

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY IN A LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PARISH: BINFIELD BERKSHIRE 1779-1801

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Introduction

The relation of household turnover to property tenure and occupation-based socio-economic classification, has emerged as a popular avenue for research based on nineteenth-century decennial census returns and ancillary sources.¹ The frequent movement of families within cities, and even the same street, has been demonstrated and explanations sought; but without estimable confirmation of whether or not the migratory behaviour depicted was in fact new, or an extension of a practice already commonplace. Where a succession of listings has survived for a locality prior to the nineteenth century, it has normally only been possible to link information from this source to parish reconstitution data,² which at best provides guides to the presence, or an explanation for the absence of a household from the community depicted,³ further evidence being dependent on the survival of documentation linked to the settlement laws. However, the survival of a series of taxation and population listings for Binfield, Berkshire,⁴ wherein the home of each householder is enumerated, makes possible examination of the movement of households within this parish as a supplement to the more common turnover studies. In addition, appended to the listings there is a series of contemporary sketch maps which can be used to locate the households. The analysis presented is designed to provide an illustration of the rate of household movement, both from and within a parish, which might be expected in a rural parish in southern England in the last decades of the eighteenth-century. However, of particular importance in this assessment has been the information on property tenure recorded in the taxation lists and the guide to the social status of parishioners found among the lists of Binfield charity disbursements.⁵ This has yielded a unique opportunity to relate household turnover for the period 1790-1801 to property tenure and the social status of householders.⁶ Furthermore, recourse to reconstitution evidence has provided a framework of circumstantial information on which illustrations and comment on the migratory behaviour depicted have been based.

In assessing the significance of the Binfield contribution, and as an aid to comparison with information from other localities and periods of time, certain aspects of what is known about conditions in late eighteenth-century Binfield and the origin of the sources consulted merit consideration.

Binfield was a scattered parish of some 3,500 acres of arable and pasture land interspersed with small coppices, situated on London clay on the fringes of Windsor forest some ten miles east of Reading. Employment was predominantly agricultural, with Rickman's abstracts from the 1801 census recording 126 persons employed in agriculture and 64 in trade from a population of 808. The absence of a single dominant landlord made the parish an 'open' one. Property to let and for sale was advertised regularly in the local press,⁷ with even the manor lordships changing hands regularly in the late eighteenth-century.⁸ Unfortunately, despite the survival of a few tithe assessments from 1727 onwards, it is difficult to assess accurately whether the turnover in the occupation of property depicted post-1780 was markedly different from that in existence earlier.⁹ What is known is that by the closing decades of the eighteenth century some of the changes in occupation recorded were induced by failures in husbandry. Such failures had an impact beyond that measurable on the individuals and properties directly concerned, for the revenues from tithes and local taxes were also put at risk.¹⁰

Pressure on the resources available had clearly increased towards the end of the eighteenth century. Although adverse weather did not invariably bring hardship to Binfield's hired labourers,¹¹ the well documented poor harvests of the 1790s¹² and the local requisitioning of supplies and transport for troops stationed ten miles away at the Hartfordbridge camp during the Napoleonic wars are known to have brought pressure on farmers.¹³ Certainly, by 1800, agricultural discontent, linked to a possible breakdown in the ability of the authorities to provide adequately for the poor, was feared in the locality.¹⁴ For this reason, at a parish vestry meeting on 16 October 1800 a resolution was passed for the setting up of a charity shop to sell subsidised goods outside the church on Sunday afternoons, in the event of further increases in the price of bread.¹⁵ Hitherto, the parish's response to conditions which prevented the able bodied from maintaining themselves and their families through their own labour had been by means of extraordinary donations from parochial charities coupled with occasional work creation schemes organised by the rector and financed by local dignitaries.¹⁶ In this period, it was the high cost of living rather than the lack of employment opportunities which posed problems.

The role of the parish and thereby the rector in the administration of charities, poor relief and property was central. The rectory, a gift in the patronage of the Lord Chancellor, had in 1767 been given to Edward Wilson, family tutor and private chaplain to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, then first Lord of the Treasury. From 1774,¹⁷ despite regular short absences to perform his duties at the Prebendary Gloucester, and later St George's Chapel, Windsor,¹⁸ Binfield records are diligently kept in Edward Wilson's hand.¹⁹

Although early surviving correspondence indicates that Wilson's main interest was to profit by preferments through his service to the Chatham family,²⁰ he clearly became as interested in the plight of the agricultural labourer as William Moreton Pitt who from 1773-8 was Lord of the Manor of Binfield, or David Davies his fellow Canon at Windsor.²¹ Thus, the classification of householders attempted by Wilson and many of the carefully drawn lists which he prepared (Table 1) provide the background to the more general theory he developed on the state of the poor and the role of the parish in the administration of charities and poor rates. Wilson aired his views — decrying

Table 1. A guide to the information available from the Binfield listings held at Berkshire Record Office

(The document reference supplied is that currently in use at BRO. Each list is arranged alphabetically by surname.)

Listing and Date	Household size	Family size	Ages	Sex	Children	Information Specified					Tithe/tax liability	Relief/charity eligibility	Property/land ownership	Map-linked house number	Acreage held
						Kin/servants/lodgers	Head's occupation	Individuals named							
D/P18/4/1 (1721, 27, 28, 49 & 1802 comments)	—	—	—	H	—	—	—	—	H	X	—	—	—	—	—
D/P18/18/1a (1779, updated December 1780)	—	X	—	H	N	—	S	H	H	X	X	X	10%	X	X
D/P18/18/2* (1780, updated with dates, to 1800)	—	X	60%	X	X	—	50%	X	X	—	X	—	X	—	—
D/P18/18/1b (1790)	—	X	—	H	N	—	S	H	H	X	X	X	X	X	X
D/P18/18/1* (1801)	X	X	70%	X	X	X	50%	X	X	—	—	—	X	—	—
D/P18/18/2a (1794, 97, 99, 1802 & 1803)	—	X	C	X	C	—	—	X	X	—	X	—	X	—	—

* Maps attached showing the location of each property occupied.

X denotes information always — explicitly or implicitly given.

% denotes information occasionally specified.

— denotes information rarely or never specified.

H denotes the availability of this information for occupiers and proprietors.

C denotes the availability of this information for children under 12.

N denotes number only of children.

S denotes Labourer (L) and Pauper (P) specification plus a few cases where occupations are used to distinguish between individuals with similar names.

} As in 'Guide to the Listings Collection of the ESRC Cambridge Group'. LPS 24-46.

the pressure put on the poor by the growth in the number of alehouses encouraging the wasteful disbursement of income and of shops whose trap of credit facilities induced the poor to attempt to live beyond their means — at the famous Berkshire magistrates meeting of May 1795, which gave rise to the 'Speenhamland System'.²² Some months later, in an attempt to distance himself from the Speenhamland decision and to publicise an alternative solution to rural poverty to that advocated by David Davies,²³ Wilson published his **Observations on the Present State of the Poor and Measures Proposed for its Improvement**.²⁴

Migration studies based on census evidence plus ancillary sources tend to reflect the migratory pattern of the group most prominently portrayed in the ancillary source.²⁵ Local dignitaries, craftsmen and tradesmen dominate directories; not all household heads were ratepayers; while overseers accounts and removal orders, where available, highlight the most disadvantaged members of the community.²⁶ The Binfield results will, despite the availability of information on the gentry and people who became paupers, exhibit a bias in that they reflect the extensive use made of charity documentation,²⁷ wherein the best recorded groups are the 'labourers', the 'deserving poor', who, by not achieving pauper status, qualified for rewards. They will also reflect to a certain extent the bias of Wilson, a supporter of Adam Smith, who saw the salvation of the poor as lying in temperance, frugality and not attempting to ape their betters.²⁸

Household Turnover 1780-1801

The approach to the measurement of household turnover adopted for both decades under consideration (Tables 2 and 3) follows substantially that adopted by Laslett²⁹ in his assessments of Clayworth and Cogenhoe. Using the 1779 taxation list (amended by Wilson in 1780) and the 1780 list and map, it

Table 2. Household turnover — Binfield, 1780-1790

Experience of Household	no.	%
Extinction, following death of 1780 occupier	17	13
Disappearance, presumably through outmigration	20	15
Movement within Binfield	22	16
Continued occupation of the same property	75	56
Total	134	100

Table 3. Household turnover — Binfield, 1790-1801

Experience of Household	no.	%
Extinction, following death of 1790 occupier	30	18
Disappearance, presumably through outmigration	25	15
Movement within Binfield	31	18
Continued occupation of the same property*	81	49
Total	167	100

*Including 14 successor households.

was possible to link 134 households to clearly enumerated properties in 1780.³⁰ From the second taxation list, it was possible to locate the properties occupied by 167 households in 1790; a figure reasonably compatible with that of 178 families found in the 1801 census. Ninety-seven of these 1790 families had persisted since 1780 while sixty-eight were only recorded after this date. The increase in the size of the sample is a reflection of improved recording of property numbers rather than massive in-migration or new household creation.³¹ A slight numerical discrepancy is caused by the movement of households into and out of the poor house.

The persistence rate within the parish of 72 per cent over the first decade for the original 1780 sample and 36 per cent over the twenty-one year period for the same group seemed remarkably high in comparison with those found in turnover studies based on either nineteenth-century decennial returns or seventeenth-century listings.³²

The survey of household migration therefore shows that roughly a third of all households passed out of observation per decade, either through extinction by death or (in equal proportions) outward migration. Also one family in seven would have moved within the community at least once during this period. Approximately half the population and half the properties under consideration had witnessed major change. When migration is correlated to parish register evidence for the years 1779-1801 several interesting points emerge. Prior to marriage fifty of the seventy-two bridegrooms described as 'of Binfield' in the marriage registers could be traced to numbered properties as opposed to twenty-nine of the 104 brides. While possibly reflecting a trend towards home-based day labour for males and continued service opportunities for females, it is difficult to infer anything more than temporary residence from an entry in the marriage register, thus limiting the approaches to measuring mobility based on presence or absence in the registers, as outlined by Souden in *LPS*.³³ Moreover, only a third of all 104 couples marrying in Binfield became householders in the parish immediately after marriage during the period observed, many of this group migrating subsequently. Common local surnames make it even more difficult to prove or disprove Souden's thesis from the burial register despite the availability of evidence on age at death post-1774. However, in a separate study of Binfield children, baptism entries were found for 72 per cent of those under fourteen at burial while a further 23 per cent had apparently been born to the same group of parents, but either died before baptism³⁴ or were baptised elsewhere for family or residential reasons. Therefore, accepting arguments outlined relating burial costs to migration,³⁵ it would seem that migration beyond short distances, or even out of the parish, was unusual among those Binfield families studied who had young children. Clearly the contribution of demographic events to migratory behaviour is significant, but requires the careful assessment best reserved for in-depth case studies. Before considering these, however, the general turnover rates revealed for all households clearly enumerated in 1790 can be broken down according to two pieces of information recorded in the lists for almost all householders — the ownership of their properties, and their socio-economic status according to Wilson.

Household Turnover Related to Property Tenure

The hypothesis that owner-occupation would induce persistence at the same address was tested by relating property ownership in 1790 to household turnover 1790-1801 as measured for the 167 households clearly enumerated. Four categories of tenure were discerned — owner-occupation, renting from private landlords, renting from the parish (often charity-owned dwellings) and rent-free accommodation. The poorhouse was only considered as a recipient of households. Subletting and cases of owners renting property and vice-versa during the course of the life-cycle did exist but to no great extent (Table 4).³⁶

Table 4. Household Turnover Related to Property Ownership — Binfield 1790-1801

Experience of household	Owner occupiers		Renting privately		Renting from the parish		Rent-free (parish controlled)		Unclear		All households	
	no.	(%)	no.	(%)	no.	(%)	no.	(%)	no.	(%)	no.	(%)
Extinction (death)	9	(21)	17	(18)	1	(14)	1	(8)	2	(15)	30	(18)
Disappearance (outmigration)	6	(14)	11	(12)	—		4	(33)	4	(31)	25	(15)
Movement within Binfield	3	(7)	23	(25)	—		3	(25)	2	(15)	31	(18)
Continued occupation*	25	(59)	41	(45)	6	(86)	4	(33)	5	(39)	81	(49)
Total	43	(101)	92	(100)	7	(100)	12	(99)	13	(100)	167	(100)

*Including 14 successor households.

The hypothesis that owner occupation would induce persistence was confirmed. What also emerged was that the Church, controlling the tenancy of nineteen dwellings, dictated who should occupy one house in eight, in addition to any behind the scenes influence on the overseers and private landlords. The rector had far more influence than any one private landlord in tenancy distribution. The fate of households whose tenancies were controlled through the Church differed significantly from those renting from private landlords, since only households renting from private landlords were removed to the poorhouse during this decade. Four of the six householders listed in the poorhouse in 1801 were renting properties from private landlords in 1790. Tenants occupying 'rent-free' accommodation were among the most mobile, while those renting charity-owned dwellings³⁷ were the most persistent. Householders renting from private landlords exhibited the normal Binfield trend.

Turnover related to property tenure, plus background information from charity books and a series of lists of families eligible for relief in 1795-1803, indicates the following mobility model for the bottom of the social scale. Families unable to continue in rented accommodation initially found their way to the poorhouse, unless there was a rent-free parish dwelling available. From the poorhouse, households were apparently assisted sufficiently to recover and,

where possible, to earn sufficient to support themselves again in property rented either from a private landlord or a charity. Householders not having gained legal settlement in Binfield, or who could not prove their financial independence, out-migrated.

Household Turnover 1790-1801 Related to Socio-Economic Status of Householder

In addition to recording, frequently with reasons, the payments made and received, the charity books grouped most householders into the following categories — Poor Widows; Elderly Poor; Poor Farmers and Traders; Broken Farmers; Industrious Labourers; and Poor Labourers. The distinction between Poor and Industrious Labourers was apparently made according to their ability to maintain themselves and their families without applying to the parish for relief.³⁸ Wilson's differentiation has not been adopted in the following assessment of household turnover by socio-economic status. It was felt that, given the size of the samples and Wilson's known bias, a more meaningful picture readily comparable with the experience of labourers generally would result if both groups were amalgamated.

Evidence for the composition of the top socio-economic group is derived from the title of the household head (Mr or Esq.) as given in the lists, plus details of the properties occupied — all of which conformed to a certain standard (fifteen+ taxable windows).³⁹ The sample thus created was then found to coincide with the occupiers of properties distinguished by red circles on the original 1780 and 1801 maps.⁴⁰ Those included in the 'others' category, were the farmers, traders and widows not identifiable as labourers or local dignitaries. With the death of the household head causing the remaining members of the household to disperse in all but two cases,⁴¹ turnover emerges at its highest — 62 per cent — at the top of the social scale. This was a feature of this group during both decades under consideration.⁴² High turnover among the wealthy must have influenced both tenancies and service opportunities,⁴³ with out-migration and conversely in-migration being brought about through

Table 5. Household turnover by social status — Binfield 1790-1801

Experience of household	Top socio-economic group		Labourers		Others		All households classified	
	no.	(%)	no.	(%)	no.	(%)	no.	(%)
Extinction (death/outmigration)	8	(62)	21	(23)	16	(30)	45	(27)
Movement within Binfield	—		23	(25)	13	(25)	36	(23)
Continued occupation of the same property	5	(38)	47	(52)	24	(45)	76	(49)
Total	13	(100)	91	(100)	53	(100)	157*	(100)

*Information on social status was only available for 157 of the 167 householders whose residences were recorded.

the movement of servants with their employers. Unfortunately, lack of data on servants in Binfield prior to 1801 precludes further investigation.

At the other end of the social scale Edward Wilson's 'Labourer' headed households, though less likely to move away from Binfield, were more likely to move house within the parish than the other groups. The evidence indicates that labourers formed the socio-economic group least likely to leave their parish of settlement. Labourers however did move house, generally within the community, for what appears — according to evidence of rent charges and numbers of taxable windows — to have been little apparent gain;⁴⁴ depicting a situation reminiscent of that portrayed by Colin Pooley in nineteenth-century Liverpool.⁴⁵

The picture emerging for Binfield therefore, is one of high persistence rates, reflecting a tendency especially for the lower orders in society to remain in or close to their parish of settlement. Property ownership also induced persistence, while rented properties, especially those occupied by labourers



Table 6. Breakdown of recorded changes of residence within Binfield 1780-1801

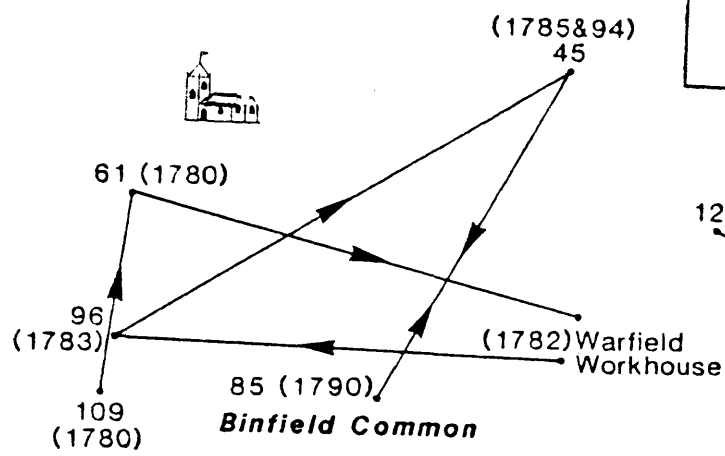
Numbers of recorded moves per household	Households affected
1	29
2	13
3	6
4	3
5	1

who did not leave Binfield during the period, tended to change hands regularly. There was present within the community a sizeable group of householders for whom several changes of residence was recorded, who remained within the parish throughout the long twenty-one year period (Table 6). Information about this group forms the basis for detailed case histories illustrating movement within the community, described in the next section.

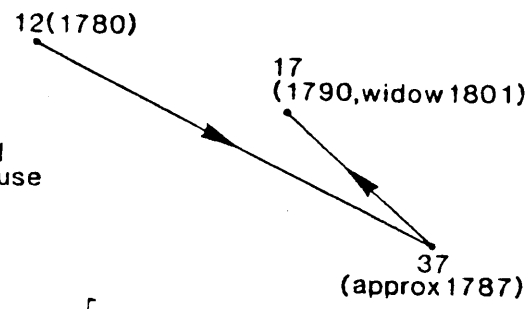
Household Migration Within Binfield — Some In-Depth Studies

The definition of sub-groups within society who exhibit distinct behavioural patterns, is not new. For example Laslett has demonstrated the presence of repeater bastard bearers who did not conform to prevalent views of marriage as a prerequisite for child rearing.⁴⁶ More recently, Wales' study based on seventeenth-century parish registers, overseers accounts, and listings evidence for Cawston, Norfolk,⁴⁷ has defined disadvantaged groups in society as distinguished through their needs for support from the parish at certain stages in the life-cycle. Binfield too appeared to have a sub-group — one of highly mobile households. Although the absence of overseers accounts makes the creation of a body of evidence for Binfield directly comparable with that produced by Wales impracticable, the temptation to equate mobility within the parish with social and economic failure is strong. Interesting parallels with some of Wales' case histories for Cawston may be drawn from the following descriptions of the migratory behaviour of some of Binfield's widows. Figure 2

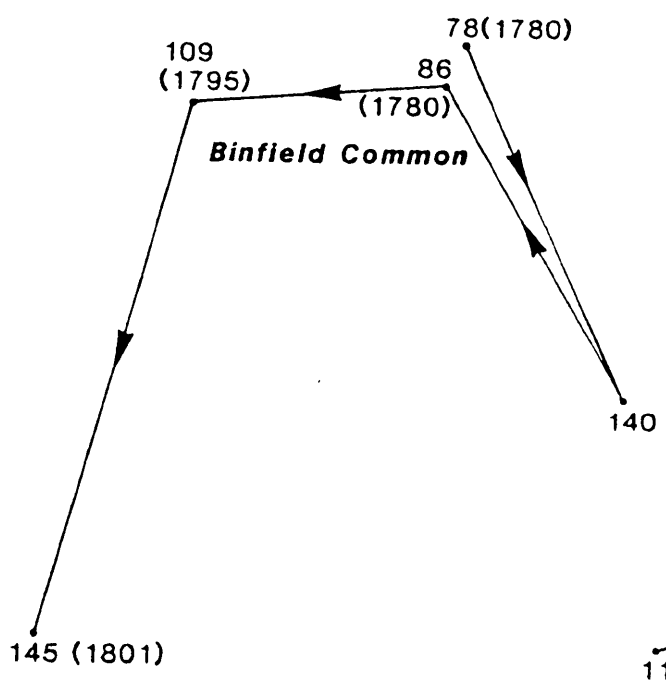
 Direction and shortest distance between properties involved
 All Saints Church Binfield
 (house numbers as per 1780 map and pre-1801 lists)



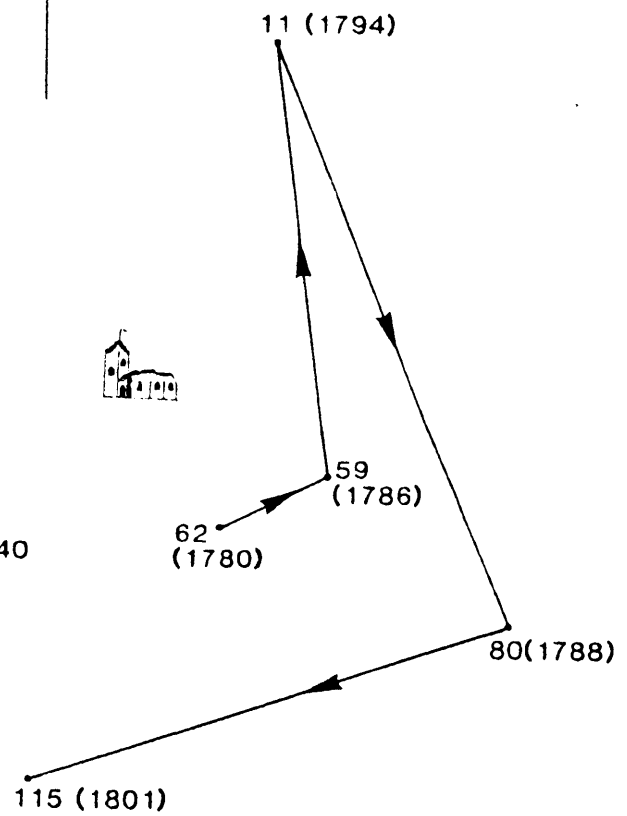
2(a) Ann Flood



2(b) Abraham Bolton



2(c) William Hibbins



2(d) Sam Pearce

Fig. 2 Migration Charts

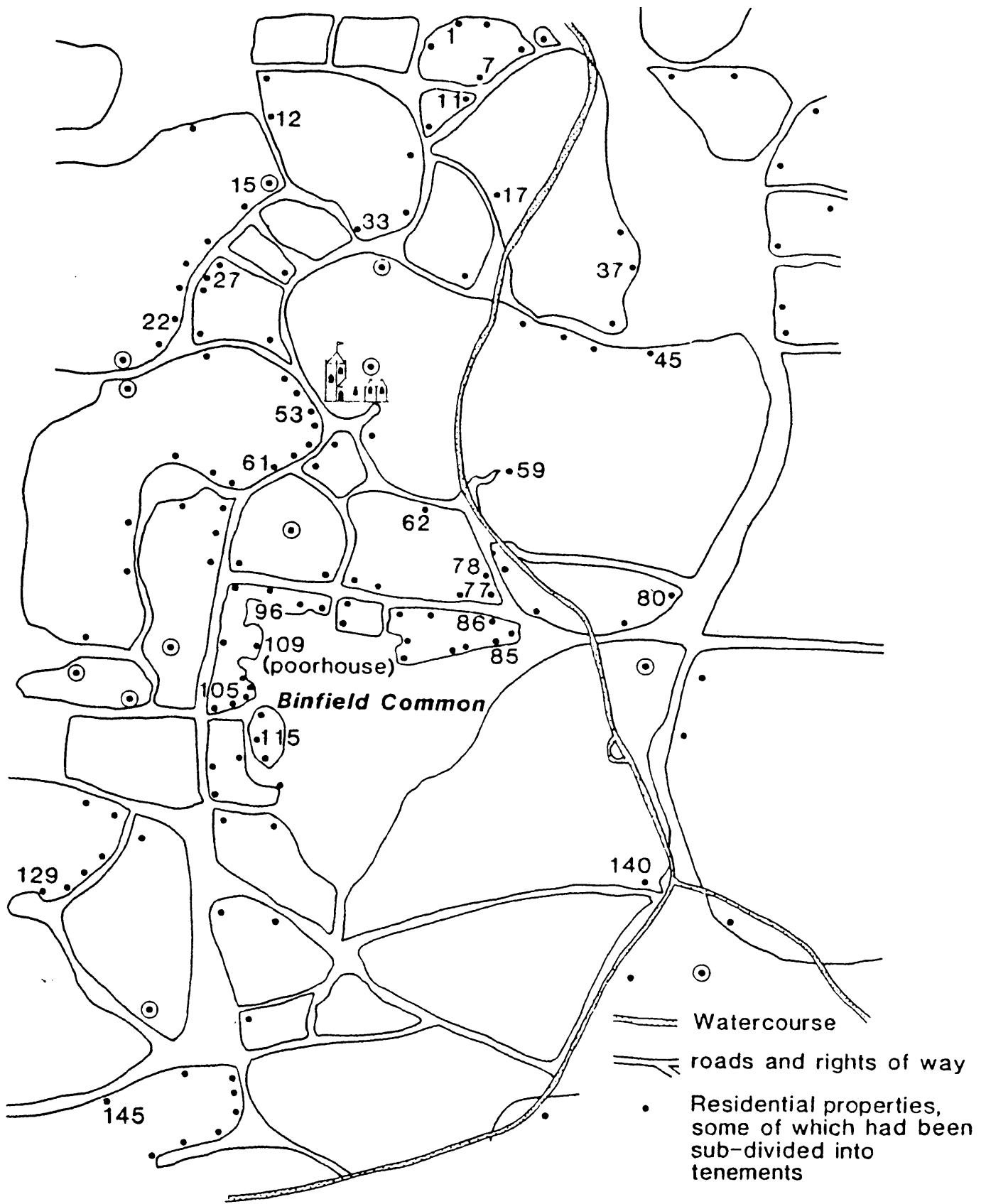


Fig.1 Binfield, 1780, based on Edward Wilson's schematic map

Scale Approx 1:20,000

(house numbers have only been included for properties referred to in the text)

illustrates the changes of residence for four householders, and provides some guide to the distances involved. The figures are based on the map (fig. 1) which accompanies Edward Wilson's 1780 list. The map, though schematic, closely resembles in size and features the Enclosure map of 1817⁴⁸ drawn to a scale of 1.5 inches to 10 chains.

Starting with the most mobile individuals recorded, the records were consulted to seek explanations for the recorded moves and also to link changes in residence to certain factors: marital status, socio-economic status, life-cycle stage and proximity to any known kin of the householders concerned. The following examples highlight the influence of widowhood, illness, earning capacity and failures in husbandry together with kinship ties on the propensity of individuals to move within the narrow confines of one parish.

Ann Flood (fig. 2a), a widow supported by the parish, was the most mobile individual detected, for in the last twelve years of her life she lived in at least six different houses. Ann Flood, although she shared a surname with another younger widow Martha, has no documented kin links in the parish. Unusually, although Ann Flood seems to have been removed to Warfield workhouse in 1782 she was back in Binfield in 1783. Warfield and Binfield were united for the administration of Gilbert's Act⁴⁹ from whence the trend was to accommodate solitary and long term paupers in Warfield, with families predominating at the 'Binfield Poorhouse'. A possible explanation of Ann Flood's frequent moves lies in her classification as 'Poor Widow', for others of this group frequently changed residence; e.g. Hester Graves who occupied three different dwellings towards the end of her life. However, on closer examination, widowhood, though one of the commonest factors known to induce migration within the community, did not invariably lead to changes in residence. Widow Dickenson, for example, continued to occupy house number 11 throughout the twenty-one year period. Three factors known about Widow Dickenson may have contributed towards her ability to continue in her rented home where others failed. Firstly, charity records refer to her as the village nurse⁵⁰ so that her earning capacity was probably higher than that of other widows. Secondly, her husband had been one of the 'Industrious Labourers', with the result that she may have been better provided for. Thirdly, Widow Dickenson had children in service in other Binfield houses in 1801, and may have received financial or physical support from them. Another widow who succeeded in maintaining her own household without moving for at least three years after her husband's death (the end of the period of observation) was the wife of Abraham Bolton.

Abraham Bolton (fig. 2b) himself a 'very industrious labourer and sober man with a family of five children' had moved within Binfield with his family twice in the last eighteen years of his life, progressing from a half acre holding to one of fourteen and a half acres with a rent charge of £25 per annum. The family had strong kinship ties in the parish. In 1801, Widow Bolton had one grandchild in residence, and two married sons and the families of two married daughters (although the daughters were both dead) living in Binfield.

While Abraham Bolton was improving his lot, 'Poor Labourer' **William Hibbins** (fig. 2c) was not so fortunate, the third of his four recorded moves being to the poorhouse in 1795. Hibbins and his wife, together with the two youngest of their surviving children, did however succeed in moving into privately rented

accommodation by 1801. They also had a daughter in service at another Binfield household at this date.

Widowhood, remarriage, the presence of children in service all featured in the life of 'Poor Labourer' **Sam Pearce** (fig. 2d). In 1786, the family moved from privately rented property to a parish cottage when Pearce's first wife became terminally ill. (She died in 1788 after fifteen years of marriage and bearing seven children.) Pearce retained this parish cottage until his own remarriage in 1794, when he again occupied privately rented property. The tenure was short, and two moves later he came to a different parish cottage, where in 1801 he is listed with his second wife. None of his children lived at home at this date, but two were in service in Binfield.

Indications are that kin links within the community gave stability to widows and other poor families, most moves other than those precipitated by deaths being motivated by economic successes and failures, especially in husbandry. Whether the maintenance of close kinship ties was spontaneous, a result of difficulties in acquiring settlement elsewhere, or even a direct result of the parish attempting to defray part of the cost of maintaining potential poor-rate recipients on to able-bodied kin through the encouragement of residential propinquity is open to conjecture. Circumstantial evidence, for example 10s 6d paid from Bowes Legacy to John Payne, carpenter, for his attention to his father in December 1786, plus an analysis of householders taking in illegitimate grandchildren, indicates the latter.⁵⁰ Bastards were only found in three of the fourteen households headed by widows in 1801, and in each case they had been taken in prior to the grandfather's death. Furthermore Edward Wilson's own bias towards self-help charity rewards and the importance of family support is well known.⁵²

The close interaction between kinship ties, social ties, and economic factors in migration in late eighteenth-century Binfield is clearly illustrated by the following property chain (fig. 3) centred on one of Binfield's small farms — Property No. 33. It also serves to illustrate the problems implicit in farming when farms were frequently little more than a collection of parcels of land rented from various landlords. House number 33 was a farmhouse owned by Mr Neville of Billingbear. The taxation list of 1779 gives its occupier as Thomas Leach, who held the house plus fifty acres of land. In 1780, Leach lost the tenancy to Thomas Bayley, thus becoming one of Binfield's 'Broken Farmers'. Bayley still held the house in 1790, but by this date the appurtenant land had been reduced to thirty-six and a half acres. During 1801 the tenancy passed to Thomas Hollyer.

All the participants in this property chain lived in the parish throughout the period of observation. The first recorded occupier, **Thomas Leach**, originally classified by Wilson as a 'Poor Farmer and Trader' moved from the farm in 1780 to house number 22, one of a pair of tenements owned and resided in by Joseph Boxall, a parish overseer who subsequently became a Justice of the Peace.⁵³ Why Leach's household should have removed to the poorhouse by 1785 but yet be listed back at 22 in 1787 is unclear. It might denote a break in family support, while it may of course be a clerical error depicting a situation which never existed, for by 1790 Leach is listed as the owner-

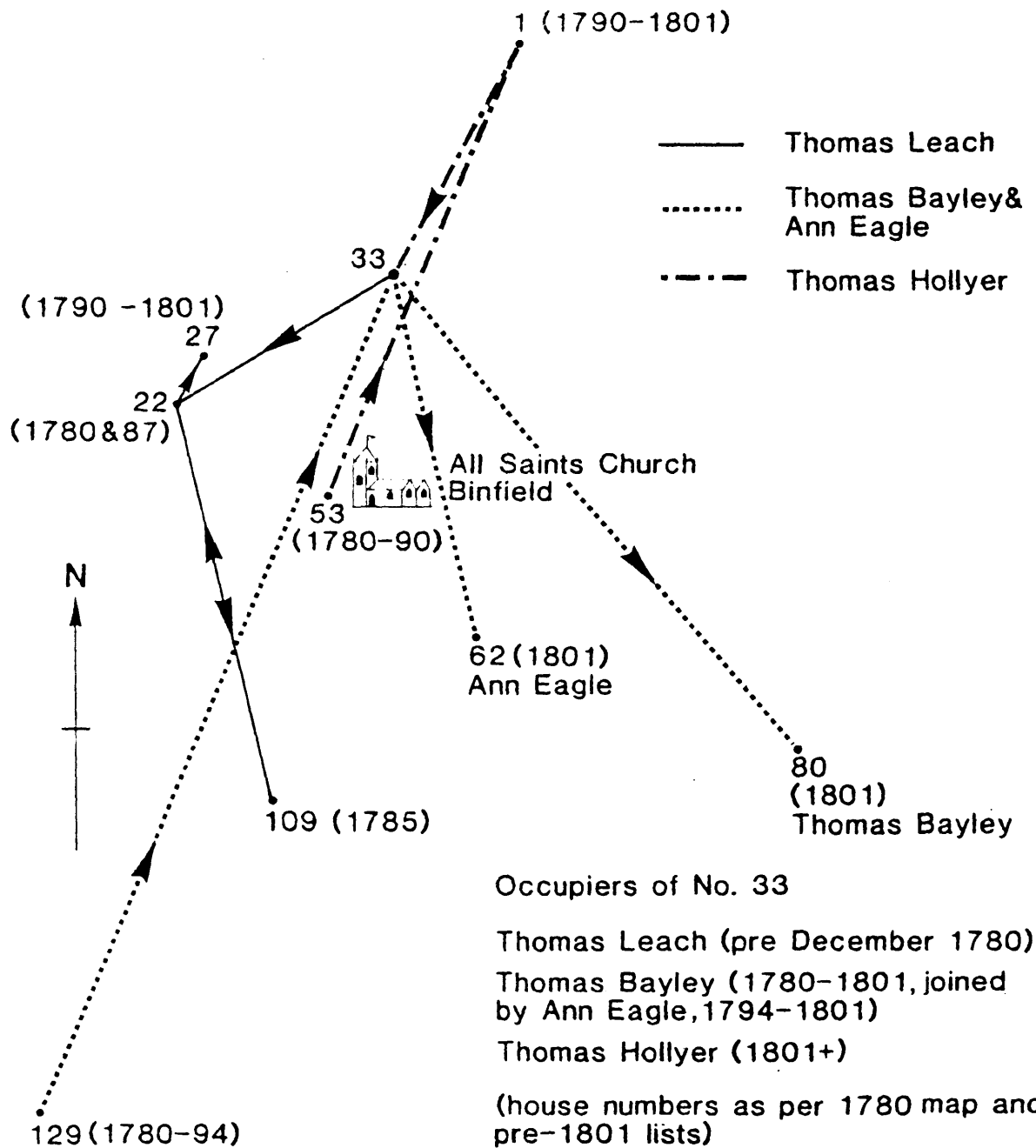


Fig. 3 Property chain linked to house number 33 , 1780-1801

occupier of house number 27, a property which he and his wife continued to occupy in 1801. Thomas Leach's elder daughter Mary meanwhile married Joseph Boxall, her father's erstwhile landlord, and a man some eighteen years her senior. The 1801 census lists the pair together with their six year old son, Francis George, Mary's sister Ann, and Joseph's niece Tryphena Cooke, as the occupiers of number 22.

Thomas Bayley's history is of interest, as he, a widower with dependent children, was joined at the farm in 1792 by Ann Eagle, shortly after the death of her husband Richard. When Bayley lost the tenancy of the farm to Thomas Hollyer, the couple parted; Widow Eagle to occupy house number 62 owned by Birch's Charity; and Bayley, now a solitary widower, to house number 80, an old farmhouse owned by George Garraway, which had been divided into tenements.

Thomas Hollyer who took over the farm in 1801 was a twice-married widower with eight surviving children. Previously he had occupied two other farmhouses — 53 and 1. The 1801 census entry shows that Hollyer still kept two 'living-in' male servants and was 'removed from number 1, but still in possession thereof'. This comment may be linked to the practice of dividing old farmhouses into tenements. Surviving indentures of Binfield farms in the eighteenth century awarded tenants the 'Use of all Barns, Yards etc. and one half of the Farm House Wherein he now dwells and one half of the Stables if wanted till Lady Day after the end of his Lease (Michaelmas) in order to spend his last year's crops aforesd'.⁵⁴ Here it appears in practice.

Conclusion

The highest rates of turnover were recorded for the top social group — those unlikely to become dependent on the parish, who, when they moved, passed completely out of observation. Turnover was lower among those who were most likely to need to resort to parish relief. This group of householders most frequently stayed within or within easy reach of Binfield. Both groups shared a correlation between death of household head and mobility, but the movement possible for them was different. Even where landholding was not 'closed', a deterrent to outward migration was operating which does not seem to have influenced internal migration in the same way. The Binfield data clearly do not lend themselves to providing correlations between life-cycle stages and poor relief *per se*. They do however show, in addition to the rates and examples of migratory behaviour depicted, the value of examining the part played by the Church in the administration of charities when considering the many and varied reasons for migration, and differentials in poverty levels in the late eighteenth century. Furthermore, it is confirmed that short distance moves within the community for little apparent gain were not a new development in Victorian England.

NOTES

1. According to the patterns set by R. S. Holmes, 'Ownership and migration from a study of rate books', *Area*, vol. 7, 1973, pp.242-51, and C. G. Pooley, 'Residential mobility in the Victorian city', *Transactions, Institute British Geographers*, vol. 4, 1979, pp.258-77.
2. According to the pattern set by P. Laslett, 'Clayworth and Cogenhoe', *Family life and illicit love in earlier generations*, 1977, pp. 50-101.
3. See D. Souden, 'Movers and stayers in family reconstitution populations' challenged by K. D. M. Snell, 'Parish registration and the study of labour mobility', *Local Population Studies*, no. 33, 1984, pp. 11-28 and 29-43.
4. Held at Berkshire Record office (hereafter given as BRO). See Table 1, for details. Copies of some of the listings are available at the ESRC Cambridge Group — see *Local Population Studies*, no. 24, 1980, pp.62 and 60. Several of Richard Wall's papers are based in part on Binfield evidence, the most recent being 'Real property, marriage and children' in R. M. Smith (ed.) *Land, kinship and lifecycle*, 1985, pp.449-56.
5. BRO Binfield Charities (hereafter given as BRO D/P18/25/3).
6. *ibid.* recorded on the back inside cover of the book.
7. *The Reading Mercury, Oxford Gazette and General Advertiser of Berks, Bucks, Hants, Oxon, Surrey, Sussex and Wilts*, printed by and for A. M. Smart and T. Cowslade in the Market Place Reading.

8. Known holders are William Moreton Pitt, 1773; Buckworth Herne, 1778; William Coxe, 1782; George, Lord Kinnaird, 1787; Claude Russell, 1795.
9. Comments made by Edward Wilson, rector of Binfield 1767-1804, to 'An Alphabetical list of housekeepers yt Pay Church and Poor Tythes, in 1721, 1727 and 1728 indicate that by 1802, 127 of the 149 families listed in 1721 were extinct in Binfield, while the descendants of a further 22 remained. BRO D/P18/4/1. No firm conclusions can be drawn as paupers were excluded from these early lists.
10. 'Letters written by Edward Wilson M. A. to Hester, Lady Chatham' (hereafter given as PRO 30/8/67 parts I and II.) On 18 July 1789 Wilson wrote 'The Bankruptcy of one considerable farmer and the probable Ejectionment of Another presses me to take their Tithe in Kind. This is by no means a pleasant business.' Administrative problems caused when George Pais, farmer, churchwarden and trustee of 'Mr Bowes Legacy' absconded for debt in 1785 are described in BRO D/P18/25/3 p. 22.
11. PRO 30/8/67 part I, Wilson's letter of 14 June 1785 refers to the high cost of his sixteen acres of summer corn. It cost him 'sixty pounds in labour and seed only,' for 'I was obliged to have it pulveriz'd by Mallets or lose the season, no drag or roller would touch it.'
12. **Reading Mercury**, vol. XXXIV, nos. 1750-60, August to October 1795.
13. PRO 30/8/67 part II, Wilson's letter of 29 July 1792 refers to the camp and its impact.
14. Binfield records reflect the predictable crisis periods of 1795-6 and 1800-1801 when food rioting is recorded elsewhere.
15. BRO D/P18/8/1.
16. BRO D/P18/25/3 p. 8 lists payments made to provide work on the highway for those out of employment, 15 June 1783.
17. PRO 30/8/67 part I carries no letters written from Binfield before February 1775. Wilson's influence can be detected in the parish registers — BRO D/P18/1/2 & 3 from 1774, when in addition to the appearance of his handwriting, ages at burial began to be consistently recorded.
18. Wilson was Prebendary of Gloucester 1769-1804, and Canon of Windsor 1784-1804.
19. All the registers, lists and charity documentation 1774-1804 held at the BRO under the D/P18 classification.
20. PRO 30/8/67 part I, 6 September 1769; E. Wilson, **Sermon of thanksgiving for the recovery of George III, preached at Gloucester Cathedral on Good Friday 1789**, 1789, 'Advertisement to the reader'.
21. Wilson and Davies were canons of equal rank at Windsor i.e. both were permitted to preach before George III at short notice. They corresponded regularly on the plight of the poor, many of their letters surviving in the Davies Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library. (I thank Richard Wall for pointing out a correlation between the influence of William Moreton Pitt in a settlement and the appearance of detailed listings e.g. Corfe Castle and Binfield.)
22. Berkshire Quarter Sessions Records, BRO Q/JG/2/—. See also M. Neuman, **The Speenhamland county. Poverty and the poor laws in Berkshire, 1782-1834**, 1982, pp. 81-3.
23. D. Davies, **The case of labourers in husbandry stated and considered**, 1795. This has been reprinted together with a biography of Davies and a review of his work within the context of Barkham parish records in P. Horn, **A Georgian parson and his village**, 1981.
24. The 'Advertisement' accompanying the tract reads 'The substance of the following Tract was suggested at a County Meeting at Newbury, on the sixth of last May. At the **request** of the Gentlemen there assembled, it was drawn up in its present form, and addressed to the **MAGISTRATES OF BERKS**, at the ensuing Michaelmas Quarter Sessions; and, for their more general perusal, is printed in consequence of the annexed order.

QUARTER SESSIONS, ABINGDON
 October 6th 1795.

 ORDERED, on reading the **OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE POOR**, etc. addressed by the Rev. Mr Wilson to the **MAGISTRATES OF BERKS**, that the thanks of this court be conveyed to Mr Wilson for these **OBSERVATIONS**, etc. and his consent requested to have the same printed.

W. BUDD Clerk of the Peace
25. Pooley, **Transactions, Institute British Geographers**, vol. 4, 1979, pp. 258-77 attempts to correct the bias appertaining to the use of directories.
26. As used in K. D. M. Snell 'Agricultural seasonal unemployment, the standard of living, and women's work in the south and east: 1690-1860', **Economic History Review** (second series), vol. XXXIV, no. 3, 1981, pp. 407-37.
27. Greatest detail is available for those labourers who qualified for relief under the terms of Bowes Legacy — namely those legally settled in the parish, not currently in receipt of poor relief.
28. Wilson, **Observations** pp. 7-9.

29. Laslett, **Family life and illicit love**, pp. 50-101.
30. The poor house was only considered as a receiver of households which had stayed in Binfield 1780-90 and 1790-1801.
31. House numbers were not included in 1779 but specified in 1790.
32. Laslett recorded 50 per cent turnover at both Clayworth 1676-88 and Cogenhoe 1618-28. Holmes observed household turnover at one third in Ramsgate over a two year period 1851-3, while Liverpool, according to Pooley's analysis of the 1851-61 censuses, exhibited a turnover rate of 82 per cent.
33. Settlement without residence was not a problem in the Binfield analyses as families still legally settled, but no longer actually resident in Binfield, ceased to be attributed to numbered properties.
34. M. Escott, 'Growing up in Binfield c. 1801', **Berkshire Local History Association Journal**, no. 3, 1986, pp. 39-48.
35. Snell, 'Parish registration and the study of labour mobility' **Local Population Studies**, no. 33, 1984, p. 37.
36. An example is George Clark who moved from rented property to a tenement he inherited from his father in 1797. John Morton rented house number 106 and let house number 96, which he owned.
37. Evidence on the way tenants kept two of these properties in good repair can be found under the Binfield entry in the review of the estates held by St George's Chapel, made when Wilson was steward to the chapter post 1785. Windsor Records Church Commissioners (hereafter given as WRCC) no. 120394.
38. BRO D/P18/25/3 pp. 5, 18, and 19.
39. The sample was created by listing all the occupiers described as Mr, Mrs or Esq. in the 1779 and 1790 taxation lists and working out whether or not they resided in the parish according to information from the window tax columns. For example, if 'coppice', or a different parish were specified, and no house number was included in 1790, the assumption was made that no Binfield property was occupied in this instance. Occupiers, described as above, liable for taxation on fifteen or more windows, were taken as forming the top socio-economic group.
40. Marked with black circles on the map accompanying this article.
41. Onesepherous Elliott Ovens returned to the parish, taking the surname 'Elliott' when he succeeded to his uncle, John Elliott's property — BRO D/P18/18/2. Lady Vernon continued to rent house number 15, following her husband's death. However, she caused an ice house and greenhouses built by him to be demolished to reduce upkeep costs — WRCC no. 120349.
42. A feature of the first decade, which also exhibited 70 per cent turnover at the top of the social scale, was the removal of the rector from the rectory to a larger property. His son later used the rectory as his first marital home.
43. As indicated by Laslett, **Family life and illicit love**, pp. 71-2.
44. Binfield labourers' cottages tended to have six taxable windows.
45. Pooley, **Transactions, Institute British Geographers**, vol. 4, 1979, pp. 271-2.
46. Laslett, **Family life and illicit love**, pp.147-51.
47. T. Wales, 'Poverty, poor relief and the life cycle' in R. M. Smith (ed.) **Land, kinship and lifecycle**, pp. 351-422.
48. BRO D/P18/26Cc.
49. i.e. post 1785. A surviving inventory of widow Haghue's goods when she died at Warfield Workhouse in 1797, shows that the poor must have been allowed to take furniture and household goods with them. BRO D/P144/12/4.
50. BRO D/P18/25/3, p5.
51. Escott, 'Growing up in Binfield c. 1801' **Berkshire Local History Association Journal**, no. 3, 1986, p. 43.
52. Wilson, **Observations**, pp. 25-6.
53. BRO Q/SO8/429
54. BRO D/ED T 73-4.