tunnels, Stonehouse has handed down a detailed account of many of their features that no doubt form a significant aid to those excavating and accessing them today.

The detail of the work produces some wonderful gems of information, providing a rich image, not only of the commercial, industrial and social activity of the city, but of local individuals. The language is quirky, but this no doubt reflects the combination of sources, woven together with Stonehouse's own observations. The digressions and non-sequiturs are forgivable, and the whimsical flavour of the work only lends to its charm.

Stonehouse himself is an interesting character, and this reprint perhaps would have provided an opportunity for a fuller biography. He worked for many years for the Corporation of Liverpool, while producing many pieces based on his observations and reminiscences of Liverpool and the Wirral during his lifetime. The introduction does provide a useful reference to works relating to him in Liverpool Central Libraries. A useful supplement would have been a more detailed list of the collection of James Stonehouse that is held at Liverpool Record Office, because the reader is inevitably left wanting to know more about him.

The indexing, undertaken for this reprint by Eve Cant of the Society of Indexers, is a wonderful asset to the publication. Liverpool Libraries have added some colour plates from their own collections, again enhancing the original work. The supporting referencing for the illustrations fails,

however. Page numbers are not included for the illustrations, although referred to within the index. A note for readers—the numbering included in the index for illustrations actually refers to the number of the illustration as listed at the front of the publication. Nor are the illustrations themselves numbered.

The streets of Liverpool provides a fascinating, anecdotal read that anyone interested in the detail of Liverpool history will enjoy. In his own introduction of 1869, Stonehouse voices his hope that the histories of the streets of Liverpool will not be 'forgotten and lost'. By reprinting publications such as this, the Libraries and Information Services are fulfilling an important role in not only ensuring this, but in making them broadly accessible.

Rachel Mulhearn, National Museums Liverpool

Mike Fletcher, *Black gold and hot sand: A history of St Helens*, Lancaster: Carnegie Publishing, 2002. ix, 212 pp. £20.00 hbk. ISBN 1 85936 088 2.

Judging from its attractive cover and layout and a ringing endorsement from the leader of St Helens Council this is a worthy volume. Its lavish presentation, quality paper and binding, and the use of maps and both old and contemporary photographs to illustrate the considerable information provided make the book attractive to the general reader. However, can that reader assume adequate proof-reading has been carried out and that the information given is accurate? Sadly no.

Are the mis-spellings of the Frenchman de la Bruyere's name, and of St Gobain, whence he came to run the huge new cast plate glass concern at Ravenhead, mere typographic errors—and, likewise, giving '5000C' and not 9000C in describing cooling liquid glass, or the 'late 1930's' and not the 1980s for the closure of Bold Colliery? Shirdley is not Sherdley, and when Stanley Bank Mill is supposedly for 'silting' rather than 'slitting', nonsense is achieved. Readers will feel that preparation should have been more stringent, particularly those with family employment links to the former glass bottle makers Forsters, and the recently closed United Glass Bottlers (United Glass Ltd) respectively referred to by the author as Fosters and United Glass Builders.

Doubts as to the historical accuracy of the contents arise as early as the first page of the introduction. There were four, not five, townships from which St Helens developed. Hardshaw, the hamlet at the hub of the future town, lies within Windle township. William (not John) Clayton, Liverpool MP and Mayor, did purchase Parr Hall, but neither he, his widow Elizabeth, nor their coal-magnate daughter Sarah ever lived there. Apart

from experiencing difficulties through equating manors with townships in describing St Helens' early days, the author creates a major problem for himself by failing to identify which 'St Helens' he is really writing about. Is it the County Borough abolished in 1974 which had included most of the area of the four townships and whose motto 'Ex Terra Lucem' he cites as current? Or is it the much larger Metropolitan Borough that succeeded it—extending from Rainford to Bold, from Newton-le-Willows to Rainhill—with 'Prosperitas in Excelsis' as its motto?

Consequently, information given may not be true of the expanded borough. This can claim the distinction of being crossed by the Liverpool-Manchester Railway whose stations at Rainhill and Newton thus pre-date the passenger terminus at Peasley Cross on the St Helens and Runcorn Gap Railway, opened in 1833. This line, important in being the first to connect to the town centre, and in providing its collieries with an additional link to the Mersey, fully deserves the account he gives. Similarly, on p. 3 there is a photograph of 'St Helens' only surviving wayside cross', former crosses at Peasley Cross and Marshall's Cross being mentioned. But what about Kendrick's Cross and the perfectly preserved cross on Mill Lane in Rainhill? That would have provided a better illustration. Both these crosses served a real ecclesiastical purpose—a resting place for coffins being taken to Prescott Parish Church.

Rather more serious is the amount of misinformation contained within some sections of the book. For example, in the chapter concerning the Sankey Canal, Carr Mill (never a quarry!) is cited as a reservoir for re-directing the Sankey Brook into the Canal, whereas the brook in question is the Black Brook. Only in exceptional circumstances did the Canal draw water from the Sankey Brook, and the abstraction point lay outside the Borough. The Bridgewater Canal was opened in 1761, four not two years after the Sankey. To state that the Old Double Lock was narrower than locks on other canals is simply wrong. The Sankey, with locks designed to accommodate 14ft 6in wide coastal sailing craft, was the first broad canal in England. Subsequently some later canals, built where broad canals were too expensive, had locks just wide enough for their 6ft 10in narrowboats. No houses have been built on the line of the canal, nor is there evidence of gangs of Irish navvies building it. Metal winding gear on lock gates rarely survive 240 years, and that illustrated on p. 43 dates from the restoration of the New Double Lock in 1991.

When errors thus abound in one chapter one suspects them elsewhere. They exist. George Harris did not build Cowley House; Papists did not ransack the Catholic burial ground at Windleshaw; World War II coal miners were all not Bevan (sic) Boys; it is not St Helens' first Town Hall that is illustrated; since 1926 the Parish Church has been dedicated to St Helen; the conversion from electric trams to trolley buses only began in 1927.

Well presented, *Black gold and hot sand* reads easily. The author has put considerable effort into providing this well-sequenced account of St Helens history. Sadly, the authorities listed in his impressive bibliography have too often been ignored.

Mary Presland, St Helens

Peter Walkden, *A diary from January 1733 to March 1734, written by the Rev Peter Walkden, Minister of the Independent chapels at Hesketh Lane, Chipping, and at Newton-Bowland*, transcribed by members of Chipping Local History Society, Otley: Smith Settle, 2000. xxiv, 517 pp. £25 hbk. ISBN 1 85825 145 1.

Peter Walkden (1684–1769) was born at Flixton, near Manchester, educated locally and then at the academy of James Conygham, minister of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, before a probable time at a Scottish university. In 1709 he was ordained as a Nonconformist minister and from 1711 until 1738 he served two small Independent chapels at Hesketh Lane, near Chipping (1689, rebuilt 1705, and now a house) and, just over the county boundary, Newton-in-Bowland (1697, rebuilt in the nineteenth century). After a spell as minister of Holcombe, he ended his days at the Tabernacle, Stockport, where he is buried.

Throughout his sixty-year ministry Walkden kept a detailed diary: ‘a true account where, in what, and how I spend my time every day’, plus a daily commonplace book: ‘what is done or said remarkable in each day, either by myself or others.’ These diaries were used by his son Henry to record all the baptisms his father had performed during his ministry, and this manuscript is now at the Public Record Office. Unfortunately the diaries themselves then vanished. Two volumes, covering 1725 and 1729 surfaced at Slaidburn in about 1860, excerpts from which were published in Preston in 1866. These formed the basis for a paper by James Bromley read to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1880 and published in vol. 32 of *Transactions*. Two further papers followed in vols 36 and 37. The originals have now disappeared again and the published extracts are very scarce.

One hundred and forty years later the diary for 1733–4 was discovered at the Chester City Record Office among the manuscript collection of the Chester Archaeological Society, to whom it had been presented by Dean John Howson, who was President of the Historic Society between 1875 and 1879. It has now been lovingly transcribed *verbatim et literatim* by members of the Chipping Local History Society—no mean feat, since on many pages the text is very dense—with a wealth of careful and concise footnotes. The

result is a volume of wide-ranging interest which is also a fine example of the printer's craft.

Like so many rural Nonconformist ministers of the time Walkden had to supplement his meagre chapel stipend in order to support his growing family (in all he had eight children by two wives). He farmed about 40 acres on the slope of Longridge Fell, and so the diary is full of agricultural detail, with cows to be milked, crops to be harvested and sold and fences to be kept in repair. We are also drawn into a Nonconformist world untouched by the Evangelical Revival, with its metrical psalms, its quarterly communion services preceded by preparation on the previous Friday, its private baptisms and memorial services preached after burials conducted by the vicar. Congregations were small (and sometimes, in bad weather, non-existent); he had to literally count every penny and sometimes send his wife out 'to see if she could borrow me 20 shillings.' It is a tribute to his undemonstrative dedication that Walkden stayed in this remote and sparsely populated area for twenty-seven years. This diary forms an interesting contrast to that of his contemporary, James Clegg of Chapel-en-le-Frith, published twenty-five years ago by the Derbyshire Record Society.

E. Alan Rose, Mottram-in-Longdendale

Charles F. Foster, *Seven households: Life in Lancashire and Cheshire 1582 to 1774*, (The Arley Archive Series), Arley: Arley Hall Press, 2002. xviii, 248pp. £19.95 hbk, £11.95 pbk. ISBN 0 9518382 3 7 (hbk), ISBN 0 9518382 2 9 (pbk).

In this book, his third of a planned series of four, Charles Foster widens the area of study to include Lancashire as well as the neighbourhood of Arley in Cheshire. He examines the activities and fortunes of seven families over relatively short periods of time, varying from five to eighty-five years. These periods were determined by his principal sources which were mainly account books, some of which are available in published editions, and related documents in estate papers. In all, the book examines the history of three Lancashire and four Cheshire households. The Lancashire ones are the Shuttleworths of Smithills and Gawthorpe (1582–1621), Richard Latham of Scarisbrick (1716–1767) and the Fells of Swarthmore Hall (1673–1678); and the Cheshire households discussed are those of Sir Peter Leicester of Tabley (1613–1678), George Dockwra of Aston by Budworth (1741–1757), Thomas Jackson of Hield (1622–1707) and Sir Peter Warburton of Arley (1708–1774).

The study spans social classes ranging from simple farmers with three-life leases and holdings of less than 20 statute acres, through a middling

group of copyholders, to major Cheshire gentry families with thousands of acres. Charles Foster sets out to use—amongst many other facets—their families, incomes, successes and failures, diets, wardrobes, servants, employment and standards of living, whilst economic factors covered include details of their estates, farming, textiles, and supplies and services. The latter includes details of occupations.

The Shuttleworths' accounts are more detailed than the Leicesters' and provide a wealth of information on a lesser gentry family. The Leicester accounts show how many goods and services, particularly mineral-based products, became more readily available during the seventeenth century.

Thomas Jackson is an example of a bright boy rising from simple beginnings as a leaseholder's son, through education, to become a successful solicitor, surveyor, manager of the Leicesters' Tabley estate and, ultimately, a gentleman. His accounts survive on scattered documents in the Leicester archives, from which Foster has put together this description. It is unlikely that Jackson ever worked on his small farm himself, but gained an income from the farm through a system of 'halves', whereby the man working the farm got half the crop and the landlord the other half. Jackson's success was not emulated by his sons, who were to become a drain on his resources. Foster develops the history of the family by tracing what is known of Jackson's four children and 23 grandchildren, thus digressing into family history.

The Fells of Swarthmoor were a Quaker family from near Ulverston in what was formerly Lancashire over the sands, but is now part of Cumbria. In the seventeenth century this was a relatively remote and backward region, distant geographically from the other households considered by Foster. The Fells were from a middling social group, being freeholders intermediate in standing between the great landowners and the life leaseholders. Swarthmoor Hall was a family home in the widest sense of the word, providing a base for an extended family. It was run by Sarah Fell, who kept the account books used by Foster, and was unmarried. In addition to farming the family had an iron forge and a malt kiln which they worked as a business, and Sarah was something of an entrepreneur, becoming involved in corn merchanting and coastal shipping. She also speculated in coal as well as running a primitive banking service lending and borrowing money.

Foster considers Richard Latham's Scarisbrick household to be that of a typical, ordinary, rural family and, although he could not be considered a successful man, he was probably representative of his class in that he maintained his position and enabled his family to live a comfortable life on a relatively small land holding. This chapter is significant in that Latham is the poorest person discussed in the book, and records from the social group he represents are unusual.

By contrast the short chapter on George Dockwra seems a little out of place. He was from the gentry, single, without a household of his own and living in lodgings while pursuing a life of idleness on an annuity, and passing his time fishing, visiting the barber and drinking in local inns. His largest expenditure was on clothing to maintain his gentleman's appearance. As such he appears to be a caricature of an eighteenth century dandy and it is difficult to know how representative he is of any group in Lancashire and Cheshire.

The seventh household, that of Sir Peter Warburton of Arley, was the richest, and Foster provides a graphic picture of gentry life. By the mid-eighteenth century the Cheshire gentry had largely abandoned self-sufficiency in food and textile production on their estates and relied on the market. Farm workers no longer lived in and the estate land was let. This chapter provides details on the local building industry, coal supplies, roads and the increased diversity of small-scale industries in north Cheshire between 1650 and 1750.

Although Charles Foster compares and contrasts his seven households and brings their stories together in a brief concluding chapter, the seven accounts can be conveniently read in isolation by anyone with a more limited interest. Foster acknowledges that the information about the humbler families like the Jacksons and the Lathoms is of greater historical importance, since sources concerning the gentry are more widely available.

The book is well researched and contains a wealth of detail, but the author is also fond of speculation, and for serious use any reader of this work should be careful to discriminate between fact and probability (which, to be fair), the author usually makes clear. The volume has numerous illustrations, although some of the maps are difficult to use because of the considerable reduction from the originals. This book will be of particular interest to those studying the social and economic history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the two counties, and those with a special interest in the families and the places from which they originated.

There is a wealth of detail in this book which, because of the organisation around families and not around themes, may easily be missed if the book is scanned and not read thoroughly, although the book's use is facilitated by two good indexes, for names and places and for subjects; the former being rather more comprehensive than the latter. One criticism I would make is that a number of points are introduced but are not then developed, even in summary form, and one is merely referred to the author's forthcoming book on *Capital and innovation*. Whilst this may be an encouragement to buy the fourth book in the series when it appears, it is frustrating not being able to consider such topics further, even in summary. This reviewer found very few points of factual inaccuracy, although one hopes that the Lancashire county archivist is not offended at being

attributed with the wrong given name! The book is well-produced on high quality paper, but the review copy (the paperback edition) was showing early signs that the binding was coming apart, despite having been handled with extreme care.

Overall, this is a welcome addition to the literature on Lancashire and Cheshire.

J.M. Virgoe, Parbold

Eric Glasgow, *Studies in Southport's history*, Settle: Hudson History, 2002. 76 pp. £6.75 pbk. ISBN 1 903783 14 3.

Harry Foster, *Crossens: Southport's Cinderella suburb*, Birkdale: Birkdale & Ainsdale Historical Research Society, 2002. x, 146 pp. £16.95 hbk. ISBN 0 9510905 6 9.

An organizer for the Women's Social and Political Union, dispatched to Southport to initiate a local women's suffrage movement in connection with a by-election, reported back in despair that the town was 'the last resort of the degenerate'. This comment was made in a political sense, of course, and such a perception seems entirely compatible with Eric Glasgow's portrayal of Southport as a bastion, first of Gladstonian Liberalism, then of municipal and parliamentary Conservatism. More recent Liberal revivals are beyond his chosen time-span, which is Victorian and Edwardian apart from the concluding chapter of autobiographical recollection.

The most remarkable aspect of Dr Glasgow's book, however, is the complete absence of any direct reference to anything written by a historian dealing with anything outside Southport's boundaries since the work of his acknowledged mentor, G. M. Trevelyan. Of Southport's local historians, F. J. Cheetham is praised, while F. A. Bailey is disparaged in passing. Of the view from beyond the Atkinson Library, Dr Glasgow is innocent. His fourteen brief chapters include excursions into Southport's historical commemorations and celebrations of 'heritage' and invented tradition (the Duke's Folly centenary celebration of 1892), but he lacks the awareness of recent scholarship to develop arguments around these events or to put them in wider context. Considering the length of time Dr Glasgow has been collecting and collating material on Southport's history, indeed, what strikes the reader is the emptiness and inconsequentiality of what is on offer here, and the very limited amount of new evidence or insights. Even the proof-reading is of a poor standard, and connoisseurs of typographical errors should direct themselves to p. 35, line 3, on which no further

comment will be provided here, except that it is to be hoped that an inaccurate transcription of 'and' is at issue, rather than a lost apostrophe.

Dr Glasgow follows an orthodox set of assumptions in praising Southport's landowners for insisting on large houses and spacious planning in and around the town centre. He does not concern himself with where, and under what conditions, the local working class might have lived; and nor does he take any sustained interest in the activities of Southport's local government, apart from its role in developing the Marine Lakes. These important issues are dealt with in Harry Foster's fascinating book on the village and subsequent Southport suburb of Crossens, a further contribution to the enterprising publishing programme of the Birkdale and Ainsdale Historical Research Society, to which Dr Foster has contributed two previous local histories.

The sub-title, 'Southport's Cinderella suburb', points to the main themes. Crossens was an outlying agricultural village, in conflict (as so often) with its maritime neighbours Marshside and Banks, and stigmatized from 1878 onwards as the problematic site of Southport's main sewage outfall, the need for which had driven its incorporation into the borough three years earlier. The village was already, in part, a dormitory for labourers and service workers who could not afford the high rents in Southport itself, and it also attracted the town's largest laundry. These service roles were enduring; but in 1907 Crossens began to attract commuters in the opposite direction along the newly-electrified railway from Southport, as it became the site of Southport's only substantial factory, the Vulcan automobile works, which endured in various guises, and through many vicissitudes, until the late twentieth century. Housing provision expanded in response to this new demand, and was boosted by inter-war outer suburban development and by post-war expansion into areas that were to prove terribly vulnerable to flooding, as the great storm of 1977 demonstrated. The village was always a poor relation within Southport, the last to receive new amenities and, later, the first to lose them; but for much of the twentieth century it sustained a variety of flourishing voluntary organizations and a tangible sense of local pride.

This is a well-told narrative of local history, using a wide range of sources in a scholarly way. It does not quarry the work of other historians to provide comparative illumination (I think of Raphael Samuel on Headington Quarry, for example), but it provides valuable material for those who wish to piece together a wider picture. It would be interesting to know more on several issues, such as the relationship between sewage pollution and the local cockling and other fishing industries, and the rationale for the (in retrospect) astonishing closure in 1964 of the Preston-Southport railway line that served Crossens; but there is plenty to sustain the appetite here, including a good measure of entertainment. I particularly

liked the story of the farmer who got into trouble with the estate management for 'running after' a hare. He must have been either very optimistic or unusually fleet of foot. Due acknowledgement is made to the work of other local historians, and credit is given to John Liddle for his excellent chapter on the role of the Hesketh and Scarisbrick families in Southport's Victorian development, a theme that is highly relevant to Crossens itself, where successive Scarisbricks exhibited a squirearchical demeanour that they failed to replicate elsewhere. This is, in sum, a very useful and well-documented addition to a valuable series, and a worthwhile purchase not only for Southport people, but also for anyone interested in this kind of settlement.

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Alan G. Crosby, *The Lancashire dictionary of dialect, tradition and folklore*, Otley: Smith Settle, 2000. xxiii, 233 pp. £7.95 pbk. ISBN 1 85825 122 2.

Those who, in a vacant moment, have picked up a dictionary and started to read it only to abandon it at page two, should try this one. A dictionary in name and form, it is also a highly readable miscellany of Lancashire folk speech and traditions. As a dictionary it defies classification in any other more specific way; it is not confined to any period, or any special themes, other than it is a county collection, and it freely mixes general historical information with the dialect, tradition and folklore of its title—entries for dry stone walls and the Duchy of Lancaster are sandwiched between Droylsden Wakes and ducks (savoury, of course). For the very tidy minded this may be unnerving, but in fact does not impair its usefulness, while greatly adding to its interest.

The book functions on two planes; as a reference work to answer queries as to meaning, and as book simply to be read for pleasure. As a reference book it limits itself, as the title indicates, to Lancashire material, and the user will not find the answer to all his/her local history queries here. For instance, the student of farming history will find an entry for the Lancashire acre, one for Plough Sunday traditions—with a note on Burnley—and one for dry stone walls; but not general information on common fields, enclosures or ploughs. The entry on Oliver Cromwell is confined entirely to his known or legendary associations with a few places in the county, and would not be overly helpful (although it might be interesting) to the writer of a history of the Civil War in Lancashire. Moreover, items on topics such as the county Palatine, the Duchy of Lancaster, or the Lancashire Authors' Association are far outnumbered by those on traditions and folk speech,

and readers seeking a wide range of information on county institutions of the former kind will be disappointed.

But this work is best regarded as a book simply to be read out of interest, and in this it is wholly successful. The many readers who know the author will be aware of both his reputation as a writer of 'serious' local history and his enthusiasm for the human side of Lancashire's past—its real people; their surroundings and the events in which they took part. Both these qualities come together in this publication. A wide variety of information on the traditions and folk speech of the past, and the way of life of Lancastrians—perhaps especially of working class Lancastrians—is conveyed in readable and often humorous style, yet with full historical care and accuracy. Traditions are plentifully recorded, from that of the Hothersall Hall devil who was unable to make a rope of sand, to that of Fair Ellen of Radcliffe Tower whose stepmother was said to have had her cut up and baked in a pies (with the cautionary author's note that the ballad which records this is a version of a folk theme found all over Europe).

Food features prominently: Lancashire hot-pot, jannock, lobscouse, fag pie and cratchins to name just a few examples. Workaday life is represented by such items as those on plug-drawing during the nineteenth century factory troubles; the pot and pan concerts which were a sign of disapproval, and the 'drinkings' or snacks taken to eaten by workers during the day. The book revels in the curious—did you, for instance, know that there was a particularly renowned fighting cock from Rochdale known as 'Crash-Bwons'? or that an 'elderfeeder' was a dragonfly? or that mugwort is known around Bickerstaffe and Melling as 'council weed' because it is said to grow 'when the council have been along'?

It would be reprehensible to review this book without mentioning the pleasing line drawings by Peter Kearney which illustrate the pages. Sometimes echoing familiar published illustrations—at others purely original—they are entirely appropriate to the text.

If I were to ask more from this book it might be that, purely for the items of a historical kind such of those on the Duchy and the Palatinate of Lancaster, a bibliographical note of any useful standard work on the subject would have been helpful. But perhaps that would be to misunderstand the flavour of this dictionary, and such references can easily be found elsewhere. And while this is a reliable collection of information on Lancashire life and legend, it also justifies its existence by being simply a very interesting book. Read—and enjoy.

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Christopher Crouch, *Design culture in Liverpool 1880–1914: The origins of the Liverpool School of Architecture*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002. xv, 200 pp. £37.99 hbk., £19.99 pbk. ISBN 0 85323 844 7 (hbk); 0 85323 894 4 (pbk)

For anyone with an interest in the history of architectural education, the fame of the Liverpool School of Architecture is inextricably bound up with Charles Reilly, its charismatic head from 1904 to 1933. Those familiar with Liverpool's late 19th-century art scene, however, will also be aware of its origins as the School of Architecture and Applied Arts, known because of its rudimentary teaching accommodation as the 'Art Sheds'. Here hand-crafts such as metalwork, stained glass and carving were taught alongside architecture, in the Arts and Crafts tradition derived from John Ruskin and William Morris.

In this book Christopher Crouch first establishes the background to the setting up of the School, with chapters on the Arts and Crafts in Liverpool (mostly concerned with Port Sunlight and the controversial 1901 competition for Liverpool Cathedral), and national and local 'design culture' in the 1880s and 90s. Having thus set the scene, he describes the inauguration and evolution of the course of study offered by the School; the significant links with America that helped shape it; the influence of the City Beautiful movement on Merseyside; and the new subject of Civic Design, whose ideology was set out in the pages of the *Town Planning Review*. The book is attractively designed, and has some well-chosen black and white illustrations, including examples of the grandiose, visionary perspective drawings that Reilly's students were encouraged to produce.

By focusing on the years before the First World War, Crouch shifts the emphasis away from Reilly and concentrates on the School's beginnings, situating it in its broader cultural context. In the introduction he points out that this is a book about 'cultural attitudes and processes illustrated by architecture, rather than architecture itself', which gives fair warning that there will be more theorising about style than discussion of buildings from an aesthetic viewpoint. Indeed the book originated in a doctoral thesis, and the academic use of language makes it something of an effort to read, though it contains material that will be of interest to a more general audience. Most interestingly, it shows that the example of American schools of architecture, which modeled their teaching on the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* in Paris, influenced the Liverpool School from the start. These transatlantic links have in the past been seen as part of Reilly's achievement, and certainly he greatly developed them, but Crouch shows that American architecture and methods of architectural education were being discussed approvingly in Liverpool from as early as the 1890s, and that the teaching of architecture at Columbia University, New York, was particularly

admired. F. M. Simpson, Reilly's predecessor as professor, emerges from the shadow of that master of self-publicity as a significant figure in his own right. He anticipated Reilly's enthusiasm for Liverpool's inheritance of Georgian buildings, and perhaps also his preference for classical architecture, and it was he who established the course of study that Reilly successfully developed. One would like to be told more about his career, both during his time at the School and after his departure for London: was he involved with the design of any other buildings as ambitious as the great domed Queen Victoria memorial in Liverpool's Derby Square? Crouch argues that although in the Art Sheds architecture and the applied arts were taught side by side, they never really coalesced in the way ideally envisaged by the institution's founders, and the Sheds were effectively two schools rather than one. If this is so, it might explain why, with such notable exceptions as the Philharmonic Hotel and the Ullet Road Unitarian Church, Liverpool has so few buildings of c.1900 in which architecture and the decorative arts are fully integrated in the approved Arts and Crafts manner.

Something the book conspicuously lacks is detailed information about the School's students. Who were they, where did they come from, and what, if anything, did their subsequent careers owe to their academic training? Some who became architects of note are mentioned in relation to specific projects, but there is no attempt to give an overview, or to show how architects trained at the School differed from those who followed the traditional career path of pupilage in the office of an established architect. Surely the buildings put up by its graduates should determine the reputation of a school of architecture, as much as the theoretical views of its teachers and supporters?

The text was evidently written some years ago, since when there have been publications by Alan Powers, Peter Richmond, Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock in the same field, and it is regrettable that these are not mentioned in the footnotes and bibliography. Unfortunately, there are also a number of small but annoying errors that undermine the reader's confidence in the author's attention to detail: for example Anning Bell's Christian name was Robert, not Richard; the winner of the 1910 competition for Port Sunlight was Ernest Prestwich, not Prestwick; and Liverpool has an interwar housing estate called Dovecot, but not one called Dovecote.

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