

OCCUPATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CENSUSES: THE DRINK RETAILERS OF BRADFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE

Paul Jennings

Paul Jennings is a part-time lecturer in history for the University of Bradford and for the Open University. In 1995 he published *The public house in Bradford, 1770–1970*. He is currently working on a history of liquor licensing in the nineteenth century.

Introduction

This article analyses the operation of the nineteenth century censuses by means of a case study of one occupational grouping: the retailers of alcoholic drinks. It aims to highlight, as Michael Anderson has recently written, 'the importance of understanding the procedures through which the personal and family situations of individuals were transformed into the statistics of the published volumes, mediated as these were by the responses of individual householders, and by the activities of the enumerators, registrars, superintendent registrars, and the central Census Office staff'.¹ Further, by relating the evidence of the censuses to a range of other sources for the drink trade it seeks to illuminate some of the wider complexities of occupational analysis.

The case study uses data on drink retailers abstracted from the published census reports and from the census enumerators' books (hereafter CEBs) covering the borough of Bradford, West Yorkshire for the censuses of 1841, 1851 and 1891. In addition, information on the trade was drawn from trade directories, the detailed reports in newspapers of the annual licensing (brewster) sessions, police registers of licensed victuallers and beerhouse keepers, plus maps, plans and the title deeds to public-house properties. (Rate books were a further possible source, but they have not survived for Bradford.) This work was originally undertaken as part of a study of the history of the public house over some two centuries, to which the reader is invited to turn for the fuller context.² For that history Bradford was chosen as a useful case study for two essential reasons. First, it embodied one of the key transformations of modern society in its growth from a small town at the close of the eighteenth century to a great industrial city by the middle of the nineteenth. Second, whilst on the one hand it was a noted centre of the temperance movement – the first Temperance Society in England was founded there in 1830 – and thus at the heart of the great nineteenth century debate on the 'drink question', on the other it was not an atypically drunken place. In fact its leading citizens liked to point out its relative sobriety, citing, for example, at the beginning and end of the period under review here, favourable statistics of drunkenness compared to other towns.³ Thus, whilst

the individuality of the particular case – Bradford – was recognized, it was specified in the context of the general, an approach shared here.⁴

Drink retailing and the licensing system

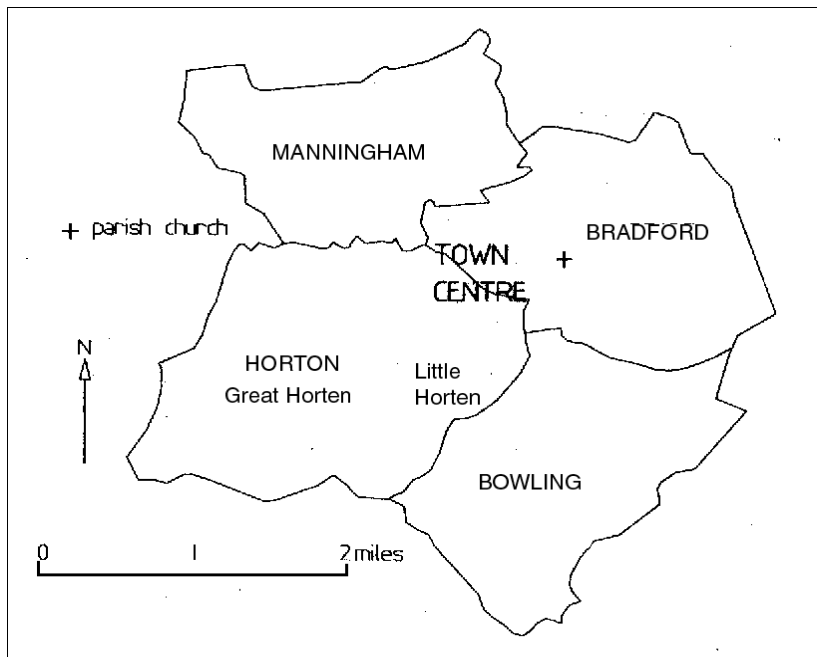
It will already be clear that the retailer of drink appeared under a variety of designations. Looking at the institutions of drink retailing themselves, there existed by the close of the eighteenth century a fairly clear hierarchy. At the top were the principal coaching inns of a town, alternatively called hotels, distinguished by the scale of their accommodation and their role in long and short-distance coach transport. The latter function, however, was increasingly being superseded from the 1830s with the growth of the rail network. Below them, of varying sizes, were the generality of public houses or taverns, as trade directories, for example, classify them. One should not, however, think of any necessarily clear divide between the two groupings; public houses generally provided food, accommodation and stabling and in property sales the term 'inn or public house' was commonly used to describe them. The proprietors of all these places were variously known as hotel- or inn-keepers, (licensed) victuallers or publicans. The older term of 'alehouse' was by this time often used pejoratively for 'low' (in contemporary parlance), possibly unlicensed, establishments, though it was also still used to describe the form of the licence itself. In addition, some spirit retailers also provided facilities for consumption on the premises in gin, dram or spirit shops, as they were variously known, though it should be noted that public houses also opened such 'shops' in part, or as the whole, of their establishment.⁵

In order to trade, all of the above required a licence granted annually by local magistrates sitting in special brewster sessions. However, from 1830 a further branch was added to the retail drink trade when the Beerhouse Act of that year permitted the sale of beer without the requirement of a licence from the justices, a payment to the Excise sufficing. These new outlets were variously known as beerhouses or beershops and their proprietors as keepers of same or as beersellers or retailers of beer. From 1834 a distinction was created between the sale of beer on or off the premises, the fee for the latter costing less, which adds a further complication since in the sources it is often unclear which type of establishment it is. In Bradford these off-licences appear to have been relatively uncommon until the 1860s and they have been excluded from this study. After almost forty years of this free trade in beer the law was changed in 1869 to require beerhouses to obtain a justices' licence like those establishments selling all types of drink. But they remained a distinct type of public house, clearly recognized as such both in law and by contemporaries, limited still to selling beer. For the most part too they remained, as they had been from their creation, more modest establishments than their fully-licensed counterparts.⁶

The focus of the analysis

The main focus of the analysis will be on the censuses of 1851 and 1891, but a shorter look at that of 1841 will serve as a useful foretaste. The census of 1851

Figure 1 Borough of Bradford showing the four constituent townships



was chosen because of the greater amount of information which it contained relevant to the general study of the retailers than its predecessor, notably of course with regard to relationships within the household and to place of birth. But further (and relevant to the inquiry here) 1851 allowed a test of the issue of dual occupations, which was facilitated also by the existence of a reliable contemporary commercial directory. The census of 1891 was chosen partly as it is the most recent to which access to the CEBs is currently permitted. However, it also permits us to examine some of the effects of the changes in the world of drink and the public house developing from the 1870s. These included: the restrictive nature of licensing policy after 1869, the more purely social role which the public house came to play in society, changing patterns of working-class expenditure, not least on alternative forms of leisure, and changes within the drink industry itself as brewing companies increasingly became dominant. Finally, the opportunity was taken to test the value of the new question on employment status introduced in that year.

The area covered in the study was the same in each census year, comprising the parliamentary borough of Bradford created under the provisions of the Reform Act of 1832, which in turn formed the boundary of the new municipal borough of 1847. Figure 1 shows the borough area and the four townships of Bradford, Bowling, Horton and Manningham from which it was formed. Although the borough itself was subsequently twice enlarged, it was possible

Table 1 Drink retailers in Horton, 1841

Designation	Census	Sources	
			Other Local
Beershop keeper etc.	10		16
Hotel and Innkeeper	7		0
Publican and Victualler	13		16
Totals	30		32

Sources: 1841 Census of Great Britain, *Occupation abstract Part 1*, BPP 1844 XXVII, I-, 234; CEBs and other local Horton material cited in text.

also to cover the original area for the census of 1891.⁷

The 1841 foretaste

In the published census report for 1841 the Occupation Abstract provided totals for, respectively, 'beer-shop-keeper', 'hotel and inn-keeper', 'publican and victualler' and 'spirit-merchant', all in turn subsumed under a general heading of 'tavern-keeper'.⁸ Looking at those categories there appears to be an attempt at classification, distinguishing the new retailers under the 1830 Act and drawing a distinction between hotels and inns on the one hand and the generality of public houses on the other. With 'spirit merchant' it is not clear whether those individuals necessarily held an on-licence, though putting them with other 'tavern-keepers' might be taken to imply that. There is, however, an element of doubt on that point as there was no separate grouping of wine merchants whereas there was one for porter and ale merchants. As the Bradford evidence shows that in fact few spirit merchants took out an on-licence they have been excluded here.

These then were the designations into which the temporary clerks at the Census Office had to classify the occupations as they saw them in the CEBs for the purpose of producing aggregate statistics. Since we too can look at those CEBs it should be possible to examine that process. Unfortunately in 1841 the published occupational statistics were only given for two of the four constituent townships of the borough of Bradford, and for one of them, Bradford township, part of another township, not in fact in the borough area, was included. That leaves just Horton township for which a direct comparison is possible.

For this township the data from the CEBs and the published statistics match exactly, which indicates that the clerk did his job conscientiously. The left-hand column of Table 1 shows the figure for each designation. The problem

comes when one asks how accurately this reflects the reality of the trade in Horton. Drawing upon the several sources noted above, it is clear that the terms innkeeper, publican and (licensed) victualler were used interchangeably. None of the establishments in Horton could in fact be described as a principal inn or hotel. Moreover, five of those publicans and one innkeeper were in fact beerhouse keepers, keen no doubt to raise the status of their calling. This has the effect of grouping together in the published statistics markedly different establishments. 'Publican', for example, includes both Margaret Reaney, the proprietor of the George Hotel, an imposing coaching inn in Market Street, a principal thoroughfare in the centre of Bradford itself, and Jacob Dawson, the landlord of a two-room beerhouse in a little street in one of the poorest parts of the town.⁹ Finally, two public houses which certainly did exist in 1841, one of which – the King's Arms at Great Horton – could lay claim to being the most important in the township, went unrecorded in the census as their respective landlords, who appear as such in a contemporary commercial directory, chose rather to give their other occupations of butcher and stonemason.¹⁰ In sum then a more accurate portrayal of the retail drink trade in Horton is shown in the right-hand column of Table 1.

Although one cannot of course read too much into a very small example indeed, the nature of the discrepancy revealed in Horton has some bearing on the differences evident in the total figures for England and Wales between the statistics of the published census report and those for on-licences held. That comparison is shown in Table 2. The much larger figure of on-licences held must be related to the failure of the CEBs to record instances of drink retailing in the way demonstrated. The gap between the number of beer on-licences and the census figure for the keepers of such establishments must also partly be explained in this way, but must mainly be due to beershop keepers being designated as innkeepers, publicans or victuallers. Two points thus emerge from this introductory look at the census of 1841: first the published statistics present a potentially misleading picture of the nature of the retail drink trade, and second they show a marked underestimate of its extent.

The 1851 census

Turning now to the census of 1851 these problems will be explored in more detail. Beginning again with the published reports, a more systematic classification was attempted with the introduction of 'classes' and 'sub-classes', later to be called 'orders' and 'sub-orders', the general principles of which were followed down to 1911.¹¹ This now placed innkeepers in sub-class 1, ('boarding and lodging') of class VI, ('persons engaged in entertaining, clothing and performing personal offices for man'). Licensed victuallers and beershop keepers were brought together in sub-class 2, ('drinks and stimulants') of class XIII, ('persons working and dealing in matters derived from the vegetable kingdom') with no mention of publicans. The census authorities were aware of the problems of this separation, noting in the published report that, in practice, it was not easy to distinguish the two groups.¹² The report gives for the borough of Bradford a total of 101 innkeepers and 135 licensed victuallers and beershop keepers. These figures included both males and

Table 2 Comparative licensing and published census statistics: England and Wales, 1841,

Year	Licensing statistics		Census statistics	
1841	Full on-licences	57,768	Hotel- and inn-keepers	15,304
	Beer only	33,844	Publican and victuallers	42,781
			Beershop keepers	5,629
	Total	91,612	Total	63,714
1851	Full on-licences	59,676	Innkeepers	26,342
	Beer only	35,808	Victuallers/beershops	43,035
	Total	95,484	Total	69,377
1891	Full on-licences	73,394	Inn-, hotel-keeper/publican	78,013
	Beer only	31,612	Beerseller/ale etc. dealer	17,606
	Total	105,006	Total	95,619

Sources: G. Wilson, *Alcohol and the nation*, (London, 1940), 236. 1841 Census of Great Britain, *Occupation abstract. Part I*. BPP 1844 XXVII, 1-, 31–44. 1851 Census of Great Britain, *Population tables II. Ages, civil condition, occupations and birthplaces of the people. Vol. 1*, BPP 1852–1853 LXXXVIII, pt. 1, 1-, ccxxii–ccxxvii. Table XXV. 1891 Census of England and Wales, *Vol. III, Ages, conditions as to marriage, occupations etc.*, BPP 1893–1894 CVI, 1-, xxvi–xxx. Table 6.

females; separate figures were given for the wives of both the innkeepers and the licensed victuallers and beershop keepers, the census thus acknowledging their essential contribution to this particular trade.¹³

Turning again from the reports to the householder and the enumerator, who began the process, no particular advice was given to either party with regard to these occupations. As was the case in 1841, so in 1851 there seems to have been an element of interchangeability. Enumeration district 46 in Bradford East, for example, contained three fully-licensed houses, the Wharf, the Ring of Bells and the Church Steps, of more or less the same size and type of provision, yet whose proprietors are recorded respectively as hotel keeper, innkeeper and victualler.¹⁴ Similarly, the district also contained the various designations of retailer of beer, beer seller and beerhouse keeper. As was also demonstrated with 1841 the way the occupation was described might obscure the true nature or scale of the business. In the borough as a whole 19 individuals known from other sources to be keepers of beerhouses appear in the CEBs as innkeepers, around 15 per cent of the total in the beer trade, probably

indicating an aspiration to a higher status. There are examples of beerhouses that also functioned as lodging houses, like the White House Inn in Hardcastle Lane, situated in a relatively poor area near the parish church, whose proprietors are returned as innkeepers. But there are others who are not.¹⁵ The same point applies to those beerhouse keepers who hoped to obtain a full on-licence. William Brayshaw, for example, had built premises in Southgate expressly with that in mind and is recorded as an innkeeper, but others similarly hopeful were not.¹⁶

A further point to note is the possibility that the enumerator, in copying the occupational details from the individual householder's schedule into his enumeration book, went beyond his instruction merely to correct misstatements and instead standardized them.¹⁷ If one looks, for example, at an enumeration district particularly well-supplied with drinking places, number 25 in Bradford West, this contained three fully-licensed houses, all of whose proprietors appear in the CEB as 'licensed victualler' (compare the designations reported above in enumeration district 46). Similarly, the ten individuals in the beer trade are all designated as 'beer seller', though one at least ran a music hall - the 2,000-seat Colosseum in Westgate.¹⁸ In enumeration district 9, also in Bradford West, the proprietors of the three fully-licensed houses and two beerhouses are all recorded as innkeepers (one of the former actually an 'assistant innkeeper'). However, whilst a suspicion of standardisation is reasonable here, where there were relatively few houses it is impossible to be certain. Overall, what is once again clear is that the published reports do not accurately reflect the nature of the trade in the town.

Before the schedules and the CEBs were passed to the Census Office in London further checking was done first by the local registrar and then by the regional superintendent registrar. Since both their signatures appear in the CEB, verifying the work therein, it is possible to see if any amendments were made by them. In fact, only three amendments were made to the occupation as recorded in the CEB. All were cases where it was given as 'landlord'. In one case, where the handwriting looks like that of the registrar, 'beerhouse keeper' was added, possibly indicating local knowledge on his part. In another case - that of the Shoulder of Mutton Inn - 'landlord' was replaced by 'innkeeper' and 'Inn Wife' added to the wife's name. In the third, 'Landlord of Swan' was amended to 'publican' (in fact a beerhouse). The latter two amendments would seem to have been the work of the census clerks: first because the handwriting does not appear to match that of any of the other hands in the CEB and second because they would have helped to facilitate classification and counting.¹⁹ The Shoulder of Mutton Inn was described as such on the CEB and thus, logically, the clerk corrected 'landlord' to the category 'innkeeper'. In the second case the correction was a little less logical since, as we saw, 'publican' did not appear separately in the published statistics as it did in 1841. However, it is clear from the Bradford example that publicans were included in the same sub-class as the licensed victuallers and beershop keepers. The clerks were probably, therefore, instructed to abstract them together, in the way they were to do for later censuses, though unfortunately

there is no surviving instruction book for the 1851 census.²⁰

For the census clerks, therefore, these particular occupations did not present much difficulty as they worked their way through the enumerators' books. An innkeeper was an innkeeper and so on. There are, however, two further considerations which the clerks had to keep in mind: what to do with the retired and how to treat second occupations. Both have a bearing on the inquiry here. Given that the underlying organising concept of the occupational data – the nature of materials worked upon – was to facilitate, in conjunction with statistics of mortality, the creation of occupational life-tables, the aim being to show the effects of particular kinds of work on health and life expectancy, the retired were included in the occupational totals.²¹ In the borough of Bradford 11 individuals in the trade were described as 'retired', with a further one as 'late' and another as 'formerly'. Although the instructions to householders mention only the first designation it seems safe to assume both were included in the overall total. Logically, too, the single individual described as 'no business insolvent publican' would be counted in the occupational totals. However, from the point of view of one wishing to analyse the retail drink trade, these people were of course no longer in it. This is the main way in which the published statistics inflate the actual number of retailers. One other example tending to overstatement is relatively minor. It seems likely that three women selling table beer would also have been counted with the beershop keepers. But this was weaker beer, which could not be sold in quantities of less than four and a half gallons, so that it was in effect for off sale only.²²

The effect of second occupations, in contrast, was to underestimate the numbers in the business, this more than counter-balancing the effect described in the previous paragraph. The instructions to householders stated that 'a person following more than one distinct trade may insert them in the order of their importance'. The enumerator received the same instruction, with examples. That the census authorities were alive to the great incidence of second, or dual, occupations is clear. They made a check of it in relation to farmers, which showed that in England and Wales nearly 23,000 cited another occupation, of whom 3,434 were inn- or beershop-keepers. As a rule, however, as the published report indicates, it was the first occupation recorded which was 'generally' taken for statistical purposes.²³ Among drink retailers in Bradford there were 24 instances where another occupation was listed first, thus excluding drink retailing itself from the totals. Yet the persons certainly ran drinking establishments. Notable, for example, is the case of the New Inn, in the centre of Bradford, whose landlord Henry Brown had his first occupation recorded as woolstapler, but whose substantial premises employed six live-in servants. They were supervised no doubt by Henry's wife and widowed sister-in-law, but only the latter has an occupation – 'housekeeper' – recorded. The name of the house was included in the CEB itself for the clerk to see, but one can only assume that the instructions led to this being ignored. Certainly there is no amendment to indicate otherwise. In just one case where the husband gave 'publican' as a second occupation was the wife recorded as a 'public house keeper' in her own right and thus presumably counted as such.

For fully-licensed houses this problem of under-recording is relatively easily corrected, as in almost half the cases, as with the New Inn, the CEB gives the name of the house. This is much less true of the beerhouses. Using other local sources it is possible to identify 110 fully-licensed houses in the 1851 CEBs. In fact, there were just five more full on-licences in existence in that year and these were spirit shops where the proprietor did not live on the premises and thus did not appear in the CEB. To assess the extent of under-recording of beerhouses a comparison was made with a contemporary commercial directory, the second such venture by a local printer, publisher and stationer.²⁴ These directories are likely to provide more comprehensive coverage of commercial trades because their primary function was to advertise services.²⁵ This particular directory listed 178 beer retailers for the borough area of Bradford. Taking all instances where a beerhouse is identifiable in the CEBs, including second occupations and a small number of examples where it was mentioned in the description of the enumeration district or noted on the page of the CEB but where the occupation is not recorded as such for the householder, it was possible to identify a total of 131.

How can one reconcile the discrepancy between the two sources? Some of it is to be found within the directory itself. One individual is listed both among the 'inns, hotels and taverns', which comprised the fully-licensed houses, and among the beer retailers, though the premises were actually fully-licensed. Four other beer retailers in fact had full licences, though two had but recently been granted them and a further two had theirs suspended for a year, although they had continued to trade selling only beer.²⁶ In a further case a husband and wife are listed separately as beer retailers at the same house. For the bulk of the discrepancy, however, a comparison was made between entries in the directory and those in the CEBs. Of course one would not expect a complete match on the grounds of chronology alone. The directory was published in 1850 after a period for compilation and printing, and the census was carried out in March of 1851. Thus the directory lists Mary Dunn at the Bermondsey Hotel, though the licence had in fact been refused at the September 1849 brewster sessions.²⁷ By the census she was trading as a beer seller at the Colosseum music hall mentioned earlier. Entries in the directory were matched with those in the CEBs using a name index to the census to find individuals with dual occupations but who did not cite beer-retailing in the census.²⁸ There were 29 instances where the address matched exactly or where other evidence, such as the later police registers of beerhouse keepers, showed that they kept a beerhouse. Where the husband had a dual occupation it was likely that the wife ran the beerhouse, but only in one instance does the CEB record that fact. Directories, therefore, are a more reliable indicator of the extent of beerhouse-keeping.

In conclusion, Table 3 summarizes the figures from the various sources. As in 1841 so in the 1851 census, the published statistics present a misleading picture of the nature of the retail trade and underestimate its extent. Further, from the 1851 example it is clear that the CEBs too do not give a full picture. This underestimation is again illustrated if one looks at the statistics of licences held nationally in Table 2. Even if, which was certainly not the case, the whole

Table 3 Drink retailers in Bradford by source of information, 1850–1851

Census report		CEBs		Directory	
Innkeepers	101	Full on-licences	110	Inns/hotels/taverns	104
Victuallers/beershops	135	Beerhouses	131	Beer retailers	178
Total	236		241		282

Sources: See text.

of the 6,905 wine and spirit merchants recorded in the published statistics had taken out an on-licence, this would still leave a gap of 19,202 between the published census statistics and those of licensing.

The 1891 census

In the census of 1891 Table 2 shows the problem remained, although the difference was now less marked. It will immediately be seen that the census authorities had again altered the system of classification. The innkeepers, hotel keepers and publicans together formed sub-order 1, ('board and lodging') of order 16, ('persons working and dealing in food and lodging'). In this group the clerks were also instructed to count licensed victuallers and hotel- or inn-landlords and -landladies, proprietors and managers. Sub-order 2 covered 'spirituous drinks' and included the occupations noted above – beersellers etc. and wine and spirit merchants and agents – and in both cases it is impossible to determine the number of on-licences among them.²⁹ There is, however, no doubt that the census figures still underestimated the on-licensed retail trade. To demonstrate that point the details of known publican households were again abstracted from the CEBs. Using the other kinds of evidence noted earlier, and aided in this by the fact that from 1869 beerhouse keepers had also to obtain a licence from the justices, it was possible to account for all the licensed premises. This revealed 22 beerhouses of a total of 287 where that occupation was not in fact recorded for the householder as in the directory comparison made for 1851. For example Richard Clark, the licensee of the Eastbrook Hotel, Adolphus Street, was entered in the census as a contractor. It seems likely that the beerhouse was in fact run by his wife Ann (only widows, or more rarely single women, were granted licences in their own right), his son who was described as a 'tapster' and a live-in servant. Second occupations would, as before, account for some of the difference. The clerks were now instructed to select what appeared to be 'the main or most important one' but 'if there be none such, the first of the several Occupations is to be selected, and the others are to be ignored'.³⁰ It is not clear how this instruction would have been applied by the clerks, but 18 individuals in the Bradford CEBs are recorded with the alternative occupation first, some or all of whom would not therefore be counted for the occupation totals as drink retailers. Only in the case of the retired was there a significant change, removing the earlier effect of

inflating the number of retailers, in that they were now to be counted separately rather than included in the total for that occupation.³¹

Sufficient has already been said, it is to be hoped, on these points. Accordingly for the 1891 census the focus will instead be first on the long-term shift in the way that the occupation appeared in the CEBs and second on the new question on employment status introduced in that year. On the first point, notable among the fully-licensed houses was the decline in the use of the term 'innkeeper' between 1851 and 1891 from over two-thirds to little more than a quarter of licensees. 'Licensed victualler', accounting for some 30 per cent of cases, was now the most common designation. It seems likely on the one hand that this was linked to the decline of specifically 'innkeeping' functions, those concerned with transport, dining and accommodation, as a result of the growth of the railways and the arrival of restaurants and hotels.³² On the other it may also reflect the existence of a licensed victuallers' society, first appearing in 1837 and becoming permanent from 1851.³³ The keepers of beerhouses were now more likely than in 1851 (though not 1841) to be recorded as 'innkeeper' or 'publican', with just half of them in 1891 referring specifically to beer-retailing, which must be linked to self-perception. Finally of note is the new designation of 'manager' or more rarely 'manageress', usually linked to a trade term, as with John Tynan, the 'manager of public house' of the Washington Hotel off Westgate or Joseph Haley, the 'brewers manager' of the Black Horse Inn, Little Horton Lane. There were 20 of these and they accounted for 12 per cent of the fully-licensed houses. This largely reflected a new development in the trade as brewery companies replaced tenants with managers in some of their larger premises. The former paid rent to the company and were obliged to buy its products but retained the profits of the business, whilst the latter were salaried but also earned commission on the level of takings and were more directly responsible to the company.³⁴ I say 'largely' reflected, because once again the issue is not clear cut. In the case of Francis Blake, the 'hotel manager' of the George in Market Street, the family actually owned the property.³⁵

The above issue might be resolved by turning to the new question in the 1891 census relating to employment status. Of the managers 16 described themselves as 'employed' and all their premises were in fact either owned or leased by a brewery company. The only other 'employer' (in addition to Francis Blake of the George) was a free house in private (i.e. non-brewery) ownership.³⁶ Of the remaining two houses, however, both brewery controlled, one manager is described both as employer and employed and the other has no entry at all. Since this new question was controversial at the time, it is worth looking at it in a little more detail. It had arisen out of new concerns in the 1880s about employment, which were given a full airing during the hearings of the 1890 Treasury Committee on the Census. Placing little trust in either the householders answering the questions or the temporary clerks processing the results, in fact a long-standing feature of the administration of the census, the General Register Office only very reluctantly accepted the new question.³⁷

Table 4 Employment status of drink retailers: England and Wales, 1891

	Employers %	Employed %	Working on own account %	Others or no statement %	n
Male	38.6	10.8	37.9	12.7	66,989
Female	21.1	11.4	21.6	45.8	28,630

Source: 1891 Census of England and Wales, *Vol III, Ages, conditions as to marriage, occupations etc.*, BPP 1893–1894 CVI,1-, x–xxv. Table 5.

The new question asked householders to categorize themselves as 'employer', 'employed' or 'neither employer nor employed'. Employer was defined as 'a master employing under him workers in his trade or industry'. It did not refer to the employment of domestic servants. Married women assisting their husbands were to be entered as employed.³⁸ In the event, the final report of the census claimed that the questions relating to employment status were misunderstood and the answers unusable. Consequently no meaningful analysis of them was made.³⁹ Only the raw figures for each occupation for the whole country were given. Entries of 'neither employer nor employed' were counted as 'working on own account' in the published tables. A fourth figure of 'others' included persons who had made no cross at all in the appropriate column or who had made two or even three crosses. For the retail drink trade then Table 4 shows the proportions in each category in the whole of England and Wales. For this exercise the two principal employment groupings have been amalgamated. Although this will include in the beerseller etc. group, persons who did not in fact have an on-licence, this is counter-balanced by not including the wine and spirit merchant or agent group, which included a smaller proportion who did have one.

The figures clearly present a somewhat problematic picture. Those for females would seem to be quite unusable, not least as they must include both licensees in their own right and wives assisting their husbands. Looking solely at the males, the very nature of the trade in the late nineteenth century presents a particular problem of interpretation. By that time brewery control had advanced considerably. The Brewers' Society estimated that 70 per cent of public houses were tied – bound that is to the exclusive purchase of a brewery company's products – by 1886, though it is in fact difficult to be precise. The Bradford evidence suggests about half were tied through ownership or leasing by 1890 rising to three-quarters by the end of the century.⁴⁰ And in Bradford certainly most of those landlords were tenants of the brewery company. The minority who were in fact salaried managers identified themselves in the census logically enough largely as employed. But what of the tenants? A total of 54 brewery tenants of fully-licensed houses were abstracted from the CEBs with the result presented in Table 5. It may be that the employment of staff explains the category which was chosen. The CEBs, however, record only live-

Table 5 Employment status of selected brewery tenants: Bradford, 1891

Employer	Employed	Neither employer nor employed	No information	n
%	%	%	%	
57	11	24	7	54

Source: Public Record Office Census enumerators' books for borough of Bradford, RG12/3615-43.

in servants, whereas these sorts of substantial public house would very likely have employed part-time staff. Certainly it is hard to believe that 23 of them who categorized themselves as other than an employer in fact employed no staff at all. There were also instances where there was a live-in servant but where the landlord is not recorded as an employer. But then of course the employment of purely domestic servants was excluded in the instructions to householders. One would expect, however, servants in a public house for all practical purposes to be employed in the trade. In six houses where the licensee owned the premises, all recorded live-in servants but only three were employers, two were neither employer nor employed and one managed to be both employer and neither employer nor employed. There is no need to labour the issue further. In the case of the licensed trade there would seem to be good grounds for regarding the figures of employment status as unusable.

Conclusion

What can one say then in conclusion? Some words of Peter Clark might seem apposite: 'Occupations are like butterflies – fragile data highly vulnerable to the rough winds of documentation. The more anxiously we pursue them the more the real truth flutters away affected by seasonality and life-cycle, self-perception and sense of status, multiple economic activity, gender bias and a plurality of other methodological problems.'⁴¹ Much in this case study certainly supports that. More specifically one must first reiterate here the need to view with great caution the statistics of the published reports, which both markedly underestimate the extent of the nineteenth-century drink trade and present a misleading picture of its nature. Second, the case study demonstrates the need to study the census as a series of processes involving a number of different actors, from the census authorities, through to householders, enumerators, registrars, superintendent registrars, clerks and back to the authorities. Third, and finally, the study shows the importance of viewing the census both in its historical context and as one of a multiplicity of historical sources.

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NOTES

1. M. Anderson, 'Mis-specification of servant occupations in the 1851 census: a problem revisited', *Local Population Studies*, **60** (1998), 58–64.
2. P. Jennings, *The public house in Bradford, 1770–1970*, (Keele, 1995).
3. Bradford Observer, 28 October 1852 and 22 August 1895. Such statistics should of course be treated with caution. They may reveal as much about policing as about drunkenness.
4. P.J. Waller, *Town, city, and nation. England 1850–1914*, (Oxford, 1983), 11.
5. Jennings, *Public house in Bradford*, 19 and 114–5.
6. Jennings, *Public house in Bradford*, 79–82. They were also known commonly as 'tom and jerry' shops, plus by other nicknames such as 'kidley' or 'tiddlywink' in various localities, though not in the CEBs examined here. For these nicknames see J. Wright, *English dialect dictionary*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1898–1905).
7. Public Record Office, (hereafter PRO), HO 107/1292–4 and 1296–7. HO 107/2305–10. RG 12/3615–43.
8. 1841 Census of Great Britain, *Occupation abstract. Part 1*. British Parliamentary Papers, (hereafter BPP) 1844 XXVII, 1-, 31–44.
9. Jennings, *Public house in Bradford*, 31, 68 and 95.
10. W. White, *Directory and topography of the borough of Leeds and the whole of the clothing district*, (Leeds, 1842).
11. W.A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', in E.A. Wrigley ed., *Nineteenth-century society: essays in the use of quantitative methods for the study of social data*, (Cambridge, 1972), 191–310.
12. 1851 Census of Great Britain, *Population tables II. Ages, civil condition, occupations and birthplaces of the people. Vol. 1*, BPP 1852–1853 LXXXVIII, pt. I, 1-, xcv.
13. 1851 Census of Great Britain, *Population tables II. Ages, civil condition, occupations and birthplaces of the people. Vol. 2*, BPP 1852–1853 LXXXVIII, pt. II, 1-, 720–5.
14. Bradford Observer, 7 September 1837, for advertisement for the Wharf Hotel. Plan of Ring of Bells in conveyance of 12 May 1880, part of the title deeds to same held by Joshua Tetley and Son Ltd., Leeds, viewed with their permission for which thanks are due. Watercolour of Church Steps Inn by N. S. Crichton (1853–1913), Bradford Art Galleries and Museums.
15. Jennings, *Public house in Bradford*, 98–9.
16. Bradford Observer, 26 August 1852 and 27 August 1868.
17. E. Higgs, *A clearer sense of the census. The Victorian censuses and historical research*, (London, 1996), 15. 1851 Census of Great Britain, *Forms and instructions etc.*, BPP 1851 XLIII, 1-, 34.
18. Bradford Observer, 12 March 1857.
19. On this question of who was responsible for annotations and alterations see M. Woollard, *The classification of occupations in the 1881 census of England and Wales*, (Colchester, 1999).
20. For an example of an instruction book from a later census see PRO RG 27/5, no. 69, 1881 Census of England and Wales. Instructions to the clerks employed in classifying the occupations and ages of the people.
21. Higgs, *Clearer sense of the census*, 157–8. I am grateful to Edward Higgs for answering my questions on the treatment of the retired and of second occupations.
22. Jennings, *Public house in Bradford*, 86–7.
23. 1851 Census of Great Britain, *Forms and instructions etc.*, 5–6 and 36–8. 1851 Census of Great Britain, *Population tables II. Vol. 1*, lxxxii.
24. J. Ibbetson, *General and classified directory, street list and history of Bradford*, (Bradford, 1850).
25. K. Schürer and D.R. Mills, 'Population and demography', in D. Mills and K. Schürer eds, *Local communities in the Victorian census enumerators' books*, (Oxford, 1996), 72–85.
26. Bradford Observer, 14 September 1848 and 6 September 1849.
27. Bradford Observer, 27 September 1849.
28. Name index to the census of 1851 for Bradford, prepared by the Bradford Family History Society and held at Bradford Central Library.

29. PRO, 1881 Census of England and Wales. Instructions to the clerks, RG 27/5, no. 69; PRO, 1891 Occupation abstract sheet, RG 27/6, no. 50.
30. PRO, Instructions to the clerks employed in abstracting the occupations and ages of the people, RG 27/6, no. 61.
31. PRO, RG 27/6, no. 50.
32. Jennings, *Public house in Bradford*, 211–2.
33. Jennings, *Public house in Bradford*, 129.
34. Jennings, *Public house in Bradford*, 156–7 and 182, where the figure cited is actually 21 as included among them is one salaried ‘barman’.
35. Title deeds to former George, Market Street property held by Bradford Metropolitan District Council to whom thanks are due for permission to inspect them.
36. Brewery ownership or leasing was established in these instances from the title deeds to the properties and/or from the police registers of licensed victuallers, which form part of the records of the former Bradford borough police held at the Wakefield office of the West Yorkshire Archive Service, viewed with permission from the West Yorkshire police.
37. E. Higgs, ‘The 1891 census: continuity and change’, *The Local Historian*, **22** (1992), 184–90.
38. 1891 Census of England and Wales, Vol. IV, *General report, with summary, tables and appendixes*, BPP 1893–1894 CVI, 138–9.
39. K. Schürer, ‘The 1891 census and local population studies’, *Local Population Studies*, **47** (1991), 16–29.
40. J. Vaizey, *The brewing industry 1886–1951: an economic study*, (London, 1960), 17. T.R. Gourvish and R.G. Wilson, *The British brewing industry 1830–1980*, (Cambridge, 1994), 267. Jennings, *Public house in Bradford*, 152.
41. P. Clark, ‘Occupations and the English small towns project at Leicester University’, in K. Schürer and H. Diederiks eds, *The use of occupations in historical analysis*, (St. Katharinen, 1993), 22–7.