Local Population Studies

No. 52
Spring 1994
LOCAL POPULATION STUDIES

No. 52

Spring 1994

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

© Local Population Studies, 1994
Registered charity number 273621

ISSN 0143-2974

The cover illustration is from W. H. Pyne, Encyclopedia of Illustration of the Arts, Agriculture, &c of Great Britain, 1845
EDITORIAL BOARD
Tom Arkell
Christopher Charlton
Terry Gwynne
Dennis Mills
May Pickles
Roger Schofield
Kevin Schürer
Geoffrey Stevenson

SUBMISSION OF ARTICLES
Articles, notes or letters, which normally should not exceed 5,000 words in length, should be addressed to Kevin Schürer, 27 Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1QA. It is very important that material submitted should comply with LPS house style. A leaflet explaining LPS conventions can be obtained from Kevin Schürer.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
The annual subscription to Local Population Studies is £6.00. For overseas subscribers the cost is £7.00 or $ (US) 16. Dollar cheques must be made payable to Dr R.S. Schofield. Subscriptions may be paid by Bankers Order, forms for which may be obtained from the Subscription Secretary.

Single copies and back numbers may be obtained from the Subscription Secretary at the following rates: nos 3,7-28, £1.40; nos 29-31, £2.25; from no. 32 £3.00. Remittances should be made payable to Local Population Studies.

The Subscription Secretary is Mrs M H Charlton, 27 St Margarets Road, St Marychurch, Torquay, Devon TQ1 4NU.

THE LOCAL POPULATION STUDIES SOCIETY
Annual membership fees are: Normal rate (UK and EC) £12.00, other overseas £15.00, student £10.00. Student membership is open to those in full time education or following an approved course of study. All members of the Society will receive LPS without further payment, may purchase supplementts and back numbers of the journal at reduced rates and enjoy other facilities.

The LPSS Secretary is Sir David Cooke, Bt, 8 Royal Cresent, Harrogate, HG2 8AB.

Members wishing to purchase supplements and back numbers should write to Mrs R. Bridgen at the LPS General Office. For members of the LPS Society the prices of back numbers are nos 3, 7-28, £1.05; nos 29-31, £1.70; from no. 32, £2.25. Postage must be added in all cases.

For details of the Local Population History Book Club contact: Dr P. Franklin, 46 Fountain Street, Accrington. Lancs. BB5 0QP.

ADVERTISING & GENERAL OFFICE
All enquiries about advertising in LPS should be sent to Mrs R. Bridgen at the LPS General Office, 27 Trumpington Street, Cambridge, CB2 1QA. (‘Phone 0223 333185)
CONTENTS

EDITORIAL AND NEWS

Prospect and retrospect? ........................................ 4
Christopher Charlton (LittD) and the LPS .......................... 6
General Office on the move ...................................... 6
News from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure ................ 7
News from the Local Population Studies Society ................. 9

ARTICLES

B. Bennison Drunkenness in turn-of-the-century Newcastle upon Tyne ......................... 14
P. Schofield Frankpledge lists as indices of migration and mortality: some evidence from Essex lists .... 23
D. Mills and R. Tinley Population turnover in an eighteenth-century Lincolnshire parish in comparative context ....... 30

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

B. Nurse Occupations in parish registers: the evidence from Newport, Essex ..................... 39
A. Storm Seasonality of births and marriages in a seafaring community before the age of steam .... 43
M. J. D. Edgar Occupational diversity in seven rural parishes in Dorset, 1851 ...................... 48
D. Rau The 1891 census in Spitalfields .................................. 55

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Compiled by Terry Gwynne ........................................... 57

CORRESPONDENCE

Cheap microfilm for sale ........................................... 65
EDITORIAL

Prospect and retrospect?

There have been relatively few editorials in LPS which have indulged in navel-gazing, perhaps because the ‘heroic’ age of the journal has long since passed: so that the groundswell of empathy created by the remembrance of being "conceived in a room known as the King's bedroom at Madingley Hall in the summer" of 1967 (as expressed in issue 1, ‘Intentions’) or the summer of 1968 (as double-guessed in issue 20, ‘Ten Years On’) is vivid only in the memories of the longest-standing two members of the Board and one or two original subscribers. That the persistence of the journal, spawned by the army of parish register analysts assisting the Cambridge Group’s work and leading to The Population History of England 1541-1871 as a direct result, and the subsequent creation in the early 1970s of the LPS Society, has its ‘heroic’ side in bringing together amateurs and professionals in the field of the study of population and social structure in their own communities we need entertain no doubt. But there are those moments when reflection on the way in which the journal is developing are appropriate: the issue of an accumulative index is perhaps one of them. ‘Ten Years On’ was written with the issue of the index for numbers 1-20, and last year subscribers received with No 50 the second index for numbers 21-50. Could we still be communicating with the subscriber who in 1978 threatened to cancel his subscription if the Parochial Registers and Records Measure were mentioned again in an editorial? We hope so, and we trust that we have not tested the tolerance of those readers who wish to get to the historical meat by our resolve to take seriously the problems of public access to records as this fulfills one of the needs which the journal in its early stages aimed to address.

The original intentions were to provide a link for those working on local communities, a place for enquiries to be answered, and techniques explained, and where subscribers could be kept up-to-date with the work of the Cambridge Group, and the original four Board members expressed themselves grateful for any research report, enquiry, problem, discussion or oddity (however small). Ten years later the thrust remained to provide a forum where ‘amateurs’ and ‘professionals’ could continue to work alongside one another, though it was felt that the gulf had by then become deeper; and guidance to ease the problems of access to libraries and jargon were identified as needs to be catered for.

The journal remains faithful in its components to these early aims. The regular constituents were directed to service those needs: the editorials reflecting the perspective of the Board (which is itself constituted with an eye to minimising the gap between ‘amateurs’ and ‘professionals’) being supported by news from both the Cambridge Group and the LPS Society. Notes on Sources (like the twentieth century one on the Lloyd George landownership survey in our last
issue) attempt to introduce readers to a wider range of approaches to local history, whilst Research in Progress permits the opening of new perspectives at a much earlier date than would be the case if articles alone were relied upon. In every other issue the Board submits a review of recent publications in the field. It welcomes too submission of small items of ‘Miscellany’ such as survival of twins in No 51, and of correspondence: however, in these two areas, and in the submission of articles, we are in the hands of our readership.

Though in many ways the basic stance remains, the context has changed. For twenty years now the journal’s activities have had a foil in the activities of the LPSS, with its newsletter and conference services to its members. Not all readers of course are society members, and the interested and involved subscriber is now much more likely to be involved as well with organisations of one sort or another, whether as a student of the Open University’s DA301 course, or in the past, of its D301 predecessor, or of a whole range of higher or adult education courses, or as a member of one of the county Family History Societies. The Board too has always been aware of the value placed by some schools on the themes, and processes of analysing communities, which flow from our activities, and in the age of national curricula – hardly a feature of the scene 25 years ago – the Board’s goodwill and alertness remain.

Looking through the accumulative indexes yields some light on show as well as substance. LPS has appeared in a range of different covers: the first four consisting of a blank grey screen somewhat in the manner of a Derek Jarman film, a further half-dozen carry a page of the Compton Census (one of the documents focussed in our latest publication Surveying the People). The subsequent pattern, with the exception of two cartoons from Punch and from a George Cruickshank cartoon ‘Taking the Census’ (appropriately used for the 1891 census issue No 47 and two further issues) has been of Braudelian-like images from W. H. Pyne’s Encyclopaedia of illustration of the Arts, Agriculture &c of Great Britain of 1845. The accumulated indexes show illustrations of ‘Gipsies’ and, recently, of ‘Fishermen’. Whilst fishermen have been made visible by Margaret Gerrish’s article in LPS 50 (and fishing communities touched upon in other studies of Whitby, Harwich and Old Aberdeen), the same can hardly be said about gipsies (only noted in an article in LPS 27 on poor migrants in the seventeenth century). Does the journal encourage the study of ethnic minorities in the past, it seems legitimate to ask, in the manner Paul Hair has raised questions of black historical demography in Liverpool and elsewhere? Specific social problems occur in our pages somewhat capriciously (given that the Board is in the hands of readers in terms of articles submitted) – abortion but no contraception in issues 21-50, though short memories may identify a recent article on working women’s correspondence with Marie Stopes. Drink (as in this issue) but no drugs – in spite of the early Victorian sedated and opiated families. A geographical eye lights upon some European-based articles, but very little concerning the Imperial countries which received Britain’s ‘shovelled-out paupers’ or other emigrants. A critical eye looking at the attention to themes from Scotland, Wales and Ireland would find recurring positive evidence: a less critical eye might merely notice that articles cover communities as far-flung as St Kilda. If these are illustrations of our thematic and spatial coverage, what of temporal aspects?
Here analysis of articles in the latest index shows a heavy emphasis – 40 per cent – on the nineteenth century, with 20 per cent on the eighteenth, slightly fewer on the seventeenth century, and a similar input from the pre-1600 period, balanced between Tudor and medieval material. A quite small – 5 per cent – input concerns themes from the twentieth century. Given the high incidence of work on the nineteenth century census, this balance is unsurprising. Is it however what our readers want? It seems an appropriate moment to ask the question once more.

Christopher Charlton (LittD) and the LPS General Office on the move

After many years service at Tawney House, most recently as Warden, Christopher Charlton has accepted the new position of full-time Director of the Cromford Mill Project and Secretary of the Arkwright Society. We are glad to report that despite the move Christopher has agreed to retain his position on the Editorial Board of LPS, but his move away from Tawney House will have a significant effect on the administration of the journal. One direct result is that the General Office of LPS, together with the large stock of files and back-publications, will gradually be moved from Tawney House and re-housed at the Cambridge Group’s premises at 27 Trumpington Street, Cambridge. Consequently, in future enquires concerned with the journal should be directed there.

Coinciding with his change of job – yet totally unrelated – we are also very pleased to announce that Christopher has been awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters (LittD) by Sheffield University, for his contribution to local history. He received the award from Lord Dainton, the Chancellor of the University, at a special ceremony last year.

Tom Arkell
Christopher Charlton
Terry Gwynne
Dennis Mills
May Pickles
Roger Schofield
Kevin Schürer
Geoffrey Stevenson

April 1994
NEWS FROM THE CAMBRIDGE GROUP FOR THE HISTORY OF POPULATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

A welcome back from Oxford, for two former members of the Group!

In October 1979 the Group 'lost' Tony Wrigley when he left to become the new Professor of Population Studies at the London School of Economics. Nine years later, in 1988, he left LSE for a Senior Research Fellowship at All Souls College in Oxford. Last year, in September 1993, he was elected to the Chair in Economic History, but back in Cambridge again! He took up his professorial duties on 1st April 1994.

All this time he has, of course, retained a room in Trumpington Street, which has enabled him to pursue research in the field of population studies. But from 1st April we shall have one of the founders of the Group back 'in Cambridge again.

Shortly after his election to the Chair in Economic History he was chosen as Master of Corpus Christi College, the sixth oldest College in the University. He takes up residence there on the 1st August 1994, and on that date we shall then have him fully committed to Cambridge!

Five years later, in 1983, the Group suffered a second loss when Richard Smith, the Assistant Director of the Cambridge Group, went as a 'new blood' Lecturer in Historical Demography to All Souls College in Oxford. And from 1990, in addition to his many publishing commitments, he has also taken on the direction of the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine in Oxford.

Last summer the Cambridge Group learned that the University was prepared to make the Directorship of the Group a University-funded post. This made the Directorship a far more desirable occupation. Roger Schofield, as the current Director, then wrote to the Secretary of the Research Centres Division of the Economic and Social Research Council offering to resign from the Directorship, as from the date at which a new Director could be appointed. Over Christmas and January, the Faculty of History ran a competition for the new Director, and in March 1994 they chose Richard Smith.

Although he did his doctoral thesis on peasant life-cycles and socio-economic networks in some East Anglian manors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, since he joined the Wellcome Unit in 1990 Richard Smith has been engaged on a study of welfare and medical care, mainly in the period 1660-1750, under the old English poor law. This research has entailed a detailed computer-based linkage between parish-register based family reconstitutions with poor law account books of nine English communities which include a London parish, three market towns, three agricultural and two industrial parishes. The results from this project relate primarily to the welfare provisions
for the elderly, the share of over-all expenditure devoted to that age group, the 'competition' for funds from other age groups, the value of the poor-law pension and the implications of changing policies for care provided by offspring and other kin.

In addition, since 1987 Richard Smith has been engaged on a study of European marriage patterns from the ancient world until c.1800. He has tried to assess the tensions between historical investigations of marriage deriving from the existence of a set of regional continuities relating to family and kinship forms on the one hand, and arguments that stress a sequence of temporal discontinuities on the other. The latter have been given prominence by such studies as that by Jack Goody, the works of various canon law historians, and more recently by those who have been interested in the attempted reform of popular manners and the imposition of social discipline. This project has been put on hold during his commitments to the Wellcome Unit in Oxford, but he is hoping to pick up the threads again on his return to Cambridge.

Richard Smith has given notice to the Wellcome Unit and to All Souls College that he will be joining the Group on 1st October 1994. So, now, the Group's former Assistant Director will come back to it as full Director. Roger Schofield will be continuing as a Senior Research Associate for three years until, thanks to the rules affecting 'government scientists', he reaches retiring age. So, in its immediate prospects, the Group will look, this coming Autumn, very much as it looked some eleven years ago.
NEWS FROM THE LOCAL POPULATION STUDIES SOCIETY

Conference Report – Birkbeck College, London, 6 November 1993

The centre for Extra-Mural Studies at 32 Tavistock Square was the venue for this conference, which was organised by Dr John Reed on behalf of LPSS and the London Extra-Mural Society for Genealogy and History of the Family, with Birkbeck College administering. The theme of migration and immigration was introduced by Dr David Souden (formerly Birkbeck College), who took us back to Prof. A. K. Cairncross’s well-known and still extremely useful aggregative study for England and Wales. This proved to be a successful vehicle for setting the general scene and for generating discussion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Pop. 1841 (millions)</th>
<th>Pop. 1911 (millions)</th>
<th>Natural Increase 1841-1911 (millions)</th>
<th>Net migration 1841-1911 (millions)</th>
<th>% of pop. gain or loss due to net migration</th>
<th>% of pop. growth 1841-1911</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>7.31</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>+1.25</td>
<td>+32.9</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large cities</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>+0.89</td>
<td>+32.5</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalfields</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>+0.65</td>
<td>+19.3</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other urban</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>11.28</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>+0.51</td>
<td>+8.3</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural areas</td>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>6.96</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>-4.51</td>
<td>-85.0</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15.91</td>
<td>36.07</td>
<td>21.33</td>
<td>-1.21</td>
<td>-5.7</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There was then a marked shift in focus from the aggregative and impersonal to the study of migration through the residential life histories of 1,852 ancestors reported to Dr Colin Pooley by members of the family history societies in Cheshire and Lancashire. His longitudinal approach is intended as part of the much needed amplification of cross-sectional views obtained from the census enumerators’ books, with their well-known limitation of recording only birthplace and current place of residence.

Dr Pooley’s data demonstrated the expected increase in the mean distances migrated, comparing the late eighteenth century with the two halves of the nineteenth century and the earlier part of the present century. There was much discussion of the reliability of the sample, bearing in mind the temptation of respondents to send in the records of exceptionally migratory ancestors, but this problem is being counteracted in Dr Pooley’s work, and in any case should not seriously affect long-term comparisons. There is certainly much potential in this approach, since it can illuminate the sequence of moves much more clearly than ‘static’ records. Motives can also be detected, although these are less certain than the actual migration traces. Most difficult of all is to explain why people stayed.
Dr Pooley has also analysed the data by age, his results confirming the widely accepted view that migration was most frequently undertaken by young adults between the ages of c15-c35. His graph also showed a decline in migration during the early years of childhood, which might be interpreted as resulting from young parents moving to a bigger house when starting a family, followed by a period of stability. Dr Pooley's work is to be extended, with assistance from the Economic and Social Research Council, to a study of 25,000 residential histories. Volunteers with information should contact him at the Department of Geography, the University of Lancaster (for further details see p.68 of this issue).

In the afternoon the conference split into three workshops, the biggest attendance being at the workshop on Irish immigration, a fact which turned out to be associated with the large numbers of conference members who had at least one Irish ancestor. Sean Hutton (Federation of Irish Societies) explained that there have been two main waves of Irish immigration into Britain, the first being associated with the potato famine and the decline of Irish manufactures, which coincided with rapid industrialisation in Britain. The peak of 3.5 per cent of the population of Britain was reached at the 1861 census, but the distribution was very uneven, being concentrated in central Scotland, London and NW England. In 1851 the proportion of Irish people in the population was highest in Liverpool (22.3 per cent), with Glasgow next (18.2 per cent). London then contained 108,548 Irish people, comprising 4.6 per cent of the population.

The second wave of Irish immigration coincided with the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s, with main streams going to the West Midlands, as well as London and North West England. Research suggests that although many Irish people feel they are the subject of racial abuse, by and large most like living in Britain, and most second generation Irish are well integrated into society.

The same would hardly be said about African and West Indian immigrants who were the subject of the workshop run by Dr James Walvin of the University of York, a subject that was strange to most members of the group. Dr Walvin gave an excellent exposition of the way in which the slave trade from Africa to America and the West Indies was conducted and what this meant in numerical as well as human terms. The position of slaves in Britain was explained as well as the evidence available for the lives of black people in Britain from the late sixteenth century onwards. It was very interesting to realise how much evidence exists, even portraits and burial places. The way in which the West Indies were affected by the eventual abolition of slavery was considered. The discussion provided by the topic opened up a new and interesting dimension to the overall subject of the day.

In a wide ranging review, Dr Panikos Panayi (De Montfort University, Leicester) discussed the causes of German migration to Britain (economic, demographic, religious and political); the age and marital status of the migrants (mostly single young men); place of birth (Hannover and Hesse-Nassau dominated); class (a wide range); and numbers (30,000 had arrived by 1861; 53,000 by 1911, with 50 per cent in London).
Through photocopies of some key documents provided by Dr Panayi, the group then discussed the experiences of the migrants in Britain. The documents included an analysis of German birthplaces from the marriage register of St George's Lutheran Church, Whitechapel (1843-96); an extract from the Third Annual Report of the German Church and Mission for Edinburgh and Leith (1865); a newspaper account of a riot in Tottenham in May 1900, in which the premises of a German-born hairdresser were destroyed (allegedly for being pro-Boer); and several accounts from Henry Mayhew's Morning Chronicle Survey of Labour and the Poor in the Metropolitan District.

Our grateful thanks go to the five speakers, to John Reed, Mary Kennedy and Bill Liddell, and to Carol Watts in the college office.

LPSS now has 150 new members who have joined the society as a result of the publicity about the Open University DA301 course and more are joining daily.

**Forthcoming conferences and day schools**

**Saturday, June 11, 1994**
LONDON day school, at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. The British Local History Room has been booked to enable those attending to browse in this important library, which has a collection of VCH volumes, many county directories and poll books, etc. Theme: **What is community history?: concepts, sources, problems, potentialities**, for the benefit of Open University students on the new DA 301 course, **Studying the family and community history, 1800-1970.** (Chair: Prof. Ruth Finnegan). All members welcome. (Organiser: Dr Dennis Mills, 17 Rectory Lane, Branston, Lincoln LN4 1NA. Telephone 0522 791764).

**July 8-10, 1994**
BATH week-end conference, Bath College of Higher Education. This will include the AGM. Theme: Family History, Population and One-name Studies: learning from each other. Joint Conference with the Guild of One-Name Studies, and the Family History Societies of Bristol and Avon, Somerset and Dorset, and Wiltshire. The main speakers will be Dr Colin Pooley (University of Lancaster) on using life histories to study migration; Prof. Michael Drake on the new Open University course DA 301: Studying family and community history, 1800-1970; Dr Dennis Mills on thirty years of research on the history of the family and household and Don Steel on the case for co-operation between family historians and demographers. Also a very wide range of workshops and discussion groups. Several bookstalls. (Organiser: Don J. Steel, 'Brooking', Jarvis Lane, East Brent, Highbridge, Somerset. Telephone 0278 760535).

**Saturday, September 17, 1994**
BIRMINGHAM day school, School of Continuing Education, University of Birmingham. Theme: **The Poor Law.** Dr John Aitkin of the School will run the day school jointly with R.G. (Bob) Field, 45 Moreland Road, Droitwich WR9 8RN. Telephone 0905 773420.
1995: Several events to be run in conjunction with the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure on their project concerning the 1891-1921 census enumerators’ books and schedules. (Organiser: Dr Eilidh Garrett, at the Group’s address, 27 Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1QA. Telephone 0223-333180).

Saturday, March 25, 1995
OXFORD day school at the Department of Continuing Education, Rewley House, Wellington Square, Oxford. Theme: Family and household – a reappraisal. (Organiser: Miss M. Hodges, 3 Trinity Street, St Ebbes, Oxford OX1 1TN. Telephone 0865 244176).

Saturday, June 10, 1995
LONDON. A day school at the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1, subject to be decided.

YORKSHIRE week-end conference in the second half of 1995. Theme: possibly farming, farmers and related trades. (Organiser: Sir David Cooke, Bt, 8 Royal Crescent, Harrogate HG2 8AB. Telephone 0423 560429).

Dennis Mills, Conference Secretary.

31 August - 2 September 1994
The British Society for Population Studies Annual Conference, St Aidan’s College, University of Durham.
Call for papers.

The conference will include sessions on contemporary European demography, population, the environment and development, local authority demography, AIDS, and historical demography.

The chief aim of the historical demography sessions will be to offer those currently engaged in research in any aspect of historical demography an opportunity to come along and present details of their recent work. Offers of papers from graduate students are especially welcome.

At present, no specific themes have been proposed for the sessions although it is hoped that the papers which are offered can be grouped together in constructive ways. Please send offers of papers to Dr Andrew Hinde, Department of Social Statistics, Highfield, University of Southampton, Southampton SO9 5NH.

Those considering offering papers might wish to bear in mind that the time allowed for presentation is likely to be no longer than 30 minutes. The number of sessions devoted to historical demography is somewhat flexible, and so there is the possibility of having one or more sessions devoted to particular themes of current interest, or to particular debates. If you would like to suggest a particular theme to which a session might be devoted, please contact me at the above address. Suggestions for such themes which are accompanied by suggestions of speakers’ names will be particularly welcome!
DA301 Studying family and community history: nineteenth and twentieth centuries

With this new course the Open University returns to the model pioneered in 1974 with D301 Historical Data and the Social Sciences. Some 3,000 students successfully completed that course and its successor Historical Sources and the Social Scientist during the years 1974-88. Students received copies of LPS as part of their course materials and many went on to become members of LPSS. Indeed the present LPSS Committee contains two contributors to D301 as well as a tutor and a student of it.

DA301 is both wider and narrower than D301: wider in that it gives less prominence to quantification and more to qualitative techniques (oral history for instance); adds a 'questioning sources strategy' to the 'hypothesis testing' one; comes up to recent times; attempts a more thorough coverage of Ireland, Wales and Scotland; and lays greater emphasis on the writing and presentation of a project based on local sources – the course is, above all, directed at all those who are or wish to be active researchers in the twin fields of family and community history. DA301 is, however, narrower than D301 in its temporal coverage, restricting itself, largely on pedagogic grounds, to the period after 1800. Many of the lessons to be learned in DA301 are, however, applicable to earlier periods and to societies other than those found in Great Britain and Ireland.

The basic written materials of the course appear in four paperback volumes to be published in May by the Cambridge University Press in association with the Open University. They are: Volume 1. From Family Tree to Family History edited by Ruth Finnegan and Michael Drake: Volume 2. From Family History to Community History edited by W. T. R. Pryce: Volume 3. Communities and Families edited by John Golby. Volume 4. Sources and Methods for Family and Community Historians: a Handbook edited by Michael Drake and Ruth Finnegan. Already available in bookshops is the Reader for the course: Time, Family and Community: Perspectives on Family and Community History edited by Michael Drake and published by Blackwell. The BBC is broadcasting six radio programmes by scholars well known to LPS readers: Michael Anderson, Tony Wrigley, Stuart Hall, Paul Thompson, Tamara Hareven and Charlotte Erickson. There is also a BBC television programme which, with accompanying notes, provides a practical guide on how to shoot video history. Finally students of DA301 will receive six audio cassettes which, with accompanying illustrated notes, teach how to use key sources and methods.

The first presentation of the course commenced in February with 700 students. Amongst the goodies in the first mailing was LPS 51! If you would like to receive more details and how and when to apply for the 1995 presentation please write to Central Enquiries, The Open University, P.O. Box 200, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, MK7 6YZ.

Michael Drake
DRUNKENNESS IN TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

Brian Bennison

The author is a senior lecturer in the Department of Economics and Government at the University of Northumbria. His research interests centre on the economic and business history of north-eastern England, particularly the brewing and beer trades.

Introduction

The second of two peaks in United Kingdom liquor consumption embraced the years from the mid-1890s through to the early 1900s. During this period beer was being produced in quantities never equalled before or since, and in 1899 annual per capita beer consumption was at its highest for over twenty years. In 1900 the consumption of wine reached levels not seen for eighteen years and the amount of spirits drunk per head of population was back up to that of twenty-two years earlier. Liquor consumption was also reflected in mortality statistics: deaths certified as due to chronic alcoholism, delirium tremens etc. reached a record 80 per million in the period 1900-1904 and deaths due to cirrhosis of the liver peaked at 130 per million between 1895 and 1899.\(^1\) Drunkenness also became the subject of public scrutiny, with local politicians looking to the police to deal with drunkenness. It is with this aspect of the drink problem in one city, Newcastle upon Tyne, and the light it may throw upon wider social and demographic issues that this paper is concerned.

The extent of the problem in Newcastle

Court proceedings for drunkenness in England and Wales, which had shown some recent improvement, rose again after the turn of the century to reach 69 per 10,000 of the population in 1903. In Newcastle the problem was significantly worse than the nationwide average. In the period 1896-1900 the number of proceedings per 10,000 persons averaged 62 across England, but stood at 207 for Newcastle. In 1901, when the average rate for ten similar ‘seaports’ was 88 proceedings per 10,000, Newcastle’s equivalent rate was 225. By 1908 Newcastle had reduced its rate to 116 per 10,000, but it was the sixth worst amongst the seventy-five county boroughs that together averaged only 67 per 10,000.\(^2\) Such figures were regularly cited to suggest that Newcastle had a severe drink problem. It is possible, of course, that the degree of vigour with which the city’s constabulary and justices pursued their tasks contributed in some way to the large number of charges brought for drunkenness.\(^3\) This may have had some marginal effect on the statistics, but Newcastle’s unenviable, if consistent record on drunkenness was much more likely a reflection of its citizens’ greater propensity to drink and to drink to excess. To what extent this reflected social conditions and demographic pressures is a difficult question.

By examining references to drunkenness in the chief constables’ annual reports to the city’s watch committees, further light can be shed on drunkenness in
Table 1  Proceedings for drunkenness in Newcastle, 1896-1905

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>3595</td>
<td>1293</td>
<td>4888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>3424</td>
<td>1170</td>
<td>4594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>3070</td>
<td>1185</td>
<td>4255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>3290</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>4650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>3313</td>
<td>1383</td>
<td>4696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>3655</td>
<td>1191</td>
<td>4846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>3268</td>
<td>1172</td>
<td>4440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>2769</td>
<td>1035</td>
<td>3804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>2590</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>3576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>2840</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>3726</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:  City and county of Newcastle upon Tyne, report of the police establishment and state of crime, chief constable’s report [hereafter CCR], 29 Jan 1897, 11 Feb 1898, 24 Feb 1899, 6 Feb 1900, 8 Feb 1901, 6 Feb 1902, 6 Feb 1903, 5 Feb 1904, 20 Jan 1905, 19 Jan 1906.

Newcastle around the turn of the century. Unfortunately, the degree of detail and the particular aspect of drunkenness considered varied from year to year; a reflection, it would seem, of the city fathers’ specific concerns at any one time and the chief constables’ obligations to respond. Nonetheless, police reports do reveal much more about the nature of the problem than aggregate figures on convictions.

In the ten-year period from 1896-1905 the number of proceedings brought for drunkenness in Newcastle average 4,348 per annum. Table 1 shows the number of cases brought before the court each year. In the period under review, male prosecutions always accounted for more than 70 per cent of any year’s total and averaged 73 per cent. Although there was a fall of 24 per cent in drunkenness proceedings between 1896 and 1905, this overall decline was not at a steady rate and was sharper amongst females.4

The chief constables of Newcastle tended towards a primarily economic view of what determined the level of drunkenness. The decrease after 1896, for example, was initially ascribed to the long engineering strike and consequent fall in disposable incomes, and the rise in 1899 was put down to prosperous times and the ‘constant and remunerative employment obtainable in all branches of industry’.5 The continued increase in drunkenness into the new century was again seen as a by-product of prosperity and ‘high rates of wages’, and the subsequent reduction was mainly due to ‘slackness’ or ‘depression in trade’.6 It is probable, however, that more complex factors were at work and the chief constable acknowledged these to some extent, but in seeking to explain the 1896 fall, for example, he appears to contradict himself. Firstly, for the duration of the engineering strike he observed an increase in drunkenness amongst those trade groups most directly affected by the dispute and therefore least able to purchase drink. Secondly, there was an unusually mild winter which allowed many who would normally have expected to be laid-off to enjoy continuous employment and thereby to continue to earn funds for drink.7 These two features point, if anything, to an inverse relationship between income and
drunkenness. This would suggest that it is too simplistic to regard the only determinant of intertemporance as the possession or otherwise of the financial wherewithal to drink excessively, and that more complex social and demographic pressures may have been at work.

The chief constable's tentative explanation of the post-1900 rise in male drunkenness is based on the belief that 'the labouring classes attracted to the city by tramway and railway extensions' were responsible. Likewise, the completion of these transport schemes may help explain 1902's decrease. Conventional wisdom amongst the city fathers was that drunkenness in the city was not a general problem but a consequence of the high propensities to over indulge within certain trades; trades which tended to attract a high proportion of itinerant workers. This view is supported to some extent (see Table 5 and discussion below). The pattern of female drunkenness in 1900 and 1901, when it reached its highest level in 1900 and then fell as male drunkenness rose, was said to reflect the decision to take the worst female offenders out of circulation. Measures taken to prevent habitual drunkards obtaining liquor were thought by the chief constable to have had some impact on the figures for 1903. The jump in male drunkenness from 1904 to 1905 is misleading: city boundaries were extended that year and the former area showed a fall.

To the specific explanations offered by chief constables we can add some more general considerations. It could be argued that the reasons for drunkenness were the reasons for drinking writ large, and in this context it would be a mistake to represent consumption of alcoholic drink, be it moderate or excessive, as exclusively a function of the more obvious economic factors. The view is best summed by Dingle who says that there was 'a significant degree of autonomous consumption...a manifestation of a deep rooted complex of social and cultural patterns of which drinking was an integral part'. Similarly, Harrison, in his study of drink in the Victorian era, concludes that 'most drunkenness in nineteenth-century England resulted from a social situation'. This argument could equally well apply to turn-of-the-century Newcastle. Housing conditions, for example, may have persuaded many to spend time in the public houses and enjoy warmth and comforts not available in their tenement homes. Housing and population statistics from the 1901 Census suggest that the average number of persons per Newcastle household was eight, but rising to over ten in some city-centre wards. The results of a later inspection by the Medical Officer of Health indicate that around 40 per cent of the city's housing stock was in tenemented buildings and about 88 per cent of these tenemented homes were only one- or two-roomed.

**Apprehensions, proceedings and prosecutions**

The chief constables' reports allow a distinction to be made between the figure for proceedings, which was the usual published statistic by which drunkenness was expressed, and the level of convictions and the number of arrests. Inevitably, a fraction of those charged were not convicted and where information was published for Newcastle, convictions averaged out at about 83 per cent of those charged. Similarly, there was always a small proportion of 'apprehensions for drunkenness' which did not result in court proceedings. The
Table 2  Numbers apprehended for drunkenness in Newcastle and not prosecuted, 1896 and 1897

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for non-prosecution</th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1897</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donations to poor box</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers handed over to military authorities for punishment</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cautioned by police on account of old age, or some other palliating circumstance</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given false addresses</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CCR 20 Jan 1897, 11 Feb 1898.

Police produced details for only two years, but they point to a rate of non-prosecution of about 2 per cent of arrests. The explanation for this can be seen in Table 2.

Habitual drunkards

The chief constables’ reports for Newcastle show that the level of proceedings for drunkenness exceeded the number of people prosecuted in any one year. It can be calculated that, on average, a male drunkard was charged with 1.08 offences per annum, whilst the female drunkard was charged 1.34 times. There was, however, an improvement in the numbers of re-offenders over the period under review. For the years when the police provided details, we can summarise the individual records of those charged in four specific years (Table 3). Other information occasionally made available by chief constables shows the roles of the most spectacularly persistent offenders to be virtually monopolised by women. For example, in 1899 only four of the twenty-two offenders charged more than six times were male and in 1900, only two of the forty-five offenders charged more than four times were men.

The Newcastle authorities adopted two methods to deal with the problem of habitual drunkards. In 1900 arrangements were introduced which enabled magistrates to commit habitual drunkards to ‘inebriate reformatories’, and in 1901 sixteen of the worst female drunkards were sent to the Royal Victoria Homes, Brent. That year’s decrease in female drunkenness prompted the chief constable to claim it as a result of the new policy, but he subsequently reported that most had relapsed into drunkenness on their discharge. A second policy was the introduction of the ‘black list’, by which it was hoped, perhaps rather naively, to prevent habitual drunkards from acquiring drink by stopping them from being served with drink in public-houses. In its first year of operation, thirty of the forty-eight people on the black list were convicted of drunkenness, seventeen having multiple convictions. In 1903, forty from the black list of fifty-six were convicted. Of the fifteen female habitual drunkards discharged after spending up to two years at the Brenty inebriates’ home, eight quickly graduated to the black list. However, if we look at Table 3, it is clear that by 1905 the 20 per cent overall fall in the number of drunkards contained within it a disproportionately larger fall amongst the regular offenders.
Table 3  Number of persons charged and the number of proceedings for drunkenness in Newcastle, 1896-1905

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of times charged</th>
<th>1896</th>
<th>1899</th>
<th>1902</th>
<th>1905</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once</td>
<td>3339</td>
<td>3565</td>
<td>3537</td>
<td>3010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrice</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four times</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five times</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six times</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven times</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight times</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine times</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten times</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleven times</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve times</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteen times</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourteen times</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen times</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3905</td>
<td>3931</td>
<td>3874</td>
<td>3294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CCR, 29 Jan 1897, 6 Feb 1900, 6 Feb 1903, 19 Jan 1906.

Who were the drunkards?

For the years between 1896 and 1902, the chief constables' reports contained age profiles of offenders. These have been summarised in Table 4 and show that two-thirds of all those charged with drunkenness were between the ages of twenty and forty years. For only one year, 1896, was a return published giving the occupations of those charged. Table 5, based on this information, details the categories of main offenders and their share of the total of almost 5,000 charges. With one-third of all proceedings being brought against labourers, Table 5 would seem to confirm the view that it was the drinking habits of the unskilled which had most impact upon the level of drunkenness. However, without information on the relative size of each occupational group within the city's total workforce, we cannot truly judge a particular trade's propensity to get drunk. For example, in 1896 three charges of drunkenness were taken out against veterinary surgeons, an insignificant number in the context of the total convictions that year, but perhaps of some note in the city's veterinary circles. Equally, the poor representation or absence of some professions in the drunkenness figures (for example, architects) is not evidence of sobriety within a particular occupational group. The statistics offer only positive evidence of over-indulgence in public places: intemperance of a more discreet nature presumably went on, but unpunished and unnoticed. Another noteworthy feature of Table 5 is the high number of proceedings against prostitutes, which amounted to almost half of that year's charges against females. The extent of prostitution goes some way to explaining not only female drunkenness but also the greater incidence of persistent offenders amongst women. It may be of course that arresting females for drunkenness was part of a policy which was aimed at curbing prostitution rather than drunkenness.
Table 4  Male and female offenders for drunkenness in Newcastle, as percentages of total proceedings in each age range, 1896-1902

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age range (years)</th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Female %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 20</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 60</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:  CCR, 29 Jan 1897, 11 Feb 1898, 24 Feb 1899, 6 Feb 1900, 8 Feb 1901, 6 Feb 1902, 6 Feb 1903.

Table 5  Trades or occupations with most proceedings for drunkenness in Newcastle, 1896

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade/occupation</th>
<th>Number of proceedings</th>
<th>Percentage of total (4888) proceedings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>1642</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prostitutes</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitters</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawkers</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailors</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartmen</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:  CCR 29 Jan 1897

Statistics also indicate that Newcastle’s record on drunkenness was a direct result of its reputation as the chief centre on Tyneside for leisure, which for many meant drinking or drinking-related activities. Police reports covering the period 1897-1905, show 38 per cent of all proceedings for drunkenness were against non-residents.22 The city was well served by licensed houses, a point frequently made by temperance reformers who argued that it was the temptation offered by so many public-houses that was a root cause of the drink problem. Figures produced in 1899 by Rowntree and Sherwell,23 for example, showed that Newcastle’s 691 licensed premises represented a ratio of 1 for every 307 of the population and every 43 dwelling houses in the city. Another approach popular amongst temperance agitators was to assert that drunkards were inadequates with serious psychological disorders, that their mental illness was itself caused by drink and that the country’s lunatic asylums were largely populated by the victims of drink.24 An insight into the relationship between drunkenness and mental condition can be gleaned from a report prepared by an inspector appointed under the Inebriates Act.25 The study of almost two thousand habitual drunkards committed to reformatories in 1905 were classified as follows:
Insane (certified and sent to asylums) 48
Very Defective (imbeciles, degenerates, epileptics) 271
Defective (eccentric, silly, dull, senile, or subject to periodic paroxysms of ungovernable temper) 857
Of Average Mental Ability 697

For the first three groups, accounting for around 60 per cent of all cases, the inspector’s conclusion was that mental defects were probably present before drunkenness such that ‘the offences resulting therefrom, are merely the natural result of inability to direct seriously and control thoughts, wishes and actions’. In the remaining 40 per cent of cases with average mental ability, it was felt that one reason for their condition may have been environmental factors, but that other causes were ill-health, accident and old age. In these latter circumstances, drink offered some temporary relief of pain and distress which then became habitual. Whilst the foregoing analysis by the inspector is based on a sample of habitual drunkards, it may well be the case that the causes identified, particularly those connected with those of average mental ability, applied to a similar or lesser degree to all drunkards.

**Drunkenness, death and illness**

The heavy drinking among many of its citizenry, reflected in Newcastle’s drunkenness record, must have had an impact on the city’s patterns of mortality and disease. To what extent insobriety influenced health and death in Newcastle is a matter of conjecture. What can be firmly established are the deaths directly attributable to alcohol (Table 6). But such statistics overlook the important role of alcohol consumption as a contributory factor in other illnesses. In the late nineteenth century there was no shortage of medical advice as to the true costs of alcohol abuse, much of it essentially propagandist. For example, one prominent temperance doctor declared that it was the physician’s ‘painful task, day by day, to treat the most terrible and fatal diseases, for the origin of which we can assign no other cause than the use of alcohol’ and that ‘whatever way he turns his attention to determine the persistent effects of alcohol he sees nothing but disease and death’. Other attempts were made to quantify the contribution of alcohol to illness, with one senior physician asserting that in his hospital ‘in seven out of every ten cases they owed their ill-health to alcohol’. Another doctor put a figure of 50 per cent on ‘those who lost their lives sooner or later by indulgence in alcohol’, but also accepted that it was ‘impossible...to arrive at a true estimate of the mortality due to drink’. And so it was for Newcastle. Amongst the 4,000 or so deaths every year in the city, many would have been from illnesses caused or exacerbated by heavy drinking, but we will never know the true extent. Nor do we know in how many of the deaths (653 in 1895) attributed to ‘violence’ and ‘non-specific causes’ did alcohol play some part.

**Conclusion**

Although the national trend in drunkenness was followed in Newcastle, the size of the problem was much greater in the city and Newcastle consistently appeared near the top of the country’s drunkenness league. The nature of the
Table 6  Deaths from chronic alcoholism, acute alcoholism, delirium tremens and cirrhosis of the liver, in Newcastle, 1896-1905

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Deaths due to acute &amp; chronic alcoholism and delirium tremens</th>
<th>Deaths due to cirrhosis of the liver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: City and county of Newcastle upon Tyne, annual report of the medical officer of health, 1896-1905.

Problem in Newcastle was well-documented in police reports, but the rather simplistic, immediate economic explanations proffered by those who collected and reported the statistics seem inadequate. Drunkenness in Newcastle was surely the result of the same complex of environmental and cultural factors that encouraged people to drink and to drink excessively elsewhere, except that such factors were more prevalent in urban centres like Newcastle. For example, the concentration in turn-of-the-century Newcastle of particular occupational groups, many connected with heavy drinking, was an important determinant. Similarly, Newcastle's abundance and variety of licensed premises had a magnetic effect on surrounding areas and its extensive transport network facilitated the taking of advantage of such opportunities. In this latter respect, the city could be absolved of part of the blame for its drunkenness problem: two out of five drunkards picked up by the city's police were not strictly Novocastrian. It is clear that the Newcastle authorities were concerned, and that magistrates and the police tried to deal with the problem. But it is questionable, given their initial diagnosis, whether their limited direct action was responsible for the decrease in drunkenness after the turn of the century. It is more likely that the environmental improvements, social changes and the development of counter-attractions, being experienced nationally and contributing to a decline in liquor consumption, were also being felt on Tyneside.

NOTES

3. There was a belief amongst some temperance workers that the Newcastle police tended to be more diligent than other forces. For example, C. Roberts, 'Drink, crime and pauperism', in G. Haylor ed., Papers and proceedings of the national convention for the prohibition of the
liquor traffic. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1897), 154-61, states that 'the Licensing Commission has made quite clear that the police only arrest the drunk and disorderly and the drunk and incapable. That is the rule nearly everywhere, though you are stricter in Newcastle'.

4. The overall fall of 24 per cent involved a 31 per cent drop in the number of proceedings against women and a 21 per cent decrease for men.

5. City and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, report of the police establishment and state of crime, chief constable's report [hereafter CCR], 6 Feb. 1900. There was a widespread acceptance within the brewing trade of a correlation between beer consumption and the general state of the economy. For example, the Brewery Manual for 1897 stated that 'the brewing industry is one of the first to participate in the benefits attending a trade revival, just as it is the first to feel the brunt of a trade depression'.

6. CCR 8 Feb 1901, 6 Feb 1903, 5 Feb 1904.

7. CCR 11 Feb 1898.

8. CCR 6 Feb 1902.

9. CCR 6 Feb 1902.

10. CCR 5 Feb 1904.


13. Census of England and Wales 1901, County of Northumberland, Cmd 1294, 1902, Table 9, p.10 and City and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, annual report of the medical officer of health, 1910.

14. CCR 29 Jan 1897, 11 Feb 1898, 24 Feb 1899.

15. Based on CCR 6 Feb 1900, 8 Feb 1901, 6 Feb 1902, 6 Feb 1903, 5 Feb 1904, 20 Jan 1905, 19 Jan 1906.

16. The number of re-offenders within any year fell from 15 per cent of all those charged in 1896 to 9 per cent in 1905.

17. CCR 6 Feb 1900, 8 Feb 1901.

18. CCR 6 Feb 1902, 5 Feb 1904.

19. CCR 5 Feb 1904.

20. For example, between 1896 and 1905 the number of persons charged once fell by less than 10 per cent, but the falls for those charged twice and those charged more than twice were 48 per cent and 53 per cent respectively.

21. CCR 21 Jan 1897.

22. CCR 11 Feb 1898, 24 Feb 1899, 6 Feb 1900, 8 Feb 1901, 6 Feb 1902, 6 Feb 1903, 5 Feb 1904, 20 Jan 1905, 19 Jan 1906.


24. For a brief discussion of the way in which drunkenness and drink was 'made the convenient scapegoat for all the troubles of society' see L. Shiman, Crusade against drink in Victorian England, (Basingstoke, 1988), 94-95. On Tyneside, the magazine of the North of England Temperance League regularly blamed the region's social and health problems on drunkenness. For example, excessive drinking was said to be 'reaping the harvest of the lunatic asylum', having 'a maddening influence' and being responsible for 'the creation of a vast amount of pauperism, crime, lunacy and destitution', (Temperance Witness Dec 1903, Mar 1904, June 1904).


29. Mitchell, Drink question, 115-16.

30. City and county of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, annual report of the medical officer of health, 1896.
FRANKPLEDGE LISTS AS INDICES OF MIGRATION AND MORTALITY: SOME EVIDENCE FROM ESSEX LISTS

Phillipp Schofield

The author has recently completed his doctorate at Wadham College, Oxford. He is currently engaged in research for a comparative study of European peasants in the later middle ages.

Recent work on tithing penny payments as a source for late medieval demography has led historians to the conclusion that, although tithing penny payments may offer a useful index of changing population levels over a number of decades, they provide little or no insight into the reasons for these changes.\(^1\) Although mortality is a vital ingredient, it is, clearly, not the only one and, as Postles notes, ‘the unknown variable is the relative level of in-migration and out-migration’.\(^2\) However, it is possible that a detailed examination of tithing lists can shed some light on ‘the unknown variable’.

Tithing lists were lists of all males over the age of twelve living within a vill – that is, the administrative unit which could be more or less than a single village in its geographical extent – and thereby required to be members of tithing groups; wealthy freemen and clergy were exempt. Each tithing group was overseen by one or more chief pledges. The lists provided the lord of the franchise with invaluable information on the resident population, information which could be used when collecting taxes and rents.\(^3\) The lists were corrected from time to time to take account of ‘exits’, caused by death, by change of tithing group or by emigration, and of ‘entries’, caused by boys attaining the age of twelve or by immigration.\(^4\) L.R. Poos has attempted to use tithing lists to estimate the relative levels of migration and mortality in a number of later medieval Essex communities.\(^5\) Poos suggests that demographic patterns discernible in the frankpledge lists from before 1350 closely resemble those to be found in 1600. He argues that early fourteenth century Essex society was extremely mobile and that attempts in the later fourteenth century to curb this mobility were doomed to failure because it was ‘entrenched’. The Black Death, in his view, is not to be seen as a prime mover but as an added stimulus to migration which, even before 1349, had a key role to play in medieval rural demographic developments.\(^6\)

Using two consecutive tithing lists, Poos counts the number of individuals named in the first list but not in the second as ‘exits’ and the number of individuals named in the second list but not in the first as ‘entries’. However Poos makes no use of the corrections and later additions to the lists, since he considers that names added to the tithing lists after the date of original compilation cannot be accurately dated.\(^7\) He concludes that the frankpledge lists do not ‘permit any conclusions about the relative importance of migration and of biological or intrinsic demographic factors – death among ‘exits’, birth and
eventual attainment of age twelve among ‘entries’ – contributing to turnover among tithing members’. He therefore uses model life tables in their stead. Furthermore, he insists that the supporting manorial material necessary to estimate the impact of intrinsic demographic factors does not exist for the Essex vills studied. Despite Poos’ reservations, it has proved possible to use frankpledge lists and court rolls to estimate the relative importance of migration and biological/intrinsic demographic factors in determining population turnover. This essay offers an examination of the tithing lists for one of the Essex manors studied by Poos: the manor of Birdbrook.  

Birdbrook is situated in north-west Essex just to the south of the River Stour and the Suffolk border. Much of the land was given over to cereal production in the middle ages, as it is today, with pasturage largely confined to the Stour valley. In the second half of the fourteenth century the north-west of Essex was the centre of the developing cloth-industry and served the cloth towns of Suffolk and the important Essex emporium of Colchester. From the late thirteenth century until the Dissolution, the manor of Birdbrook and the neighbouring ‘sub-manors’ of Hempstead Hall and Herkstead Hall, were held by Westminster Abbey. The Abbey worked the demesne directly throughout the fourteenth century but leased it early in the fifteenth. It was the Abbey’s interest which ensured that a variety of muniments survive from the fourteenth century including a fragmentary series of court rolls, three rentals and a near intact series of ministers’ accounts. The most important demographic sources surviving for Birdbrook are three frankpledge lists.  

The three frankpledge lists are undated but, by cross-referencing information on the lists with that contained in the court rolls, their respective dates of original drafting can be quite accurately placed at c.1332, c.1340 and c.1350/60. Hereafter, we shall refer to the lists as lists I, II and III. Each list was corrected and updated many times during its ‘life’ as an administrative document until it was replaced by a new list. The corrections on list I were mostly made during the 1330s, whilst list II’s corrections date from the 1340s and certainly include deletions made as a result of plague mortality in 1349. List III was effectively compiled from the names of individuals not deleted on list II, suggesting that it was originally drafted soon after 1349 and recorded the survivors of the first outbreak of plague. Corrections to list III indicate that it was used into the 1380s but that by the early 1390s it was obsolete. List III is a problematic source because, although deletions were made to show who had died or left the vill, little or no effort was made to update the list with the names of new arrivals. Only a handful of new names have been added to list III, suggesting that the tithing system had suffered a dramatic collapse in the second half of the fourteenth century. Most attention will therefore be given to lists I and II.  

The content of the frankpledge lists themselves suggests that the Black Death devastated the vill. The Birdbrook tithing lists from the 1330s and 1340s contained, in their original drafting, sixty-six and eighty-six names respectively whilst the list compiled soon after 1349 contains only fifty-eight names, suggesting something in the region of 30 per cent male mortality. However, it is possible that the reduction in numbers was in part caused by migration away from Birdbrook, perhaps in the wake of the plague. An
Table 1  The stated cause of deletion of names: lists I and II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>List I</th>
<th>List II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption of office</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emigration*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: * This is assumed on the basis that the tithing member has paid a fine to leave his tithing.
Source: ERO D/DU 267/85/86.

examination of the corrections to the pre-and post-Black Death tithing lists can shed some light on the relative importance of migration and mortality in the middle years of the fourteenth century.

(i). The frankpledge lists as indices of 'exits'

Both of the earliest lists contain a number of alterations, list I having 19 corrections whilst list II has 138. These alterations were employed to show which individuals had died, paid a fine not to be in tithing or become a chief pledge and had thus left the view of frankpledge, by one means or another, or changed their position within it.\(^\text{16}\)

List I: corrections

Of the nineteen corrected names on list I, twelve have had the words 'mortuus est' [he is dead] added above, six are crossed out without explanation and one has the phrase 'fine fecit (ut amoveatur)' [makes fine (in order to leave)] written above it. Of those twelve names with the added description 'mortuus est', six appear at least once in our court rolls, and for two we know the approximate years of their deaths: 1337 and sometime before 1342.\(^\text{17}\) Of the other four, their last court roll appearances are in the years 1331, 1332 (2) and 1337.\(^\text{18}\) Finally, we know from the surviving court rolls that the individual who made fine to move away from the view of frankpledge did so in 1338.\(^\text{19}\) The court rolls can thus add little to the frankpledge lists here but the lists themselves show that mortality rather than migration determined 'exits' from tithing groups in list I.

List II: corrections

Corrections and annotations to list II also suggest that mortality had a greater influence than did migration on the number of 'exits' from the mid-century tithings. Corrections to list II are either annotated as in list I or the names are simply crossed through. Unlike list I where, as we have seen, most of the corrections are annotated, 58 of the 138 corrections to list II are not accompanied by an explanatory notation. If we attempt to relate these fifty-eight names to the court rolls we find that nineteen individuals identifiable within the group of fifty-eight died and that a further ten were last mentioned
in 1349; five of these ten sold or surrendered their land as their last surviving court entry. Ten more individuals, also identifiable as members of the fifty-eight, appeared for the last time before 1349, five appeared later whilst fourteen of the fifty-eight names are mentioned ambiguously, if at all, in the court roll. It may be, therefore, that as many as 80 per cent of these corrections were made in the year of, and probably as a result of, the Black Death. The annotated corrections would seem to support this impression.

As Table 1 shows, the largest number of annotated deletions was for deaths. Of the fifty-one deleted names annotated with the words ‘mortuus est’ twenty-seven can be linked to individuals appearing in the court rolls. Of these twenty-seven individuals, six died or appeared for the last time in the court rolls in 1349, twenty-one appeared for the last time, none definitely dying, before 1349; none appeared in court rolls later than this year. Court roll material for the other twenty-four names annotated with ‘mortuus est’ was too confusing to be used or was non-existent. Of those fifteen names whose annotation indicates that a fine was paid to escape tithing membership, four can be linked to individuals who had their last entries in the court rolls of 1349, one of whom sought to leave the manor in 1342, and one to an individual who appeared for the last time later than 1349 (in fact in 1378). Five names cannot be found or clearly recognised in the manorial court records. Finally, fourteen names have been corrected because their owners became chief pledges; of these, three were last mentioned in 1349, one appeared for the last time earlier than this year whilst no less than eight of these fourteen appeared in the court rolls after 1349. For two the court roll evidence was too confusing to be useful.

This analysis seems to suggest a pattern of corrections. In the years prior to the crisis of 1349 it seems that superscriptions were added to any alterations or crossings out; those who died in 1349, however, simply had their names crossed through without explanation. Those in list II who are described as ‘mortuus’ generally died before the year of the Black Death; none can be shown to have died or appeared in the court rolls later than this. Further, almost 60 per cent of those who, according to list II, became chief pledges were alive later than 1349.

(ii) The frankpledge lists as indices of ‘entries’

As Poos noted, a number of names were added to lists I and II. Changes in handwriting and also case endings allow the additions to be distinguished from the original names. List I contains twenty-nine such additions and list II has seventy-five.

In certain cases it has proved possible to link the names of individuals added to the lists with orders recorded in the court rolls to enrol the individual as a member of tithing. For example, in the leet of 1342 John Fuller was described as resident within the leet and not in tithing and an order was made for his distraint. The distraint or its threat proved successful since the name of John Fuller was added to a tithing group of list II. For the most part, however, it has proved difficult to distinguish between immigrants and individuals native to the vill attaining the age of 12, but in attempting to do so the following simple
Table 2. Number of names added to tithing lists I and II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>List I</th>
<th>List II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attainment of the</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age of twelve</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: * Includes names appearing as an original entry in list II but not appearing in list I.
Source: ERO D/DU 267/85/86.

guidelines have been adopted. Where the individual added to the list has a surname frequently found in the rolls or is described as the son of a tithing member or chief pledge, the individual has been counted as a native of the vill. Where, on the other hand, the individual added to the list has a surname new to the manorial records, he has been counted as an adult immigrant. This is clearly an extremely rough method of estimating the relative importance of migration as against birth and attainment of the age of twelve in providing new tithing members and, given the problems inherent in dealing with medieval surnames, is most likely to overestimate the number of immigrants.

That there are more additions to list II, which was compiled c.1340 and used throughout the 1340s, must be a product of the outbreak of plague which may have brought outsiders to the vill in search of newly available land. Although Poos is correct when he writes that alterations to the frankpledge lists cannot be accurately dated, it is of some interest that of the thirty-three individuals categorised as immigrants in list II, twenty-one survived the plague and were recorded in list III whereas only fifteen of the forty-two native villagers were recorded in this latter list. Therefore it may be that the majority of these immigrants arrived in the wake of the plague and were amongst the last to be recorded on list II before that document was replaced by tithing list III. In fact, if one examines the survivors of list II, that is those whose names have not been deleted and have been subsequently recorded on list III, one discovers that the majority of such names are amongst the last to be added to a tithing group. Thus, material from the Birdbrook frankpledge lists would appear to suggest that the traditional model of heightened migration in the wake of the plague with relatively little migration before 1349 should not be discarded.

Although this conclusion is apparently supported by an examination of the Birdbrook court rolls, where references to the departure of villeins increase in the second half of the century, there are other possible reasons for this increase. Arguments for heightened levels of mobility based solely upon court roll evidence must take account of changes in court roll content as dictated, for example, by the vagaries of seigneurial policy. What is clear is that the number of individuals recorded as fugitive neifs – or villeins by blood – and the number recorded in the annual court leet as out of tithing increased in the second half of the fourteenth century. These developments were not reflected in
tithing list because the list was not maintained as an accurate register of the male population in the post-Black Death decades. However, for the middle years of the fourteenth century, the Birdbrook tithing lists do provide a limited source for the study of the relative impact of migration and mortality on the population of the village community.

NOTES


2. Postles, 'Demographic change', 46.


9. Poos, 'Population turnover', 18, '...the tenurial records needed to estimate tenantry numbers have not survived from these particular Essex places'.


12. ERO D/DU 267/85/86/87.

13. cf. Schofield, 'View of frankpledge'.

14. Tithing-penny data do not exist for Birdbrook. At some villas in north Essex, as well as other areas of the country, a tithing penny was collected from each male owing attendance at the leet – the annual or bi-annual court which was the outward expression of the lord's franchise and through which the jurisdiction of petty offences was administered. cf. K.C. Newton, 'A source for medieval population statistics', Journal of the Society of Archivists, iii, (1969), 543-6; Crowley, 'Frankpledge', 1-15. However, at Birdbrook, instead of a fine levied per capita, there was a simple collection of an annual common fine which stood at 4s for Birdbrook and 4d and 3 1/2d for the outlying manors of Herkstead Hall and Hempstead Hall respectively.

15. cf. Schofield, 'Birdbrook', 295 ff. Names which have been added can be identified. Note that the figures which follow in the text are slightly larger than those to be found in Schofield, 'Birdbrook', 70-2 because information from the tithing groups of the 2 outlying manors has been included here but not in my thesis. It should also be noted that 17 corrected entries for list I relating to chief pledges have been ignored because these corrections are, for the most part, copies of corrections made to list II, Schofield, 'Birdbrook', 319-24.


21. Original names were recorded in the accusative as was required by the sentence 'capitaes plegii
habent in decennia sua...’ [the chief pledges have in their tithing...] whereas later additions tend to be in the nominative suggesting that the scribe adding names to the list paid no heed to this sentence.

22. ERO D/DU 267-29, 20 July 1342, 9 Sept. 1342.

An LPS Supplement
POPULATION STUDIES FROM PARISH REGISTERS

A Selection of Readings from Local Population Studies with an introduction by Michael Drake

A selection of contributions from LPS compiled around a series of topics: Marriage, Baptism, Burial, Migration and Area Studies. It brings together some of the most valuable items to have appeared in LPS during the last sixteen years.

Michael Drake’s introduction outlines some of the basic procedures of parish register analysis and identifies the pitfalls and difficulties which can so easily trap the unwary.

252 pages including an index. Soft cover. ISBN 0 9503951 7X

Population Studies from Parish Registers can be obtained from booksellers or direct from Mrs M. Ballington, Tawney House, Matlock, Derbyshire DE4 3BT. Price £6.00 (plus 70p postage and packing).

Paid-up members of the Local Population Studies Society can purchase Population Studies from Parish Registers at the special price of £5.00 plus 70p postage and packing).
POPULATION TURNOVER IN AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LINCOLNSHIRE PARISH IN COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

Ruth Tinley and Dennis Mills

Ruth Tinley is Membership Secretary of the Lincolnshire Family History Society and Dennis Mills is Conference Secretary of the Local Population Studies Society and a member of the editorial board of LPS.

The chief sources for this article are the community listings of 1771 and 1791 which survive for Swinderby, a parish lying between Newark and Lincoln in an area of mixed farming on poor soils based on Lias Clay and old river gravels. It is one of a very small number of Lincolnshire parishes for which there exists a detailed listing at a date before the national censuses began in 1801. Altogether four listings were made in the village, in the years 1771, 1779, 1791, and 1798. For the second and fourth only the totals survive, but those of 1771 and 1791 survive as full community listings.

As is common with such documents, precise reasons for the making of the Swinderby listings are not clear, but a key figure is the Revd. John Disney, LLB, DD, FSA (1746-1816). He belonged to a branch of the Disney family whose main residence was at Norton Disney not far from Swinderby. They were also landowners in the latter parish and there are several Disney memorials in both churches. John Disney was educated at Wakefield and Lincoln Grammar Schools and studied law until his health broke down. In 1764 he went up to Peterhouse, Cambridge, and he was ordained in 1768. He is described as 'a careful and exact writer, but not a man of much intellectual force'.

Disney became vicar of Swinderby in 1770. His entries in the register give more information than usual, including for burials the cause of death. His interest in the population problem is evident from the article he published on the Deanery of Graffoe (which includes Swinderby) in the Gentleman's Magazine. He had abstracted the numbers of baptisms and burials in the registers for three approximate ten-year periods between 1688 and 1780. These data indicate a small surplus in baptisms in the decades 1688-1697 and 1741-1750, but a large surplus in the third sample decade (1771-1780). From Disney's table, which includes the dates of enclosures in each parish, it is obvious that he had enclosure in mind as a possible cause of population change. It is now clear that the area was merely experiencing the general population increase, and that the relationship with enclosures was anything but straightforward. The high level of population turnover reported below should be seen against a background of considerable out-migration. Disney was succeeded at Swinderby by the Revd. Andrew Chambers, who was vicar from 1782 to 1821 and appears to have been resident for most of that time, despite holding several other Lincolnshire livings concurrently.
An accurate Account of the Inhabitants of the Parish of SWINDERBY in the County of LINCOLN taken the 4th Day of June 1771. by me

John Disney, Vicar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Servants</th>
<th>Inmates</th>
<th>Total of each Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addins A. George</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Ann</td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Farmer)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrews Thomas</td>
<td>Andrews Elizabeth</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Labourer)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astling Thomas</td>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>Rob Danetton</td>
<td>8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astling Barbara</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>Mary Gibson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Farmer)</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>Barbara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnes Joseph</td>
<td>William</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barnes Alice</td>
<td>Ann</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Labourer)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon Henry</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beacon Ann</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
John Disney made his first survey of the inhabitants of Swinderby on 4 June 1771 and recorded his findings on neatly ruled loose leaves. The fact that he gave a precise date is important, since if it can be taken as the literal date of the listing it means that the document is a true record of those present on a particular night. It is even possible that there are no complications concerning absentee husbands, as in the 1791 listing Chambers specifically excludes one such person.

The first of Disney's columns, which is unlabelled, gives the name of the householder with occupation and spouse's name; the second gives the names of their co-resident children; the third servants; the fourth 'inmates'; and lastly the total number in the 'family' (ie household). 'Inmates' includes one lodger (the Revd. Joseph Simpson, curate of the nearby parishes of South and North Scarle), and a number of clearly labelled non-conjugal kin, mostly parents or parents-in-law of the household head. Disney wrote that his account was 'to be kept in the parish chest and a new account to be taken at ye end of every 5 or 10 years'. As good as his word, he took another account in 1779, but only the totals survive.

Chambers also complied with this injunction, using a stitched booklet for the 'Acct of the Inhabitants of Swinderby taken the 21st of March 1791'. There is evidence that he took less care, despite labelling his first column clearly 'Masters and Mistresses'. The stating of occupations is not as clear, nor is the status of 'inmates'. In 1798 Chambers made another listing, but only a summary survives, along with summaries for the three earlier listings, at the end of his booklet. The analysis can usefully begin with these summaries.

Although Swinderby reached a population peak of 572 in 1861, in the late eighteenth century the population was fairly steady around the 220 mark and only reached 254 in 1801 (Table 1). In a diocesan enquiry of 1788-92 Chambers reported that the parish contained 48 communicant families (and no dissenters), a figure that checks well with the 45 households he listed in 1791. Against this, there is the problem that inmates appear to have been excluded from the summary totals for 1779 and 1798.

In order to draw more detailed comparisons between the two listings, the authors decided, where necessary, to put the categories used onto a common basis, taking guidance on relationships and ages from the parish registers and from internal evidence in the listings themselves. This approach made it possible to eliminate the ambiguous category 'inmates', which had apparently been interpreted differently by Disney and Chambers. 'Inmates' were thus dispersed to the categories known as children (children of inmates and stepchildren of the head), other kin (mostly parents or parents-in-law of heads), servants (eg, an apprentice), and lodgers. As far as possible, a similar interpretation was also placed on the definition of co-resident groups throughout the two listings. Thus, where there was evidence of two households living in one 'houseful' (eg two conjugal couples, or an active farmer-widower with his son's family living in), the two households were separated for analytical purposes.
Table 1  Swinderby: an account of the number of inhabitants taken at different dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Masters*</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Servants</th>
<th>Inmates</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mistresses*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04.06.1771</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.12.1779</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.03.1791</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08.05.1798</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:  * Includes labourers, and means ‘householders and their wives’.

Table 2  Swinderby: household composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Heads</th>
<th>Spouses</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Other kin</th>
<th>Servants</th>
<th>Lodgers</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1771 Numbers</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number per 100 households</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>82.7</td>
<td>169.2</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>430.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791 Numbers</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number per 100 households</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>190.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>444.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:  Reworked from LAO Swinderby Parish Deposit, 23/1 and 23/10.

In this process, the second listing, by the less careful Chambers, underwent the greatest amount of change, five further households being distinguished by the authors. This brought the mean household size and the distribution of household sizes for his listing more closely into line with that of Disney. The mean household sizes of 4.31 and 4.44 persons per household are rather lower than the mean of 4.74 calculated for 33 communities in Eastern England in the period 1751-1800, but this is consistent with the evidence for stability in Swinderby’s total population.10

Table 3 indicates little change in the distribution of household sizes between the two listings and reinforces the stability of the total population. However, this has to be seen against a background of considerable instability so far as the residence of individuals is concerned (Table 4). Thus, of the 224 Swinderby inhabitants listed in 1771, only 52 (23 per cent) were still there twenty years later. The Swinderby burial register indicates that 44 people had died in the interval, and one further person has been identified in the burial register of the neighbouring parish of Eagle. While known deaths account for 20 per cent of the original figure, this still leaves 127, or 57 per cent, unaccounted for. As a search through the burial registers of the surrounding parishes (Thorpe on the Hill, Thurlby, Norton Disney, North and South Scarle, and North and South Collingham) yielded no further names from the Swinderby listing of 1771, it was assumed that the great majority of those unaccounted for had left the village to settle elsewhere. It should be noted that some of those present at both
Table 3  Swinderby: distribution of household sizes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons per household</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1771</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>4.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: As for Table 2.

Table 4  Swinderby: summary of population turnover, 1771-1791

Swinderby 1771:

Total names: 224
Names lost 1771-91:
- Of which, deaths account for 45 = 20%
- Assumed out-migration for 127 = 57%
Names surviving to 1791: 52 = 23%

Swinderby 1791:

Names surviving from 1771: 52 = 23%
New names:
- Of which, incomers: 113 = 51%
- Births to incomers: 23 = 10%
- Births to stayers: 94 = 15%
Total names: 222

Source: LAO Swinderby Parish Deposit, 23/1 and 23/10.

dates may also have been out of the village for an unrecorded period, while others leaving between 1771 and 1791 may have subsequently returned.

The matter can also be approached by looking backwards from 1791. Of the 222 names at that date, 52 were those of ‘stayers’, and 170 (77 per cent) were new names. Some new names, of course, were those of children born to parents who were present in Swinderby at both dates. Of the 57 children baptised, 34 were children of these ‘stayers’ (20 per cent of the new names), while 23 were the children of incomers. There is a hint in these figures that adults with children were less mobile than childless adults. To sum up the 1791 population, 136 (61 per cent) were incomers since 1771 or their children, while only 86 (39 per cent) were stayers and their children born since 1771.

Table 5 indicates an occupational stability between the two listings to be expected from the foregoing analysis. Apart from the reduction from three wheelwrights to one, the only significant change is in the number of labourers. Although there are complications in the way in which they were labelled by Chambers in the second document, it is reasonable to suggest a decline from 20 in 1771 to 13 in 1791 (including LC and LS with the 10 unambiguously described as labourers). There was also a decline from 14 to 11 male servants, probably all servants in husbandry as there was no great house to employ adult male domestic servants. Thus a fall in agricultural employment is signalled as the main change. However, farmers might easily have taken on extra day
Table 5  Occupations in Swinderby, 1771 and 1791

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1771</th>
<th>1791</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charwoman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curate (from outside parish)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm bailiff</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Innkeeper (and see publican)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC (labourer and cottager?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS (labourer and servant?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publican (and see innkeeper)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolmaster</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servant (male)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servant (female)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeeper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor 1771, tailor and farmer 1791 (same person)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaver</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheelwright</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow, without occupation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total individuals</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:  * Plus one weaver identified in settlement certificate. In 1791 there may have been a second wheelwright, as William Raven the named wheelwright had his married son in his household, for whom no occupation was stated.

Source:  As for Table 4.

labourers who walked from other nearby parishes, while at the earlier date it is possible that the opposite had been happening.

Overall stability of employment hides a turnover of individuals unless a separate analysis is made, as in Table 6. The main groups are of course very small, but they suggest that occupational differences in turnover were small, and all groups recruited substantially from outside the parish. Turning to servants, which are generally accepted to have been the subject of rapid turnover, only one of those in 1771 remained 20 years later, and this man had changed his place. Only one further male servant of 1771 was living in the parish as a labourer in 1791. Only two of the children listed in 1771 had left home to become servants within the parish, one male and one female. These figures confirm that the usual experience obtained in Swinderby.

Table 7 puts Swinderby into a wider perspective. The longer interval between listings at Swinderby than elsewhere almost certainly accounts for its higher turnover, as the parishes observed at ten-year intervals maintain a remarkably steady level of 50 per cent of names appearing for the first time at the second date. Since our first article appeared, Kitch has suggested that there may have been an annual turnover of village populations of about 4 to 6 per cent.
Table 6  Swinderby: turnover analysed by occupational groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Remained</th>
<th>Removed</th>
<th>Died</th>
<th>Newcomers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades/craftsmen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: As for Table 4

Table 7  Swinderby compared with other communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>First listing and population</th>
<th>Second listing and population</th>
<th>% of 2nd total not there at 1st date (Children born since 1st date in brackets)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swinderby</td>
<td>Lincs</td>
<td>1771 224</td>
<td>1791 222</td>
<td>76.6 (25.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clayworth</td>
<td>Notts</td>
<td>1676 401</td>
<td>1688 412</td>
<td>61.8 (36.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cogenhoe</td>
<td>Northants</td>
<td>1618 185</td>
<td>1628 180</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton Abbey</td>
<td>WR Yorks</td>
<td>1851 502</td>
<td>1861 497</td>
<td>50.5 (16.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>1861 497</td>
<td>1871 476</td>
<td>50.4 (15.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laxton</td>
<td>Notts</td>
<td>1851 534</td>
<td>1861 500</td>
<td>50.6 (25.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elmendon</td>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>1851 525</td>
<td>1861 514</td>
<td>46.3 (26.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: See footnote 11.

This is based on a wide-ranging survey of different and not always comparable documents over a long timespan from the Elizabethan to Victorian periods. Further confirmation of turnover at about 50 per cent per decade comes from the work of Schürer on two rural areas in Essex in 1861-1881. Swinderby was at the bottom end of Kitch’s range, averaging 3.83 per cent per annum over a 20-year period, though it should be pointed out that this is a very coarse measure.

A very general reason for migration emerging from Kitch’s study is the movement of farm labouring households from one farm and parish to another on a fairly regular basis. Indeed in Lincolnshire there is plenty of anecdotal evidence that this continued into the present century, well supported by documentary evidence from a school log book for Welbourn. This shows that labourers were still regularly on the move on April 6th (‘flitting day’) in the years just before the first world war.

A recent study carried out by Margaret Escott on Binfield, within the famous Speenhamland district of Berkshire, allows a better comparison to be made with Swinderby than in the table above, since turnover was measurable over a 21-year period, 1780-1801. The first listing in 1780 included 134 households, of which 64 per cent had gone by 1801. This figure is almost exactly the same as that for Swinderby, where, of the 52 households of 1771, 34 or 65.4 per cent had gone by 1791, 20 years later. Escott showed that the higher status
households in Binfield were the most mobile, whereas the labourers and others tended to stay within the parish for reasons to do with poor relief and the Settlement Laws. It is, therefore, rather striking that in Lincolnshire, an area not thought to have suffered so greatly in this respect, the one parish studied yields figures so close to those of a parish in the heavily pauperised South.\footnote{NOTES}


2. The listings are in the Lincolnshire Archives Office, LAO, Swinderby Par. 23/1 and 23/10. See also J. Gibson and M. Medlycott, Local census listings, 1522-1930: holdings in the British Isles, (Birmingham, 1992), 27.


6. References cited in footnote 3 and Gentleman’s Magazine, LII, (1782), 594, for Disney. For Chambers, see Venn’s Alumni Cantabrigiensis: Chambers was son of Richard, a farmer of Overton Waterville, Hunts and was admitted to Pembroke College, 1762 B.A., 1766. His other livings at various dates were Auborn (near Swinderby), and Wickenby, Bag Enderby and Somersby, all in Lincolnshire. He appears to have resided at Swinderby over a long period.

7. LAO, Swinderby Par. 23/1.

8. LAO Swinderby Par. 23/10.


10. P. Laslett and R. Wall, eds, Household and family in past time, (Cambridge, 1972), 192. Rapid population growth is associated with large households because of large numbers of children and a shortage of housing leading to the sharing of accommodation. Furthermore, the absence of gentry from Swinderby helped to reduce the number of very large households. See also R. Wall et al. eds, Family forms in historic Europe, (Cambridge, 1983), especially Table 16.5, 509, for further discussion and comparison of complex households in English rural communities.


13. K. Schürer, ‘The role of the family in the process of migration’, C.G. Pooley and I.D. Whyte eds, Migrants, emigrants and immigrants: a social history of migration, (London, 1991), 106-142, but especially 112-13, where data similar to that in Table 7 are shown in an alternative format.

14. This figure was calculated by dividing turnover between 1771 and 1791 by twenty: thus it takes no account of turnover between those dates not caught by the listings. It is also not directly comparable with a generalised turnover figure calculated over ten years.
16. M. Escott, 'Residential mobility in a late eighteenth century parish: Binfield, Berkshire 1779-1801', *Local Population Studies*, 40 (1988), 20-37, especially 24. Our definition of a surviving household is that the whole or part of a conjugal couple can be identified as heading a household at both dates. This specifically excludes new households formed by the marriage of children present in 1771, even if they were included in the same houseful as their parents in the 1791 listing.
RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

OCCUPATIONS IN PARISH REGISTERS: THE EVIDENCE FROM NEWPORT, ESSEX

Bernard Nurse

Studies of the rural economy in the early modern period have been handicapped by a lack of occupational information to compare with the nineteenth century censuses. In 1977 Wrigley estimated that 'out of 280 parish listings by inhabitants known to the Cambridge Group fewer than 25 contain details of occupation adequate for reasonably precise study of occupational data'. Most of these listings before 1750 rely on the assessments for the 1694 Marriage Duty Act. The most detailed source for the early seventeenth century remains the Gloucestershire muster roll for 1608, which gives the occupations of 88.5 per cent of the men aged between 20 and 60, and was published by the Tawneys in 1939.

Evidence from parish registers is fuller for the eighteenth century and used by Wrigley and Pickles in their studies of Colyton, Devon and Wharfedale, Yorkshire respectively. The only parish register for an earlier period with occupational data for a rural area known to have been published is that of Sedgley, Staffordshire, where occupations were densely noted from 1578-1625 and 1675-1685, although the proportion is not given.

Although registers have been criticized for listing occupations too erratically and using terminology that is too ambiguous, it is worth drawing attention to relatively rich sources where they occur. One that has not been noted before is the baptismal registers for Newport, near Saffron Walden in north-west Essex. This was a densely settled village, like many on the River Cam, with around 500 inhabitants in 1600 and containing 1,654 acres. The land was mostly arable with some pasture and woodland. Unfortunately for W.A. Cole's research, no probate inventories have survived for this area.

For the period 1591-1636, the occupations of 89 per cent of the fathers are given (739 out of 831 events), and from 1698-1715, 92.5 per cent are given (300 out of 319). They are also included from 1726-1736 and 1746-1753 and occasionally from 1582-1589. The marriage and burial registers for these periods have similar information added but for slightly fewer entries. Until 1626 most of the occupations are described in a variation on classical Latin reflecting the education of John Brawherde, the vicar for 38 years between 1587 and 1625. This has led to a few ambiguous or uncertain meanings. The later English also presents problems of terminology, with the same individual described variously and meanings changing over a time, in particular the word 'farmer'. The

39
Table 1  Newport, Essex: occupations from baptismal registers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1591-1636</th>
<th>1698-1715</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food and drink</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcher, poulterer</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer seller, maltster, miller</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leatherworkers</strong></td>
<td>(20.7)</td>
<td>(8.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanner</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glover</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoemaker, cordwainer</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coillarmaker, saddler</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clothworkers</strong></td>
<td>(6.5)</td>
<td>(15.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaver, webber</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woolcomber</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Building, metal and woodworkers</strong></td>
<td>(6.9)</td>
<td>(13.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bricklayer, plasterer</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatcher</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glazier</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmith, ploughwright</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locksmith</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheelwright, sievemaker</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education, religion and health</strong></td>
<td>(2.4)</td>
<td>(2.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolmaster</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notary, clerk</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Farming</strong></td>
<td>(47.7)</td>
<td>(40.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentleman</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeoman*</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer**</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shepherd</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrier, horseleach</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Miscellaneous</strong></td>
<td>(3.0)</td>
<td>(8.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandler</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapman</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other occupations</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beggar/poor/drunkard</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**  
* Those described as yeoman in the earlier register and husbandman or farmer in the later.  
** Those described as 'agricole', husbandman, farmer or labourer in the earlier register and labourer in the later.
occupations have been counted according to the 1989 guidelines of the Cambridge Group, which involves recording every event, and are analysed in Table 1.7

Use of the baptismal registers means that some occupations, especially servants, are unrepresented, and others such as licensed victuallers understated. Counting every entry rather than heads of households can also create slight distortions. For example between 1698 and 1715 the farmers made up about 7 per cent of the heads of households but only have 3.7 per cent of the children, whereas farriers formed less than 2 per cent of the household heads but had 5 per cent of the children. The figures therefore can only be treated as rough approximations. The general groupings could have been arranged in several different ways, the skills of a Glover for example are similar to those of a tailor, but one which differentiated by craft according to materials, (leather, cloth, building) has been used. Gentlemen have been put under farming because they were large landholders around 1600.

Most of the occupations are those which one would expect to find in any medium sized agricultural community, and other sources such as manorial rentals give a clearer picture of land tenure.8 However, a small but significant leather working industry emerges by the seventeenth century, which could not have been predicted. The leather industry has been considered to come second or third after cloth and possibly building as a source of employment in the Tudor and Stuart period, but thought to have been largely an urban feature or found in specialized regions elsewhere in the country.9

Previously, attention has been drawn to the importance of pastoral regions in attracting rural industry.10 The example of Newport suggests that, even in a predominantly arable farming district, some degree of rural industry could be found and not just as a by-employment but as the main source of income. The location of any particular industry could be highly unstable, but, providing a suitable labour force remained available, some form of industry would remain. Thus, by the early eighteenth century woolcombing occupied the same percentage of the workforce as light leather work had a century before, reflecting the later spread of the cloth trade into the district around Saffron Walden.11 It would be useful to know of other registers for rural parishes with equally rich occupational information for this period so that comparisons can be made.

NOTES

5. Kussmaul, A general view, 4-5.

7. The original registers are deposited in the Essex Record Office, Chelmsford; a transcript will be deposited there in 1994; the analysis forms are at the offices of the Cambridge Group.


RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

SEASONALITY OF BIRTHS AND MARRIAGES IN A SEAFARING COMMUNITY BEFORE THE AGE OF STEAM

Alan Storm

Robin Hood’s Bay, a settlement in Fylingdales parish in North Yorkshire, is commonly described as a fishing village, but there were many seafaring inhabitants. They used the facilities of the nearby port of Whitby, and traded mainly around the Baltic, the North Sea and the English Channel, frequently in the many vessels owned in the village. At any one time in the later eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth the settlement had some 200 sailors out of its population of nearly 1,000. Occupations are given consistently in the Fylingdales parish register from 1780, and great numbers of the sailors can also be found in the lists of crews contained in the Whitby Muster Rolls. By contrast, the number of deep-sea fishing vessels was in decline from around the middle of the eighteenth century until, by 1820, they could be manned by no more than a score of men.¹

The intensely maritime character of the place has implications for seasonality of vital events, which can be shown to be related to the customary sailing period. Most men went off to sea at the end of the winter, and the owner-masters thenceforth had to keep vessels in work until winter returned. Loss of life was formidable enough without risking the worst of the storms. Work in the North Sea might allow men to visit home occasionally, and masters could by custom take their wives on voyages, but generally the routine meant that families could be separated for up to nine months of the year, until steam power introduced a different regime around the middle of the nineteenth century.

Because the Fylingdales baptism register gives dates of birth and baptisms from 1780, the monthly distribution of births, baptisms and assumed conceptions in sailors’ families can be illustrated: Table 1 shows that 44 per cent of their conceptions occurred in the three months December-February. The corresponding births in September-November were followed by the return of the fathers, and families then had three months within which to arrange baptisms before the shipping became active again. In the following four months (March-June) their conceptions fell to a mere 22 per cent and then rose slightly to 26 per cent from July to October.

The rhythm of the sailors’ year becomes more emphatic when it is contrasted with that of the village’s fishermen. Deap-sea fishing started in March, with men working weekly out of the village, until the major herring campaign began at Yarmouth, perhaps as early as August. November saw the fishermen home again.² Table 2 consists of the monthly distribution of conceptions, births

43
Table 1  Seasonality in sailor households, 1781-1840

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>J</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conceptions (n)</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>births (n)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baptisms (n)</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2  Seasonality in fisher households, 1781-1840

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>J</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>conceptions (n)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>births (n)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baptisms (n)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: The row percentages in Tables 1 and 2 do not necessarily sum to 100 due to rounding.

and baptisms in the much smaller sample of households headed by fishermen in the period 1781-1840.

The fishermen’s peak of births in September in Table 2 may be attributable to post-Yarmouth conceptions, but their conceptions for December-February comprised only 34.8 per cent of the total. In sharp contrast with the sailors they remained high at 37.4 per cent for the next four months and only fell to a trough of about 20 per cent from July to October, when the fishing was most active. The high summit of December baptisms and the greater monthly undulations within the annual cycle suggest that many baptisms were deferred until a great clearing could be made. This connects with the point that the birth and baptism peaks are a month further apart for fishermen than for sailors: the delaying of baptisms here may illustrate a large group of kin (revealed by family reconstitution) timing celebrations to enable as many people as possible to attend.3

An annual cycle for marriages is also identifiable, from slightly less reliable sources. Because many families were associated almost exclusively with employment in seafaring and shipping, it is possible to use their surnames as an indicator of maritime occupation. The efficacy of the tactic is suggested by Figure 1, which compares baptisms in households of which the head’s occupation is registered as sailor or fisher with those chosen by surname, in 1781-1840.
Figure 1  Seasonality of baptisms in sailor-fisher and maritime-surname households compared, 1781-1840

Table 3  Seasonality of marriages in maritime-surname households, 1781-1840

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>J</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriages (n)</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>99.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4  Seasonality of baptisms of Robin Hood Bay (RHB) and the rest of the parish of Fylingdales (rest) compared, 1781-1840

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>J</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RHB</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>1440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rest</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:  The row percentages in this table do not necessarily sum to 100 due to rounding.
This maritime-surname tactic had to be adopted for indicating the seasonality of marriages in 1781-1840 because the marriage register does not give places of residence or occupations consistently. The result, shown in Table 3, is a great peak of marriages in December-February of 47.4 per cent, when the men had returned from sea for an extended period. Timing of events goes well with the homecoming.

Seasonality of baptisms for all of Robin Hood’s Bay and that for the remainder of the parish of Fylingdales – what might be called ‘country’ – are compared in Table 4. Remarkably few sailors came from the country, but the effect of their great numbers in Robin Hood’s Bay is apparent. There is a peak in February for the country but its events are otherwise evenly spread. The general situation of the seafaring people in respect of seasonality is summarised in Figure 2.

After about 1850 change began: steam tugs could help sailing vessels in and out of harbour in wintry conditions, and competition with steam for cargoes enforced a longer trading year for sail, until insurance associations would no longer cope with losses. Conservative Robin Hood’s Bay still owned 90 vessels in 1867, and then quite quickly steam took over.
No other coastal settlement in the district has yet been investigated in this way, but there are several whose history and traditions are linked overwhelmingly with the sea, and which might yield similar results of the effect of occupation on seasonality. Then there are towns with a very substantial seafaring element like the much larger North Shields, up the coast in Northumberland, where in 1851 there were 8,882 inhabitants, and in 1857 the master mariners numbered 300, probably betokening the presence of another 1,800 seamen at least. Seasonality in a place like this must be influenced by the activity of the shipping to some extent. It is to be wondered what the effect on the general picture of seasonality would be if many coastal communities were included in a national investigation.

NOTES

1. Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society, Muster Rolls from 1747; North Yorkshire County Record Office [NYCRO], Fylingdales parish rate books; National Maritime Museum, Port Registry Transcript, Whitby; Robin Hood's Bay Ship Insurance Association lists in private collections.
RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

OCCUPATIONAL DIVERSITY IN SEVEN RURAL PARISHES
IN DORSET, 1851

Michael J. D. Edgar

‘Rural’ was not always a synonym for ‘agricultural’, since many rural areas contained small industries whose workers significantly modified the agricultural mass of population. The seven rural parishes forming the subject of this research note exhibit such a diverse economic base. The study parishes can be split into two groups: three in the Isle of Purbeck in south-east Dorset; and four in the Vale of Blackmore in the north of the county. The work reported here is part of an exploratory phase in which the basic ‘facts’ of occupational and demographic structure are being identified for later study in greater depth.

The Vale extends for about 20 miles across north Dorset, and in the mid-nineteenth century was about two-thirds pastoral and one-third arable. Beef and dairy husbandry predominated, although few farms were wholly under grass. They were generally small and commonly held on lifeholds (leases granted for one or more lifetimes), although this form of tenure was in decline as expired lifeholds were increasingly being replaced with leases for a fixed term of years.\(^1\)

In contrast the Isle of Purbeck is strictly a peninsula, but as its landward end is delimited by watercourses, the effect is almost that of an island. Sheep rearing with some dairying was the main form of husbandry, with some arable in addition.\(^2\)

Table 1 indicates that the seven parishes were of substantial acreage and contained populations large enough to sustain a relatively wide range of service occupations. They all shared in the general population growth of the first half of the nineteenth century, but to differing degrees. Only Worth Matravers (82.5 per cent) and Stourton Caundle (62.5 per cent) bettered the county’s growth figure of 61.1 per cent between 1801 and 1851. By contrast, in the period 1851-1901 only Langton Matravers (8.5 per cent) displayed any population growth at all. The other six parishes all lost population over this period, whilst Dorset as a whole showed a 10 per cent increase. Decline was twice as pronounced in the Blackmore parishes (14.1 per cent) as in the Purbeck parishes (7.6 per cent) where the dependence on agriculture was less intense. Also there was a distinct tendency for smaller parishes to lose population at faster rates than their larger neighbours. Further work may reveal reasons for these apparent relationships.

Data from the census enumerators’ books for the seven parishes in 1851 (hereafter CEBs) were processed via the rural suite of the Mills computer
Table 1  Summary table of population and acreage for seven Dorset parishes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acres</td>
<td>1801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purbeck parishes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studland</td>
<td>4633</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worth Matravers</td>
<td>2712</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langton Matravers</td>
<td>2316</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackmore parishes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinton St Mary</td>
<td>1069</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stourton Caundle</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okeford Fitzpaine</td>
<td>2663</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childe Okeford</td>
<td>2353(601)</td>
<td>509(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>17750</td>
<td>2587</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: VCH Dorset II, Population Table, 264-73. The figures in brackets are those for Hanford extra-parochial area, which was enumerated with Childe Okeford and is included in the parish total.

This classifies occupations according to a modification of Tillott's scheme, in which it is possible to keep track of special occupations of a locality, by separating them from the usual agricultural and service occupations. The latter have been further summarised for the purposes of this note, so that all those of whatever status (master, journeyman, etc) who followed the usual trade and craft occupations are presented together. (It might be noted that all masters are not identifiable in the CEBs and in the more detailed work to follow the distinction between masters and journeymen will depend partly on cross reference to contemporary directories where it may be thought that all significant masters will have been listed).

There were, of course, some problems of classification, the most interesting being the case of the dairymen. This stemmed from the unusual system of dairying practised in Dorset, where few farmers milked their own cows, instead renting them out to 'dairymen'. A farmer usually provided a specified number of cows at an agreed price, for one year from each Candlemas (2 February). With the cows he provided pasture, winter fodder, a house for the dairymen, and allowed him to keep as many pigs and poultry as he wished. The agreement could be terminated by notice before All Saints' Day (1 November). These dairymen could not be counted as farmers; nor, being independent workers, could they be classified as farm employees. Therefore, despite reservations, they were included with the trades/craftsmen.

The occupied population of the seven parishes, which in all cases includes females, comprised 41.7 per cent of the total. The Purbeck parishes averaged 38.7 per cent, but in the Blackmore parishes the comparable figures was 43.9, owing mainly to the presence of a large number of females employed in gloving. Domestic industries generally appear to have raised activity rates, in particular among females. Thus in the Purbeck parishes only 16 per cent of those occupied were female, but in Blackmore the figure was nearly twice as much at 28 per cent. Overall, females made up 23 per cent of the working
Table 2  Proportions in the farm workforce, seven Dorset parishes, 1851

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish/area</th>
<th>No. of persons working full time on the land (of which females)</th>
<th>% of occupied popn working full time on the land (of which females %)</th>
<th>Farmers and farmworkers per 1,000 acres</th>
<th>Number of dairymen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purbeck parishes</td>
<td>234 (16)</td>
<td>38.2 (6.8)</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studland</td>
<td>88 (5)</td>
<td>55.1 (5.7)</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worth Matravers</td>
<td>65 (6)</td>
<td>45.5 (9.2)</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langton Matravers</td>
<td>81 (5)</td>
<td>26.2 (6.2)</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackmore parishes</td>
<td>470 (63)</td>
<td>49.0 (13.4)</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hinton St Mary</td>
<td>87 (12)</td>
<td>54.4 (13.8)</td>
<td>81.4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stourton Caundle</td>
<td>99 (12)</td>
<td>48.1 (12.1)</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okeford Fitzpaine</td>
<td>140 (22)</td>
<td>52.6 (15.7)</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childe Okeford</td>
<td>144 (17)</td>
<td>43.9 (11.8)</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both areas</td>
<td>704 (79)</td>
<td>44.8 (11.2)</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Database extracted from census enumerators' books, 1851; PRO, HO 107/1852 for the Blackmore parishes and PRO, HO 107/1856 for the Purbeck parishes.

In common with most rural areas there was a preponderance of males in the seven parishes, but at 50.2 per cent it was only just discernible. It varied only slightly between parishes, which is surprising in view of the wide variations in female employment, another point demanding investigation at a later stage.

Some 45 per cent of the occupied population were working on the land (Table 2), compared with 52 per cent in a 'national' rural database and only 20.9 per cent in England and Wales as a whole. Females accounted for a little over one-tenth of the agricultural workforce in the seven parishes, compared with 11.9 per cent in Britain. Farming was clearly more important in the Vale of Blackmore, with 49 per cent working on the land, against 38 per cent in Purbeck. The structure of the farming population also varied between the two areas and individual parishes. In the Blackmore parishes there was an average of 58.1 farmers and farmworkers per 1,000 acres, but only 24.2 in the Purbeck parishes.

The much wider variations between individual parishes may be partly the result of labourers living in one parish and working in another, but the differences between the two areas might be related to broader structural factors in the types of husbandry followed, as well as competition for labour from alternative occupations. (The ten dairymen classified as non-agricultural were not a big enough number to have influenced these broad observations. Another problem is the apparent disparity between the small numbers observed in the CEBs and the prominent place dairymen are given in Dorset literature).

Differences in the proportional size of the farm workforce are, of course, the obverse of those in the non-agricultural population, to which attention is now turned (Table 3). Trades and crafts were a vital part of the rural economy, and in these seven parishes those so occupied, 18 per cent of whom were female,
Table 3  Summary of occupational categories in seven Dorset parishes compared with a 'national' rural database, 1851 (percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational category, (of which % female)</th>
<th>Seven Dorset parishes</th>
<th>Isle of Purbeck</th>
<th>Vale of Blackmore</th>
<th>'National' rural database</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>5.2 (9.9)</td>
<td>3.4 (0.0)</td>
<td>6.4 (13.3)</td>
<td>5.6 (5.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmworkers</td>
<td>39.6 (11.4)</td>
<td>34.8 (7.5)</td>
<td>42.7 (13.4)</td>
<td>46.6 (3.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades/craftsmen</td>
<td>20.7 (18.2)</td>
<td>12.8 (21.8)</td>
<td>25.8 (17.0)</td>
<td>18.6 (15.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>8.7 (74.5)</td>
<td>9.3 (78.9)</td>
<td>8.3 (71.3)</td>
<td>14.1 (78.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special occupations*</td>
<td>18.9 (24.6)</td>
<td>34.2 (0.0)</td>
<td>9.2 (83.0)</td>
<td>8.8 (57.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>7.0 (46.8)</td>
<td>5.6 (52.9)</td>
<td>7.8 (44.0)</td>
<td>6.5 (38.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.1 (23.2)</td>
<td>100.1 (15.7)</td>
<td>100.2 (27.9)</td>
<td>100.2 (23.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: * These figures include all occupations related to the sea except RN officers, namely coastguards, fishermen, and boatmen.

Source: Database extracted from census enumerators' books as for Table 2; and right hand column ex info, Dennis Mills, as in footnote 5.

constituted about one fifth of the persons in employment. The range of variation between parishes, however, from 7.5 to 29 per cent, was wide. There was also a clear difference between the two areas, with the Blackmore parishes at 26 per cent showing proportions twice as big as the Isle of Purbeck.

The larger figure in the Vale is probably due, in part at least, to a shortage of agricultural work relative to population, so that men and women turned to crafts and trades instead. Barbara Kerr has commented on the enormous increase in carpenters in Dorset villages because there was a shortage of work on the land and because out-migration did not start in earnest until after 1851.9 The CEBs also tend to support this view. Many trades/craftsmen were enumerated as 'employing no men'. The frequency of this description suggests that many of these men had turned to trades and crafts due to a shortage of agricultural work and were relatively poor 'one-man bands'. (However, the relationship between agricultural and non-agricultural employment was very complicated and demands much further attention).

Other, more local, factors were also acting on the figures, especially in Blackmore parishes. In Stourton Caundle there were nine 'plasterers' who appear to have been engaged in building work of some kind, perhaps the construction of the traditional mud and cob cottages. At Childe Okeford there were 11 men working for a brick, tile and pottery manufacturer, a substantial enterprise for a village of its size.

The trades/craftsmen group in the Purbeck parishes seems to reflect more closely the level of provision realistically required to serve the local economy, as they constituted only 13 per cent of the employed population here, compared with 26 per cent in the Vale. Studland was basically an agricultural parish with no industry, having only 7.5 per cent in this category, whereas in Langton Matravers the figure was 16 per cent, partly because of the demand for tools and other equipment for workers in the Purbeck stone industry.
Overall, at about 9 per cent, domestic service, including both males and females, was not a great employer of labour. The comparable figure ranged from 2 per cent at Hinton St Mary to 14 per cent at Childe Okeford. The former parish was a wholly-owned part of the much larger Pitt-Rivers estate, where the main residence with many servants was in a different parish. The higher proportions of servants at Childe Okeford is largely due to the number of gardeners and other workers at Hanford House. One further point is that although servant-keeping was often significant among master trades/craftsmen, this was not so in the Vale, thus lending support to the view that they were relatively poor.

At Hinton St Mary and Stourton Caundle over half (56 per cent) of all females employed, amounting to 18 per cent of the occupied population, were involved in gloving. Undertaken as a cottage industry, gloving was an entirely female occupation, employing teenage girls, single women or widows (and occasionally married women), for two to six shillings per week. It appears that the glovers of the study parishes were sewing together unfinished gloves, probably sent out from Milborne Port or Yeovil (Somerset) or possibly Sherborne (Dorset). Okeford Fitzpaine also had gloving as a special occupation, but the numbers were small, perhaps due to distance from the centres of the gloving trade. (The contribution of gloving to household budgets deserves further investigation. It is possible that it was large enough to have a bearing on rates of out-migration).

At Childe Okeford there were enough sawyers to suggest that this was a local speciality which should be counted separately from the main trades/crafts category. They made up 4.6 per cent of the employed population and were engaged mainly in coppicing for hurdle-making, although some oak was cut in the area. There is some evidence to suggest that such work occupied only nine months of the year, the other three months of the year being spent hoeing turnips, although this was not noted in the CEBs. In general, there was a propensity for secondary occupations to be under-recorded. Among those self-employed, cross reference to directories has revealed a number of secondary occupations unrecorded by these men on their census schedules.

In Purbeck, stoneworking, the special occupation of the Isle, accounted for 26.5 per cent of the employed population, although this figure varied widely between the three parishes, with no one assigned to this category in Studland. The description ‘stoneworker’ encompasses both quarriers and masons engaged in working Purbeck stone, the latter being by far the most numerous. Although the Purbeck stone industry was centred on the neighbouring town of Swanage, many of the quarries were in Langton Matravers, where stoneworkers made up 42 per cent of the occupied population. At Worth Matravers, where there were only masons, the figure was 22 per cent.

The quarries in Purbeck were not quarries in the usual sense of open pits. The best stone lay very deep and the method of working was to sink an inclined shaft up to 100 feet or more in depth and then tunnel among the seams of stone. These ‘stone mines’ were worked by one, two or three men underground, who are in many cases the owners as well as the occupiers. Their
work is often most irregular; if the men can find work as stonemasons they abandon their quarries for a time, and do not return to them till other work is slack. The quarriers worked for stone merchants based in Swanage. Children were commonly employed as both masons and quarriers, probably within family units. It is noticeable that although many quarriers were owner-occupiers, and therefore presumably self-employed, there is no hint of this either in the CEBs or the directories.

Stone has been quarried commercially in Purbeck since the twelfth century. In 1851 the main product was stone for paving, roofing tiles, sinks, steps and so on, much of it destined for London. Large construction projects also boosted demand, for example, the Thames Embankment, where most of the stone used between 1840 and 1890 came from Purbeck quarries.

Another occupational category in the Isle of Purbeck comprised all those who were connected with the sea. Excluding Royal Naval officers, it accounted for about 19 per cent of the occupied population in Studland and 12 per cent in Worth Matravers. Most of the men in this group were coastguards, there being one station at Worth Matravers and two in Studland (one on the mainland, the other on Brownsea Island in Poole Harbour). Although not a conventional industry, the coastguards were a significant element, with their families, in the economies of the two parishes concerned, and provide a further illustration of how diverse a rural economy could be. They were also all long-distance migrants, since no coastguard was allowed to serve on a station within 20 miles of his previous home or birthplace, in order to minimise collusion with smugglers.

This research note has shown that the economy of a rural area could be made up of very diverse elements. Agriculture predominated, even in Purbeck, but it did so in the context of a multi-occupational society. Small industries such as gloving or stone-quarrying imparted great richness to the life of the countryside, and should not be overlooked. In the further work to be undertaken, one issue will be the extent to which occupational differences were related to differences in demographic structure.

NOTES

5. In a 'national' rural database of about 18,500 persons in 1851 the mean activity rate was 43.4 per cent, with proportions of females economically active ranging from 16 to 30 per cent, the highest being in the lacemaking districts of Buckinghamshire. The main input for this database has come from Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Buckinghamshire, Dorset, and the Cambridgeshire/Hertfordshire border. Ex info. Dennis Mills.
7. Other useful summary figures are the ratios of trades and crafts workers to agricultural workers of all kinds, but excluding dairymen from the calculation. In the Blackmore parishes the ratio was 1:2.2:1, only 1:3.2:1 in the Purbeck parishes. The larger villages had disproportionately more trades/craftsmen than the smaller ones, as was usual.
10. Servants were defined as including identifiable estate workers, such as grooms, gardeners and gamekeepers, usually living in their own households, as well as female domestic servants, mostly residing with their employers.
11. The information on gloving appears to be very slight, but see *Victoria History of the County of Dorset*, II, (1908), 'Industries', 328-9. Wage data are from R. Rowe, *The Dorsetshire drudge in the 1860s*, reprinted by Toucan Press (nd) from *How our working people live*, (1870).
RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

THE 1891 CENSUS IN SPIRALFIELDS

Diana Rau

A database using Lotus 1-2-3 has been compiled, from the census enumerators' returns of the population of an area of Spitalfields in the East End of London in 1891. The project was set up by the Jewish Historical Society and the Board of Deputies Community Research Unit.

The area contains a total population of 7,500 on 1,350 schedules. Nine enumerators worked on the area – bounded by Brushfield Street, Sandys Row/Middlesex Street, Wentworth Street and Commercial Street – and their districts are listed in separate sections. The area was chosen because of its high concentration of Jewish population as shown on the Russell and Lewis Jewish East End London map of 1901. The total population of the area has been included in the database, as this was considered more useful for wider research than just extracting the estimated Jewish population, and the database has been deposited with the ESRC Data Archive at the University of Essex.

As well as the enumerated details, some coding has been added to facilitate rapid analysis of the data, although this obviously presents certain problems: interpretation is not always straightforward and categories are not always clear-cut. Each individual has a separate four-part number indicating numeric order, enumerator, schedule and order in household. There is also an (estimated) non-Jewish classification; an occupational classification under two schemes; and a birthplace classification. An index of Heads of Families has also been prepared. There is a wealth of information in this source, and a variety of ways of using it; a seminar in April will discuss its applications in research. Some preliminary analysis has been carried out on the general characteristics of the area and its population, family and household structure, and I have given a paper on the database as a source for migration, concentrating on those born abroad.

Over the whole area about a third of the total population was born abroad, and just over half of the heads of family were born abroad. Of these heads, 89 per cent were from the four areas of Holland, Poland, Russia and Russia/Poland, with 34 per cent of foreign heads born in Holland.

We can look in particular at the wives and children of heads born abroad and estimate the length of time since migration, using the birthplace of children. From the data on occupation and birthplace, the main occupational structure can be seen, with the predominance of heads from Holland in tobacco manufacture, and migrants from eastern Europe in other manufacturing, especially clothing and shoes.
The database can be used for comparisons with other Jewish immigrant areas in other major cities in Britain, America and elsewhere, and with other immigrant groups. It can also be compared with earlier census material, and in ten years' time, that of 1901. In preparation for the 1891 census project, a pilot project using the 1881 census was carried out and a database for this area was compiled, completing five of the nine districts.

The area may be studied in relation to the wider London or national picture, and other records can, of course, be used in conjunction with the enumerators' returns. I was lucky enough to find the sales details for a part of our area, which was sold by auction in 1878, listing details of accommodation, rent and tenants, and with a detailed plan showing the physical layout.

The census database may also be of considerable interest to those working in fields other than historical demography, such as geography, sociology and statistics, and ideas for using this source will be welcome.
RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Notes on articles compiled by Terry Gwynne

Jill Barber
"Stolen goods": the sexual harassment of female servants in west Wales during the nineteenth century', Rural History, 4, 2, 1993, pp.123-36.

LPS readers interested in servants in nineteenth-century society will find an unusual slant in this article which examines the powerlessness of female servants in a nineteenth-century rural society. The author draws upon legal proceedings, commissions of enquiry, the private papers of a magistrate and newspaper reports.

Maxine Berg
'What difference did women's work make to the Industrial Revolution?', History Workshop, 35, 1993, pp.22-44.

The author examines the impact of women's labour and wages in the construction of indices of economic change against a background of current views of the economy of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. She concludes that the inclusion of women's labour would reinforce the shift of labour away from agriculture, reveal the dominant parts of the manufacturing sectors to be employers of higher proportions of women than men; and show that women rather than men, were employed in the new progressive industries to which most of the productivity gain in industry has been attributed. The article is useful background reading to approaches to both the analysis of occupational changes and the particular role of women in the economy (and could be helpfully read in conjunction with the article by Bridget Hill in the same issue of History Workshop noted below).

Maxine Berg

In a further contribution to the position of women during the period of industrialisation, Maxine Berg examines the practice of women leaving wills and the treatment of women in men's wills in eighteenth-century Birmingham and Sheffield metal trades in order to reveal widespread female decision-making about the disposition of family wealth. Property holding and the transmission of property were not gender-typed as they were among other social classes and in other parts of the country, and as they were to become in a much more widespread way in the nineteenth century.

James L. Bolton
'The Black Death', The Historian (Historical Association), 39, 1993, pp.3-8.

This article provides a brief synoptic introduction to plague in the second half of the fourteenth century and includes a short indication of further reading
which ends with Christopher Dyer’s 1989 publication *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*.

Wyn Ford

The author discusses tests of literacy, including both practical tests such as signing one’s name and functional tests such as the ability to do more than simply sign one’s name and read a simple message.

Dov Friedlander

The author demonstrates a decline in patterns of nuptiality levels which he relates to the deterioration of the standard of living of the population in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Bridget Hill

Some of the problems inherent in the collection of census material are examined with particular reference to how they affect the recording of women. The author argues that nineteenth-century censuses consistently under-recorded women’s work. (see also Maxine Berg’s article in the same issue of *History Workshop* noted above).

R.A. Houston

In an article based on research funded by the ESRC the author undertakes an examination of eighteenth-century Edinburgh in the context of the ‘greenhouse’ effect of towns and cities on intellectual and cultural development. The section on literacy, which ranges over the measurement of literacy, occupational relationships, zones of literacy and male/female literacy and literacy over time (pp.374-9), may be of particular interest to LPS readers.

Margaret Hunt

Ten cases of spousal abuse from the Consistory Court of London 1711-1713 allow the author to investigate family violence in the early eighteenth century.

Karl Ittmann
The author offers a new explanation of the decline in English fertility, 1851-81, which seeks to go beyond the 'transition' theory. He argues that material realities rather than cultural diffusion shaped the family life of Bradford's working class and led to the adoption of family limitation – families chose to limit their fertility not because of embourgeoisement or a desire for social mobility but for age-old reasons reflecting a disintegration of stability and the emergence of new ways of life. Lacking direct evidence he infers motivation from what is known of the circumstances of working-class life.

John Komlos

A further stage in the debate which is answered again by Roderick Floud, Kennenth W. Wachter and Annabel Gregory, pp.367-8. Earlier contributions to this debate were noted in LPS 50, p.68.

Leah Leneman and Rosalind Mitchison

Surviving Kirk Session registers for Scottish cities allow the authors to examine the Scottish experience of clandestine marriage, which differs from that in England.

David Loschky and Ben D. Childers

This is an attempt to examine data on English crude death rates from before 1541, ie pre-Wrigley and Schofield re-constructions, by drawing upon the studies of John Hatcher, 1986, Herbert Hallam, 1985, Goran Ohlin, 1966, Zvi Razi, 1966, Joel Rosenthal, 1973, and J.C. Russell, 1948. Despite extremely small sample sizes the authors feel able to conclude not only that mortality fell substantially prior to 1541, but that it did so even allowing for the fact that post-1500 mortality included the plague's effect as well as that of new non-European diseases.

Fiona McDonnell

This is an example of the kind of study based upon the census enumerators' books which is very popular in local studies.

Lara Marks
The author examines the types of medical services provided by poor law institutions to pauper mothers and their infants living in east London in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

John S. Moore

This article re-examines Fisher’s hypothesis that the English population fell by about 20 per cent in the late 1550s, as a result of bad harvests followed by epidemic influenza, compared to the 5 per cent drop subsequently calculated by Wrigley and Schofield. The use of probate mortality as an indication of general mortality will be of particular interest to LPS readers.

Stephen J. Nicholas and Jacqueline M. Nicholas

The authors use indents (lists) of over 7,000 English men transported to the penal colony of New South Wales, Australia, 1827-1840 to provide a data source for a study of skills, occupations and location-specific literacy. The conclusion is that, after falling in the early years of the Industrial Revolution illiteracy increased for urban, rural, northern and skilled workers.

Stephen Nicholas and Deborah Oxley

This article uses height data in conjunction with information on wages, mortality, morbidity as a new methodology ('auxology' to employ the authors' own term) of assessing living standards. This method is applied to a new dataset, ie heights of convict women and men, to examine the relationship between the labour market, living standards and gender. The conclusion is that as work opportunities for women declined women's share of household resources dwindled and their living standards fell.

Robin Pearson
'Knowing one's place: perceptions of community in the industrial suburbs of Leeds, 1790-1890’, *Journal of Social History*, 27, 2, 1993, pp.221-44.

This is an investigation of ‘community’ in terms of both a sense of place and a sense of past in the southern suburbs of Leeds: Armley, Beeston, Bramley, Holbeck, Hunslet and Wortley.

Stephen Porter

Dr Porter provides a brief examination of the interval between death and burial using registers from five parishes: St Mary Woolnoth, St Mary Aldermary and
St Thomas the Apostle in the City of London, Stansted Mountfitchet in Essex and Sherston Magna in Wiltshire.

Daniel C. Quinlan and Jean S. Shackleford
'Economy and English families, 1500-1850', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XXIX, 3, 1994, pp.431-63.

The authors argue that changes in the structure of the English middle-class and upper-class family during the early-modern period were largely the products of a re-working of the agrarian and industrial economy. The changes discussed include marriage, fertility, mortality, the upbringing of children, the structure of kinship andclientage and the distribution of power within the family.

Charles Rawding
The author seeks to contextualise social and economic relations within a specific framework, emphasising the complexity of the interaction processes. The study is constructed in the spirit of what is described as a 'realist' emphasis of a process-oriented analysis rather than the more humanistic approach of the Vidalian notion of pays ('dialogue of man and milieu').

Zvi Razi
'The myth of the immutable English family', *Past and Present*, 40, 1993, pp.3-44.

The well-known Halesowen court rolls allow the author to investigate in a late-medieval context the view that the English familial system hardly changed in between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries; rather, he argues, the English familial system in English villages from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century underwent a major transformation. This was the result of demographic, economic and institutional changes. The nuclearization, as compared with the functionally extended family, of the peasant family, began in the thirteenth century and was completed by the first half of the fifteenth century. Without the support of extended kin-networks, the peasants in early-modern England were more exposed to market forces and less capable of keeping hold of the land than in the middle ages; the process of nuclearization, if not reversed in early-modern villages, was an important factor in facilitating the development of capitalist agrarian organization in England.

James C. Riley

A contribution to anthropometric history which examines a fresh body of manuscript information relating to British males during the 1860s: the John Beddooe Collection in the University of Bristol Library Special Collections. This study gives the author no grounds for supposing that nutritional deficiency in adulthood played a significant role in the higher mortality of adult males in Britain in the 1860s. Most men in the Beddooe group had nearly the ideal body
mass based on the Quetelet index (BMI Index = kg/m² where BMI is the body mass index, kg is weight in kilograms and m² is height in metres squared).

Jean Robin

This is an examination of the working of the poor law and other forms of relief in Colyton, south Devonshire, 1851-1881, which investigates how widespread poverty was and who were the poor. The census is used to study the extent of household poverty: household heads listed in 1861 are linked back to the 1851 census and forward to the censuses of 1871 and 1881, and this material is supplemented by family reconstitution evidence and electoral roll evidence. These provide the barebones of life histories from which to see which of the the 1861 household heads applied for outside relief at one time or another over forty years.

Peter Rushton

The records of local courts provide the author with the material with which to study the dynamics of household relationships, and the status and experience of the young in the early-modern period.

Mike Savage

This is a review article on Robert Ericson’s and John H. Goldthorpe’s The Constant Flux: A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies (1992) which offers timely comment on attempts at systematic analyses of social mobility. It could usefully be read alongside Kevin Schurer’s review of A. Miles and D. Vincent (eds), Building European Society. Occupational Change and Social Mobility in Europe 1840-1940 in LPS 50, p.73, which emphasised the future significance that this kind of investigation is likely to have for local population historians.

Jona Schellekens

The author doubts whether a rise in marital fertility alone is sufficient to explain the exceptional population growth in the second half of the eighteenth and first decades of the nineteenth centuries, preferring to put emphasis upon a combination of it with a rise in nuptiality or a decline in mortality.

Daniel Scott Smith
‘American family and demographic patterns and the north-west European

Although the focus of this article is the American family in its first part (pp.389-94), it offers LPS readers a succinct review of the Hajnal/Laslett north-west European household formation system, ie a high incidence of life-style service, late ages at marriage and neo-local residence after marriage.

K.M.D. Snell  

The author reminds readers of the potential of poor-law documentation for the study of rural society and economy, and outlines and demonstrates some possibilities including study of rural unemployment and seasonality, labour mobility, settlement, the rural poor and hiring and apprenticeship to husbandry.

Barry Stapleton  

Barry Stapleton, a former long-serving Vice-Chairman of the Local Population Studies Society, examines the poor, as defined in a cultural sense by others in their society, as revealed in the records of churchwardens and overseers of the poor for the parish of Odiham, Hampshire, from the mid-seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. His study is based upon a family re-constitution but also links a number of sources of information about individuals in receipt of charitable or poor relief. His conclusion is that many of the Odiham families were in a continuing poverty trap and did not conform to the life-cycles of either rural or urban poverty commonly identified. Periods of temporary prosperity found elsewhere in the life cycle of rural poverty were absent for many; poverty arrived before the birth or at the birth of the first child and frequently remained until death.

Nicholas Tucker  

This is an article which examines attitudes to babyhood ranging from the concept of parental indifference developed by Philippe Aries, Lawrence Stone and Edward Shorter to studies by Nancy Schiper-Hughes, Barbara Tuchman and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie. His conclusion is that "there seems no reason to doubt that parents have always loved their babies as much as contemporary conditions made it possible for them to do so".

A.G. Walker  
'Migration into a South Yorkshire colliery district, 1861-81', *Northern History*, XXIX, 1993, pp.165-84.

This article examines population movements into a number of nineteenth-century settlements on the South Yorkshire coalfield in the parish of Darfield:
Ardsley, Billingley, Darfield, Great Houghton, Little Houghton, Wombwell townships and the chapelry of Worsburgh. The author is able to identify distinct communities within the parish of Darfield with common ties of kinship and workplace binding them together, and experiencing different relationships with those neighbouring them over time. Migration into the area was essentially of a familial nature or in the case of lodgers, birthplace connections with host families.

John K. Walton and Cliff O’Neill
‘Numbering the holiday-makers: the problems and possibilities of the June census of 1921 for historians of resorts’, The Local Historian, 23, 4, 1993, pp.205-16.

The authors consider the value of the 1841 and 1921 censuses, both of which were conducted in June, i.e. during the holiday season for resorts, in the context both of the ‘population’ of seasonal resorts and also in the more general terms of towns of all kinds which contain numerous floating populations of short-term migrants.

Jean Wilson

Group portraits and monuments are the focus of this examination of family relationships in early-modern England which concludes that from the middle class to the aristocracy there seems to be a display of the family as a social and religious unit. Whilst recognising the caution needed when handling iconographic evidence, the author argues that many patrons commissioned memorial works which celebrated familial affection and domestic satisfaction.
CORRESPONDENCE

Letters intended for publication in LPS should be sent to Kevin Schürer, 27 Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1QA

Editors' 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.

Cheap microfilm for sale

Dear Sir

LPS readers may be interested to learn that the Public Record Office is selling off cheap reels of 35mm microfilm of the 1851 and 1861 censuses. These films have been in daily use in the Census Rooms at Chancery Lane. Some however may be in poor condition. For this reason they are being sold at a fraction of what such a film would cost new.

For the 1851 films pieces HO 107/1468-2050 are available for the counties of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Essex, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Kent, London (part only), Middlesex, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Somerset, Suffolk, Staffordshire, Surrey, Sussex, Warwickshire (part only), Worcestershire.

For 1861 the following films are available: RG 9/3188-3913 for the counties of Cumberland (part only), Durham, Northumberland, Yorkshire East Riding, Yorkshire North Riding, Yorkshire West Riding (part only).

The price for the 1851 films is £14.00 per piece number which includes on average two reels. The 1861 films are £8.00 per reel which normally includes two or more piece numbers.

Prices are inclusive of postage and packing. These films are available on a first come first served basis. Reels of the 1851 census can not be broken down and sold separately.
Orders should be sent to Angela Munley, PRO Enterprises, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1LR. It would help us considerably if purchasers make requests using PRO references rather than asking for specific areas or districts. For further information telephone either Simon Fowler (081-876-3444 ext 2230) or Angela Munley (081-876-3444 ext 2213) at the PRO.

Yours faithfully
Angela Munley

Public Record Office, Kew.

---

**Why not join**

**THE LPS SOCIETY**

For conferences, regional contacts and project work in local population studies.

For further details, payment of subscriptions and renewals please contact the Honorary Secretary:

**Colonel Sir David Cooke (Bt)**
8 Royal Crescent,
Harrogate
HG2 8AB.
A NEW Local Population Studies Supplement

SURVEYING THE PEOPLE
The interpretation and use of document sources for the study of population in the later seventeenth century

edited by
K. Schürer and T. Arkell

This new book provides a commentary on four key sources for the investigation of population and society in the later seventeenth century — namely the Hearth taxes, the poll taxes, the Marriage Duty Act assessments and the Compton Census. The book provides introductory sections giving details of the legal and administrative framework of these important sources, discussing also the problems associated with their interpretation and use. Subsequent chapters, twelve in total, provide illustration of the uses to which the documents can be put, and the research issues which may be addressed.

This volume, published in collaboration with the Leopard's Head Press, Oxford, with support of the Marc Fitch Fund, can be obtained at the cost of £10 (plus £1 p&p) from Mrs R. Bridgen, Local Population Studies, 27 Trumpington Street, Cambridge, CB2 1QA
THE LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL HISTORIES.

A REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ABOUT THE RESIDENTIAL HISTORIES OF INDIVIDUALS.

We are currently undertaking research on where people lived during their lifetime, and are concentrating particularly on the residential histories of individuals, rather than on the analysis of aggregate census statistics. Although some individual-level data can be gained from sources such as diaries and autobiographies, these are relatively scarce and often unrepresentative. However, there are thousands of family historians around the country who have information about the residential histories of their own family members, often going back to the eighteenth century or earlier. We are particularly keen to utilize this rich source of information in our research.

Your Family History Society has kindly allowed us to place this sheet in your magazine as a way in which we might make contact with family historians. IF YOU HAVE TRACED YOUR FAMILY HISTORY, AND HAVE INFORMATION ABOUT WHERE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY LIVED AND WHY THEY MOVED IN THE EIGHTEENTH, NINETEENTH OR EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY, WE WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE YOU TO CONTACT US. It would also be very helpful to know how many people you have a residential history for. Once we have received this information, we will send you forms on which you can record the residential details in a standard format. We will also enclose a stamped/addressed envelope for your reply. We must emphasize that we are interested in the residential histories of people of all ages, from all walks of life, and including those who moved very little or not at all.

We must emphasize that any information that you do provide will be used only for the purposes of academic research, and that, where appropriate, confidentiality will be strictly maintained in future publications. The project will be completed in 1996 and, in addition to other publications, we will be happy to write a short piece for your magazine so that you will know something about the outcome of the research. This should help you to discover how your family's residential history related to the experience of others. The research project is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.

You will realise that the success of the research depends entirely on a good response from family historians. We hope to build up a large data-base of information on residential histories, but this will only be possible with your co-operation.

IF YOU FEEL YOU ARE ABLE TO HELP WITH THE PROJECT IN ANY WAY PLEASE CONTACT JEAN TURNBULL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AT THE ADDRESS GIVEN BELOW. FOLLOWING A LETTER OR TELEPHONE CALL SHE WILL SEND YOU THE REQUIRED NUMBER OF STANDARD FORMS ON WHICH DETAILS OF INDIVIDUAL RESIDENTIAL HISTORIES CAN BE ENTERED. IF YOU WOULD LIKE FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE PROJECT PLEASE DO NOT HESITATE TO CONTACT US.

PROJECT DIRECTOR:
DR. COLIN G POOLEY,
SENIOR LECTURER IN GEOGRAPHY.

RESEARCH ASSISTANT:
DR. JEAN TURNBULL,
DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY,
LANCASTER UNIVERSITY,
LANCASTER, LA1 4YB.
TEL: 0524 65201 Ext. 3730
Loading a broad-wheeled waggon