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DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES:

THE FIRST FIFTEEN YEARS

Mary Jo Maynes⁺

From the modest and recent beginning - a collection of articles on the theme of "Historical Population Studies" in *Daedalus* in 1968 -, the study of demographic history in the United States has expanded dramatically. Any effort briefly to characterize so lively a field is bound to be fragmentary. The essay is an attempt to look at the evolution of, and some current directions in, research on a few clusters of central problems. The works discussed have been selected as exemplary of the field; no attempt will be made to be exhaustive in covering the numerous and quite diverse collection of historical demographic works which have been published by American scholars.

The study of demographic history in the United States has come a long way since its emergence in the mid-1960s. It was really only then that American scholars of European and United States history first began to ask the kinds of questions that were of concern to French and British demographic historians, and to apply the techniques for demographic historical analysis that they had developed. (1) In the spring of 1968, the editors of *Daedalus*, a journal published by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, published a collection of articles on the theme of "Historical Population Studies" as a means of introducing the American scholarly community to this relatively new body of research. Only about half of the authors represented in the collection were from the United States, and it is fair to say that none of their studies could truly be characterized as demographic history. These largely tentative and exploratory essays represented rather a first attempt to define some problem areas and to carve out a place for demographic study in the emergent field of social history. (2) From this modest and recent beginning, the study of demographic history in the United States has expanded dramatically. (3) Any effort briefly to characterize so lively a field is bound to be fragmentary. The essay which follows is an attempt to look at the evolution of, and some current directions in, research on a few clusters of central problems. The works discussed have been selected as exemplary of the field; no attempt will be made to be exhaustive in covering the numerous and quite diverse collection of historical demographic works which have been published by American scholars.

The methods of historical demography were first applied in the United States to an analysis of the immigrant British population of colonial

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New England. (4) Beginning in 1965, there appeared a series of publications which employed the newly developed techniques like family reconstitution and aggregative analysis of parish and civil registers to reconstruct the demographic history of selected colonial communities. In particular, the pioneering works of John Demos(5), Kenneth Lockridge(6), and Phillip Greven(7) first integrated a demographic analysis into the historical portrayal of daily life and social institutions in New World communities. In discussing these early explorations, Lockridge would later maintain that they showed that the transatlantic migrations did not transform 'the European peasant' in terms of essential behaviors and attitudes(8) (one wonders what he meant by this since colonial New England was not populated by 'peasants' as the term is usually meant!). These early studies nonetheless uncovered some apparent striking demographic contrasts between the Old World and the New: higher completed fertility in the colonies, more youthful female marriage, lower infant mortality, greater longevity.(9) (A slightly later study by Daniel Scott Smith actually directly compared Swedish records with those of a New England community, using techniques which allowed the analysis of the various components of population growth. Smith found levels of marital fertility that were comparable, and was thus able to attribute the faster population growth rate in the colonies to higher levels of nuptiality and lower mortality(10). These early studies, restricted as they were to data from individual communities, employing for the most part only descriptive statistics, often resorting to dubious methods and corrective measures, nonetheless isolated important demographic questions, questions which have remained central to demographic and social historical analysis as it has reached into other regions of the United States, and other periods of American history. These problem areas include: the relationships between economic opportunity, especially in the form of landholding, and demographic patterns; changing family and community life under the impact of immigration and rapid population growth; changes in demographic behavior and attitudes between first generation migrants and their descendants.

The relationship between family processes and land inheritance patterns has been as important for the demographic history of the United States as it has been in Europe. Naturally, the greater availability of land in frontier regions and the lesser communal control over its disposal made it seem likely to researchers that the demographic consequences would be somewhat different from the European pattern. In fact, U.S. frontier areas have served as a sort of historical laboratory for social scientists interested, in particular, in the connections between land availability and fertility. Best known of these is Richard Easterlin, an economist whose hypotheses about economic determinants of family size have been tested historically in frontier areas. Easterlin's early works(11) laid out his model. More recent empirical studies based largely on multivariate analysis from U.S. and state census materials have begun to examine the relationship between changing farm conditions and rural fertility patterns in the United States in the late 19th century(12). Similar methods and models have been used in studies like those of John Modell or Peter Lindert(13), studies which help to account for general and differential trends in the fertility decline which occurred in the U.S. beginning in the 19th century. A more recent project entitled "Family Strategy in the Upper Midwest", under the direction of Russell Menard, will

examine the impact on fertility strategies in rural northern Minnesota and Wisconsin of economic developments like commercial agriculture and mining industry. Like many of the more recent analyses of demographic change in the United States, the Upper Midwest Fertility Project employs a life-course perspective in its analysis of Federal and state census materials, and uses multivariate techniques to test hypotheses about relationships between economic and demographic change.(14)

The analysis of fertility patterns in largely economic terms has met with criticism from a variety of perspectives. For example, proponents of modernization theory like Maris Vinovskis argue that socio-economic variables, while important, are not adequate to account for what was, after all, a general pattern of fertility decline. Vinovskis would like to take attitudinal components of change more seriously, and some of the support for arguments of this sort is drawn from ethnic differentials in fertility patterns in urban and rural areas of the U.S.(15)

The demographic study of urban populations as such has often come out of the field of urban history rather than economics, and where it has, is better integrated into the study of social historical context than is often the case with the frontier studies.(16) The study of the family in the urban American context is providing valuable insights into the institution which is, of course, the key to understanding demographic behavior. While there are numerous examples of individual and small group projects concerned with urban social, family and demographic history, it is worth noting especially here the most exciting and promising of these - the Philadelphia Social History Project.(17) This project, housed at the School of Public and Urban Policy of the University of Pennsylvania and headed by Theodore Hershberg, employs a fulltime interdisciplinary staff as well as a large number of temporary research associates for specific areas of expertise. The research associates are engaged in genuinely interdisciplinary and collaborative work employing an enormous common data base including manuscript censuses, household surveys, manufacturing censuses, business directories and mortality registers for the city of Philadelphia, all of which have been converted to a machine-readable format. Perhaps more than any other social historical project currently underway, the Philadelphia Project allows and encourages a "total history" to be undertaken - one which links developments in demographic, family, labor and community history together in the context of an understanding of the evolution of the urban space itself.(18)

There is one other area of American history for which explicit links between economic and demographic trends have been much the focus of study - the field of Afro-American history, both under slavery and after Emancipation. Many of the questions and controversies currently surrounding antebellum black demographic history trace their origins to the arguments made by Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman in *Time on the Cross: the Economics of American Negro Slavery*.(19) Although there had been a number of earlier studies of black demography and demographic history(20), it is fair to say that it was Fogel and Engerman's study that really set the field in motion, and has largely structured its subsequent debates. Their argument,

centering as it does on an effort to prove that slavery was a profitable (and hence economically rational) system, focussed attention on such essentially demographic issues as the viability of the slave labor force and its ability to reproduce itself as a labor supply. Although Time of the Cross has been rightfully criticized for its conceptualization (especially for its attempts to compare regional economies and labor conditions in different sections of the U.S.) and for its sometimes dubious methodology (for example, its heroic assumptions and overgeneralizations from sparse data), subsequent less grandiose and more careful researchers have felt compelled to address the important questions raised by Fogel and Engerman. Recent special issues of Southern Studies(21) and The William and Mary Quarterly(22) attest to the strides made toward uncovering new sources and establishing methods for their analysis which will yield more precise estimates of slave population trends, even for the colonial era. The relatively recent study of slave demography in the colonial era is of particular importance, since many significant changes in black population patterns apparently occurred before usable census records are available. Generally cited as models of correct methodology, the articles of Russell Menard and his colleagues on the Chesapeake Project sponsored by the St. Mary's City Commission are interesting for their blend of economic, demographic and social historical evidence drawn mainly from probate records(23). Analyses of the records of individual plantations have also produced credible demographic evidence when carefully handled as, for example, in articles by James Trussell and Richard Steckel(24), Alan Kulikoff(25), and Cheryll Cody.(26) Mention should also be made of the influential work of Herbert Gutman(27), whose search for new sources to aid in a reconstruction of black family patterns and family culture has been generally well-received. Gutman has been criticized, however, for his failure to employ systematic demographic methods and concepts even where they are, in fact, crucial to support his argument maintaining the viability and resilience of Afro-American family systems. His goal - to counter both the older sociological portrait of the American black family popularized by the Moynihan report(28), and the relatively sanguine picture of slave family life which one might draw from Time on the Cross - is certainly worth pursuing with utmost rigor.(29)

A whole set of characteristically American historical problem areas - frontier society, immigration, slavery - have thus been much illuminated, if not redefined by the introduction of a historical demographic perspective. But these remain "American" problems - despite their obvious methodological indebtedness to European scholars, it is fair to say that most historians of the U.S. conduct their research in relative isolation from European historians.(30) This is naturally not the case with American demographic historians of Europe, whose research is closely linked both theoretically and methodologically with that of European colleagues, and is in some cases absolutely central to the fields.

One of the earliest and best known projects involving European demographic history is the European Fertility Project headed by Ansley Coale of the Office of Population Research at Princeton University. The demographers associated with the Project have set for themselves the goal of "recording the decline of fertility in each of the provinces of Europe ... from the time in each province when marital

fertility was essentially constant until it reached a minimum or until the present, if it is still declining"(31). The group has produced a large number of articles and a series of monographs describing the demographic transition in different regions of research.(32) An important by-product of the Project has been the creation of a series of indexes of fertility and nuptiality which can be constructed from the kinds of data often available historically, and sets of model life tables which have been widely used by demographic historians. Theoretically, the works restrict themselves to a search for the relationships between fertility decline and socio-economic change suggested by the loosely specified "demographic transition theory". But the empirical results are not particularly supportive of generalization along these lines. As one recent reviewer put it, "we still have the old 'theory' with little predictive power. We now perhaps realize (as a result of the EFP studies) even more firmly that the transition is really a collection of variant patterns of fertility and nuptiality change and that the relationships between demographic and socio-economic variables are not constant or even very predictable in shape and magnitude."(33)

The OPR studies of published census materials are by no means the only types of research undertaken by American demographic historians of Europe. Many are working with community-level sources like parish registers and household surveys, exploring the process of demographic change in a fashion not possible through the analysis of aggregate data alone. Much of the theoretical interest of American historians, like that of their European colleagues, has centered on the demographic character of the peasant community and its eventual alteration under the impact of historical change. The demographer John Knodel, in fact one of the associates on the European Fertility Project, has also worked extensively with a set of German village geneologies, the Ortssippenbücher, to describe what he finds to be essentially a 'natural fertility' regime throughout rural Germany until well into the 19th century.(34) Since he is a demographer, Knodel pays relatively little attention to the social-historical context of the populations he studies, but his precise and careful demographic analysis of them represents a great contribution to our understanding of central European historical demographic patterns.

Social historians concerned with demographic questions have tended to pay more attention to context, and have attempted to enmesh demographic behavior in the system of social relationships in which it occurred. David Sabean, for example, has undertaken a massive effort to write a 'total history' of a set of South German communities from the 16th through the 19th centuries. He hopes to account for important longterm changes in demographic behavior as part of a complex evolution involving farming practices, settlement patterns, inheritance and land tenure practices and market relations. Sabean, in his earlier work on the era of the Peasant War, has illustrated how much a demographic perspective can add to the analysis of long-standing social-historical problems.(35) The connections between the demography, family life and household structure of the peasant community, on the one hand, and land tenure and inheritance patterns, on the other, have also been explored in the seminal work of Lutz

Berkner. Ranging in area from central France through Germany and Austria, Berkner's research has illustrated the persistence of "stem" family structures and other strategies for handling the difficulties inherent in the effort to balance land and population in the peasant system. Berkner has also illustrated how inheritance customs can affect population growth.(36) Andreas Plakans has come to consistent conclusions about land tenure and household structure in his studies in the Baltic area, work which suggests a connection between the complex household system common to that area and the labor demands made by landlords as part of the condition of tenure.(37)

One of the central debates surrounding the historical (and contemporary) analysis of economic development and population change concerns the origin and nature of the population rise associated with the early stages of transition to industrial capitalism. The demographic transition theory mentioned above certainly offers one account - in simplest terms, changes associated with 'modernization' (health care, education etc.) bring about lowered mortality, which in turn encourages adjustments in fertility. An alternative theoretical tradition, one more sceptical of the supposed beneficial consequences of economic modernization, emphasizes instead the destabilizing impact of early capitalist intervention into the peasant economy, and the demographic imbalances created through the earlier marriage and higher fertility associated with it. This approach pushes researchers back in time, into the early modern 'proto-industrial' phase of economic growth. Again, the work of American researchers has been critical to the debate.(38) The work of Franklin Mendels, an economic historian who compared patterns of development in commercial agricultural and proto-industrial regions of Flanders, first illustrated the demographic effect of rural industry.(39) Other American economic historians, notably Herbert Kisch and Richard Rudolph, have followed the route of rural industrial development in Central Europe and Russia.(40) Certainly much work needs to be done to make the case, but future discussion of demographic change in rural Europe will need to take these findings into account and to expand upon them.

American scholars have also been active in the area of European urban demographic history, perhaps even more active than their European colleagues. A few examples will serve to illustrate the scope and results of their research. David Herlihy's work on Renaissance Florence(41) has been rightfully called "the most successful effort so far to integrate demographic analysis with regional social history and literary sources."(42) Allan Sharlin's study of early modern Frankfurt combines the mastery of historical sources with awareness of appropriate methods of analysis so crucial to high quality demographic history.(43) Louise Tilly's current research about women's work, family strategies and demographic patterns in several northern French cities promises to add as much to the field of urban demographic history as her earlier collaborative work with Joan Scott added to the field of European family and women's history.(44) James Jackson's social and demographic analysis of industrial Duisburg has illustrated the rich possibilities open to those willing to explore sources like migration records, sources which illuminate the demographic patterns and family experiences associated with early industrial urban-

ization. (45) Urban-rural comparisons from analyses of published census statistics by Michael Haines (46) and John Knodel and Mary Jo Maynes (47), call into question some pervasive assumptions about the demographic history of the nineteenth-century, especially about the demographic behavior of 'modern' sectors. The results of these various studies are by no means entirely consistent and these new empirical contributions leave many theoretical questions unresolved. But, as in the case of U.S. urban demographic history, the mesh of theoretical concern, generally careful methodology, and creative use of sources represented by the best of these studies, makes American work in the field of European urban social and demographic history especially significant.

No essay about the study of demographic history in the United States would be complete without some mention of the handful of social scientists who have, often in addition to their empirical work, furthered the field through conceptual and theoretical writings, critical discussions and evaluations of historical demographic literature and methodological advances. Charles Tilly's main empirical concern with demography centers on the question of the components of the process of proletarianization, but he has, in a few important essays, also synthesized large bodies of social and demographic historical writing and suggested hypotheses about demographic change which have served as guideposts for others engaged in research. (48) The 'neo-Malthusian' economist Ron Lee has developed techniques for improving the nature of information derived from aggregative analysis of parish registers, especially spectral analysis for use in detecting cycles in demographic trends and in their relationships to other series data. (49) Allan Sharlin is establishing himself as one of the foremost U.S. students and proponents of sound historical demographic techniques, and has contributed methodologically and conceptually to some specific research problem areas. (50) Daniel Scott Smith (51), Maris Vinovskis (52), and Lutz Berkner (53), have all written thoughtful assessments and critical evaluations of substantial bodies of historical demographic literature, essays which have helped to point out difficulties in published research, and to improve the designs and techniques of later studies. Berkner has also been important in the development of a process-oriented, or life-cycle perspective on family history. He originally presented his thoughts on this subject in his analysis of Austrian peasant households and in his criticism of the work of Peter Laslett and associates. (54) The life-cycle perspective has also become central to the conceptualization of demographic problems characteristic of many social historians of the U.S. like Tamara Hareven and her associates, who draw some of their inspiration from American sociologists of the family (55), and help to integrate some of their insights into historical work.

Part of the explanation for the strides made in and more central role of historical demographic study in the United States (even though the persistence of problems in the field and resistance in some circles to its acceptance cannot be denied) is the emergence of a number of centers where group projects are in progress, where training of students in historical demographic techniques takes place, or where concentrations of individual researchers are large enough to establish an intellectual atmosphere conducive to this

type of work. The most active of these centers are probably the Office of Population Research of Princeton University (home of the European Fertility Project), The Population Studies Center of the University of Pennsylvania (some of whose members are affiliated with the Philadelphia Social History Project), the Population Studies Center of the University of Michigan, the Center for Historical Population Studies of the University of Utah, and the Newberry Library in Chicago. The Utah Center is the only one in the U.S. founded with the express aim of promoting research in historical population studies; the other demographic centers mentioned encourage historical projects along with a variety of other types of demographic analysis. The prime function to date of the Center for Historical Population Studies has been to facilitate scholarly access to the mammoth collection of demographic records collected in the archives of the Genealogical Society of Utah. (56) Researchers have already begun to find these collections useful, and a number of projects have been undertaken to exploit them - for example, the Mormon Demography Project which is examining patterns of marriage, fertility, mortality and migration among Utah Mormons over the last 125 years; (57) and a project entitled "The Economics of Mortality in North America, 1650-1910" (58), which is assembling a data base of census, geneological, probate and tax records for a proposed examination of regional and ethnic mortality differentials, and associations between socio-economic variables and mortality. The role of the Family and Community History Center of the Newberry Library is somewhat different. This Center is particularly important as a training grounds for social historians - the annual Summer Institutes in Quantitative History provide training in statistics, research design, computing, demography and family history in addition to workshops on a variety of social historical topics. The Library also has a good collection of source materials including geneologies and local histories for American and English communities, and provides some fellowship support for scholars working with these sources. Current research projects include Daniel Scott Smith's study of the older population of the United States (59) and Barbara Hanawalt's study of the late medieval peasant family in England. The Library also houses the Center for the History of the American Indian, which has begun to support a small number of demographic projects.

Perhaps even more encouraging is the fact that most major departments of history now feel obliged to have on their staff at least one historian with demographic training or research interests. Thus even where no formal training in demographic historical methods is offered, the perspective is nonetheless available to students. Some departments, those of Michigan and Minnesota, for example, have by design or chance even assembled clusters of scholars engaged in research on family and demographic history. These examples are certainly atypical, but it is safe to say that, current university budgetary crises and hiring freezes notwithstanding, demographic historians have managed to establish themselves in academe, and to incorporate their perspective into many of the major intellectual debates of contemporary American historical and social scientific disciplines - an impressive record for a first generation.

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FOOTNOTES

- 1 It should be noted at the outset that the essay will discuss demographic historical work being done in the United States and will exclude Canadian research. At times, the distinction becomes arbitrary, but it is the case that the historiographic traditions of the two North American nations are somewhat divergent, and a discussion of Canadian achievements in historical demography would require a separate treatment. As for the U.S. origins of demographic historical study, Michael Gordon, editor of two volumes of articles on American family history, both entitled *The American Family in Social Historical Perspective* (New York, 1973¹ and 1978²), claims in the introduction to the second edition that it was the U.S. publication of Peter Laslett's *The World We Have Lost*, in 1965, that inspired many of the subsequent U.S. community studies employing demographic historical techniques. Kenneth Lockridge, one of the American pioneers in the field, recalls that it was the work of Pierre Goubert which inspired his own. See K. Lockridge, "Historical Demography", in C.F. Delzell, ed., *The Future of History* (Nashville, Tenn., 1977).
- 2 For a description in German of simultaneous developments in the broader area of social history in the United States, see J. Modell, "Die 'Neue Sozialgeschichte' in Amerika", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 1 (1975), 155-170.
- 3 A recent bibliography published under the auspices of the *Journal of Family History*, G. Soliday's *History of the Family and Kinship: A Select International Bibliography* (Millwood, N.Y., 1980) gives some indication of the extent of American contribution to historical demographic research.
- 4 The demographic history of Native American people, it should be noted, has been of less concern to historians, and only recently has substantial attention begun to be paid to it. For a recent bibliography, see H. Dobyns, *Native American Historical Demography: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976).
- 5 "Notes on Life in the Plymouth Colony", *William and Mary Quarterly* 22 (1965), 264-286; "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island: An Exercise in Historical Demography", *William and Mary Quarterly* 25 (1968), 40-57; *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in the Plymouth Colony* (Oxford, 1970).
- 6 "The Population of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736", *Economic History Review* 19 (1966), 318-344; *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years* (New York, 1970).
- 7 "Family Structure in Seventeenth-Century Andover, Massachusetts", *William and Mary Quarterly* 23 (1966), 234-256; *Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1970).

- 8 K. Lockridge, "Historical Demography", p. 55.
- 9 The tendency to generalize from these unrepresentative early community samples, as well as a series of methodological problems in these studies and successors, has been noted by critics. For an excellent, if highly critical, methodological review of the field of colonial demographic history, see D.S. Smith, "The Estimates of Early American Historical Demographers: Two Steps Forward, One Step Back, What Steps in the Future?" *Historical Methods* 12 (1979), 24-38.
- 10 D.S. Smith, "The Demographic History of Colonial New England", *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972), 165-183.
- 11 See, for example, "Towards a Socio-Economic Theory of Fertility: A Survey of Recent Research on Economic Factors in American Fertility", in *Fertility and Family Planning*, S.J. Behrman et al. (eds.) (Ann Arbor, 1969); "An Economic Framework for Fertility Analysis", *Studies in Family Planning* 6 (1974), 54-63.
- 12 R.A. Easterlin, "Factors in the Decline of Farm Fertility in the United States: Some Preliminary Results", *Journal of American History* 63 (1976), 600-614; R.A. Easterlin, "Population Change and Farm Settlement in the Northern United States", *Journal of Economic History* 37 (1976), 45-75; R.A. Easterlin, G. Alter, and G.A. Condran, "Farms and Farm Families in New and Old Areas: The United States in 1860", *Family and Population in Nineteenth-Century America*, T.K. Hareven and M. Vinovskis, (eds.) (Princeton, 1978).
- 13 J. Modell, "Fertility on the Indiana Frontier", 1820, *American Quarterly* 23 (1971), 505-538; P. Lindert, "American Fertility Patterns Since the Civil War", in *Population Patterns in the Past*, Ronald Lee, (ed.) (New York, 1977).
- 14 This project, still in its early stages, has produced no published results to date.
- 15 M.A. Vinovskis, "Socio-economic Determinants of Interstate Fertility Differentials in the United States, 1850 and 1860", *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6 (1976), 375-396; T.K. Hareven and M. Vinovskis, "Marital Fertility, Ethnicity and Occupation in Urban Families: An Analysis of South Boston and the South End in 1880", *Journal of Social History* 8 (1975), 79-93.
- 16 For an interesting recent assessment of the evolution, problems and promise of U.S. urban history, see M. Frisch, "American Urban History as an Example of Recent Historiography", *History and Theory* 18 (1979), 350-377, also available in German translation in the German edition of *New Directions in European Historiography*, G. Iggers, (ed.), published as *Neue Geschichtswissenschaft: Von Historismus zur Historischen Sozialwissenschaft* (München, 1978). In the particular area of urban family history, the work of Tamara Hareven has been important, see her article, "The Historical Study of the Family in Urban Society", *Journal of Urban History* 1 (1975), 259-267 and a collection of essays which she edited, *Family and Kin in Urban Communities, 1700-1930* (New York, 1977).

- 17 The role of the important Hamilton, Ontario Project should be noted. This too is an interdisciplinary, collaborative study of the population of the city of Hamilton, and its history. Again, because of the geographic confines of this essay, the Hamilton Project will not be discussed here, but for the major publication emerging from the project, see M. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975).
- 18 For a description of the project, and some published results, see the special issue of the *Historical Methods Newsletter* 9 (1976), Nos. 2 and 3, dedicated to the Philadelphia Social History Project, and also, T. Hershberg, "The New Urban History: Toward an Interdisciplinary History of the City", *Journal of Urban History* 5 (1978), 3-40. The first collection of research results has been published as: *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1980).
- 19 (Boston, 1974).
- 20 See, for example, R. Farley, "The Demographic Rates and Social Institutions of the nineteenth-century Negro Population: A Stable Population Analysis", *Demography* 2 (1965), 386-398; R. Farley, *Growth of the Black Population* (Chicago, 1970); J.E. Eblen, "New Estimates of the Vital Rates for the United States Black Population during the Nineteenth Century", *Demography*, 11 (1974), 301-319.
- 21 16 (1977).
- 22 3rd series, 35 (1978).
- 23 R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties", *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 32 (1975), 29-54; R. Menard, "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System", *Southern Studies* 16 (1977), 353-390.
- 24 J. Trussell and R. Steckel, "The Age of Slaves at Menarche and Their First Birth", *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8 (1978), 477-505; a more recent article by Steckel, "Slave Mortality: Analysis of Evidence from Plantation Records", *Social Science History* 3 (1979), 86-114, employs crude regional economic indexes and sloppy methodology, and generally compares poorly with the more careful uses of plantation records cited below.
- 25 "A Prolifick People: Black Population Growth in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1700-1790", *Southern Studies* 16 (1977), 391-428.
- 26 "A Note on Changing Patterns of Slave Fertility in the South Carolina Rice District, 1735-1865", *Southern Studies* 16 (1977), 457-463, and also her forthcoming University of Minnesota dissertation based on the records of the Ball plantation in South Carolina.
- 27 *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* (New York, 1976).

- 28 The debate generated by the Moynihan Report in the 1960s, between those who regarded the black family as weakened by the historical experience of American blacks, and those who preferred to emphasize its strength and adaptability, illustrates the connections between policy and social and historical research that has characterized the study of black population. See L. Rainwater and W.L. Yancey, (eds.), *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).
- 29 For some methodological critiques, see R. Fogel, "Cliometrics and Culture: Some Recent Developments in the Historiography of Slavery", *Journal of Social History* 11 (1977), 34-51; J. Modell, "Herbert Gutman's *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925*", *Social Science History*, 3:3and4 (1979), 45-55.
- 30 There are, of course, exceptions. Several current projects come to mind - the comparative studies of Kenneth Lockridge and Daniel Scott Smith which look at European and North American demographic patterns, the work of Kathy Conzen comparing German families in Germany and the United States, the new efforts of historians of American slavery to view the system as part of a world economy. With the exception of the already cited article by Smith (Note 10), so far there has been little published in the way of comparative work of this sort.
- 31 A.J. Coale, "The Decline of Fertility in Europe from the French Revolution to World War II", in *Fertility and Family Planning*, S.J. Behrman, et al. (eds.), (Ann Arbor, 1969), pp. 3-4.
- 32 Among the published works are: P. Demeny, "Early Fertility Decline in Austria-Hungary", *Daedalus* 97 (1968), 502-522; M. Livi-Bacci, *A Century of Portuguese Fertility* (Princeton, N.J., 1971); E. van de Walle, *The Female Population of France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, N.J., 1974), an ingenious methodological preface to his yet unpublished study of fertility decline; J. Knodel, *The Decline of Fertility in Germany, 1871-1939* (Princeton 1974); R. Lesthaeghe, *The Decline of Belgian Fertility, 1800-1970* (Princeton, N.J., 1977).
- 33 M. Haines, "Recent Development in Historical Demography: A Review of the European Fertility Project With Some Comparisons from Japan", *Historical Methods* 11 (1978), 162-176. This is a very useful assessment of the goals and accomplishments of the project.
- 34 Knodel's publications are numerous. See, for example, "Ortssippenbücher als Daten für historische Demographie", *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 1 (1975), 288-324; "Two and a Half Centuries of Demographic History in a Bavarian Village", *Population Studies* 24 (1970), 353-376; "Natural Fertility in Pre-Industrial Germany", *Population Studies* 32 (1978), 481-510.
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