



Local Population Studies

No. 30
Spring 1983

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LOCAL POPULATION STUDIES

No. 30

Spring 1983

Published twice yearly with support from Nottingham University Department of Adult Education and the SSRC Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure

ISSN 0143—2974

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EDITORIAL

The Public Records (Amendment) Bill: the next step

The Public Records (Amendment) Bill was amongst the legislation lost by the dissolution of Parliament and it would be dishonest not to admit to a sense of relief, perhaps even a well-bred belly laugh at the fate of this ill-conceived measure. We can take no credit for its demise. It was entirely the Prime Minister's achievement. But we were heartened by the response to our appeal in **LPS 29** and the correspondence we began in **The Times** which led to a large number of letters being written to Members of Parliament and to the Lord Chancellor. We know that the Lord Chancellor's department was surprised by the sheer volume of the correspondence and by the nature of the response to a Bill which had not been expected to arouse controversy. Had the Bill gone forward, we know from what Members of Parliament have told us the hundred-year rule which was included in the Bill on grounds of privacy would have been seriously questioned, but we do not believe the battle over fees for using the microfilmed copy-registers once they passed into the custody of the Public Record Office would have been won. The only hint of conciliation to have reached us suggested that the Lord Chancellor might have been prepared to consider a reduction in the level of fees from the £15-£20 per day which has been discussed to perhaps £10 per day, the figure Lord Teviot mentioned in the debate in the House of Lords.

After this lucky escape can we regard the matter as closed? We think not. For though Lord Teviot's Bill may not be seen again the General Register Office is now under acute pressure from shortage of accommodation. This can only be relieved by moving the copy-registers to the Public Record Office so that legislation cannot be long delayed. Indeed we believe the feasibility planning for the new accommodation the General Register Office records will require is still in hand. Whether legislation takes the form of a private member's bill or is directly sponsored by the government, if it is likely to result in fees being charged for access to records at the Public Record Office we shall oppose it and urge our readers to do the same. There is no other way. We have heard politicians and even spokesmen from the Public Record Office say fees will be kept to a minimum and fees will not be extended to other records in the Public Record Office but we are not reassured. It is clear that the great majority of archivists and records users share this view. We must all use the respite won by the election to prepare for the next round. The Records Users' Group will be keeping the matter under review and we shall work closely with them. It is unfortunate that a number of the Members of Parliament of both the major parties who showed the greatest interest in this matter are no longer in the House and new contacts must be made. For the moment we can do no more than watch for the first sign of new legislation.

Record Offices — hours of opening, fees for access and photocopying charges

In February 1981 we reported the results of a survey of record office opening hours, fees for access to records and charges for photocopying.

Now, two and a half years later, we return to this subject. How have the record offices withstood the squeeze on staffing levels and the reduction of their budgets? As in 1981 we have conducted a small survey. We contacted record offices by telephone and asked for details of opening hours, photocopying charges and fees. Our new survey was rather larger than before covering 62 record offices compared with the 41 reviewed in 1981. The results are shown in the table.

Despite the complaints from the Association of County Archivists (see **LPS** 25, p. 61) that we were wrong to take the services offered by the Public Record Office as a yardstick, we have again used the Public Record Office's 37½ hour week as the standard against which to measure performance elsewhere. The line which divides our table separates what we consider to be the adequate service from the inadequate. In 1981 we were pleasantly surprised by the picture our survey revealed. It is clear that the present enquiry indicates a less satisfactory state of affairs. This is apparent in the proportion of record offices which offer opening hours as good or better than the Public Record Office; now only 52% can make this claim compared with 66% in 1981 and whereas 44% opened more than 40 hours per week in 1981 now the proportion is no more than 31%. We realise these results have been influenced to some extent by the extension of the survey to include a number of smaller records offices but there is no denying the underlying trend towards shorter opening hours. It is not our purpose to identify each of the record offices which has been forced to cut its opening hours. We are not conducting a witch-hunt. We prefer to draw attention to the welcome signs of a more flexible approach to users' needs which are apparent even amongst the offices providing the most slender service. We realise our table looks like a transcontinental railway timetable but readers prepared to study the small print will see the 'E's and the 'S's denoting evening and Saturday opening stand out like currants in a home-made bun; plainly closure of an office one day a week is more tolerable if evening or Saturday opening is provided.

Of course the most striking impression from the information we have assembled is of the range in record office opening hours. While the good people of Suffolk enjoy 46 hours per week including 7 hours each Saturday, users of the Cornish or the Greater London Record Office must make do with less than 30. If the record offices housed in major libraries are included the contrast is even more remarkable with the best offering more than twice the hours provided in the offices with the least adequate services. (Barrow is omitted in this comparison on the basis that the new opening hours will place it in an entirely different category). The cost of photocopying also varies wildly from 5p. in Nottinghamshire to 23p. in Shropshire and the Greater London Record Office and 30p. in Kent. The Public Record Office sets no example here with a charge of 25p. or £1 per page if regma copies are involved. The average cost, 14p. conceals the fact that 30% of the record offices are charging 10p. or less. Of course the offices maintain they are not making a profit merely covering costs which if correct points to an amazing disparity in costs or in accounting procedures. It is plain that records users in many parts of the country have good reason to feel that they are being penalised.

RECORD OFFICE OPENING HOURS — JUNE 1983

Less than 30 hours per week	More than 30 less than 37½	More than 37½ less than 40	More than 40	More than 50
Cumbria (Barrow) ¹ 15, B, 10	Portsmouth 31, E, L, 11½	Gloucestershire ¹³ 38, E, *, 20	British Library Department of Manuscripts 40½, S, 12	Bodleian Library ¹⁷ 54, (69), 5E, S, *, 10
Cornwall ² 28½, S, L, 15	Hereford and Worcester 31, L, 15	Staffordshire 38, L, 15	Warkwickshire 40½, S, L, 11½	Birmingham Central Library Archives Department 59, 3E, S, 16
Greater London ³ 29½, E, 23	Dudley Library Archives Department ⁴ 31, 2E, L, 11	Hampshire ⁵ 38½, 2SB, 15	Nottinghamshire 40½, E, 2S, 5	Liverpool City Library 68, 5E, S, 17½
Wigan 30, 11	Derbyshire 31½, L, 10	Yorkshire (West) 39, 23	Buckinghamshire 41½, EMB, 40	
Surrey ³ 30, 2SB, 16	Lancashire ⁶ 31½, E, 17½	Hertfordshire 39½, 11½	Sheffield 41½, EM, SB, 10	
Doncaster 30, L, 10	Kent ⁶ 33, E, 30	Bristol 39½, 2S, 17	Leicestershire 41½, S, 11½	
	Wiltshire 33½, E, 17½	Sussex (East) 39½, 15	Essex 41½, E, 17½	
	West Sussex 33½, L, 10	Cumbria (Carlisle) 40, 10	Isle of Wight 42½, E, 10	
	Cleveland 34½, L, 10	Cheshire 40, 2EM, 18	Somerset 42½, S, 11½	
	Dorset 35, L, 15	Huntingdon 40, SB, 10	Norfolk 43, S, 18	
	Southampton ⁷ 35, L, 2EM, 10	Cumbria (Kendal) 40, 10	Norham 43½, E, B, 20	
	Bedfordshire 35, L, 17½		Yorkshire (North) ¹⁶ 43½, B, E, *, 11½	
	City of Manchester 35, L, 10		Northumberland 44, E, 8	
	Shrewsbury Library ⁸ 35, S, L, 15		Northamptonshire 44, EB, SB, 11½	
	Cambridgeshire ⁹ 35½, EB, F, L, 15		Humberside 45½, 2E, 11½	
	Hereford and Worcester (Worcester) 36, 15		Suffolk 46, S, 15	
	Cambridgeshire (Wisbech and Fenland Museum) ¹⁰ 36, L, S, *, 10			
	Lincolnshire ¹¹ 36½, 15			
	Leeds City Archives 36½, 9			
	Guildhall Library 36½, 16			
	Shropshire 36½, L, 23			
	Lichfield 36½, 15			
	Devon (West) ¹² 37, EM, *, 15			
	Devon ¹² 37, 2S, *, 15			

Key: The first number indicates the number of hours the office opens; the second number records the price of a single page of photocopied material. The key to the letters and symbols used in this table is provided below.

- B Booking required
- E, 2E, 3E Open 1, 2 or 3 evenings per week
- EM, 2EM, 3EM Open 1, 2 or 3 evenings per month
- S Open each Saturday
- 1S, 2S, 3S Open 1, 2 or 3 Saturdays per month
- L Closed for lunch
- F Fees charged for the use of microfilms
- Fees charged for access to documents

The record offices in this survey were selected from amongst those noted in **Original Parish Registers in record offices and libraries** and in some cases the names used are those which were current before local government reorganisation.

1. At present open during the afternoon with mornings by appointment; from August 1983 it is hoped to provide a full-time service of 40 hours per week.
2. Closed all day Monday.
3. Closed all day Thursday.
4. Closed Tuesday and Thursday mornings.
5. Closed all day Friday.
6. Charges for access were contemplated but the idea has been rejected. On days when staff are available the office is effectively open 40 hours per week.
7. The record office is open during lunch but there may not be a full service available.
8. Closed all day Thursday.
9. A charge of 10p per microfilm is made.
10. Closed all day Monday. Shorter hours during the winter months. Fees: £3 per half day (3 hours).
11. A minimum charge of 58p is made for photocopying.
12. Fees: £1 per day or £10 for a season ticket valid for one year.
13. Fees: £1 per day.
14. Closed for lunch on Tuesdays and Thursdays.
15. Charges under consideration.
16. Fees: £2.50 per day or £1.50 per half-day.
17. Open 69 hours per week during the university term. Fees: £10 per year, £5 per half-year, £1 for a single visit.

On the question of fees for access to records there is little new to report. None of the recalcitrant offices shows any sign of following Derbyshire's example of abolishing charges and in Hampshire charges are said to be under consideration. We had expected to find the practice of charging for the use of microfilm material more widespread; in fact, only Cambridgeshire admitted to the habit which was a pleasant surprise and there must be some comfort from the news that in Kent charges for access were contemplated and rejected. Perhaps we should conclude with a disclaimer. Every effort has been made to compute record office hours and other details accurately but no doubt some offices will point out mistakes and inconsistencies in our survey. In some cases we have had to make arbitrary decisions, for example about how to regard an office claiming to be open over lunch but which offers no service during the lunch hour. The greatest difficulty arose with photocopying charges, several respondents being apparently uncertain about their prices and whether VAT was included. We can claim only to have done our best and to have sought and published this information in the hope that it will stimulate record offices and records users to consider their own practices and experience against a wider horizon.

Yesterday's future; a national policy for our archive heritage. An important policy statement from the Association of County Archivists.

The Association of County Archivists has conceived a strategy for the future development of archive policy which deserves the full support of all records users. Certainly support from this and many other quarters will be needed if the ambitious proposals outlined in **Yesterday's Future** are not to be stillborn. The document was introduced to the public last month at a one-day conference with the theme 'Access to records' organised by the Records Users' Group and held at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

It was generally well-received both by archivists and records users though some were reluctant to commit themselves wholeheartedly to it.

As with all radical proposals the criticism that too much is being attempted all at once is easily made but the Association would have been less than honest if it had not spelt out the full implications of its thinking and would have risked being seriously misunderstood. The policy statement begins with a review of the present condition making comparison with the other aspects of 'Heritage' which, unlike the archival heritage, have all received greater public and governmental support and interest in recent years. In this area the risks grow stronger year by year as documents and entire collections are sold and dispersed. Record offices are powerless to prevent these sales and too poor to compete in the market. Unlike the built environment where buildings can be listed and monuments scheduled documentary collections are largely unprotected. The Association of County Archivists recognises that any programme for action must be widely discussed and so will be subject to amendment but in broad outline advocates a number of fundamental measures.

The essential requirement it argues is a fully co-ordinated public archives system. This would co-ordinate archive services at national and local

levels and establish consistent and obligatory standards for buildings, equipment, staffing and custodial practice. Training would be standardised and an effective careers structure created. An important element in such a system would be an official inspectorate and the overall supervision of a 'minister of archives' who would be advised by an archives council. In referring to a national system the Association of County Archivists means nothing less and includes in its plans the non local authority record offices such as the manuscript collections of the universities, the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library and at a local level the collections held by the learned societies and local libraries. It even includes private collections. It believes all archives repositories should be licensed or registered and that applications should be considered in the light of other existing provision and the suitability of the facilities offered so that duplication and unnecessary expenditure can be reduced. This would be undertaken by an authority associated with the proposed inspectorate.

The Association of County Archivists recognises the difficulty of extending this system beyond bodies which receive public funding and for the private sector proposes a somewhat different regime though one which would still be part of the same structure. It is in the private sector that some of the richest material is to be found; the letters, diaries, maps, estate papers, minute books and ledgers which comprise the private collections make a unique contribution to an understanding of the past. Yet no control exists over the custody and dispersal of such material. In 8 countries over the last 10 years legislation has been introduced which provides a measure of control of private archives of historical interest over and above the prohibition of, or limitation on, their export and in 5 countries financial assistance and/or tax relief is available to encourage owners to keep records in good order or to deposit them. In France and Italy private archives of particular historic interest can be designated and in both countries a centralised inspectorate is employed to enforce regulations. In recent years the dismemberment of collections has proceeded at an accelerating pace and material which once would have found its way to the local record office is now likely to be sold to the highest bidder. There is no way at present in which owners can be prevented from selling collections even when they relate to major historical personalities or events and if an owner prefers to burn them or let them rot that too is his prerogative. The Association of County Archivists identifies a way in which such records could be protected and the responsibilities of ownership shared by the owner and the nation but without questioning the right of ownership itself. The parallel here is the historic buildings legislation whereby buildings can be listed and local planning authorities given responsibility for approving or refusing intended alterations and, with central government, for making financial grants. Such a system applied to archives collections would be entirely feasible. Registration would impose upon an owner obligations of care and retention and in return he would receive financial incentives, conservation facilities and professional advice. The Association of County Archivists also draws attention to the rules restricting the export of

manorial documents and advocates their extension across the broad range of archives.

The document concludes with this paragraph.

'The Association of County Archivists affirms its view that the care of our national archival heritage suffers both from inadequate funding and from the absence of a systematic and comprehensive view of the objectives to be pursued in this field and the best means of achieving them. We urge all individuals, institutions and organisations to join immediately in a wide discussion of these issues and to press for early consideration by Government of the problems raised in this paper and the suggestions put forward by the Association for their resolution.'

Plans as bold as these will not be implemented without a struggle. There are financial implications not to mention the problem of persuading Government of the importance and relevance of this Cinderella service so that time is created for official debate and ultimately for legislation. There were some at the Records Users' Group Conference who said now is not the time. Wait until the economic situation is less black and the political mood less hostile to the creation of a new service. But this is the policy of despair. A start has to be made and already too much time has been lost. The Conference also heard that the Society of Archivists was not entirely in agreement with the Association of County Archivists' document and would be issuing its own policy statement in due course. It was not possible to gauge the depth of disagreement between the two bodies. Perhaps no more than odd points of emphasis divide them and from discussion the Association of County Archivists proposals will emerge enhanced; anything approaching a major division of opinion within the profession must eliminate any prospects of turning the Association's vision into reality.

We have no hesitation in urging records users and archivists to combine in pressing the claims of this imaginative scheme. It has been suggested that the British Association for Local History and local societies could help by organising regional meetings at which these proposals could be discussed. Anyone wishing to organise such a meeting should contact the BALH Secretary, Miss Bettie Miller, 43 Bedford Square, London WC1B 3DP. Copies of '**Yesterday's future; a national policy for our archive heritage**' may be obtained from the Honorary Secretary. The Association of County Archivists, Dr. W. A. L. Seaman, Tyne and Wear Archives Department, Blandford House, West Blandford Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, NE1 4JA.

Christopher Charlton
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July 1983

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THE LPS SOCIETY

Membership includes the opportunity to buy books by post, including the demographic book of the decade, **The Population History of England 1541-1871** by E A Wrigley and R S Schofield, on terms which make the subscriptions of £6.00 (student members £5.50) an investment.

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88 St Asaph Road,
Brockley,
London SE4.**

NEWS FROM THE SSRC CAMBRIDGE GROUP FOR THE HISTORY OF POPULATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Readers of **Local Population Studies** will be familiar with the main elements of the Group's research programme, represented by a long line of publications beginning with **An introduction to English historical demography** (ed. E. A. Wrigley, 1966), **Household and family in past time** (eds P. Laslett and R. Wall, 1972), **Nineteenth century society** (ed. E. A. Wrigley, 1972, and **Family life and illicit love in earlier generations** (P. Laslett, 1977). More recently has come the publication of **Bastardy and its comparative history** (edited by P. Laslett, K. Oosterveen and R. M. Smith) in 1980, **The population history of England, 1541-1871: a reconstruction** (E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield) in 1981 and **Family forms in historic Europe** (edited by R. Wall in collaboration with J. Robin and P. Laslett) in 1983.

In addition, however, the Group has had, over the years, about 25 research students associated with it, who have worked on a wide variety of topics. While some of this research will already be known to **LPS** readers from books and articles, other projects are still in progress and have not yet been published. We, therefore, thought it might be of general interest if we used this space to give a brief summary of the work of former, and current graduate associates of the Group. What follows is a first instalment.

J. P. Boulton

Jeremy Boulton completed a Cambridge Phd thesis in 1983 on 'The social and economic structure of Southwark in the early seventeenth century, with special reference to the Boroughside district of the Parish of St Saviour, Southwark'. An interesting finding to emerge was that population stability in the area was relatively high. Together with evidence drawn from the origins of marriage partners, wills and recognisances this suggested that the majority of the inhabitants functioned within a geographically restricted urban social system. Of particular interest was the finding that the ritual of the Anglican Church was almost universally accepted before 1640. To follow up this latter theme he is currently undertaking further research on the nature and pattern of popular religious behaviour in other parts of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century London.

P. J. P. Goldberg

P. Goldberg's research work is concerned with the position of women within the English urban economy in the period after the Black Death. It is intended to establish how mean age at first marriage and the proportions marrying responded to economic and demographic change. The focus is on the degree to which women were actively involved in and supported themselves by craft or trade activity and how this changed over

time. The purpose is to test the thesis that in a period of economic decline women were increasingly excluded from the labour market and so more dependent on marriage. Poll tax, testamentary and a variety of urban administrative and judicial records will be drawn upon for evidence.

Rab Houston

Rab Houston was awarded his PhD by Cambridge University in 1981: 'Aspects of society in Scotland and north-east England, circa 1550-1750: social structure, literacy, and geographical mobility'. He is currently a research fellow at Clare College, Cambridge, and has published on British literacy, the development of social class, social structure and proto-industrialization. He has just completed the manuscript of a book on literacy and society in Scotland and England, 1600-1850. He is spending the academic year 1983-4 lecturing at the University of St Andrews.

Graham Kerby

The theme of Graham Kerby's Cambridge PhD thesis, completed in 1983, is 'Inequality in a preindustrial society'. The quantitative analysis of wealth, office-holding, taxation and titles in Cheshire, 1530-1645 revealed that inequality in pre-industrial England ought not to be studied in terms of social groups such as 'gentry' or 'yeomanry'. Such terms were simply concepts contemporaries used to understand their social structure. Kerby is now broadening the research to include an analysis of how law titles were used in documents between 1275 and 1700 and the problems historians face in trying to use them to analyse inequality.

David Levine

David Levine's Cambridge PhD 'The demographic implications of rural industrialization, a family reconstitution study of two Leicestershire villages, 1600-1851' was completed in 1974. In conjunction with Keith Wrightson, Levine is studying Whickham, a Tyneside mining community before the industrial revolution, using family reconstitution, wills, inventories, ecclesiastical and civil court records and poor law records. Particular attention will be devoted to the impact of crisis mortality on the social fabric and attitudes in three contrasting communities, Bottesford, Terling and Whickham.

Fiona Newall

Fiona Newall is reanalysing Newman Brown's reconstitution of Aldenham Parish, Hertfordshire, c 1560-1812, with additional data from Poor Law accounts and various taxation records. The aim is to assess the influence, if any, of social and economic status on demographic variables, such as infant mortality and age at marriage.

Stuart Riddle

The thesis on which Stuart Riddle is working is entitled: 'Age and obsolescence in the British industrial system, 1890-1940'. Much of the research is concerned with the relationship of age to unemployment, and refers especially to older workers.

Older persons have been encouraged to move out of paid employment in the economy for some time. The beginning of this movement dates from 1900-1920 and coincides with an increase in the number of older persons in the population. A responsibility for employing older persons was maintained by many employers before the First World War. As the state assumed a more direct responsibility for welfare matters, and the control of the labour force (1908-24), then high unemployment amongst the old becomes evident, a phenomenon not observed immediately prior to 1914. A study of this effect is the central theme of his thesis.

K. D. M. Snell

Keith Snell is researching into aspects of the standard of living in England and Wales, with particular attention to changes in agrarian real wages and unemployment, the sexual division of labour in agriculture and the trades, the social consequences of enclosure, the institutions of apprenticeship and farm service, and the history of the family. Other research interests include the relation of literature to social structure, vagrancy, and the poor law. His Cambridge PhD was completed in 1979 under the title 'The standard of living, social relations, the family, and labour mobility in south-eastern and western counties, c. 1700-1860'.

Simon Szreter

Simon Szreter's thesis, provisionally entitled: 'A critique of the "social classes" model of fertility decline in Britain c. 1870-1914 and an analysis of data for male occupations', deals with how and why the emergence of the "modern", planned, small family occurred in this country. Ever since the famous, nationwide fertility census was taken in 1911 and the consequent report published in 1923, there has been a continuing debate over the mechanisms by which the adoption of birth controlling practices became a normal activity amongst the population. Unfortunately much of this work by demographers and economists has tended to focus exclusively on massive structural changes, assuming that any important factors can be taken into account by conceiving of society as a neatly graded hierarchy of five layers: the "social classes". However, if these five categories are splintered into the component occupations from which they are each constituted, then a variety of fertility behaviour is found, which contradicts the notion of a neatly graded national pattern. This suggests the significance of more local, small scale matters connected with occupational, industrial community affiliation, as contributing at least an equal amount to the fertility decline as large-scale secular trends and forces.

John P. D. Williams

John Williams' thesis is entitled provisionally: 'Marriage and illegitimacy among English fourteenth-century customary tenants'. The major sources are the marriage (or merchet), leyrwhite and childwhite fines in manorial court records, including Oakington, Dry Drayton and Cottenham (Cambs) and several manors belonging to Winchester in the South-West. From these records of fines can be constructed marriage, re-marriage, fornication, and illegitimate birth series over time, place and 'social class'. Among other things the intention is to answer the question of the origin of the European marriage pattern in England, although information on age at marriage remains something of a remote hope.

Keith Wrightson

Keith Wrightson's Cambridge PhD thesis, completed in 1974, is entitled 'The Puritan reformation of manners with special reference to the counties of Lancashire and Essex, 1640-1660'.

Keith Wrightson is currently collaborating with David Levine on the economic and demographic development of the Tyneside mining community of Whickham (cf the entry for Levine, above).

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Institutions (UK) £24.50 per annum; Individuals (Overseas) £20.00 per annum;
Institutions (Overseas) £27.00 per annum; Airmail £31.00 per annum;
Single copies £10.00

Frequency: Three issues per year (January, May and October)

Methuen & Co Ltd, 11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE

AN EARLY VICTORIAN SUBURBAN ELITE: HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS AT HOME

John B. Redfern

Since obtaining an Honours Degree through the Open University, John Redfern has been doing part-time postgraduate research into the nineteenth century elite suburb of Edgbaston.

The locale of this study is mid-nineteenth century Edgbaston where the then Lord Calthorpe had developed on his large estate a planned residential suburb. Begun by him before the end of the Napoleonic War this development was to be slowly but consistently extended by the family throughout the century.¹ By 1851, select suburban streets were wholly or partly lined with smart villas, all built on the basis of the building lease, and the image of a superior suburb was well established.

The once truly rural parish of Edgbaston lay close by and to the southwest of Birmingham, of which since 1838 it had been a ward. It was intersected by two main highways, the Bristol road and that to Hagley going due west. For centuries a rural backwater, suspected by the town for old Catholic sympathies, its natural topography had two features vital for an elite suburb. It lay on picturesque uplands, providing drainage and supplies of clean water, and the prevailing wind blew away the smog of industrial Birmingham on whose prosperity its development was going to depend. The town of a thousand trades and of the small master would always have some currently successful whose rising expectations could fix on a modern house in the country — if not too far from Papa's office.

Edgbaston owed much of its successful development to its elite image already recorded in 1831 in the first edition of Samuel Lewis's well-known and reliable **Topographical dictionary of England**. Interestingly, a few Edgbastonians were subscribers to the 1848 edition.² A similar picture is painted in the **Edgbaston directory and guide for 1853**, illustrated by the following extracts:

'..... The chief portion of the Parish is now in the hands of Lord Calthorpe, whose ancestor, Sir Richard Gough, purchased the Lordship for, it is said, £25,000 [in 1717]. His Lordship has paid much attention to its improvement as to render it, independent of other advantages, the most eligible spot for building in the neighbourhood of Birmingham [the ground is] intersected by roads laid out with such skill and ingenuity, as to present the most tempting sites for Villa residences, and to afford the most delightful promenades. The result

of such care and arrangement has, no doubt, confirmed his Lordship's fullest expectations. The roads are excellent, and for the most part are bordered with trees of luxuriant growth, behind which are ensconced extremely handsome houses, in every variety of style and dimension. There are certainly few points in England, which exhibit such an assemblage of architectural beauty amidst a landscape of so strictly moral a character'.³

Lewis's 1848 edition mentions in addition the value of the land for building from its proximity to Birmingham, the handsome houses coated with Roman cement, the detached mansions occupied by the principal merchants and manufacturers of the town, the small part of the parish lighted by gas and the ample supplies of water.⁴

The estate had been deliberately developed slowly in marked contrast to mushroom suburbs built by speculators. This was the policy decided initially and consistently carried out by George, 3rd Baron Calthorpe (1787-1851) and his first full-time agent, John Harris, formerly a local businessman. In 1811, there had been nearly two hundred mainly rural dwellings and in the **1851 Census** there were 1,665, many of them the homes of the new suburbanians.⁵ However, the character of the change is even better illustrated by the changing sex-ratio for the whole parish. In 1811, there had been 537 males to 643 females, giving a sex ratio of 83.5 (males to 100 females): in 1851, the 3,676 males to 5,593 females gave a sex ratio of 65.7. This was due generally to the greater longevity of women and particularly to the influx of female domestic servants, most of them in the suburban households here under consideration.

The Calthorpe Estate covered about four-fifths of this 2,545 acre parish. With careful consideration for its long-term interests, the slow change of land use from agriculture to superior housing was planned, building plots being leased generally for 99 years in the new streets the estate cut, gravelled and drained as well as on older roads. The building lease method was vital for a settled estate which could not normally sell land to raise capital and helpful to tenants who were thus saved the expense of buying it; though the houses they built would be a valuable investment in bricks and mortar. Owing to the steady demand for superior villas from Birmingham, they were able to select the right type of tenant; to prohibit industry, trade and other 'nuisances'; and to control the density and quality of the houses the tenants erected within suitably sized gardens. This was accomplished through the clauses of the building lease and by the firm hand of the Estate office. Eventually, the estate suburb which had more than fulfilled the expectations of the pioneer suburbanians must have begun to shape their successors in the same mould.

By the mid-century, the parish contained three well-defined though slowly changing residential zones. The 'town fringe' was to the south-east on non-Calthorpe land, with working-class dwellings, pubs, small food shops and workshops. The 'rural remnant' to south, west and north of the parish contained farms of the order of 100 acres, small holdings and agricultural labourers' cottages. In between had arisen the estate suburb on new

streets and on old roads radiating from the Five Ways and along the Bristol and Pershore highways. Overall, the density of the parish was 3.6 persons per acre which contrasts with the 65 of Birmingham parish and the 0.4 of the neighbouring rural parish of Northfield.⁶

What kind of people were these new suburbians who had been impelled to Edgbaston by, I suggest, 'urban push' and 'suburban pull'? Initially, I am studying 698 heads of household for whom full census enumerators' details are available.⁷ My chief criterion for selection was a residence with a rateable value (hereafter RV) of £20 or more, in a street which was chiefly suburban.⁸ In the event, this mainly fulfilled my second criterion that there should be at least one house-servant living-in.⁹ I exclude over fifty 'working households' where work was not separated from home — apart from professional men. The heads excluded were mainly engaged in rural trades (farmer, blacksmith), or running inns (such as the 'Plough and Harrow') or private schools. Also excluded are over thirty very probably suburban households where the head of the family was absent on census night, thus making classification either difficult or not possible at all.

While I have not yet studied the heads' (census) occupations systematically, I have no reason to believe that this will lead to any reclassification. Neither the wives nor the female heads were given any occupation in the census, all were mistress of the household. The great majority of the children under sixteen appear to be 'scholars,' if not always listed as such.¹⁰ There were twenty-six boarders in twenty-two households, usually young professional men, and I have excluded the thirteen houses which contained the fourteen lodger households.

The nearly seven hundred elite heads have been sorted into six residential groups based on RV as I expect that this will prove here a reliable indicator of relative socio-economic status. They range from group I with a rateable value of at least £80 (the highest is £178.25) to group VI with a RV of £20-£29 (see table 2, below).

Group I contains the 'crème de la crème'. Its median RV was £95 and there were no less than twenty-two mansions where RV exceeded £100. Mean household size (MHS) was 8.3 (see table 3, below), ranging from three to eighteen persons.¹¹ There was an average of nearly four domestic servants living in, the range being one (on census night) to eight. Nearly all the fifty-one heads here had grounds of at least one acre, even the three exceptions averaging half an acre. The median age was fifty-four years; that of the male heads being fifty-two and the four female heads sixty-six. To illustrate the cream of the Edgbaston elite, I give five examples, in descending order of RV (from £145 to £115), selected because each is the highest rated householder in his particular suburban street.

Charles Geach, Esq., J.P., was a banker and ironmaster born in Cornwall, with a bank and house also in Union Street, Birmingham.¹² Aged forty-two in 1851, he had one of the first mansions in what was to be

the exclusive Frances (now Augustus) road. His two lodges each contained a servant married couple with their children; and five servants, including a housekeeper, lived in. He had a wife, Eliza, and three sons and a daughter, aged from eleven to seventeen.

Charles Shaw, Esq., of 'Greenfields' with its 9 acres (to give its name to the Crescent later erected there) was a fifty-eight year old nail-maker and merchant. Born in Birmingham, he had married Phoebe, a Londoner, and they lived with a spinster daughter and a married daughter and her army officer husband. The five servants included a footman, and a gardener and his wife who had three small boys. He had a warehouse and [work] shops in Great Charles Street, Birmingham.

Thomas Welchman Whateley was a fifty-seven year old Birmingham-born solicitor who lived at 'The Laurels' in 3 acres of ground in the Hagley road. He had a sixty-two year old (presumably second) wife Lucy and seven children aged from five to fifteen.¹³ The six servants living in included a lady's maid and a groom. He occupied a house and offices also at 41 Waterloo Street, Birmingham, and he and his brother acted for the Calthorpe Estate locally.

William Wills, Esq., J.P., of 'Park Mount', Bristol road, was described in the census as a proprietor of land, presumably the 14.5 acres here. Birmingham-born, and fifty-nine, he lived with his wife Sarah and a younger unmarried sister, employing one man and two women house-servants. He also had Waterloo Street premises, a house and offices at number eleven where he may have lived before moving to Edgbaston, as Charles Geach and the Whateley brothers may also have done in their town premises.

George Attwood was the elder brother of Thomas Attwood, the Warwickshire-born banker, former leader of the political reformers, and Birmingham's first M.P. in 1832. By 1851 a widower of seventy-three, he lived with his twenty-nine year old spinster daughter in a Priory Road mansion with grounds of 9.5 acres. He had three men and three women servants living in, and two warehouses etc. in Birmingham, one at Attwood's Passage.

In spite of his relatively modest residence valued for rating at slightly less than the median RV for all these elite heads, one householder must have been as influential as any in the parish. He was George Smart, Birmingham born merchant with a Great Charles street warehouse. Aged fifty-nine in 1851, he was churchwarden for Edgbaston at least from 1845-53, 'people's' and 'vicar's' in turn. He lived with his Sunderland-born wife, Anne, and two house servants at 15 Calthorpe street; though later he was to move to Church road nearer to the 'Old Church' for which he was responsible. The ('select') vestry minutes 1844-53 which record his terms of office also give glimpses of how traditional farmers and new suburbanians combined to run the parish — until the 1851 takeover by the town.

While the bottom group VI (RV £20-£29) has considerably more modest

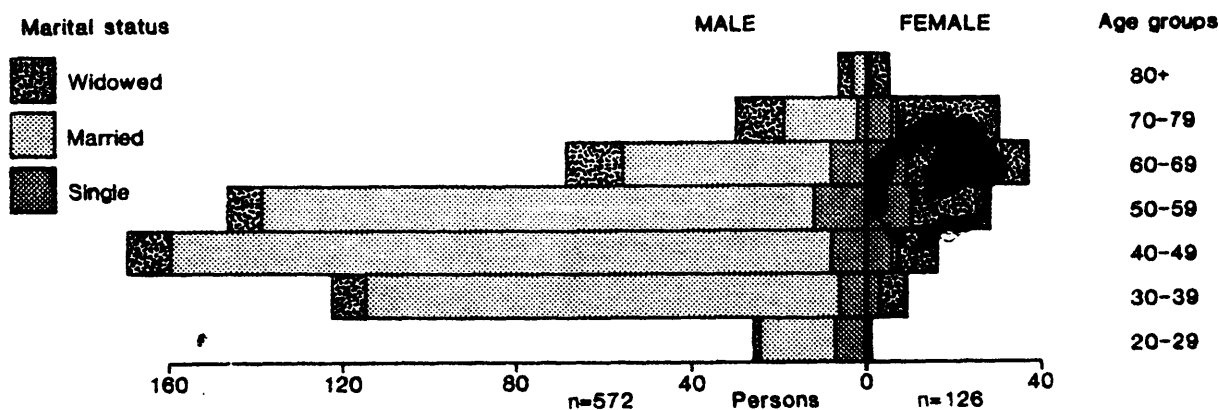


Figure 1. Elite heads by sex, marital status and age.

residences and domestic staffs, they appear to be the same kind of people socially as the top group, apparently sharing the same values and with quantitative rather than qualitative differences in households. This nearly five times larger group of 248 heads, just over 20 per cent of them women had a median RV of £24, about a quarter that of group I (table 2, below). The MHS of group VI was 5.4 persons, with a range from one (a servant possibly absent) to eleven (table 3, below). The mean number of domestic servants living in was 1.2, about two-thirds having one only. The smallest houses would be semi-detached villas and most of the group had gardens from one tenth to a half acre in extent. The median age of this group was fifty-seven, the male heads slightly younger and the female heads much older with a median age of sixty-one years.

Table 1. Elite heads by sex, marital status and age group.

Sex	marital status	Age Group			
		young adults (20-9) %	mature adults (30-59) %	elderly (60+) %	all ages (20+) %
Male	unmarried	25.9	5.3	5.6	6.2
	married	66.7	78.5	38.4	67.9
	widowed	3.7	5.5	15.3	7.9
	all	96.3	89.3	59.3	82.0
Female	unmarried	—	3.8	9.0	5.0
	married	—	0.2	0.6	0.3
	widowed	3.7	6.7	31.1	12.8
	all	3.7	10.7	40.7	18.0
All	unmarried	25.9	9.1	14.7	11.2
	married	66.7	78.7	39.0	68.2
	widowed	7.4	12.2	46.3	20.6
	all	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
% of all ages		3.9	70.7	25.4	100.0
N		27	494	177	698

Figure 1, a population pyramid of the 698 suburban heads, shows their distinction by sex and marital condition in seven age-groups, from twenty to eighty and over, and gives an overall picture. Table 1 supplements this by supplying the percentages for single, married and widowed men and women heads; but this time in more meaningful age-groups; young adults in their twenties; mature or middle aged adults from thirty to fifty-nine; old persons, sixty or more years of age.¹⁴

Five hundred and seventy two (82 per cent of the heads are male and 126 (18 per cent) female giving a sex ratio of 454 for the suburban heads though that of the whole parish population was 66. Adult males were dominant in the households although the proportion of women heads increased markedly with age: 3.7 per cent under thirty, 10.7 per cent amongst the middle-aged, and 40.7 per cent of old heads of household.

The median age of all heads is forty-nine, that of women heads at sixty-two being fifteen years greater than that of the men heads alone. This suggests that the majority of local people established themselves as suburbanians comparatively late in life; that recruits from outside to the suburban population were mainly heads with families already formed; and that male heads probably had a considerably higher death rate than female ones. Out of every hundred heads, four were in their twenties (less than 4 men and a fraction of women); nearly seventy-one were middle aged (63 men and 8 women); and no less than twenty-five were sixty or over (15 men and 10 women). The actual range is from a young man of twenty-one to an old woman of eighty-nine. If wives were on average about the same age as their husbands, the majority of not only female heads but also of spouses would be well past child-bearing age.

Nuptiality appears to have followed the 'Western' marriage pattern, late marriage and many unmarried adults. Out of every hundred heads, eleven were single (6 bachelors and 5 spinsters); sixty-eight were married (nearly 68 men and less than one woman); twenty-one were widowed (8 widowers and 13 widows). However, of the 11 per cent single, only one-eleventh were under fifty, leading to the inference that most bachelors remained single by choice. Certainly, the age at which these early Victorian middle classes married appears late by today's standards, as only twenty heads under thirty (less than 3 per cent of all heads) were, or had been, married. No doubt the proportion would be still lower amongst those of their siblings who were not yet householders. Setting up one's own home was almost certainly a normal adjunct to getting married amongst this social group and there were only thirteen households (under 2 per cent) with fourteen sets of ever-married offspring at home — in most cases probably temporarily.

To round off this analysis by sex, age-group and marital condition, the principal proportions follow for each major age-group. Of young adults, over a quarter of the male heads were bachelors and two-thirds married, while there was only one female, a widow. Of mature adults, over three-quarters were married men and there was only one middle aged married woman head. Of old persons, less than two-fifths were married and not

far off a half, widowed, the proportion of widows among female heads being twice as high as that of widowers among male ones. The mode for male heads (388 cases) is middle aged and married; for female heads (55 cases) old and widowed.

Figure 2 and the related table 2 show the distribution of household heads by personal attributes in the six rateable value of residence (RV) groups. Rateable value is, I consider in most cases, a reliable indicator of socio-economic ranking especially as it seems by inspection to correlate with the mean size of domestic staff (table 3, below). However, it is a major hypothesis of this part of the study that the 698 heads form a homo-

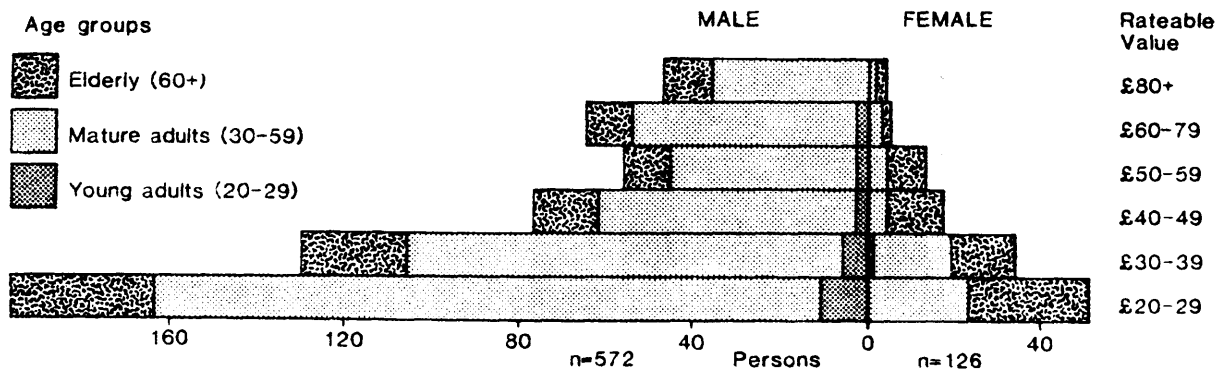


Figure 2. Elite heads by sex, age and rateable value of residence.

geneous social group, at least as far as their distribution by personal attributes and kind of household is concerned. This latter implies that the differences between the imposing households of group I and the much more modest ones which become more common as RV decreases will be explained not only by socially conspicuous consumption on residence and on specialized domestic staff, but also by the size, stage and needs of the nuclear family (if any) and to a lesser extent by the presence or not of co-resident kin.

Figure 2 gives a graphic picture of the distribution of elite heads by sex and age-group in the six RV groups, and table 2 the percentage distribution by sex and marital condition.

Over a third of all households are in the lowest category (RV £20-£29) and only 7.3 per cent fall in the highest category (RV £80 and above). The median RV is £35, with an upper quartile of £50 and a lower one of £25. The median RV of households headed by females is lower at £32. They were therefore only slightly less well housed than men, although much older and more likely to be widowed.

How far the nearly seven hundred heads do form a homogeneous social group can be further examined by dividing them into an upper composite 'group A' of 190 heads rated at £50 and above (RV groups I to III) and a lower 'group B', of 508 heads with RVs between £20 and £49 (RV group IV

Table 2. Elite heads by sex, marital status and rateable value.

Sex	marital status	of heads of own sex %	Rateable value of residence						all %
			£80+	£60-79	£50-9	£40-9	£30-9	£20-9	
Male	unmarried	7.5	11.8	11.4	1.4	5.3	7.2	4.4	6.2
	married	82.9	74.5	75.7	69.6	67.0	63.9	66.9	67.9
	widowed	9.6	5.9	5.7	10.1	9.6	7.2	8.1	7.9
Female	all	100.0	92.2	92.9	81.2	81.9	78.3	79.4	82.0
	unmarried	27.8	2.0	4.3	5.8	2.1	6.6	5.6	5.0
	married	1.6	—	—	—	—	—	0.8	0.3
All	widowed	70.6	5.9	2.9	13.0	15.9	15.1	14.1	12.8
	all	100.0	7.8	7.1	18.8	18.1	21.7	20.6	18.0
	unmarried	13.7	13.7	15.7	7.2	7.4	13.9	10.0	11.2
% of all rateable values	married	74.5	74.5	75.7	69.6	67.0	63.9	67.7	68.2
	widowed	11.8	11.8	8.6	23.2	25.6	22.3	22.2	20.6
	all	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	% of all rateable values	7.3	10.0	10.0	9.9	13.5	23.8	35.5	100.0
		51	70	69	94	166	248	698	

to VI). That is, over 27 per cent of household heads lived in a mansion or large villa with a gross estimated rental of more than £60 per annum, at a time when one gold sovereign would have been a satisfactory week's pay for many artisans.¹⁵

The sex ratio of heads in group A is 764 (168 males to 22 females), while that of group B is just over half at 388 (404 males to 104 females). Households which had lost a father, husband or brother were more likely to be in the lower group. As it does not seem likely that the male death rate in the lower group was so much higher, bereavement may have forced many families to less expensive homes.

In group A, there are 129 middle aged male heads and 312 in group B, a proportion of 77 per cent in both cases (to the nearest whole number). While the proportions of old and young male heads are not so close, they are near to 18 and 4 per cent respectively for both composite groups. The proportions of the different age groups in A and B do vary more for female heads, partly due to the smaller sub-group; but there are significantly more old women than middle-aged ones in both. Thus, especially for the men, there is no indication that increasing age on average might have brought a shift to a higher rating bracket.

Eighty-three per cent of the male heads (table 2) are married, 10 per cent widowed and 8 per cent bachelors. The corresponding proportions for female heads are 2 per cent married, 71 per cent widowed and 28 per cent spinsters. The proportion of male heads married is almost exactly the same in groups A and B. It seems a reasonable inference that practically all the male householders could have afforded marriage if they had wished it. Of all heads, there is a higher proportion widowed in group B than in group A (23 and 15 per cent), suggesting that the loss of either partner may have led to retrenchment. While there is a slightly higher proportion of bachelors in group B than in group A the proportion is reversed for spinsters (26 and 36 per cent). The latter proportions are a little surprising when one considers how well endowed financially these maiden ladies must have seemed; but none were under thirty and nearly half were sixty or more.

Household composition and size is probably a useful test of the social homogeneity of the 698 heads. Table 3 gives a preliminary analysis by sex and RV group of mean household size (MHS) and the mean number of domestic servants (MDS). MHS for all these heads is 6.0, ranging from one (one example) to eighteen persons.¹⁶ MHS for each RV of residence group shows a consistent fall from 8.3 (group I) to 5.4 (group VI). This falling trend appears in households headed by both men and women; though MHS for male heads is 6.4 and that of women heads 4.6 and the households of the latter include only one with more than eight persons in it.

For all elite households, the mean number of domestic servants (MDS) is 1.9. It varies from 3.9 in group I to 1.2 in group VI, the range being none (probably because of absence on census night) to eight. Of the 674 households which recorded at least one house-servant on census night,

Table 3. Household size, number of domestic servants by sex of household head and rateable value.

Sex	of head households	Rateable value of residence						all
		£80+	£60-79	£50-9	£40-9	£30-9	£20-9	
Male	number	47	65	56	77	130	197	572
	MHS	8.5	7.5	7.2	6.2	5.9	5.6	6.4
	MDS	3.9	2.9	2.5	2.1	1.6	1.3	2.0
	net size	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.1	4.3	4.3	4.4
Female	number	4	5	13	17	36	51	126
	MHS	6.3	6.0	5.2	4.6	4.4	4.3	4.6
	MDS	3.8	2.4	2.3	1.7	1.4	1.1	1.6
	net size	2.5	3.6	2.9	2.9	3.0	3.2	3.0
All	number	51	70	69	94	166	248	698
	MHS	8.3	7.4	6.8	5.9	5.5	5.4	6.0
	MDS	3.9	2.8	2.4	2.0	1.6	1.2	1.9
	net size	4.4	4.6	4.4	3.9	3.9	4.2	4.1
		£50+			£20-49			
	net size	4.5			4.0			

over three-quarters have one or two and less than one quarter three or more; but the latter comprise 27 per cent of the households headed by men compared to 10 per cent of those with women heads.

However, if mean household size 'net' of domestic servants is calculated from MHS-MDS, it is 4.1 for all heads, but with a much narrower range across RV groups than was the case with the gross MHS figures. Composite group A has a 'net' mean of 4.5 compared to 4.0 for group B, and the figures for the 3 RV groups comprising each composite group are very similar. This stability is mainly due to the fairly similar distribution of male-headed households (overall 'net' mean 4.4) as the figures for households headed by females tend to fluctuate more widely round the mean 'net' value of 3.0 for all RV groups. Moreover the difference in gross MHS between male and female heads (6.4 and 4.6) is greater than that between the bottom RV groups in A and B (III and VI) for heads of both or either sex.

In summarising this preliminary account of a mid-nineteenth century Midland suburban elite in their domestic environment it must be mentioned that the factors which shaped this particular suburb seem to be the economic structure of the town, the policy of the main ground landlord, the aspirations of the tenants for a fuller life, the local topography and the extent to which the suburban part of Edgbaston became a closely-knit community. Also, as I hope to show later, these factors probably shaped the suburbians too. Just as man made the suburb, so the suburb made the man.

The distribution of heads by RV of residence groups seemingly reflects relative socio-economic circumstances and displays a population of nearly

seven hundred households in very easy circumstances for the time. The upper quartile was valued for rating at £50 and more and included twenty-two mansions with RV £100 to £174.25; the lower one with RV between £20 and £25 and the rest grouped round the median of £35. This was at a time when the '£10 householder' could be estimated with the vote as a small 'man of property'.

There are obvious economic differences between a middle-aged man with a thriving business, a 'quiverfull' of children, an imposing mansion, and an old widow in a small semi-detached villa. The domestic staff of one could include a housekeeper, a governess, a footman, or a coachman: the other might consist of a cook and housemaid or, more likely, one maid of all work. However, when household composition and size is considered later in more detail, I expect it will appear that they vary not only between RV groups, but within them. The apparent economic differences are partly due to heads being of different sexes, of different material status and at different stages in the life-cycle of the family, with consequently different housing and staffing needs. They are also at different phases of fortune, though this appears to be much more due to bereavement than to variations in the age of the head. To a lesser extent, the presence or not of co-resident kin and whether or not, if present, they are age-dependent (young or old) or mature siblings etc., is expected to have some influence on household structure and size.

From the point of view of social status, all the elite households seem to have much in common. If a male, the head's occupation was usually that of merchant, manufacturer, provider of services or rentier. The woman of the house, whether head or wife, was occupied solely as mistress of the household. Most of the children were probably being educated to about fifteen only. Afterwards, the boys would be started — at the bottom, of course — on a job with prospects while the girls made themselves useful at home and waited for a suitable marriage. The house was devoted solely to residential purposes and situated in its own garden on a wide, well-kept and tree-lined street. Normally, there would be one or two servant girls at least living in, and three or more in nearly a quarter of the households. If necessary, the heads seem to have been able to offer shelter to orphaned kin and spinster sisters.

None appeared to need to take in boarders for financial reasons, the few doing so probably obliging a friend or business acquaintance. Most had probably made money in an industrial town and all appear to be getting as far away from it as they could conveniently do.

At this stage of the study, it is not possible to say if there were other heads with houses valued for rating at less than £20 who might also qualify as 'suburban'. Certainly there were in Edgbaston 'working households' rated at a much higher sum such as those of the farmers. Below the £20 mark there were also working-class dwellings both in the 'urban fringe' and in the 'rural remnant', some with RVs of less than £5 and including the four hundred households poor enough to accept vestry-organised charity each Christmas.

The distribution of the heads in the six RV groups by sex, age and marital category does nothing to negate the hypothesis that this is socially a homogeneous group. They seem to be only marginally influenced by economic circumstances, at least the male householders. Certainly, taking all households, there is a marked difference between top and bottom RV groups in MHS (2.9) and MDS (2.7); but the latter practically accounts for the former. Consequently, the figures for mean household size 'net' of domestic staff reveal much less disparity between the RV groups. Indeed, the difference in mean 'net' household size between male and female heads (1.4) is twice that between the most extreme RV groups for heads of both sexes or for male heads.

The contrasts between male and female householders in personal attributes and in household size seem to me to reinforce the social homogeneity hypothesis. A new family life-cycle stage would be expected to bring change and most female heads will have inherited the household from a father, husband or brother. The loss of the latter must more often than not have led to some fall in living standards.

Less than one head in five was a female, a higher proportion in the lower RV groups and a lower one in the top RV groups. She was on average fifteen years older than her male peers. Compared to the over four-fifths of men who were married, she was usually single or, much more often, widowed. She lived in a lower rated house and mean household size was only just over two-thirds that of the men; though there was much less disparity between them in mean size of domestic staff. The modes summarise the differences concisely: over two-thirds of men householders were middle-aged and married; over two-fifths of female heads old and widowed.

I believe that 'improvement' of the family's standard of living and future prospects was this suburban elite's main motivation and that this had already raised them to the desirable level of a modern home with a good Edgbaston address. I expect to find later in this study that 'urban push' had propelled many from the noisy, crowded, smokey and unhealthy town and that 'suburban pull' had drawn them to a new villa with modern conveniences in an environment ideally between town and country. The bright new colour-washed residence with its well-kept garden and a young maid to be seen doing the dirty work in the morning, and answering the bell trimly dressed after noon, must have been a sure symbol of success in the West Midlands. To the family inside, and probably to the servant girls also, once the front gate was closed it surely was a real sanctuary from the evils and discomforts of mid-nineteenth century town and country life.

For father, work was far enough away to be out of sight sometimes, yet near enough for a short drive in his own carriage, with other businessmen on the horse-omnibus, or even on foot. Here, in his own walled garden, he could indulge a romantic love of nature — far from the realities of rural life. The Victorian wife would surely find fulfilment as mistress of the household, mother of her children and on a daily social round. Most of those children could be educated within the parish: the

boys trained for a secure occupation, preferably involving brain-work; the girls given social graces and domestic accomplishments. Indeed, the rising generation would start life from an enviable plateau, though youngsters would be introduced at a relatively early age to the doctrine of hard work which had raised the family so far. The suburban household also provided shelter and a niche in life for co-resident kin and to girls in service from a raw country home or urban street to a training in household management which they passed on when they married.

The Edgbaston home of this suburban elite of nearly seven hundred households answered the rising expectations of those heads who had in most cases made their money in an industrial town such as Birmingham. Then, they reached the stage of wanting something better out of life than they could obtain by living at the work place any longer. Once in residence on the Calthorpe Estate, they must have found themselves being moulded in its select image. They in turn would help to make the forty-year-old suburb what by 1851 it surely had become — a self-perpetuating institution.

NOTES

1. Birmingham Reference Library: Edgbaston Estate Office deeds; Calthorpe Estate Office, Edgbaston: Calthorpe Estate Office papers.
2. S. Lewis, **Topographical dictionary of England**, 7th ed., 1848.
3. Edgbaston Directory and Guide for 1853, Birmingham, 1853. Original punctuation preserved.
4. Lewis, **Topographical dictionary**.
5. **1851 Census of England and Wales**, Population Tables: Warwickshire, Worcestershire.
6. **Ibid.**
7. 1851 Census, enumerators' schedules for King's Norton: Edgbaston (393:2) in P.R.O., H.O.107/2049.
8. Birmingham Reference Library. Edgbaston poor rate book (28 March 1851).
9. In the 450 houses valued for rating at £30 or more, there are seven in the 1851 Census with no domestic servant listed; almost certainly one being absent in the night for various possible domestic or personal reasons. In the other 248 houses (RV £20-£29), there are seventeen cases. From an inspection of the composition of these households, it is highly probable that there was usually at least one co-resident domestic servant in most and possibly all cases.
10. In accordance with the theory developed later in the study, I call all issue of head and/or spouse 'children' if they are under sixteen years of age, and 'offspring' if sixteen or more.
11. I have not included married servants and their families in the five separate lodges (ten adults and ten children) in the figures for mean household size (MHS) or mean number of domestic servants (MDS). Nor does the latter include the children of servants living in the household (eight children in six households).
12. The **Birmingham parliamentary register, 1852**, (Birmingham Reference Library) gives not only the suburbians' residential qualifications in Edgbaston, but also the town premises occupied by them which entitled them to another parliamentary vote.
13. In suggesting possible remarriage, I am going by the respective census ages of the (presumed second) wife and of the children of the (presumed first) marriage.
14. In this, and subsequent, tables the sum of the percentages may not total 100 because of rounding.
15. Gross estimated rental is usually 25 per cent higher than the rateable value used in this study; Edgbaston poor rate book, March 1851.
16. See note 11, above.

PATTERNS OF MIGRATION OF TEXTILE WORKERS INTO ACCRINGTON IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

William Turner

William^f Turner is a mature student of the Open University. He is a Principal Assistant in a Management Services Section within the Electricity Supply Industry. He has had a long and keen interest in the economic, social and labour history of east Lancashire. This article is based on a project completed as part of an Open University course D301, 'Historical Data and the Social Sciences'.

The inclusion of detailed information on place of birth in the census returns of 1851 has enabled many people to study general patterns of migration towards expanding industrial centres during the first half of the nineteenth century. However, to date, there have been few attempts to look at the patterns for specific occupational groups. A study of the cotton manufacturing and calico printing industry in Accrington in 1851 not only reflects the attractive power of the growing town for unskilled workers, within a relatively restricted locality, but also the wider catchment area for skilled and professional groups, (particularly within calico printing) many of whom came from other places associated with the industry.

Calico printing was established in Accrington before 1807. By 1851 there were five works in the town employing approximately 1,200 hands. There were also twelve integrated cotton spinning and weaving mills employing 1,380 hands.¹ These mills produced the calico cloth which was used in the calico printing industry. In the early 1850s there began a period of more rapid expansion in the town's industry as witnessed by the construction of new cotton mills and engineering works whose employees later in the decade far exceeded the numbers engaged in calico printing. Nevertheless in 1851 the industrial structure of Accrington was largely dominated by calico weaving and printing.

The town is covered by the 1851 census enumerators' returns for the townships of Old Accrington and New Accrington.² The townships were adjacent, and for most non-local government matters, were considered by the inhabitants simply as 'Accrington'. Therefore for the purpose of analysis the census enumerators' reports were combined. Information from this source included:

- (a) the place of birth of all members of a household
- (b) the age of all household members
- (c) the 'relationship to head of household' information giving a positive family structure
- (d) a detailed description of occupations.

This listing is the basis for showing the patterns of movement of the heads of household by assuming that birthplace is a surrogate for place of origin. In some cases the progress of families towards the town can be plotted by noting the birthplaces of children. But in no case is it possible to determine the total number, or duration of, intermediate residences. Also where heads of household were single men or where there were no children in a household either because of childless married couples or because of elderly married couples whose children had left home, it was not possible to identify any movements between place of birth and place of 1851 residence.

Information from the census returns on occupation is very detailed and indicates the vast range of skills and specialisations that comprised the cotton industry. A total of 127 different occupational descriptions were identified. This information also emphasises the diversity of occupational status within the industry, ranging in this example from unskilled labourers to large employers.

Because the intention was to ascertain differences, if any, in the migration patterns of professional, skilled and unskilled workers, the occupations were arranged into three appropriate socio-economic groups (SEG). These are a modification of Anderson's ten SEG definitions.³ These modifications are shown below.

Table 1. Definition of socio-economic groups (SEGs).

Anderson's definitions	SEG	Accrington cotton workers	SEG
Professional + managerial	I	professional, managerial, supervisory	I
Clerical	II		
Trade	III		
Higher factory	IV	skilled	II
Artisan	V		
Lower factory	VI	unskilled	III
Labourer	VII		
Hand-loom weaver	VIII		
Unclassified	IX	excluded	
Not employed	X	excluded	

N.B. On the assumption that wages paid were appropriate to skills, lists of occupations and wage rates for 1849 and 1852 were used as a guide to place occupation within socio-economic groups.⁴

The group which has been designated professional, managerial and supervisory includes occupations such as 'master engraver', 'print works superintendent' and 'designer to calico printer'. Manufacturers were included also, one of whom described himself as a 'Turkey red dyer'. Occupations in the group composed of skilled workers in the industry include 'block printers', 'block cutters', 'mule spinners' and 'power loom overlookers'. Mechanics and millwrights are also included. The unskilled workers are mostly described as 'labourer at colour shop', 'labourer to

engraver', labourer at madder breaking' (a dye used in calico printing) or are employed as specialist machinery attendants such as beamers, rovers or twistors etc.

In 1851 Accrington had a population of 10,376 with 2,057 heads of household. A total of 823 heads of household (40.00%) were employed in the cotton industry. Of these 823 heads of household, 44.71% were in calico printing.

The allocation of the 823 heads of household into socio-economic groups is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Heads of household employed in cotton industry by socio-economic groups.

	total	as %	no. of occupations
Professional etc.	52	6.32	26
Skilled	402	48.84	38
Unskilled	369	44.84	63
Total	823	100.00	127

The specialisation within the industry may be considered an influencing factor on migration, and particularly on the choice of destination. The complexity of this specialisation indicates that even unskilled occupations (albeit lower paid than skilled occupations) were still highly specific and could influence an individual's choice of destination.

The birthplaces of the groups are mostly within the region of England comprising Lancashire south of the river Lune, the West Riding of Yorkshire and north east Cheshire. This is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Birthplaces of heads of household by socio-economic groups.

	Born Lancs., W.R. & N.E. Cheshire		born elsewhere		total no.	%
	no.	as %	no.	as %		
Professional etc.	48	92.31	4	7.69	52	100.00
Skilled	380	94.53	22	5.47	402	100.00
Unskilled	355	96.21	14	3.79	369	100.00
Total	783	95.14%	40	4.86%	823	100.00%

Of the forty persons, of all groups, who were born elsewhere, two of the professional group came from Carlisle and two (a 'manufacturing chemist' and a 'Turkey red dyer') came from France. Sixteen of the skilled workers came from other parts of England, from places as far apart as Carlisle and Mitcham, Surrey. (These two places were, incidentally, calico printing towns). Four came from Ireland, one from Scotland and one from Gibraltar. Nine of the unskilled workers came from towns and villages in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, four came from Ireland and one was born in Wales.

The distribution of professional and skilled workers are mainly to the N.E. and S.E. of Accrington (up to fifteen miles) with a less distinct distribution to the N.W. (up to thirty miles). The distribution pattern for

unskilled workers is weaker in that birthplaces are clustered within a ten mile radius with the N.E. and S.E. pattern much less clearly defined. Investigation into the reasons for the N.E. and S.E. distribution indicated that it followed a pattern similar to the distribution of calico printing and cotton mill sites throughout Lancashire and N.E. Cheshire (Table 4 and map).

Table 4. Distribution of heads of household employed in calico printing in Accrington, born in calico printing towns.

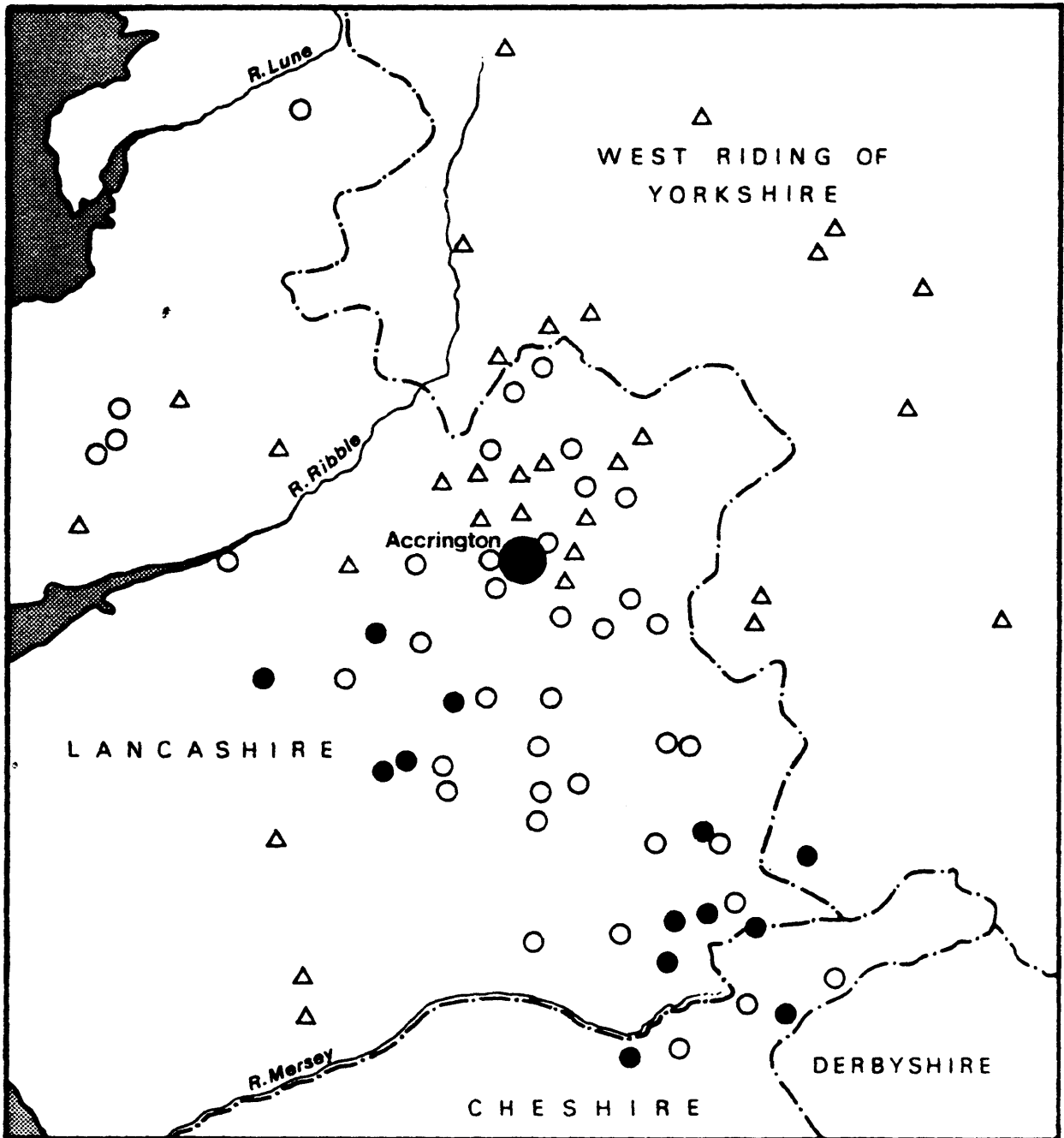
Group	calico printing workers ¹	born in calico printing towns	(2) as % of (1)
	(1)	(2)	
Professional	13	10	76.92
Skilled	191	115	60.21
Unskilled	164	80	48.78

¹ Does not include calico printing workers born in Accrington.

Of the eighty unskilled workers in calico printing born in calico printing towns, fifty-nine (73.75%) were born within ten miles of Accrington. They tended to migrate around Accrington in a circulatory manner. For example a labourer born in Church had his first child born in Accrington, then one born in Bradshaw (near Bolton), one in Accrington again, two in Haslingden, then a sixth and final child in Accrington. The remaining twenty-one unskilled workers were mostly from calico printing towns further afield to the South and East. Those calico printing workers born in non-calico printing towns and villages (eighty-four in total) were, with few exceptions such as individuals from Dublin, Liverpool and Norfolk migrants from the rural areas lying to the north and east of Accrington. Of these most were likely to have been economically distressed former hand loom weavers becoming absorbed into other mechanised, cotton occupations. 'From these districts many weavers went into the calico print trade as dyers, washers and labourers.'⁵ It is significant that many unskilled migrants were from Lancashire and West Riding of Yorkshire rural villages and were present in Accrington in 1851 as 'dyers, washers and labourers'.

For the professional and skilled workers there is a distinctly different trend. During this period the calico printing industry was adjusting itself to many technological changes. Most important were the changes from block printing to machine printing and from natural dyes to synthetic aniline dyes. It was also subject to constant changes in fashion for materials, designs, colours etc. The industry also suffered much from financial speculators and imprudent investors.⁶

These adjustments and changes resulted in many financial failures of firms which by using hand block printing techniques were being rendered uneconomic and unviable by the competition of modernised firms using machine printing. These failures often precipitated movement of the workforce. These, particularly the skilled men, moved from their place to other similar places of work so that they could continue in their own oc-



- Town with calico and migrant
- Town with calico and no migrant
- △ Town with migrant and no calico

0 10mils

Distribution of calico printing towns and villages and places of origin of calico printing workers, 1851.

cupations. Examples of this are shown by the movement of a block printer, born in Salford, with four children born in Tottington, two born in Ramsbottom and one born in Accrington. The manager of a print works had one child born in Manchester, two in Stockport and one in Stubbins before moving to Accrington. All these towns had distinct calico printing in-

dustries during that period. Lengths of stay at one place varied, with up to five children born at one place. There is also documentary evidence that industrial action by block printers resisting the introduction of new techniques sometimes ended in wholesale lock-out and the subsequent movement of groups of workers.⁷

The picture is one of many skilled workers migrating in an effort to preserve their old skills in the face of competition from mechanised industry. The migration to Accrington could not always have been for higher wages. Accrington at that time was virtually ruled by the Hargreaves family of Broad Oak print works. 'The Master is owner of all the property and reigns like a king — gives very low wages', was one contemporary opinion.⁸

The association between closures and subsequent moves to Accrington is illustrated by two examples, firstly at Catterall, in the Fylde. A small calico printing works 'failed' in 1830. In 1851 there were eleven heads of household from Catterall living in Accrington and still employed in calico printing. The eleven were scattered throughout the town indicating an eventual dispersion over time. Secondly, at Ramsbottom, a calico printing works employing forty-nine hands 'failed' in 1850. In 1851 six heads of household from Ramsbottom were employed in calico printing in Accrington. With them were a further eight heads of household, born in Carlisle, but with children born in Ramsbottom. (It was from Carlisle a calico printing town, that the previous owner of the Ramsbottom works had originally migrated in 1846 accompanied by a group of skilled calico printing workers.)⁹ This group of fourteen families were housed relatively close together and were mainly skilled workers.

Long distance migration to Accrington only amounted to a small proportion of total moves (7.69% or four persons in the professional group). However, those professional workers who moved to Accrington had a strong influence on the industry. Of the four persons, two were in the Carlisle/Ramsbottom group, the remaining two came from France. These highly skilled migrants were responsible for introducing innovations into the calico printing industry and much of the development of the modern industry in Accrington may be linked to their influence. This suggests that developments in an industry were not always spread by the diffusion of ideas in a contagious fashion, but that innovations could be transmitted over considerable distances by a single migratory move.

If one equates calico printing towns and villages with 'more advanced' communities the results of the study indicate some confirmation of the view Michael Anderson put forward that migrants born in more advanced communities were more likely to enter into the more secure and better paid jobs in a town.¹⁰ But it is equally likely that calico printing workers did not always migrate for higher wages, but that there was a strong current of migrants who were seeking to retain their old skills, at whatever cost, in the face of technological change. They chose not to oppose change, nor to adapt to change but sought to employ their abilities and skills elsewhere.

It is clear that the nature of migration for all groups was affected by, and also influenced, the economic and industrial structure of Accrington and its dominance in the calico printing and cotton industry during a period of economic and technological change.

The inference is that each of the three groups of workers was affected differently, which in turn produced differences in migration patterns. These differences, for professional workers, were that they were closely involved in the technological development of the industry in addition to some individuals being adversely affected by the changes occurring throughout the industry. For skilled workers these were skills and traditions which were deeply affected by the changes and unrest in the industrial towns and so they tended to seek opportunities elsewhere within the industry. Finally, the unskilled workers were those who migrated to Accrington as a result of the economic distress in the rural areas of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire and were drawn into the town seeking work within the developing calico printing and cotton industries.

NOTES

1. M. Rothwell, **Industrial Heritage, A Guide to the Industrial Archaeology of Accrington**, 1979, pp. 2-6.
2. Census Enumerator's Book 1851, Registrar's District, Accrington. PRO ref. H.O. 107 2250.
3. M. Anderson, **Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire**, Cambridge 1971, p. 26.
4. Occupations and wage rates for 1849 were taken from G. Turnbull, **A History of the Calico Printing Industry in Great Britain**, 1951, p. 215. Average hours per day and wages paid at Broad Oak Paintworks, Accrington in 1852 were taken from B. Hargreaves, **Recollections of Broad Oak**, 1882, p. 20.
5. A. Redford, **Labour Migration in England 1800-1850**, p. 41.
6. Turnbull, p. 70.
7. J. Graham, **A History of the Print Works in the Manchester Area**. First Published 1850, reprinted as a series of articles in the **Manchester Guardian**, 1894. On microfilm in Accrington reference library. Local History collection.
8. Turnbull, p. 71.
9. Graham, (material collected by A. Benyon, 1976).
10. M. Anderson, 'Urban migration in nineteenth-century Lancashire: some insights into two competing hypotheses', **Annales de Démographie Historique**, 1971. Reprinted as article in Unit 8. D301 Historical Data and the Social Sciences, Open University 1974 pp. 131-43.

THE USE OF CENSUS ENUMERATORS' RETURNS IN LOCAL HISTORY STUDIES

An extra-curricular schoolroom project

Andrew Garner

Andrew Garner is Head of History, Chantry H.S., Ipswich; formerly at Woodford Lodge School, Winsford, Cheshire.

In summer 1977 I attended an Historical Association Revision School, at which I learnt about and took part in the analysis of census enumerators' returns for the first time. The seminar group, eighteen in number, spent about twenty-one hours in producing an analysis of a Durham village which had a population of 647 in 1851. The participants were largely involved in primary, secondary or further education. I was intrigued by the arguments, put forward in an introductory seminar, that the activity was potentially useful in school teaching. The school in which I taught at the time operated a C.S.E./G.C.E. O level course in 'British Economic and Social History, 1770 to the Present Day'. There is a strong element of local history involved, particularly in the C.S.E. syllabus. I therefore set out to convert my newly-found 'expertise' into something of practical value to my students.

The fact that this work would for me be experimental led me to undertake it as an extra-curricular activity with a small group of pupils. But before I could begin, of course, I needed to obtain a copy of the census. I duly contacted the Public Record Office and purchased part of the 1851 census for Over, Cheshire, the area in which the school I was teaching in is situated. The cost of this in 1978 was over £60 and I hastily set about persuading the school authorities to reimburse this. This was perhaps optimistic on my part and teachers might do better to ensure that the financial provision of resources is settled first. Thanks to the support of the history adviser, headmaster, and head of department all went well, but I had to justify the project first.

Firstly, this sort of project is local. This immediately has an appeal for youngsters and should fire their enthusiasm, particularly when the children realise that the people they deal with may well be members of their own families. This was, however, less true of Over as far as the majority of pupils were concerned since it is an 'overspill' town with many newcomers from Liverpool. But the general principle holds good and the project can be seen as a means of combating the general sense of dis-location which often accompanies such movement. Secondly, the project links with work

done in the school on historical research techniques as part of the Schools Council's 'What Is History?' project.¹ A concern for evidence has been seen by H.M.I. John Slater as part of the nebulous 'sense of history' which we history teachers are in business to promote.² My third point was that a study such as this was likely to promote empathy in the students more readily than a vague account of people in general, in places in general, sometime in some previous time warp! Fourthly, of course, there was a direct link with one of the existing courses. Finally, in justifying the expense which the school would incur, I pointed out the amount of 'mileage' in the project. This was not a 'one-off job'. Research into, and analysis of our findings could be undertaken with no undue repetition for many 'seasons'.

During the term beginning September 1978 I obtained the support of five volunteers from among my fifth-year C.S.E./G.C.E. O level class. Whilst they were enthusiastic and among the most capable pupils in the group, they did have limitations. (Their final O level history results were one grade B, three C and one E grade). Only three went on to do A level (none taking history). As a group we obviously did not compare well with the eighteen adults of the Historical Association Revision School, nor did the size of the censuses compare favourably: the population of Over in 1851 was 3223, as opposed to 647 in Durham. The task would be at least eighteen times as large as the Durham survey!

Analysis of census enumerators' returns produces a "still photograph" description of a place at a very specific time, in this case Sunday, 31 March 1851. The 1851 census contains a good deal more information than the 1841 census, and so it seems to be more commonly studied. It also coincides with the point at which Winsford became the greatest of the Cheshire salt towns in terms of production. (Over is the western part of Winsford). The study of the 1851 census results in a description of the people who lived in a place. It can tell us the age/sex ratios, major occupations, places of origin, marital conditions, size and composition of families and of households. Further and deeper analysis can result in additional information regarding such things as average age at first child-birth (live), incidence of child labour, and, with other sources, land use, schooling, and so on.

When not using a computer or mechanical information-retrieval-system analysis of the census requires the transcription of information off the photocopy of the returns. We transcribed it onto colour-coded retrieval slips. A copy of the 'Head of Household' and of the 'Adult Female' slips is shown in Fig. 1. We decided that they would be white and yellow respectively. These could then be sorted quite easily so that statistical data could be obtained. The task of transcription took the term from September until Christmas, using a one-hour, after-school weekly session, plus a substantial amount of time by myself. The size of the task was immense, and necessitated a great deal of time being spent on this monotonous job. The group had no previous experience of archival work and they found the handwriting and the quality of photocopy a double handicap, in some places worse than others. I estimate that the pupils,

Figure 1 Retrieval slips for 'Head of Household' and 'Adult Female'

HEAD

1. Household	2. Forename	3. Surname	4.	5. Number in household

6. Condition	7. Age	8. Occupation	9. Group

10. Birthplace	11. Group	12. Was wife born there?	13. Is wife immigrant?

14. Disabled	15. Relatives	16. Lodgers	17. Servants	18. Employees	19. Notes

ADULT FEMALE

1. Household	2. Forename	3. Surname	4. Relation to head	5. Illegit.

6. Condition	7. Age	8. Occupation	9. Group

10. Birthplace	11. Group	12. Was husband born here?	13. Is husband immigrant?

14. Disabled	18. Notes			

who were borderline C.S.E./G.C.E. O level students, could copy information of about twenty-five people per hour. This was after a certain amount of experience, both of deciphering the handwriting of the five enumerators, and of the two codes developed to make easier the retrieval of birthplace and of occupation details. The coding used for occupation grouping is illustrated in the appendix. The transcription process was therefore long and drawn out. The compilation of statistical data was slow too, but for a different reason. The first problem after Christmas was that the total number of retrieval slips we had produced was too great. Somewhere along the line details had been written down twice for two residents. This problem had been made worse by the mistake of one of the 1851 enumerators who had miscalculated the number of inhabitants in his district! Finally we settled at a population of 3223: 961 men (29.8%), 935 women (29%), 647 boys (20.1%), 680 girls (21.1%). (Boys and girls are those of fourteen years and below). By this stage the small group were showing signs of weariness brought on by constant counting and re-counting of retrieval slips. They grew impatient with their own errors. It is difficult to be positive about whether they had gained and what they had gained from their early experiences of census analysis. For a start there had been no actual analysis of statistics because no useful data had been isolated. However it had been an introduction (though a brutal one) to historical research.

The next task was to take statistical information from the retrieval slips. We began with information about occupations. Although we had an example from work carried out on Billingham³ occupations there were difficulties about classifying some of these. For example, was an apprentice wheelwright to be classified with his master as a skilled craftsman? It was decided that he should be. An example occurring more regularly was that of married women listed in the returns as 'saltmakers wife', 'farmer's wife', 'surgeon's wife' and so on. Were they housewives, or did they help in the work of their husbands? Or should they be entered as having dual occupations? We decided each on its own merits. The result was that 'surgeon's wife' was assumed to take no part in her husband's occupation and was therefore group 'H' — a housewife. Very few dual occupations were allotted. The counting of occupational groups was again done with less accuracy than I had originally envisaged. The maximum number of retrieval slips now being dealt with at one time was 858, yet we had to recount several times in order to arrive at a correct total. This was depressing, frustrating and annoying at the same time. Such inefficiency was time-consuming, but more important, it lowered the pupils' interest in the work. They were prevented from discovering the results of their work, yet having gone so far nothing could now be done except to keep counting!

Finally a set of statistics was produced showing the actual numbers of people involved in each occupational group, along with percentages. By 'occupations', of course, we also meant scholars, housewives, retired persons, paupers, etc. We found that of the 58% of the population whose occupations were in fact jobs (including housewives!) 16½% were involved in the salt industry, 13.8% were skilled craftsmen, and 13% were in agriculture. We classified 29% as housewives, but many of these, as

previously mentioned, could have had full or part time jobs generally alongside their husbands in the fields or the saltsheds. We began a brief investigation of some of the statistics. For example, we wanted to know why there were so many skilled craftsmen. In another similar survey there were fewer. Cockfield in County Durham (on which I had worked) in the Historical Association Revision school seminar had only 8.26% of its population so described. Without a study in detail of this group we could not state a specific reason for the disproportionate figure, but we were aware that the production of salt from brine in the long pan sheds of Winsford (Over) created an abnormal demand for shoemakers and cobblers: the salt, apparently, shortened the life of leather shoes. Another broad group we discussed was the labourers, group 11, again a high proportion compared with other studies. The reason for this, we concluded, might be due to the way they had been classified by the five enumerators. If a man was a labourer in the salt industry he might be referred to as such, or just as a labourer. Similarly agricultural workers may have been recorded as 'labourers' rather than 'agricultural labourers'. (Group 1B).

A further study was on the number of boys attending school. We found that 38% of school age boys, but only 28½% of girls were listed as scholars. Was there a reason for this? We decided to look further afield, so a visit to Chester Record Office was arranged. I had hoped that the census survey would have been further advanced by the time we were due to visit Chester, so that the visit could have added flesh to our statistical bones, and allow suppositions to be verified or rejected. However, by this stage we had only basic — I would call them 'first stage' — statistics about occupations and age groups. We had not had the opportunity to extract 'second stage' data about individual occupations within the broad groups, or about individual age groups within the population. Though we had so few items to investigate I decided that a broadening of the exercise without statistical backup was possible. I gave the students various tasks at the Record Office in Chester. One began to use the 1846 Tithe Apportionment map of Over in conjunction with the third edition (1909) 25 inch O.S. maps. Her task was to record which fields on the Tithe map corresponded with those on the O.S. map, and make appropriate notes on the school photocopies of the later map with a view to producing overlays at a later date which would graphically display the results of our investigations. Meanwhile, using the Tithe Apportionments, another student was recording details of land use around Over. Again this would help us to display work when the survey was more advanced. Yet more information on "who owned what" was obtained from electoral registers of the period. The enumerators' returns gave little detail of the geographical location of the residents. It was hoped that this information could be discovered from electoral registers, directories and the Tithe documents.

In the study of occupations we found a need to look at the schools of Over and find out, if possible, why the number of boys in school should exceed the number of girls. In the records we looked at during this short visit — architects report of 1903 — we found that none of the schools were single sex at that date. Towards the end of the day we looked at the

history of Winsford's salt industry and of local churches. We were also able to consult a gazetteer. This enabled us to solve thirty four out of forty three of the problems we had encountered when filling in birthplace details on the retrieval slips. Some of the places listed by the enumerators, such as Wormbury in Flint, remained a mystery. For other places we assumed that the enumerators had misspelt or misheard place names. For example we assumed 'Stockholm' to be Stockham (near Frodsham) and 'Durley, Warwickshire' to be Dudley, Worcestershire.

So far the project had not developed as fully as I would have liked. Due to the problems of transcription and sorting already described, the five pupils who helped in this early attempt on this census have a less than favourable view of this sort of work. My assessment of progress included their views. On the first part of the work, the transcription, one of the girls wrote, 'The beginning of the project proved to be quite boring but as the work continued it became more interesting, finding out about the different people.' 'At first it seemed a waste of time, but I suppose it was valuable information because it showed a detailed view of a society ... if we had got further we could have learnt even more'. Thus another girl expressed her understanding of the potential value of such work. One of the boys added this: 'The project showed us the structure of the town, and how the town's life was influenced by the salt factories. With more time we may have discovered how big the influence was'. According to another boy, 'the trip to Chester archives was probably the highlight of the project'. The conclusions of these pupils were much the same as my own at this stage. I strongly endorse the remark that 'the counting of sheets ... could have been done by computer'. I now felt that this aspect of the work should not be undertaken by so few children, or perhaps not by school-children at all, because of the tedium of it. Work of this nature using computers has been described by Beverley LaBbett, and I had read his account in **Teaching History**.⁴ A most valid comment he has since made is that the statistical work for which he had used a computer was probably of more value to a school Computer Studies course than a History course. I agree that the work of the history pupils, and here I mean particularly pupils such as those who helped me, begins where I ended in the 'season' described above. The use of derived data from a computer storage bank for the analysis of the structure of a community is what I would now aim to achieve. Another warning I found in **Teaching History** seems relevant: "... it is a little depressing to be left with the impression that only with a large team of collaborators, plenty of money for photo-copying documents, preferably a computer, and certainly a commitment to many years of tedious work, can a genuinely useful community study be attempted."⁵

On the face of it, perhaps my first year's work seemed to have less to show for it than I would have hoped. However, I personally learned a great deal (not only about the techniques of census analysis, but also about Over in 1851), and rather than feeling that the activity was not feasible, I resolved to find a computer. The project continues with the help of a Computer Studies teacher and one of the microprocessors that the school simply did not possess when I began the work. If I were to advise others beginning such work I would suggest that a smaller census be analysed

or perhaps a street survey could be undertaken. Otherwise, be patient, choose your assistants well, search for computer time, and be prepared for a good deal of work.⁶

APPENDIX

Table of occupational groupings with examples

- Group
- 1A AGRICULTURAL SELF-EMPLOYED OR MANAGERS: farmer, farmer's son, farm bailiff, market gardener.
 - 1B AGRICULTURAL WORKERS: stable man, farm servant, farm labourer.
 - 2 SHOPKEEPERS AND TRADERS: baker, confectioner, grocer, cattle-dealer, potato-merchant, draper, hatter, innkeeper, brewer, publican, carrier, carter, hawker, higgler, huckster, ironmonger.
 - 3 SKILLED CRAFTSMEN, NON-INDUSTRIAL: brazier, nail-maker, blacksmith, brick-layer, brickmaker, carpenter, cabinet-maker, painter, sawyer, tailor, dressmaker, clogger, saddler, cordwainer, boat-builder, coach-maker, printer, cooper.
 - 4 MANUFACTURERS, INDUSTRIALISTS, WHOLESALERS, MANAGERS OF LARGE ENTERPRISES: shipbuilders, coalowner, timber-merchant.
 - 5 ALL THOSE EMPLOYED IN THE MAJOR NON-AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY: salt-boiler, salt-agent, pansmith, salt-labourer.
 - 6A UPPER PROFESSIONAL: accountant, banker, lawyer, clergyman, doctor, judge, army or navy officer.
 - 6B LOWER PROFESSIONAL: auctioneer, Inland Revenue officer, musician, artist, school-teacher, vet.
 - 7A CLERICAL: clerk, secretary.
 - 7B SUPERVISORY WORKERS: workhouse-master, postmistress, superintendent constable.
 - 8A GENERAL DOMESTIC SERVANT: cook, coachman, butler, gardener, footman, house-keeper, general servant.
 - 8B LOWER SERVANTS: charwoman, laundress, mangle-woman, washerwoman.
 - 9 PRIVATE INCOME RECIPIENTS: fund-holder, interest on money, gentleman, proprietor of houses, annuitant.
 - 10 SEMI-SKILLED AND SERVICE WORKERS: cabman, sexton, sailor, postman, ostler, midwife, soldier, policeman.
 - 11 LABOURERS AND UNSKILLED WORKERS: labourers except those in group 1B and group 5, errand girl.
 - C CHILDREN fourteen and under with no occupation.
 - S CHILDREN described as scholars.
 - AS SCHOLARS over fourteen years old.
 - H HOUSEWIVES
 - NO NO OCCUPATION (over fourteen years old).
 - P PAUPERS: tramp, poor man, widow, parish relief.
 - R RETIRED PERSONS: superannuated, pensioners.
 - V VISITORS.

NOTES

1. Schools Council History Project 13-16, **What Is history**, published by Holmes McDougall, 1976.
2. John Slater, 'Why history?', **Trends In Education**, Spring 1978, p. 4.
3. Extra-mural Department, University of Durham. **Billingham, Port Clarence and Haver-ton Hill in 1851**, 1975.
4. B. D. C. Labbett, 'An approach to writing local history: The role of the computer within the project', **Teaching History**, No. 21 (1978), pp. 24-6.
5. Alan Metters, reviewing **Reconstructing Historical Communities**, in **Teaching History**, No. 23 (1979), p. 33.
6. This article is based upon a report of mine in **Handbook for Cheshire History Teachers' Conference**, 1979. Since then the project has passed on to another member of staff. He is supervising a pupil who hopes to produce more detailed analysis with the help of the Computer Studies teacher and an Apple microprocessor. I have moved on to a head of department post and intend to begin a new study.

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD IN A NINETEENTH CENTURY DEVON VILLAGE

Neil M. Howlett

Neil Howlett is an undergraduate reading geography at Jesus College, Cambridge.
This study is part of research done for his pt. II dissertation.

The primary source of data about individuals and communities in the nineteenth century are the Census Enumerators' Books. They are, however, subject to limitations which can only be overcome by reference to additional sources. First, in common with all structured data collection methods, the census relies upon categorisation to achieve simplicity and limit ambiguity. This can only succeed where the categorisations used correspond with those understood by the persons filling in the forms. An example of this is the use of the terms 'boarder', 'lodger' or 'visitor', or in the specification of relationships to the head of the household. A second problem which arises from the use of census data without any supplementation is that they portray the household at a single moment in time. Where there is much temporary absence this can present a misleading picture of the nature of households. We hope to demonstrate the relevance of these points by presenting a case study of the village of Appledore in North Devon, based on a sample of 410 households out of a total of 463 enumerated in 1851, and of 488 households out of the 568 enumerated in 1871. Information obtained from the census was amplified by a study of the parish registers, more particularly as to relationships between household members.

Appledore is situated at the confluence of the Taw and Torridge estuaries. In the nineteenth century building or sailing ships provided practically the whole village with employment, and certainly half of all heads of households. Men working in sailing ships obviously could not avoid prolonged periods of absence from Appledore while they were at sea. To a lesser extent shipwrights were also periodically absent. Ship carpenters from Appledore sailed out to Prince Edward Island in the St Lawrence estuary early in the year, where they took advantage of plentiful supplies of timber to build small vessels on the beach. Before the St Lawrence froze up these would be jerry-rigged and sailed back across the North Atlantic to be fitted out in one of Appledore's dry docks.¹

In 1871 10.8 per cent of the population of Appledore was resident in households with relatives other than their spouses and unmarried children, and 29.7 per cent of households contained such relatives.² That this co-residence was a response to problems confronting these people or the

Table 1. Types of co-resident kin outside nuclear family by marital status of household head.

	Unmarried	Married, both spouses present	Married husband Absent	widowed	N	Total %
Appledore 1851						
Father	—	3	—	2	5	4.3
Mother	1	6	5	3	15	13.0
Brother	2	1	—	—	3	2.6
Sister	6	—	4	4	14	12.0
Nephew	3	3	1	1	8	6.9
Niece	1	3	4	13	21	18.3
Son-in-law	—	1	—	—	1	0.9
Daughter-in-law	—	1	—	1	2	1.7
Grandchild	—	13	—	22	35	30.4
Other kin	—	3	6	2	11	9.6
					<hr/>	<hr/>
					115	99.7
Married daughters without husbands		8		6	14	
Appledore 1871						
Father	1	5	5	1	12	5.6
Mother	—	12	4	6	22	10.2
Brother	2	1	—	2	5	2.3
Sister	7	—	2	5	14	6.5
Nephew	3	—	3	7	13	6.0
Niece	3	5	2	6	16	7.4
Son-in-law	—	2	—	2	4	1.9
Daughter-in-law	—	5	2	7	14	6.5
Grandchild	2	47	1	41	91	42.3
Other kin	3	7	5	9	24	11.2
					<hr/>	<hr/>
					215	99.9
Married daughters without husbands		5		5	10	
Preston 1851						
Father					17	3.3
Mother					29	5.7
Brother					97	18.9
Sister						
Nephew					99	19.3
Niece						
Son-in-law					120	23.4
Daughter-in-law						
Grandchild					138	27.0
Other kin					13	2.6
					<hr/>	<hr/>
					513	100.2

Sources: Preston 1851 from M. Anderson, *Family structure in nineteenth century Lancashire*, 1971, table 9, p. 45.

families they were living with, can be shown by a more detailed analysis of the relationships between them. It seems people were living together in extended and multiple family households not because this was the ideal household structure which they sought, but because by living together they could mutually overcome the problems which faced all families and individuals. The ways in which they combined reflected the different problems which faced them.

In Table 1 the presence of various types of relative is considered according to marital status of the household head and the household position of all widowed persons is considered in Table 2.

Table 2. Household situation of widowed people: Appledore and English parishes

	Appledore 1851		Appledore 1871		61 places in England before 1821							
	Widowers N	Widows %	Widowers N	Widows %	Widowers N	Widows %	Widowers N	Widows %				
Heading households containing:												
Unmarried offspring	4	24	43	44	12	44	52	48	120	57	243	47
Married or widowed son	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	9	4	7	1
Married or widowed daughter	2	12	6	6	0	0	5	5	5	2	5	1
No offspring	0	0	8	8	0	0	3	3	24	11	50	10
Subtotal	6	36	58	59	12	44	62	58	158	74	305	61
In households containing:												
Son or daughter	7	48	15	15	10	39	18	17	12	6	48	10
Son or daughter-in-law	1	7	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	17	3
Other kin	0	0	3	3	1	4	2	2	9	4	19	4
Other persons	1	7	7	7	1	4	6	6	18	9	41	8
Solitary	2	14	14	14	3	11	18	17	12	6	65	13
Institutions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1
Grand total	17	100	98	99	27	100	106	100	211	100	501	100

Sources: 61 places in England before 1821, P. Laslett, **Family life and illicit love in earlier generations**, 1977, table 5.9

First, it is clear that not all widowed people remained heads of their own households. Secondly, where they could not they normally lived as subordinate members of their children's households, where they could also be child minders. However, the difference between widowed people living in households headed by their children and the widowed heading households containing their married children is one of definition, not of function. In both cases domestic and child-minding duties could be shared. The efficacy of kin-links and their primacy over other types of social interaction for widowed people can be seen from Table 2. In both 1851 and 1871 79 per cent of widowed people were resident with kin, including those in households headed by married offspring; of those who were not living with kin two-thirds were living alone. Most of the 21 per cent of those who were not living with kin probably had no surviving kin with whom they could live.

There is a structural similarity between unmarried and widowed household heads. Both were without a partner of their own generation within the household and were generally old. The probability of widowhood increased with age and young unmarried people were unlikely to be heads of households for economic reasons. Old age was not normally expected to be attained, and the position of old people was anomalous. Although theoretically they held great social power by virtue of their experience, their effective power in the simple matters of looking after themselves was limited. They normally had to combine with other people to form a household, but the people with whom they combined differed. By definition unmarried people had fewer kinds of relatives with whom they could combine, and most formed households with siblings. Widowed people too combined with siblings, but they also had a larger number and wider variety of other kin whose households they could join. Table 2 also shows that the proportion of widows heading such households was much higher than the proportion of widowers. One possible interpretation is that men, in the absence of their spouses, were much less capable of managing a household than women, who were domestic managers, and who could also obtain domestic employment which allowed them to supplement their income without leaving home. Of those widowed people who did head their own households most lived with their children, both married and unmarried. This was the simplest combination. However, a very large number of widowed persons had their grand-children, nephews and nieces living with them. Unmarried nephews and nieces could contribute much the same economic and domestic help that children could, but grand-children, many of whom were very young, could not. What these households represent is a more extensive use of the traditional practice of grand-parents caring for young children while their parents worked. It was common for young wives to accompany their husbands on vessels employed in trade in the Bristol Channel. This prolonged 'baby sitting' could last for months if the parents were at sea, and was most easily operated by taking the children into the household as residents.

Households where the head was absent were effectively in a state of widowhood, which in most cases was only temporary, and was probably perceived to be so. This suggests that, although the functions of co-residents were the same in these households as in the household where the head was single, the perspective differed. Some types of kin were only resident in denuded households, that is, those in which one spouse was absent, through death or employment. This applies especially to young unmarried women, whose contribution to domestic management needs no elaboration. Their absence in complete households suggests that they were temporary residents, moving in only when the head was at sea, (see Table 1). Another example of temporary residence is found in the category of married daughters resident with their parents, together with their children but not with their husbands. Although it was not uncommon for newly wed couples to reside with the brides' parents in the first years of marriage, these women, with children, were obviously not newly wed.³

These households were not true multiple family households, but another

type of temporary solution to the difficulties raised by the absence of the husband at sea. Instead of grand-parents moving into the denuded household, the children moved to their grand-parents to function as a household. That co-residence was only temporary is supported by the fact that only a relatively small number of fully nuclear families were co-resident with parents. The data cannot provide conclusive evidence of this interpretation, but there are two arguments which strongly support it. The first is the value of the strategy noted above. The second is the evidence that inhabitants of Appledore were not averse to leaving their normal residences. Mariners, when at sea, obviously always had to do so, and their wives also when they accompanied their husbands. Further evidence bearing on this comes from the fact that there were a large number of empty houses recorded in the census books, forty in 1851, fifty in 1871, about one tenth of all the houses in the sample. Because of the nature of the recording not all can be accurately located. It is perhaps significant that of the thirty eight which can be located for 1871, a half were in the three streets which had a proportion of mariners to all employed persons which exceeded the mean for the whole village by more than one standard deviation.

In 1851 there were 135 and in 1871 ninety six people resident in households within which they had no kin relationships.⁴ Some of these were lodgers and domestic servants as normally understood. However, as I hope to show by identifying the relationships between these non-kin residents and the households in which they resided, many of them were performing the same functions as the co-resident kin discussed above.

This is not surprising. Not all people who needed aid may have had surviving kin who were able to give assistance. One may assume that the abilities and the requirements of individuals are related to their social position as defined by their sex and the stage in their life cycle. On this basis a typology was created which could be used to sort these resident non-kin from the information given about them in the censuses.

The first category comprised children below the age of fifteen years, of both sexes. There were thirty two of these in 1851 and ten in 1871, all recorded as 'scholars'. Of these thirteen in 1851 and only one in 1871 are known to have had relatives in Appledore.⁵ It seems likely that these children were taking advantage of Appledore's very good charity schools. Several were actually living with schoolteachers, and most came from other villages round the estuary, which suggests that they may have been children of sea-faring parents.

The second category is of unmarried women aged between fifteen and thirty years. There were sixty one of these in 1851 and fifty in 1871, nearly all recorded as 'domestic servants'. This is a complex category, and the role of individuals within it can only be understood in the context of the households in which they resided. Women whose occupation was given as 'domestic servant' were not necessarily financially rewarded. Within their own families daughters were frequently so recorded. Domestic servants in the understood sense resided in the various houses for an extended

period and received wages. Most of these will be found in households headed by members of socio-economic groups 1 and 2, (professional and white collar occupations). These households, although they did not comprise more than one quarter of all households, included more than 60 per cent of domestic servants both in 1851 and 1871.

In other cases, however, the relationship would seem not to have been so simple. Many domestic servants were recorded in households which would have had great difficulty in paying for their services. In many of these it is possible to identify special reasons why the household would have benefitted from additional help. Examples are, the infirmity through disease or old age of the household head,⁶ or the presence of a child less than a year old. In many cases the family of origin of the young woman servant was found to have been resident in the same street, which suggests that these young women may have been acting out of affective rather than out of pecuniary interest. These young women were acting as kin for households who did not have kin, and many of them were possibly only temporary residents. In 1851 seven were present in households with children under a year old, in five of which the male head of the household was absent.

The next category consists of unmarried or widowed women over the age of thirty: nine in 1851 and ten in 1871. Some were older women who, either had never married, or were widowed before they had children and were forced to return to domestic service to support themselves. Others were probably only temporary residents in a particular household, giving their occupations as 'nurse' or 'midwife'. The distinction between permanent and temporary residents does not correspond with that between paid and unpaid servants. Midwives were temporary residents and were paid, as were dressmakers, of whom there were four in 1851 and two in 1871.

The fourth category includes all people, of both sexes, over the age of sixty five; there were eight in 1851 and sixteen in 1871. All were unmarried or widowed, with the exception of one couple who were living together. These persons were in the same position as co-resident grandparents, but were living with people who were not their kin, presumably because they had none with whom they could reside. In return for their keep they probably offered child minding services and in some cases payment out of income from annuities.

The final category is of men in employment over the age of fifteen, of which there are remarkably few, only sixteen in 1851 and seventeen in 1871. This seems surprising at first, in view of the transient nature of maritime employment. However, although Appledore was quite an important port, most of its shipping needs were provided by indigenous enterprise, vessels sailed by Appledore men who had families with whom they could stay. There was also a tendency for mariners to sleep on their vessels when moored in a 'foreign' port. Of those men who were resident with non-kin it is possible to identify two types. The first of these, five men in 1851 and two in 1871, had occupations related to that of the head of the household in which they were resident; they were presumably assistants

or apprentices. The second type is made up of lodgers in the strict sense, and includes two itinerant musicians from London who were mostly resident in public houses and lodging houses.

Although this study is necessarily limited in its scope, it demonstrates in the specific context of a Devon fishing village how evidence on household composition may be used to infer how relatives and non-relatives combined in households, and may have helped each other over the difficulties which they encountered in the course of their lives. It also shows to what extent the roles of individuals within the household can be identified, simply from information on the age, sex and marital status of its members. Such an analysis must be the foundation for any research into the life of people in historical communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the Reverend Keith Feltham of Appledore for allowing me extended access to the vital registers under his control.

I would also like to thank Richard Wall of the Cambridge Group for his helpful comments on an earlier account of this research.

NOTES

1. The full story of this remarkable enterprise can be found in B. Greenhill and A. Giffard, *Westcountrymen in Prince Edward's Isle*, 1967.
2. The equivalent figures for 1851, 6.9 per cent and 23.4 per cent are lower. However, this difference is accounted for by the larger number of kinship relationships unspecified in the census which can be reconstructed from the vital registers in the 1871 sample. Very few such relationships can be reconstructed from the eight years of vital records which precede the 1851 sample.
3. In an analysis of the residence patterns of married couples from the census it was found that of 28 couples married less than two years who could be traced, twelve were living in the households of the brides' parents. Of these, five 'couples' actually comprised only the wife without her husband. Analysis of couples married between five and seven years showed that of thirty one which could be traced, only three were living with the brides' parents, and all of these 'couples' were women without their husbands. These results strongly suggest that true multiple families were the consequence of the inability of newly married couples to set up their own households.
4. The difference in the proportions of the total population is a consequence of the number of persons who can be identified as kin in 1871, and who have therefore been assigned to the category of resident kin (see above, note 2).
5. This conclusion is based on a reconstruction of the kin linkages between households in Appledore in 1851 and 1871, using information on relationships derived from references to the same families in the parish registers. Of the thirteen children in 1851 with kin in Appledore, twelve were actually living with these kin. They were all living with their mothers, in five families, without their fathers, in households headed by other women with their children absent. Because of clarifying instructions issued by the Director General of the Census such cases were classified as separate households in later censuses. The one case in 1871 of a child with relatives in Appledore living with non-kin is of a two year old girl living in the household of a medical practitioner, presumably under treatment.
6. Cases of illness were based on the last column in the census (relating to disability, mental or physical) and to manuscript notes added to the census schedules by the local Registrar, also the village medical practitioner.

NOTES AND QUERIES

LIVERPOOL'S INSTITUTIONAL AND QUASI-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION IN 1841 AND 1851:

Iain C. Taylor

Unlike many national censuses, those of the United Kingdom have always enumerated population as it was located on census night: the so-called **de facto** population. In other words, persons were enumerated where they slept that night whether or not it was their usual place of abode. While the advantages of avoiding double counting can be seen, a disadvantage is that anyone not sleeping at home on census night is nearly impossible to find in the census enumerators' books.

Other countries allocate this 'floating' population to its 'usual' place of residence: the **de jure** population. The significance of these two different practices for those interested in tracing individuals should be apparent.

While it would be well-nigh impossible to trace single visitors in private homes without tabulating the entire national census, it would be feasible to accumulate over time a listing of establishments which catered for the traveller, the homeless, orphaned, sick, poor, student and criminal classes as research on the enumeration books proceeds. In addition such listings would also provide a quantitative gauge of the broad dimensions of the 'non-household' or institutional population of the country — itself an important consideration when questions of preparing representative samples of the population as a whole are being asked. The material presented below represents an examination of the sizes and types of such institutional and 'quasi-institutional' populations of Liverpool at mid-century.

Liverpool as a major seaport and point of embarkation for foreign migrants had a large number of persons passing through the town, frozen like a single frame in a movie film, by the census enumeration on census night. Liverpool might be reasonably expected therefore to present something of an extreme case in the size and diversity of such typical populations. However, further research could provide some perspective on this matter.

The groups of transients and segregated persons I encountered fell broadly into two classes. The first class was officially recognised by the census as 'institutional', and a separate schedule was distributed by the persons in charge of the institution. In Liverpool such places included: gaols, hospitals and asylums, schools, almshouses, refuges and institutes, barracks and military establishments. Persons on board ships (not inland craft) were separately enumerated by ships' captains and the results forwarded directly to London.

However, a second class of 'household' was not officially designated as an institution but in its non-family nature it is clearly closer to an institution than to a normal household. Some of these were obviously small 'institutions', considered too small for a separate enumeration, others have been termed 'quasi-institutions' by researchers in that they lie on the border-line between 'normal' households and definite institutions. In my

work I used an arbitrary figure of more than ten persons described as, lodgers, boarders, etc. in the household to designate such a group 'quasi-institutional'. While examining the enumeration books for the parish of Liverpool in 1851 (which constituted 70 per cent of the borough population) I encountered many such households and recorded their presence. The list of these households is presented in the Appendix. While some of these households were undoubtedly inadvertently missed, the number is probably not very large. It is fairly easy to spot such extraordinarily large 'households on the census page. The total size of this floating (some of it literally) and adventitious population unrecorded by the official institutional returns is impressive. A total of 2,766 persons was found in such quasi-institutional households — a figure which represents only about ten per cent less than those listed in the **parish** of Liverpool's bulging official institutions, which held 3,055 persons. In total the institutional population broadly defined constituted 8,511 (and this figure excludes the quasi-institutional population of the out-townships) — in all about 2½ per cent of the total population of the borough.

I did not examine the individual returns for the 1841 population so that the number of persons in quasi-institutions in that year is not known, but in all probability the figure would approximate that for 1851. Table 1 summarizes the totals by registration sub-district of this population.

Table 1. Liverpool: institutional and quasi-institutional population, 1841 and 1851.

Registration sub-districts	institutional population		quasi-institutional population	total population	
	1841	1851	1851	1841	1851
1. St. Martins	18	—	818	35,478	61,777
2. Gt. Howard	732	954	206	26,197	27,942
3. Dale Street	98	—	328	33,866	31,763
4. St. George	—	359	189	19,723	19,823
5. St. Thomas	506	—	109	34,932	33,957
6. Mt. Pleasant	2,294	1,431	654	33,042	41,990
7. Islington	114	311	462	37,730	40,970
Parish	3,762	3,055	2,766	220,968	258,222
cut	—	—	—	—	—
township	558	2,690	—	—	—
Borough	4,320	5,745	—	286,026	367,700

Note: The quasi-industrial population of the out-townships is excluded.

Tables 2 and 3 provide a list of all separately enumerated institutions in the 1841 and 1851 censuses. Such schedules are usually found at the end of the relevant sub-district returns.

The appendix lists by sub-district and enumeration district all 'official' institutions separately enumerated, 'unofficial' institutions (not separately enumerated), and quasi-institutions encountered in 1851. Using such a list as an index to the enumerators' books, it should be possible to scan the 'non-household' population of Liverpool fairly quickly.

Table 2. Liverpool: Institutional population, 1841. (Enumerated on separate schedules).

Registration sub-districts	Institute	Population		total
		male	female	
St. Martins	North Battery	11	7	18
Gt. Howard	Gaol	271	265	536
	North Hospital	56	30	86
	Night Asylum	72	38	110
Dale Street	Bridewell, Chapel St.	50	40	90
	Bridewell, Vauxhall Rd.	2	6	8
St. George	—	—	—	—
St. Thomas	Blue Coat Hospital	247	116	363
Mt. Pleasant	Workhouse	688	955	1,643
	Infirmary	129	98	227
	Almshouses	20	106	126
	Refuge for destitute	—	30	30
	Penitentiary	—	62	62
	Catholic Orphan Asylum	—	74	74
	Deaf & Dumb Institute	25	14	39
	Lock Hospital	23	32	55
	Lunatic Asylum	19	19	38
Islington	Military Hospital	8	5	13
	Bridewell	7	3	10
Toxteth Park	Blind School	55	36	91
Kirkdale	Workhouse	57	12	69
Everton	Prison	435	54	489
West Derby	Workhouse	—	—	—
		2,175	2,002	4,177

Table 3. Liverpool: Institutional population, 1851. (Enumerated on separate schedules).

Registration sub-districts	Institute	Population		total
		male	female	
St. Martins	—	—	—	—
Gt. Howard	Gaol	599	355	954
Dale St.	—	—	—	—
St. George	Bluecoat Hospital	242	117	359
St. Thomas	—	—	—	—
Mt. Pleasant	Workhouse	536	648	1,184
	Infirmary	133	114	247
Islington	Brickfield Barracks	279	32	311
Toxteth Park	—	—	—	—
Everton/Kirkdale	Industrial School	656	497	1,153
	Workhouse	318	430	748
	Barracks	333	34	367
	Gaol	339	83	422
West Derby	—	—	—	—
		3,435	2,310	5,745

Further work that could be undertaken by family historians might include an indexing of the names and origins of persons found in these institutions. If that were done for other large cities, many persons who 'went missing' in the mid-nineteenth century might be found. Similar listings for other large cities would also provide social historians with comparative data on this not insignificant but easily neglected population.

APPENDIX

Liverpool: Locations of the institutional and quasi-institutional population, 1851.

The references on the left of the items below indicate the respective call numbers for the enumerators' schedules at the Public Record Office. The general class mark H.O. has not been repeated after the initial entry. The final three figures designate the enumeration district code (top right hand corner of enumeration book cover).

1. **St. Martins**

H.O. 107/2177/1tt Irish Lodging House, Regent St. (57 Lodgers) emigrants
 107/2177/1tt " " (15 Lodgers) "
 107/2177/1tt " " (25 Lodgers) "
 107/2177/1tt " " (16 Lodgers) "
 107/2177/1uu " Clay St. (11 Lodgers) Boarding House
 107/2177/1vv 'A large number of persons, not inhabitants, almost exclusively Irish emigrants to America, 163 persons'. Boats and barges in canal 145 persons
 107/2177/1hh '27 temporary residents'
 107/2177/1jj 66 'visitors from the country'
 107/2177/1NN 4 persons on a barge
 107/2177/pp 283 'emigrating to America'
 107/2177/1rr 6 emigrants
2. **Great Howard**

107/2178/1J 27 on a barge
 107/2178/1L 11 in an Irish Lodging House
 107/2178/1P 19 on barges
 107/2178/1Q 42 on barges
 107/2178/1T 107 Cavalry (Polish) in barracks
 107/2178/1S 954 in Gaol, Great Howard Street
3. **Dale Street**

107/2179/1E 32 persons in Irish Lodging Houses, Lace St.
 107/2178/1U 33 persons in a hotel
 107/2178/1U 25 Welsh emigrants in a Welsh emigrant house, Union St.
 107/2178/1U 17 emigrants in a licenced victuallers
 107/2178/1U 15 Lincolnshire emigrants in a boarding house
 107/2179/1V 20 emigrants in a licenced victuallers
 107/2179/188 55 persons in the 'Royal Hotel'
 107/2179/1CC 131 persons in the 'Crooked Billet', the 'Wellington', and the 'George' hotels
4. **St. George**

107/2180/1A 34 persons in barns, sheds, etc.
 107/2180/1A 9 shop assistants, Haymarket
 107/2180/1I 11 shop assistants, in two shops, Colquit St.
 107/2180/1J 52 draper's assistants in shops, Bold St.
 107/2180/1J 13 boarders at a commercial travellers hotel
 107/2180/1L 70 'Americans proceeding to Exhibition'
 107/2180/1.S. 359 persons in Bluecoat Hospital, including 334 Scholars
5. **St. Thomas**

107/2181/1F 27 Scottish seamen in a boarding house
 107/2181/1U 82 persons in the Southern and Toxteth Hospitals
6. **Mount Pleasant**

107/2182/1A 78 persons in the 'Waterloo Hotel'
 107/2182/1D 76 persons in the 'Adelphi Hotel'
 107/2182/1G 24 girls at school
 107/2182/1U 44 persons at the Lock Hospital
 107/2182/1U 68 persons at the Lunatic Asylum
 107/2182/1EE 160 female orphans
 107/2182/1EE 44 in deaf and dumb institute
 107/2182/1HH 57 females in penitentiary

107/2182/1II 79 females in Almshouses
 107/2182/1JJ 24 persons in Asylum
 * I.S. 1184 persons in the Workhouse
 * I.S. 247 persons in the Infirmary

7. Islington

107/2184/1A 47 persons in the 'Stork Hotel'
 107/2184/1B 124 persons in a drapers training school
 107/2184/1C 137 persons in five hotels
 107/2184/1D 102 inmates at the Blind Asylum
 107/2184/1J 11 females at the Catholic Lying in Hospital
 107/2184/1GG 22 persons in the Catholic Blind Asylum
 107/2184/1II 19 assistants in a grocer's store
 * I.S. 279 military in Brickfield Barracks and 32 females

8. Toxteth Park

107/2188/1AD 3 persons living in a 'boat on the beach last three years'
 107/2188/1AO 24 females in the Beneficial Female Institute

9. Everton

107/2189/1C 46 men (and women) in a military hospital
 107/2189/1D 36 children in the Soho Ragged School
 * 107/2190/I.S. 1153 at Kirkdale Industrial School
 * 107/2190/I.S. 748 in the Workhouse
 * 107/2190/I.S. 367 in Barracks
 * 107/2190/I.S. 422 in the Gaol

10. West Derby

107/2192/1A 39 persons in hospital
 107/2192/1H 64 nuns at the Mount Vernon Convent

* I.S. institutional schedule

CENSUS STUDIES IN HUNGARY: THE EXAMPLE OF ZSAMBEK, 1715-70

Balázs Nagy

Readers of **Local Population Studies** may remember the article by Rudolf Andorka on birth control in some Hungarian villages during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (**LPS** 22, Spring 1979). His results were derived from reconstitutions. But we have recently heard of a study carried out on more traditional lines. This work was originally undertaken by Balázs Nagy prior to entering the University of Budapest 'Eötvös Lóránd', and we include below a summary of this thirty page paper. The study is interesting for the general approach by a student previously unfamiliar with the source material. The study deals with changes in the ethnic composition of the population, using the evidence of surnames.

'Before using archive material I endeavoured to read the relevant chapters of some general works. From these I prepared the comprehensive part of my study, valid for the whole country. On the strength of the changes in the country as a whole I attempted to discover similar patterns at the local level by an intensive study of the surviving censuses of 1715, 1720, and 1728. In studying them I had to rely on my scanty knowledge of Latin acquired during four years in High School. The 1770 census was written in German and as I had no German at all I had to compare the text with that for another community which used the same format but in Hungarian.

The result of my study showed a considerable build-up of population after 1715. The registered surnames suggest that the population at this date was entirely Hungarian. However, by 1720 when the families had increased from 40 to 104 almost half the surnames were German in origin. Further change followed by 1728, when 175 taxpaying households in ZsámbeK were divided as follows: 138 German and 37 Hungarian. This change in the balance of nationalities is associated, I believe, with the attempt of the local landlord to enforce the Catholic religion, which caused some Hungarian Protestants to move to neighbouring villages. The massive increase in the number of families of German origin is part of the process of the fresh colonization of under-populated land which was opened up at the withdrawal of the Turks from the area in 1699'.

THE DIOCESAN POPULATION RETURNS FOR 1563 AND 1603

D. M. Palliser and L. J. Jones

In 1563 the Privy Council requested information from all English and Welsh bishops about the state of their dioceses, and one of their requests was for the number of households or families in each parish. In 1603 a similar exercise was undertaken, except that the population question on this occasion was for the numbers of communicants, non-communicants and recusants in each parish, rather than of households. The existence of some of these returns has been known for a long time, and important studies have been published which draw on their population statistics, notably those of Joan Thirsk on Lincolnshire, C. T. Smith on Leicestershire and Lionel Munby on Hertfordshire.¹ In 1959 Joan Thirsk drew attention to all the returns then known to survive; in 1969 T. H. Hollingsworth usefully discussed their value and published a summary table of all diocesan totals for 1603; and more recently Charles Phythian-Adams and A. D. Dyer have used the figures for individual towns in 1563 in analysing urban growth and decay.² However, demographic work of a very high order is still being needlessly hampered because the existence of the returns is not widely known.³

The present note is intended, therefore, to draw attention to all known surviving returns, and to publish editions of them, and to ask for the help of readers in locating more. A complete list of those known to us is appended; it will be seen that a considerable number of returns are known to survive for 1563, but very few for 1603, and that for ten dioceses out of twenty-six no returns, complete or partial, are known for either year. Yet it is clear that all bishops were asked to make returns on each occasion, and for 1603 there survive at least two different tables of diocesan population totals for the whole country, showing that returns must have been submitted for every diocese.⁴ Furthermore, returns survive for several other dioceses in 1563 giving all the information requested except for the population statistics, which were promised in a second return once the necessary information had been gathered. It is known, for example, that at least twenty-three bishops made some sort of return in 1563, though in only twelve cases are the population returns known to survive.

All the known copies of returns submitted to the government are now preserved and bound in three volumes at the British Library (Harleian MSS, 594, 595, 618), and it is unlikely that more will come to light; but there is reason to believe that most or all bishops will have kept copies or the original rough drafts, and that more of these have yet to be located or identified.⁵ The list below includes three returns not known when Dr Thirsk made her survey twenty years ago — a complete return for Gloucester in 1563, and partial returns for Chichester and York in 1603 — all of which survive among private papers or diocesan archives. The two last, indeed, were printed in local journals as long ago as 1905 and 1943 respectively, but they seem to have been missed in all recent surveys and bibliographies of demographic history. One came to light purely by

chance in a search of journals, one through a recent reference in **LPS** by Derek Turner.⁶

The following list indicates the whereabouts of all returns for 1563 and 1603 presently known to us, together with references to all printed editions or abstracts. We shall be grateful to receive any additions or corrections from readers, and we hope in due course to publish an amplified list in which all additional references will be acknowledged. Should it be thought useful enough for local and demographic historians, a full edition of at least the 1563 returns may be published later.

Surviving returns with population figures

All manuscripts referred to are in the British Library unless otherwise stated.

BANGOR. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 594, ff. 18r-27v. Leonard Owen has printed hundred totals in **Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion: Session 1959**, 1959, pp. 99-113, and apparently figures for individual parishes in the county of Anglesey in **Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society Field Club**, 1960, pp. 26-38. The latter article which we have been unable to see is listed in E. A. Wrigley, ed., **An Introduction to English historical demography**, 1966, p. 252. Partial returns for 1603 are in Harleian MSS, 594, ff. 38-44.

BATH AND WELLS. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 594, ff. 46r-56v. Unfortunately the bishop misunderstood the question, and returned population figures only for those parishes (61 out of 374) which had dependent chapelries.

BRISTOL. No returns known.

CANTERBURY. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 594, ff. 63r-84r.

CARLISLE. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 594, ff. 85-87r. The parish figures are tabulated in A. B. Appleby, **Famine in Tudor and Stuart England**, 1978, pp. 198-201, together with the figures for those parishes in Cumberland and Westmorland which were in the dioceses of Chester and Durham.

CHESTER. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 594, ff. 97-108.

CHICHESTER. A partial return for 1603 was printed by W. C. Renshaw as 'Ecclesiastical returns for 81 parishes in East Sussex, made in 1603', **Sussex Record Society**, iv, 1905, pp. 1-17, from a manuscript 'preserved in the Bishop's Registry at Lewes'.

COVENTRY AND LICHFIELD. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 594, ff. 156r-71r. The parish returns for Staffordshire only were tabulated by W. N. Landor in **Staffordshire Historical Collections**, 1915, pp. 1xix-1xxii.

DURHAM. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 594, ff. 187r-95r. Household totals are given for most, but not all, parishes.

ELY. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 594, ff. 198r-200v. The return, except for the Isle of Ely, is discussed and mapped in Margaret Spufford **Contrasting communities**, 1974, pp. 13-28.

EXETER. No returns known.

GLOUCESTER. The 1563 return survives in two copies, a contemporary one in Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MSS, C 790, and a later one (which we have not seen) in Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Furney MSS, B. The figures for the Gloucester city parishes are printed by Peter Ripley in **Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions**, xci, 1972, pp. 200-1, and for the rest of the diocese by Alicia Percival in **LPS**, 8, 1972, table following p. 76, from figures transcribed by Julian Cornwall. The 1603 return is in Harleian MSS, 594, ff. 225r-55v, and has been printed as 'A survey of the diocese of Gloucester, 1603', transcribed by A. C. Percival and edited by W. J. Sheils, in *An ecclesiastical miscellany*, **Publications of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Records Section**, xi, 1976, pp. 68-102.

HEREFORD. No returns known.

LINCOLN. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 618, **passim**, covering five of the six archdeaconries (Stow is missing). The section covering the archdeaconry of Lincoln is printed in G. A. J. Hodgett, **Tudor Lincolnshire**, 1975, pp. 189-99; that for the archdeaconry of Buckingham is edited by Julian Cornwall in **Records of Buckinghamshire**, xvi, 1953-60, pp. 258-73; that for the archdeaconry of Leicester, is tabulated in **Victoria County History of Leicester**, iii, 1955, pp. 166-7; and that for the Hertfordshire parts of the archdeaconry of Huntingdon is tabulated in Lionel Munby, **Hertfordshire population statistics 1563-1801**, 1964. The rest of the return has not yet been printed; but the deanery totals for the entire diocese are published in C. W. Foster, ed., *The State of the church*, i, **Lincoln Record Society**, xxiii, 1926, pp. 441-4. The 1603 return was printed in full by C. W. Foster in the same Lincoln Record Society volume, pp. 253-328, 337-53, from an original manuscript, 'Liber cleri', in the Lincoln Diocesan Registry. The Leicester archdeaconry section is again tabulated in **Victoria County History of Leicester**, iii, pp. 168-9, and the Hertfordshire section in Munby's **Hertfordshire population statistics**. The 1603 return, unlike that of 1563, covers all six archdeaconries.

LLANDAFF. No returns known.

LONDON. No returns known.

NORWICH. The 1603 return is in Harleian MSS, 595, ff. 95r-193r, covering three archdeaconries out of four (Norfolk is missing). The three surviving sections have all been published, though not very accurately: Norwich by Augustus Jessopp in **Norfolk Archaeology** X, 1888, pp. 1-49, 166-84; Suffolk by C. H. Evelyn White in **Proceedings of the Suf-**

folk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, vi, 1888, pp. 361-400; and Sudbury anonymously in the same journal, xi, 1901, pp. 1-46. A short extract, for Chippenham, Suffolk (incorrectly attributed to Chippenham, Wilts.) is printed in W. B. Stephens, **Sources for English local history**, 1973, p. 211.

OXFORD. No returns known.

PETERBOROUGH. No returns known.

ROCHESTER. No returns known.

ST. ASAPH. No returns known.

ST. DAVIDS. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 595, ff. 84r-92r. Leonard Owen has printed hundred totals in **Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion: Sesslon 1959**, 1959, pp. 99-113.

SALISBURY. No returns known. The extract printed in W. B. Stephens, **Sources for English local history**, 1973, p. 211 for Chippenham, Wilts. refers in fact to Chippenham, Suffolk.

WINCHESTER. The 1603 return is in Harleian MSS, 595, ff. 213-250. An extract is printed in W. B. Stephens, **Sources for English local history**, 1973, p. 211.

WORCESTER. The 1563 return is in Harleian MSS, 595, ff. 209r-212v. T. Nash, **Collections for the History of Worcester**, 2 vols, 1781-82, prints the figure for '5 Elizabeth' under each parish, presumably from this or from a local copy in Worcestershire, but with no reference cited.

YORK. A part of the 1603 return, covering about two-thirds of Nottinghamshire (147 parishes) was edited by A. C. Wood in **Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire**, xlvii, 1943, pp. 3-14, from 'two bundles of presentment bills ... now in the custody of ... the registrar of the archdeaconry of Nottingham'.

NOTES

1. J. Thirsk, **Fenland farming in the sixteenth century**, 1953, and **English peasant farming**, 1957; C. T. Smith, 'Population', in **Victoria County History of Leicester**, iii, 1955, pp. 129-75; L. Munby, **Hertfordshire population statistics 1563-1801**, 1964.
2. J. Thirsk, 'Sources of information on population 1500-1760', **The Amateur Historian**, iv, 1958-60, pp. 132-33; T. H. Hollingsworth, **Historical demography**, 1959, pp. 80-7; C. Phythian-Adams, **Desolation of a city**, 1979, pp. 8-18, 22-4, 237; **Urban History Yearbook**, 1979, pp. 63, 73-4.
3. E.g. Victor Skipp, in his excellent **Crisis and development: an ecological case study of the Forest of Arden 1570-1674**, 1978, carried out very thorough work on the population of five parishes but was unaware of the survival of the 1563 return for the diocese of Lichfield (p. 117).
4. British Library, Harleian MSS, 280, ff. 157r-172v; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Lincoln College MSS, (e) Lat. 124, f. 192v. We owe the second reference to the kindness of Dr Anne Whiteman. The two tables give slightly different totals for most dioceses, adding support to the belief that they were independently calculated from earlier surviving returns for every diocese.
5. Several such returns without population figures survive not only in Harleian MSS, 594 and 595 but also in British Library, Lansdowne MSS, 6.
6. **LPS**, 21, pp. 15-18.

ABNORMALLY HIGH BAPTISMAL SEX RATIO DURING 1568-1600

E. W. Bentley

The parish register of Oakford, Mid-Devon begins in 1568 and shows no obvious signs of slipshod maintenance thereafter. But as the totals in Table 1 show, the ratio of male to female baptisms during 1568-1600 was 1.67, surely impossibly high as a reflection of the actual birth ratio.

Table 1. Baptisms by sex¹.

Period	Male	Female	Total
1568-1570	9	9	18
1571-1580	55	32	87
1581-1590	61	36	97
1591-1600	35	19	54
1568-1600	160	96	256

1. E. W. Bentley, *Oakford: the history of a Devon Parish*, Oakford, 1982.

Also, over the same period, no more than sixteen children are recorded as having died within twelve months of birth, giving an infant mortality rate of only 62.5 per 1000: and this too, seems unacceptable for the sixteenth century.

A possible explanation here however is that a number of children died before they were baptised. Moreover to lift the infant mortality rate for 1568 to 1600 to the more acceptable level (114 per 1000) revealed by the Oakford register for the period 1651 to 1700, for example, it would be necessary to postulate no more than fifteen such unrecorded deaths — only one for every two years.

On the other hand, many more than fifteen unrecorded deaths would have had to occur to restore respectability to the male/female birth ratio for 1568-1600, and they would have had to be all female at that. This in turn could only have arisen with the wilful connivance of parents. The question therefore is whether encouraging female children to die in early infancy was practised in Oakford in the late sixteenth century or whether the data quoted above are the result of rather peculiarly inefficient recording. An examination of baptismal sex ratios for the period in other registers might well suggest an answer.

MISCELLANY

THE FIGHT AGAINST VACCINATION: THE LEICESTER DEMONSTRATION OF 1885

Christopher Charlton

The struggle to contain smallpox and eliminate it as a life-threatening disease was less easy in this country than might have been expected. Despite Dr Edward Jenner's discovery and subsequent research, the benefits of vaccination were more readily appreciated outside the United Kingdom. Legislation making vaccination compulsory was introduced in Bavaria as early as 1807; in Denmark in 1810; in Sweden in 1814 and in a number of German states in 1818. In the United Kingdom it was 1853 before an Act of Parliament made vaccination obligatory and it was not until the Act of 1867 that any real compulsion was applied. Under the terms of this Act local registrars were required to inform parents or custodians of the obligation to have their children vaccinated and to specify the time and place where they should attend upon the public vaccinator. Parents were allowed three months to obtain a vaccination and, if the child was considered to be unfit, could be granted a certificate deferring the operation for periods of two months at a time. The Act provided penalties for neglect and also permitted the Justices to order the vaccination of any child under fourteen. It was the element of compulsion which aroused the anti-vaccinators to redouble their efforts. There had been opposition to vaccination on grounds of inefficacy and the risks of infection from the time Jenner's work first became known. Now, the anti-vaccinators were able to argue, trespass on personal freedom had been added to the folly of adopting a fallacious and harmful medical practice.

In Leicester a branch of the Anti-Vaccination League was formed in 1869 and gradually, from a modest beginning, grew in strength. The terms of the Act were applied in Leicester with vigour and with apparent success, and in 1867 as many as 94 percent of children born in the town were vaccinated. The position soon changed; as the figures in the Table on page 65 indicate, from the early 1870's there was considerable under vaccination. A bitter struggle developed between a fierce opposition and a tough-minded magistracy which resulted in prosecutions under the Act on a scale not experienced elsewhere in the country.¹ The situation grew worse; in 1880 440 parents were fined and thirteen imprisoned, and in 1881 no less than 1,154 were prosecuted and a year later 918. In 1882 the controversy had already become an issue in the local elections and a year later in the triennial election to the Board of Guardians the anti-vaccination candidates achieved a majority. Their triumph was short-lived, for once elected, in a decision carried only by the use of the Chairman's casting vote, the members of the Board reintroduced a policy of prosecution, issuing no less than 2,274 summonses during their three-year term of office. After this rebuff, it is no wonder that the anti-vaccinators turned to other methods of influencing the democratic process and opposition took on a new form.

By the beginning of 1885 the number of intending prosecutions was said to be 5,000; feelings were running high and in this heady atmosphere the anti-vaccinators felt strong enough to consider taking over the streets of central Leicester. The demonstration they planned was brilliantly conceived. On the day of the event, 23rd March, a letter describing what would take place and claiming support from forty anti-vaccination leagues and fifty towns appeared in the **Daily News**. Some time before, the railway companies had been approached to provide special trains (which they refused to do) and an HQ arranged at the Temperance Hall. The demonstrators succeeded beyond all expectations. Factories and warehouses closed and representatives from anti-vaccination groups from all over the country and from abroad converged on Leicester to swell the numbers who took to the streets.

The description of the demonstration which follows is taken from J. T. Biggs, **Leicester: sanitation versus vaccination**. Biggs was a prominent Leicester industrialist and one of the leaders of the Anti-Vaccination League. At the Temperance Hall some 700 banners were prepared bearing various inscriptions:

'Northampton bore witness that "Compulsory vaccination is a usurpation of unjust power" and Brighton that "Truth conquers". Kent, with its rampant horse and legend Invicta, set "Parental affection before despotic law", and demanded "the repeal of the Vaccination Acts, the curse of our nation," clenched with the adjuration, "Men of Kent, defend your liberty of conscience; better a felon's cell than a poisoned babe". Kettering pronounced for "Freedom," and Halifax that "Jenner's patent has run out." Middleton set on high "The crusade against legalised compulsory medical quackery"; whilst Oldham called for "Health and liberty," and exhorted beholders to "Be just and fear not," assuring them, truly enough, "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance." Finsbury and Banbury united in the advice, "Stand up for liberty!". Southwark called for "Entire repeal and no compromise," and Barnoldswick for "Sanitation, not vaccination." Truro pertinently asked, "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" Keighley, ever to the fore, said, "We fight for our homes and freedom." Earlstown asked for "Pure blood and no adulteration," and Lincoln averred, "We protect our offspring." Eastbourne advised, "Cease to do evil, learn to do well." St. Pancras sent "Cordial greeting and sympathy to the heroic martyrs of Leicester." There was a well-appointed hearse with a child's coffin inscribed "Another victim of vaccination," and the observation of Sir Joseph Pease in the House of Commons, "The President of the Local Government Board cannot deny that children die under the operation of the Vaccination Acts in a wholesale way." A banner bore the prayer, "From horse grease, calf lymph. cowpox and the Local Government Board, good Lord deliver us." Another had "A dead swindle — a vaccination death certificate." The origin of cowpox in horsegrease was illustrated by a mangy horse with bandaged heels and a heifer on a dray. The varieties of virus, indifferently and ignorantly used for vaccination, were represented in six labelled jars, the original Jennerian

grease being inscribed, "Tis grease, but living grease no more." Mr Golding of Leytonstone, marched with a model of Holloway Prison, wherein he had recently suffered incarceration for saving his child from vaccination. There were numerous banners with piquant local allusions, which would require more or less interpretation outside Leicester. A fine banner from Belgium bore the inscription in French, "Neither penalties nor prison can prevent vaccine being a poison and the vaccination laws an infamy — Dr Hubert Boëns." On the other side was a babe in a cradle and a doctor with an ass's head vaccinating it.'

The weather was fine and the crowd good humoured and a procession of many thousands set out from the Market Square. In addition to the banners and placards, there were:

'trolleys and carts containing tangible things, like diseased cows and horses, showing that a supply of "lymph" might still be had without dealing with the foreigner — a great comfort to the faculty, this piece of news, no doubt, in case of a possible blockade in these days of rumours of war. Of course there was an opposition doctor, who sniffed both at horse and heifer, and proudly bestriding his own donkey, offered "Pure moke lymph" at the figure of "a guinea a dose".

Other trolleys contained "furniture seized for blood money," showing that the State had effected a compromise, and that somebody was sleeping without a bedstead, and sitting down to dinner (if he had one) without tables and chairs, instead of baby being vaccinated. One trolley appeared to have negotiated the loan of a gallows and scaffold from the county jail for Dr Jenner's sole and particular use; and the execution was carried on without the slightest hitch, about every twenty yards through some miles of streets, amid strong manifestations of popular approval ... Then there were wagons and carriages of various kinds, loaded with parents who were fighting or had fought the battle of pure blood against experimental butchery upon their defenceless little ones; and crowding great vans with their bright happy faces, or riding on ponies or carried in arms came large deputations of the five or ten thousand "infantile law-breakers," to whose honour the day was devoted, looking so fresh, and wholesome, and free from blemish, that many and many a warm heart must have cursed the horrid tyranny which threatened them with a peril worse than an enemy's siege of Leicester ... So, with banners before them, banners behind them, banners to right of them, banners to left of them, and banners above them — hung out from topmost windows from side to side of street after street as far as eye could reach in every direction — so rode the enviable children of Leicester, waving their own tiny bannerettes and cheering with delight — on a day they will cherish the memory of when their rosy faces are wrinkled with another three score years, and their sunny locks are grey — and when "the great dragon" (whose discomfiture they saw on Monday well painted on a banner of St George) has long been slain.'

After the procession the crowd, estimated at from 80,000 to 100,000 people, assembled in the Market Place to hear addresses from the luminaries of the movement — Councillor Butcher of Leicester, William Young, secretary of the London Society, and Mr Joseph Brown of Dewsbury.

'The vast audience, led by the united bands, then sang "The cause that is true", written for the occasion by Mr Louis Breeze, jun. Mr J. P. Biggs produced a copy of the Vaccination Acts which was suspended from iron bars and burned, and the ashes cast to the winds ... As the concourse broke up, a few adventurous spirits seized the effigy of Jenner, and tossed it about. Two constables secured it, and threw it down the staircase under the Exchange. Hardly had they turned their backs when the dummy was again produced and tossed afresh. A second time the constables entered the crowd, and having secured the "Doctor", solemnly marched him off to the police station, minus his head, which had disappeared and could not be found'.

The public meeting that evening was an emotional affair. It began with a rendering of 'The cause that is true' and speaker after speaker spoke to the motion 'that the compulsory Vaccination Acts, which make loving and conscientious parents criminals, subjecting them to fines, loss of goods, and imprisonment, propagate disease and inflict death, and under which 5,000 of our fellow townsmen are now being prosecuted, are a disgrace to the Statute Book, and ought to be abolished forthwith'. It was a heady occasion for the Leicester residents who pledged themselves to oppose the unrighteous law. The motion was carried unanimously.

'The proceedings closed with singing the hymn written by Mrs. Clant for the occasion:

"Brothers in heart united
Raise we our voice today,
Now let our vow be plighted
To sweep this law away."

The hymn was sung to a fine organ accompaniment to the tune, "Wait till the clouds roll by."

The following day (March 24th 1885) a conference of delegates was held in Waterloo Hall.

The organisers must have been encouraged by the response to the demonstration. The **Leicester Daily Post** described it as 'the greatest and most representative demonstration against the Vaccination Acts ever witnessed in this country'. **The Times** was equally impressed and drew attention to the 5,000 persons in the process of being summoned for refusing to comply with the law. The most important outcome of the demonstration emerged the following year at the triennial election of the Guardians, the body responsible for the enforcement of the Vaccination Acts. The anti-vaccinators swept the field and the new Board pledged itself to non-compliance with the law.

In the years which followed Leicester became notorious for its policy; to most outsiders it was regarded as negligent. Of course opinion within Leicester was not unanimous and in particular the Medical Officer, a strong vaccinationist, was in despair. As he wrote in his annual report for 1886, 'The sad feature about the whole business is that it is the young children of the town who are growing up in thousands unprotected, and are running a risk to their lives. They have but to come in contact with the first breath of infection of smallpox to at once contract this loathsome disorder'. But the Board of Guardians stood firm and in the face of their resolution, despite the warnings of their Medical Officer of Health, the Sanitary Authority felt itself powerless to act. In fact, as the duty of carrying out the Vaccination Acts rested upon the Board of Guardians, the courses of action open to the Medical Officer and the Sanitary Authority were limited.

In the event the Sanitary Authority adopted what became known as the Leicester system. This originated in the mid-1870s at the behest of the Medical Officer of Health, Dr. Johnston. In his report for 1877 he describes the system as follows:

'In any house where a smallpox case occurred I endeavoured to impress the inmates with the fact that the removal of **all** the members of the family to the hospital was the best course to adopt, not only as regards their own individual welfare, but also that of the town at large. And I am glad to say that all complied with my request, left their infected habitations, and became inmates of the hospital. Altogether twenty-two unaffected cases were thus admitted into quarantine, and of these three after admission sickened. The first in forty-eight hours, the second in seventy-two hours, and the third on the twelfth day. All these cases must have been infected before admission, as smallpox appears on the skin on the fourteenth day after the infection of the disease has been received into the system. The epidemic had got firm footing in the town, as it expressed itself in no less than six different streets. The suppression of what might otherwise have proved a widespread epidemic was entirely due to the **early** information received of the cases affected and the promptitude observed in their removal.'

In subsequent years this treatment of the disease again proved itself and the operation was greatly assisted by the acquisition of powers of compulsory notification of infectious diseases which Leicester achieved by means of a local act. (Leicester was the third town in the country to be granted such powers.)

In 1883 Dr Johnston reported,

'In the last seven years there have been no fewer than seventeen importations of smallpox into the town. ... Notwithstanding this large number of importations the disease has always been stamped out, and the town thus saved from the distress and mortality which has hitherto accompanied its prevalence.'

Table 1 Vaccination and Smallpox in Leicester 1872-1901

Year	Vaccinations			Births	Smallpox	
	Public	Private	Total		Cases	Deaths
1872	2,466	1,990	4,456	4,162	—	346
1873	2,145	1,547	3,692	4,447	—	2
1874	2,377	1,387	3,764	4,375	0	0
1875	2,072	1,455	3,527	4,260	0	0
1876	2,080	1,346	3,426	4,781	0	0
1877	2,010	1,643	3,653	4,753	12	6
1878	2,004	1,368	3,372	4,779	8	1
1879	1,942	1,204	3,146	4,687	0	0
1880	1,960	926	2,886	4,830	1	0
1881	1,998	1,419	3,417	4,860	6	2
1882	1,710	1,396	3,106	4,856	29	5
1883	1,203	755	1,958	4,787	12	3
1884	994	769	1,763	4,921	3	0
1885	908	934	1,842	4,652	8	0
1886	611	511	1,122	4,857	1	0
1887	196	275	471	4,679	9	0
1888	72	242	314	4,787	21	0
1889	27	145	172	4,789	0	0
1890	12	119	131	4,699	0	0
1891	6	86	92	4,790	0	0
1892	12	121	133	5,816	38	6
1893	44	205	249	6,006	308	15
1894	29	104	133	5,995	8	0
1895	12	63	75	5,962	4	0
1896	19	67	86	6,212	0	0
1897	11	70	81	6,252	0	0
1898	12	80	92	6,152	0	0
1899	56	100	156	6,273	0	0
1900	155	188	343	6,207	0	0
1901	148	209	357	6,169	4	0

By 1901 the Medical Officer of Health, Dr Millard, was able to write, 'The essential characteristic in the method of combating smallpox in Leicester is the entire absence of **compulsory** vaccination, which is regarded as so all-important in most places. Against this it has been urged that vaccination has to some extent been resorted to in Leicester. This no doubt, is true. A handful of the population, including the medical men, sanitary staff, smallpox nurses, etc., are as well vaccinated in Leicester as in any other town, so that a cordon of protected persons can at once be drawn round any case of smallpox which may occur. Persons accidentally brought into contact with the disease also frequently submit to the operation, and amongst the well-to-do classes vaccination and re-vaccination are freely practised. But all this is quite voluntary, and it may be truly said that compulsory vaccination does not exist. The vast majority of the children and young persons amongst the masses are unvaccinated, and it is in this respect that there is a radical difference between Leicester and most other towns.'

The statistics which the Leicester Sanitary Committee was able to present in support of its policy certainly appear to justify the claims made for the success of the Leicester experiment though it would require a detailed analysis of the vaccination policy pursued in the area surrounding Leicester to ascertain the extent to which the urban area was enjoying the benefit of its neighbours' actions. Comparison with a town of similar size where vaccination continued to be practised during the 1890's would also be interesting.

NOTES

Note. This account of the Leicester demonstration and the Leicester experiment is taken from **Leicester: sanitation versus vaccination**, J. T. Biggs, JP, and **Leicester and smallpox, thirty years experience**, Thomas Windley, Chairman of the Sanitary Committee (a pamphlet read at the Royal Institute of Public Health, Exeter, 1902).

1. See Returns of Prosecutions under the 1867 Act, **Parliamentary Papers 1871, LVIII; 1875 LXI; 1880 LIX; 1890 LIX**. See also the report of the Select Committee on the operation of the 1867 Act, **1871 XIII**. From the mid-1870s Leicester emerges as the town with the greatest number of prosecutions under the terms of the 1867 Act.

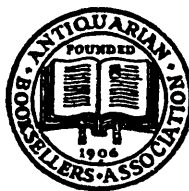
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Editor's note

LPS readers are reminded that the editorial board is always prepared to offer advice on subjects within the scope of **LPS**. Sometimes queries which have been raised are discussed in print in this section of the journal but there are many others which are not published, so if you think we can help do not hesitate to contact us.

John Opie's registration of birth

Dear Sir,

There have been numerous references to under-registration of births, and to irregular marriages, in the pages of **LPS**.

There is an intriguing story about John Opie, the eighteenth century painter, under the year 1795, in volume 1 of the **Diaries of Joseph Farington, R.A.** (published 1922), page 122, which combines elements of both these features.

December 14:

'Taylor has had several conversations with Opie on the subject of Mrs. Opie's having left him. She went off with an Irishman, a Major Edwards, a married man of 54 years of age, who she had frequently been in company with at Mr. Hickey's. Opie went into Cornwall to examine the parish register for the date of his birth: but his name had not been entered. He could only prove his age, by that of another person, who was known to be older than him. The object of this examination was, to prove that being **under age** when he was married to Mrs. Opie, the marriage was not valid in law: but Taylor observed to him that if he produced such proof He wd render himself liable to be indited for perjury; as at the time of his marriage, to procure a license, He had sworn that He was of age. — At present Opie seems to be pretty well reconciled to his situation, having been assured that Mrs Opie will not put him to any expence by contracting debts — He does not think of applying for a divorce.'

The editor of the Diaries commented: This is quite Gilbertian.

Yours sincerely,
Harold Gough,

Beverley House, 141 Grand Drive, Herne Bay, Kent CT6 8HU.

The cost of photocopying services at the Public Record Office

Dear Sir,

With reference to Lieutenant Colonel Sir David Cooke's letter which appeared in **LPS 29**, Sir David did, of course, receive a full explanatory reply when he wrote to the Office, but I am happy to take the opportunity which you have offered to reach a wider audience.

It is a matter of regret to us that the prices charged to the public seem high and that they attract criticism from those whom we exist to serve. It is, however, Government policy that the full cost of the service to the public must be recovered, and there can be no question of a subsidy. That is the first constraint upon us. Each of the processes is separately costed, and the prices fixed to include not only elements for capital employed, labour, materials and accommodation but also VAT. The prices are under constant review to ensure that they are as low as possible consistent with Government policy.

The second constraint upon us is our duty to protect the records at all times. The Census records, of which Sir David made special mention, are an excellent example of the way in which this duty can affect the price of copies. The original records are fragile and would not long survive the heavy use that is made of them. To preserve them, they have been micro-filmed for public use and copies for sale are made from those films. The cheaper, direct copying processes cannot be used because they would involve just the damage that we seek to avoid. Similar restrictions are applied to other classes of records known to be vulnerable to particular copying methods.

I hope that these comments will enable your readers better to understand the factors which dictate the prices that we charge for copies of the public records.

Yours sincerely,
Patricia M. Barnes,

Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Public Record Office, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4DU.

A new approach to the study of marriage horizons

Dear Sir,

A member of my extra-mural research class is studying the marriage horizons of a Suffolk market town so I was delighted to see an article on this subject in **LPS 28** but pleasure turned to despair as I read it.

The purpose of a journal such as **LPS** is to communicate to its readers useful information and interesting new ideas, but to do this successfully requires clarity of language and expression and this Mr. Millard signally fails to achieve. In the opening paragraph he states his intention 'to introduce readers of **LPS** to several more powerful techniques which are well

within the grasp of the amateur local historian'. This is an admirable aim, but many amateur and some professional historians will find it difficult to follow his exposition and will be put off by his use of the jargon of sociology. Even if some use of technical terms is unavoidable in the discussion of regression analysis, why for example is it necessary to use phrases such as the 'distance enabling regular face-to-face contact to be maintained' when the writer means enabling regular meetings to take place? It would be tedious to quote other examples, but there is no excuse for writing in obscure and tortuous language. After several re-readings I am still uncertain of the meaning of the second paragraph in the conclusion.

Incidentally I did not pass on the article to my class as had been my first intention.

Yours sincerely,
Nesta Evans,

Mill Green House, Fressingfield, Eye, Suffolk.

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LOCAL RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

LPS Society Day Conference — a report

On Saturday, 12 March 1983, a full day conference, arranged by the **LPS** Society in conjunction with the University of Oxford Department for External Studies, was held at Oxford. Approximately fifty Society members and others attended the conference which was on the subject of the seasonality of demographic events. The Society has to thank the University of Oxford Department of External Studies for their excellent hospitality, in terms of the lecture theatre and lunch at the Clarendon Press Centre.

After assembly and coffee the conference commenced with a paper by Dr Richard Smith entitled 'Seasonality and its Causes'. Dr Smith attempted to show, in very broad terms, the types of seasonal patterns which could be discerned in data relating to births, marriages, and deaths. Much of his data was drawn from the recently published volume by Wrigley and Schofield, **The Population History of England 1541-1871**. He attempted to point to some of the possible factors influencing these seasonal patterns, including the effects of disease, weather, social customs and food shortage.

After a lively discussion on matters arising from the previous paper Professor Michael Drake gave a paper in which he drew on his knowledge of demographic patterns in other countries to highlight and expand on some of the points made by Dr Smith. Particularly impressive was his presentation of Scandinavian regional data which highlighted the effects of local economic activities on the pattern of demographic events. He also gave a useful introduction to some techniques for studying and presenting such data.

After an excellent lunch Dr Alan Dyer continued the theme of the conference by giving a paper on 'Epidemics and Seasonality'. In a lively presentation Dr Dyer attempted to link the various seasonal peaks in mortality to the incidence and effects of certain identifiable diseases. Although clinically diagnosing diseases in the past is a very difficult exercise Dr Dyer convincingly related changes in mortality to various diseases both familiar and unfamiliar. In the discussion which followed many members of the society took the opportunity to solve the riddles of their 'own' mortality crises.

To bring the conference to a close Joan and Raymond Moody presented some of the findings of their own research into the demographic history of Burford. This paper helped to end the conference on a sober note by bringing home to the audience the human tragedy implied by a period of crisis mortality in the past.

Overall, the day was interesting and informative, providing the opportunity to hear some worthwhile papers and to discuss current research with other enthusiasts.

Guide to the Listings Collection of the SSRC Cambridge Group

The list below is a further instalment of the guide to the copies of listings held at the SSRC Cambridge Group library, where they may be consulted. The guide attempts to show roughly the kind of information which the lists contain. If an item is nearly always given — explicitly or implicitly — an 'X' is marked. If sometimes '%' is marked, and if information rarely or never appears '—' is marked. 'Inmates' and 'visitors' are not included in the lodgers column but are footnoted; and 'kin' column includes all kin except sons, daughters or spouses.

Further details of the kind of information usually given in listings and why they were drawn up may be found in **Local Population Studies** Nos. 24-6. Information on any listings not mentioned in the guide would be gratefully received by the SSRC Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, 27 Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1QA, telephone Cambridge 354298.

NOTES

NORFOLK

1. Paupers listed.
2. Microfilm copy.
3. Children and servants not named; lists separately those above 16 and those under by sex; inmates listed.
4. Parishes included: Bexwell and Rytson, Boughton, Denver, Dereham, Downham, Fincham, Fordham, Garbylethorpe, Hilgay, Crimpleham, Barton, Beechamwell, Marham, Roxham, Runcton Holme, Shouldham, Southery, Stoke-cum-Wretton, Wimbotsham and Stow, Stradsett, Wormegay and Tottenhill, Watlington, Wereham.
5. Two lists in April and July 1692.
6. Children's sex not noted; only one kin listed; includes part of St. Mary's Parish (Archer Green).
7. Children's sex not noted.
8. Listed by houseful; number of families per houseful given; occupations grouped under trade, agriculture and other. Information on poor relief dispersements listed separately.
9. Occupations grouped under trade, agriculture and other; number of families in house given.
10. Lists total number of houses and families by street and totals for occupations but not distribution.

County and Settlement	Date	Household size	Ages	Sex	Children	Kin	Servants	Lodgers	Head's occupation	Individuals named	Source
NORFOLK											
Baconsthorpe ¹	1768	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Charity Account Book
Bawdeswell ²	1842	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Incumbent
Bodham	1768	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Charity Account Book
Carleton Rode ³	1777	X	%	X	X	—	X	—	X	%	Bishop's Visitation Return
Clackclose Hundred ⁴	1557	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Grain Holdings List
	1596	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Grain Holdings List
Dersingham	1690	X	—	%	X	—	X	—	—	%	Poll Tax Assessment
	1692 ⁵	X	—	%	X	—	X	—	—	%	Poll Tax Assessment
Great Bircham	1811	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	Incumbent's Copy of Census Return
Norwich: St. Peter Mancroft	1694	X	—	X	X	%	X	X	X	X	Poll Tax Return
Shottisham: All Saints ⁶	1739	X	—	%	X	X	—	—	—	—	Incumbent
Shottisham: All Saints ⁷	1736	X	—	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	Incumbent
& St. Martins											
Shottisham: All Saints ⁷	1737	X	—	%	X	X	—	—	—	—	Incumbent
& St. Martin & St. Mary											
Shottisham: St. Mary ⁷	1736	X	—	%	X	—	—	—	—	—	Incumbent
Starston ⁸	1801	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	Census Document
Thorpe next Norwich ⁹	1801	X	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	Census Enumerator's Return
Wymondham ¹⁰	1747	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Incumbent

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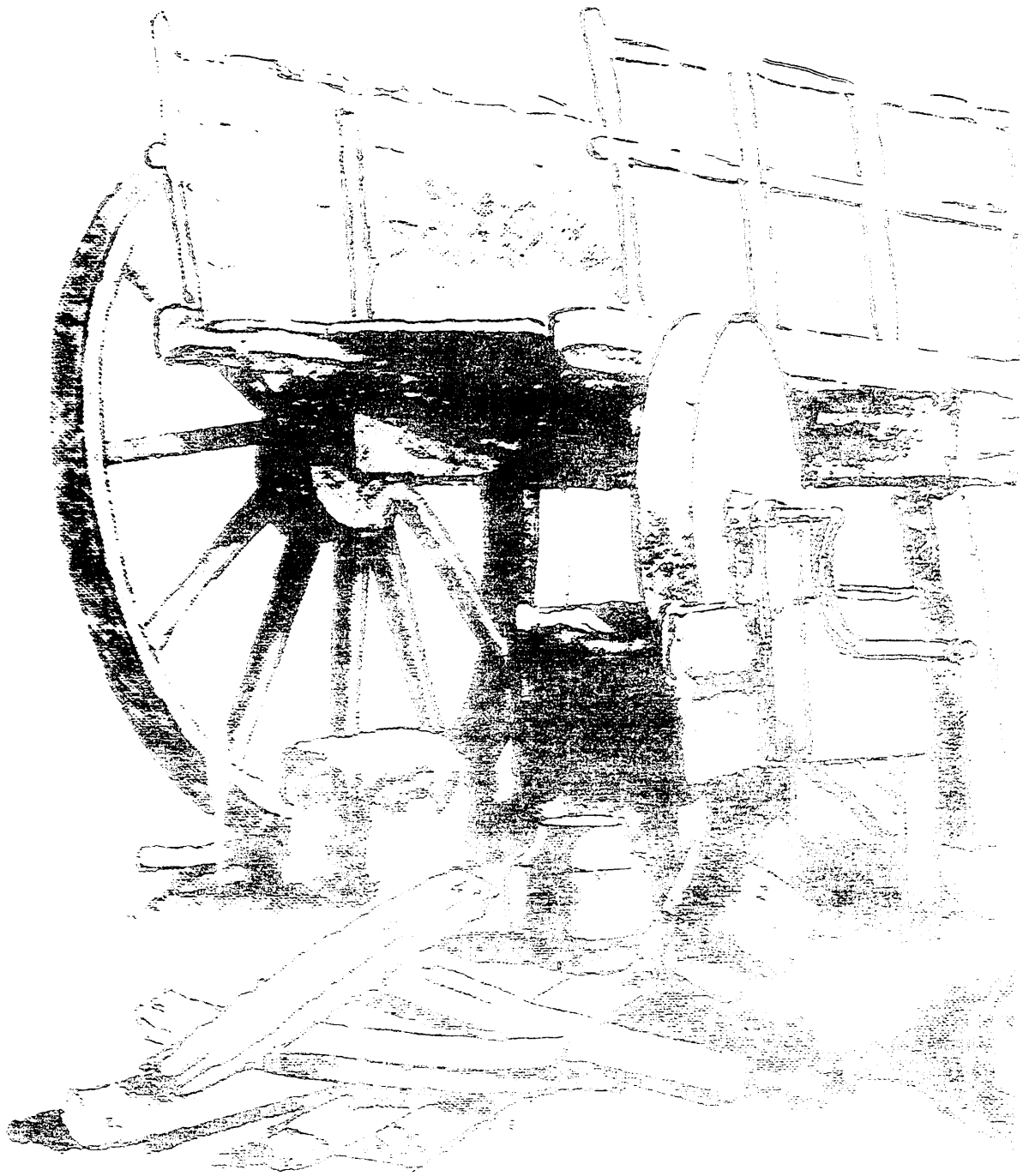
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