
The Thames as a Barrier in the Eighteenth Century

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Abstract

Analysis of marriage registers, apprentice records, wills and insurance policies demonstrates that in the eighteenth century, the Thames, downstream from the Tower of London, was a major barrier to the development of strong business and marriage links between the residents on the north bank in Stepney, and those on the south bank in Surrey and Kent. Possible reasons for our findings are examined in the context of London's growth, migration patterns and business opportunities. The importance of Sun Fire Office insurance policies, in examining personal and commercial links between places far apart is emphasised. Suggestions are made for future research.

Introduction

This paper explores three aspects of the lives of Stepney residents in the eighteenth century: their marriage horizons, their business interests, and their links with the Home Counties and the City, and asks whether any of these activities were curtailed by the Thames.¹

We are interested in differences between areas of London, and unlike some studies, do not treat the city as an integrated whole with no barriers to trade and movement between one parish and another. Broadly, there has been an emphasis in some studies on the idea that, within the capital, major developments in economic activity were driven mainly by City merchants. This leads to a neglect of merchant networks in the suburbs. However, Jones has challenged the idea of single integrated entity in seventeenth-century London with his 'ecological approach'. He emphasised that London was a mosaic of small communities, and the same pattern can be recognised in the eighteenth century, particularly as the major growth in the population took place outside the City walls.² Stepney is a good example of one part of the mosaic. It was not affected by the Great Fire, and was characterised by major changes in wealth and occupation from street to street, supporting Jones's observation that: 'The pre-industrialised city is characterised by great social mixing. ... Substantial houses often had lanes and alleyways of squalor immediately behind them, ... and social mix prevailed even within the prosperous houses.'³ The wealthy Scandinavian merchants of

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- 1 'Stepney' is used as an informal descriptor for the area studied: 'Sailortown' (the parishes of Wapping and Shadwell), the parishes of Spitalfields and Whitechapel, and the hamlets of Mile End Old Town and Ratcliff in the ancient parish of Stepney, in the Tower Division of Middlesex.
 - 2 S. Inwood, *A History of London* (Basingstoke, 1998), 257–68. E. Jones, 'London in the early seventeenth century: an ecological approach', *London Journal*, 6 (1980), pp. 123–34.
 - 3 Jones, 'London in the early seventeenth century', p. 126.

Well Close Square, and the Jewish merchants in Leaman Street, lived close to the slums of Rag Fair, and safely walked through the area with the help of ‘runners’ and link boys.⁴

In a previous study in 2007, we found that an analysis of the country estates owned or leased by merchants from Stepney in the eighteenth century showed that, of over 300 estates, only five were found in Kent and Surrey.⁵ E.A. Wrigley noted that ‘Many London merchants bought land in the country’ and that ‘the necessity of feeding London created market conditions over great tracts of England which fostered agricultural improvement and reduced economic regionalism’.⁶ But neither Wrigley or others have explored the links between the geographical distribution of such estates and the home parish of the merchant in London, which might, as with Stepney, reveal a sectoral bias.

There are many examples of successful East London merchants and traders establishing themselves on estates and farms in Essex, Suffolk and Hertfordshire. A total of 182 country houses have been identified in Essex, and more in Suffolk, many of them built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and bought or rented by London merchants.⁷ This was a process noted by Daniel Defoe, who had a deep knowledge of the men of Stepney. Defoe, and later Gauci, were also aware of wealthy merchants who kept one foot in the City and possibly no more than a toe in the country, where they kept a fine house with a large garden or a small park for use as a summer retreat. In Essex, Defoe spoke of the very considerable estates enjoyed by citizens of London in Essex and Suffolk.⁸ However, neither Defoe nor later writers noticed that Stepney merchants rarely invested south of the river. Another challenge to the idea that the majority of economic activity was driven by City merchants has been our discovery of major merchant networks, based in Stepney, and trading world-wide, which do not figure in earlier examinations of London’s trading networks.⁹ Gauci showed that, between 1660 and 1720, the merchants trading overseas clustered in the eastern half of the City.¹⁰ Unfortunately, his research deliberately ignored the distribution of merchants just outside the City walls in Portsoken Ward, Wapping and Whitechapel: all within walking distance of the coffee houses around the Stock Exchange.¹¹ Wealthy merchants and traders lived and worked in Stepney and to ignore them leaves a misleading

4 J. Turner, ‘Ill-favoured sluts? The disorderly women of Rosemary Lane and Rag Fair,’ *London Journal*, 38 (2013), pp. 95–109.

5 See D. Morris, *Mile End Old Town, 1740–1780: a Social History of an Early Modern London Suburb* (London, 2007).

6 E.A. Wrigley, ‘A simple model of London’s importance in changing English society and economy 1650–1750’, *Past and Present*, 37 (1967), pp. 44–71.

7 B. Cowell, ‘Essex country houses’, paper presented to Essex History Group, September 2017.

8 D. Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, edited by P. Rogers (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 48, 56, 57 and 110; P. Gauci, *Emporium of the World: the Merchants of London, 1660–1800* (London, 2007).

9 R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London’s Overseas Traders, 1550–1653* (Princeton, NJ, 2003); C. Gill, *Merchants and Mariners of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1961); D. Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 50; P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730* (London, 1989).

10 P. Gauci, *The Politics of Trade: the Overseas Merchant in State and Society, 1660–1720* (Oxford, 2001).

11 P. Gauci, personal communication.

Figure 1 Map of London 1720



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picture. Merchants provided long-term continuity in their communities, took responsibility for local administration and provided work and charity for their poorer neighbours. Family-based business partnerships and networks were an essential part of the social and economic fabric in Stepney, and were linked in many ways with government, the City of London, the Home Counties and coastal counties. Many of these merchants took advantage of the growth in global trade as Britain expanded its maritime empire.¹²

One of our major assumptions is that the residents of Stepney had strong business and family links with the City, Essex and Suffolk, but much weaker links with the counties south of the Thames. We consider the Thames to be a barrier for some activities, in contrast to the assumption in other studies that it facilitated the integration of London's economy. Certainly until the 1960s the Thames was regarded as 'Britain's prime commercial artery' and the river was linked with the prosperity of London.¹³ Given that travel in and around

12 D. Morris and K. Cozens, *Wapping 1600–1800: a Social History of an Early Modern London Maritime Suburb* (London, 2009); D. Morris, *Whitechapel, 1600–1800: a Social History of an Early Modern London Inner Suburb* (London, 2011).

13 J. Schneer, *The Thames: England's River* (London, 2005), pp. 68, 286. J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2012), p. 11.

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Figure 2 Thomas Rowlandson's image of watermen



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London was known to be constrained by crowded, narrow streets and, until 1750, only one bridge crossed the Thames, it might be expected that links between one parish and another would be limited (see Figure 1 for a contemporary map of London). But such a view conflicts with the treatment of London as a single entity and the knowledge that there were thousands of watermen and lightermen on the Thames facilitating movement of people and goods, well illustrated by Thomas Rowlandson (Figure 2). Certainly, the Thames provided a quick and convenient way to travel that avoided the congestion in the streets, but our evidence is that, in spite of a number of ferries, the north–south links were weak.

The archives

To explore the three aspects of the lives of Stepney's inhabitants, three independent

archives were examined: marriage registers on both banks of the Thames, apprenticeship records in a select number of livery companies, and the Sun Fire Office insurance policies.

The search for eighteenth century marriages, where one of the partners came from a parish on the opposite bank of the Thames, was based on the records of three parish churches in Stepney (St Anne, Limehouse; St Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney; and St Paul, Shadwell), four parishes on the south bank (St Paul, Deptford; St Alphege, East Greenwich; St Saviour, Southwark; and St Mary Magdalene, Woolwich), and the Fleet (in case clandestine marriages were preferred for cross-river marriages). Only marriages where the addresses for both partners were clear and unambiguous were selected. An important change took place in 1753 with Hardwicke's act that required that couples had to be married in a parish in which one of them had lived for at least four weeks. This made residence more closely synonymous to place of marriage, and may reflect earlier customs. It is thought that exogamous marriages patterns show interaction with other communities and the distance, direction and density of contacts can be assessed. Kitch has suggested that it was normal for 25–40 per cent of marriages to involve a partner drawn from outside a parish. However, we believe different patterns might be found in congested London.¹⁴

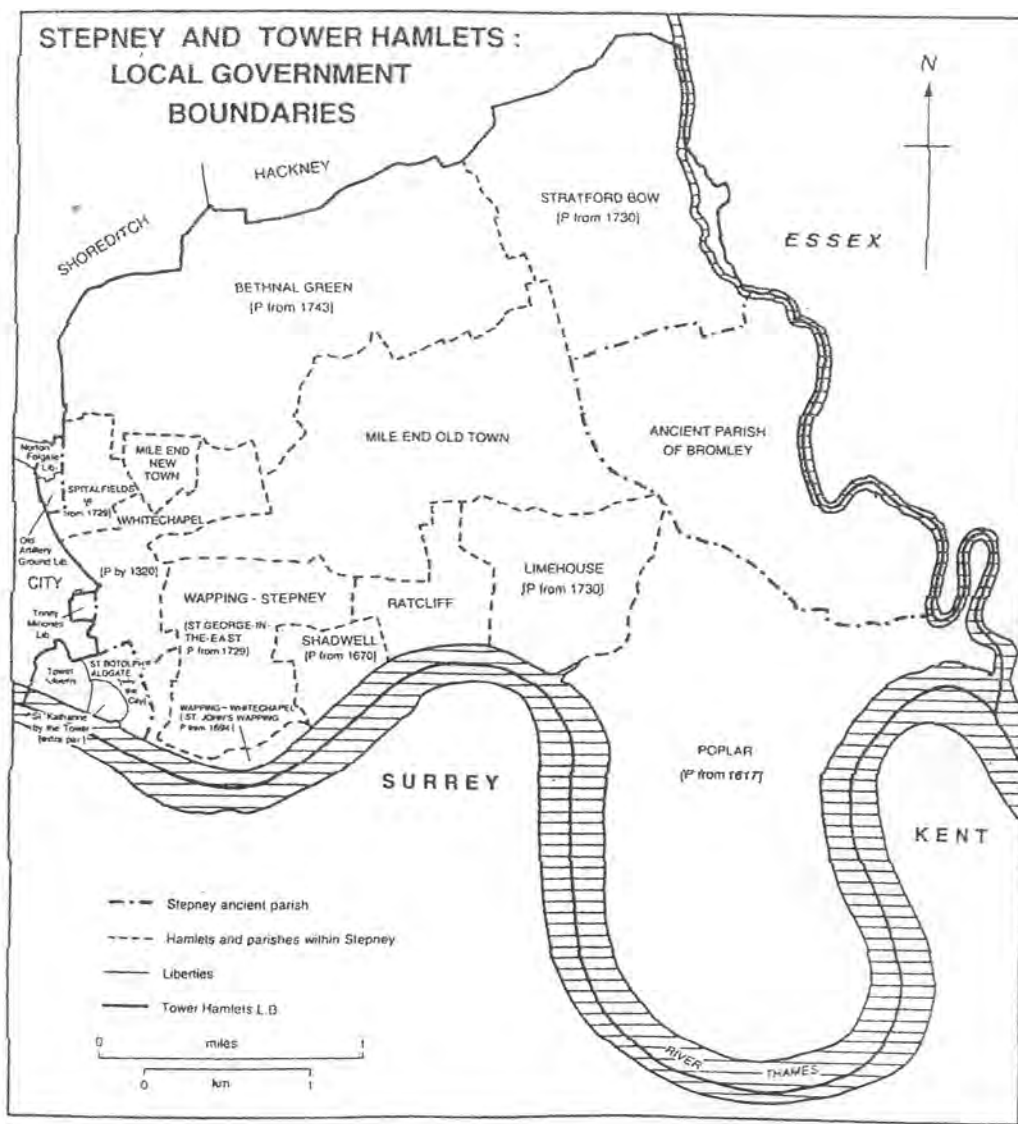
The archives of six livery companies that earlier research had shown to have had links with Stepney were examined to identify the abodes of apprentices: Butchers, Clothworkers, Drapers, Shipwrights, Tallow Chandlers and Watermen. The main criteria for selection was that for every apprentice there had to be an address for both the father of the apprentice and the master. It was hoped that there would be at least 50 apprentices meeting these criteria in any livery company. The records for over 1,500 apprentices were used to illustrate the extent of the movement. It was not intended to establish the total number of apprentices moving from one bank to another in the eighteenth century, nor to examine whether there were changes over time. It might be expected that there would be differences between the companies depending on their strength in the parishes down river from the Tower. There will also be differences in the reasons for an apprenticeship to be taken on the opposite bank between those companies whose trades were common on both banks (for example Shipwrights and Watermen), and those whose links were weak (for example Clothmakers).

There are well-known problems with the marriage and apprenticeship records. As noted by Razzell, one cannot be certain how much care was taken by the clerks to record all marriages, and it must be expected that recording was probably very inconsistent from one parish to another and changed with time.¹⁵ Similar problems may be found in livery company records. Nor do we know how accurately abodes were recorded: the address in the marriage registers might be that of their most recent abode and not of their original parish. There is also a problem in East London that parish boundaries are complex (Figure 3). Possibly only the land tax collectors knew accurately which street or alley was

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- 14 J. Millard, 'A new approach to the study of marriage horizons', *Local Population Studies*, 28 (1982), pp. 10–31; M. J. Kitch, 'Capital and kingdom: migration to later Stuart London', in A.L. Beier and R. Finlay (eds), *London, 1500–1700: the Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986), pp. 224–51.
- 15 P. Razzell, *Mortality, marriage and population growth in England, 1550 1850* (London, 2016), pp. 15–28.

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Figure 3 Ossulstone Hundred, showing local government boundaries in Stepney



Source: Reproduced from *A History of the County of Middlesex*, Vol. XI, (Oxford, 1998) page iv, by permission of the Production Manager.

in a particular parish. Equally, in the livery company records, especially the Watermen, we cannot be certain how concerned the clerks were about an apprentice's origins.

These are not problems with the policies of the Sun Fire Office between 1710 and the 1860s. It was essential to the Fire Office that the correct address of an insured property was recorded, not least to avoid the problem of fraud. Usually a property was identified by its street and parish and its relation to nearby property, for example 'opposite the Red Lion',

in addition to a house number if available. At present, some 380,000 Sun Fire Office insurance policies for the years 1782–1842, are on-line, and the number is increasing with time as the indexing is extended backwards towards 1710 and forwards towards 1862. Of these, some 14,000 (3.68 per cent), come from Stepney, and over 10,000 (2.63 per cent), from the south bank. The policies covered property, household goods, pictures, stock and ships. The on-line index contains nearly a million names and many occupations (from labourers to dukes) and street addresses. A valuable feature of the online index to the Sun policies is that the London Metropolitan Archive search facility enables one to identify a person in one parish insuring property, stock and ships in another parish, and *vice versa*.¹⁶

London in the eighteenth century

Cities, like London, have a, ‘paradoxical duality ... on the one hand cities are fluid collections of people, who through movement and migration, arrive in and move through city streets as strangers to each other, on the other hand cities are composed of a series of “urban villages”—residential communities of settled neighbours’.¹⁷ One aspect of this duality was that eighteenth century London, which had ‘a truly national migration field’, depended on a constant influx of newcomers to maintain its population.¹⁸ The other important aspect was that its death rate (driven by infant mortality for much of the time) was higher than its birth rate. It therefore needed net migration to sustain and grow the population. A large proportion of Londoners were born outside the city, many came from the hinterland.¹⁹

Broadly speaking, the direct hinterland, or the area immediately surrounding the city, was the source of apprentices, domestic servants, day labourers, and other relatively unspecialised labour, while higher status workers and those with specific skills moved over greater distances, and travelled to London from other towns and cities.²⁰ The movement of family groups was common, and many migrants from the hinterland married and settled in London. There is limited understanding of where these migrants settled in London with the exception of the French and the Irish. It is difficult to find evidence that there were immigrant ghettos within the city streets or neighbourhoods in which most people came from Devonshire or Yorkshire, for example.²¹

16 D. Morris, ‘Labourers and insurance’, *Cockney Ancestor*, 133 (2011), pp. 10–11; London Metropolitan Archive (hereafter LMA), *Fire Insurance Records*, Information Leaflet 48 (London, 2018); L.D. Schwarz and L.J. Jones, ‘Wealth, occupations and insurance in the late 18th century: the policy registers of the Sun Fire Office’, *Economic History Review*, 36 (1983), pp. 365–73; I. Watson, ‘Early fire insurance online: a country-wide resource’, *Local History News*, 123 (2017), pp. 15–16; I. Watson, ‘A place in the Sun: topography through insurance policies’, *Newsletter, London Topographic Society*, 86 (2018), pp. 6–8.

17 J. Allen, D. Massey and M. Pryke, *Unsettling Cities: Movement/Settlement* (London, 1999), pp. 96, 101.

18 Inwood, *History of London*, pp. 271–9.

19 White, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 90–1; Razzell, *Mortality, Marriage and Population Growth*, p. 35; J. Boulton and L. Schwarz, ‘Yet another enquiry into the trustworthiness of eighteenth-century London’s bills of mortality’, *Local Population Studies*, 85 (2010), pp. 28–45.

20 See C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1998), pp. 50–71; and A. Winter, ‘Population and migration: European and Chinese experiences compared’, in P. Clark (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, (Oxford, 2013), pp. 403–20.

21 P. Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London, 1650–1750* (London 1994), p. 43.

Migrants were drawn to London by the possibility of higher wages, charity or poor relief, a lack of social control, a lack of opportunities at home or by major subsistence crises. The overall impression is that migrants into London settled wherever they could find work and companionship. However, Jeremy Boulton demonstrated a considerable level of residential persistence in Southwark, and the same is found in Stepney, particularly amongst shopkeepers and merchants.²² In contrast, Romola Davenport found that many in London made frequent short-range moves between parishes: only those claiming settlement might find their movements restricted.²³ The result of this migration is that the population of London grew from around 575,000 in 1700 until by 1801 there were 1.1 million in what would become today's Greater London.²⁴

From this movement into London comes the need to identify where these migrants settled and their connections with adjacent parishes, and London's hinterland. In exploring these connections, this paper focuses on the strengths and weaknesses of the links between the peoples on the north and south banks of the Thames, down river from Tower of London.²⁵ Possible barriers to movement include topography and rivers. Away from London, in the West Country, Cathy Day's examination of geographical mobility found that the 'Somerset-Wiltshire border formed a barrier, although a porous one, to the flow of marriage partners', and that occupation influenced geographical mobility.²⁶ However, in contrast to our findings, Spencer Dimmock's study of Welsh migration to Bristol in the sixteenth century found that migrants did move along rivers.²⁷

The Thames and travellers

In general histories of London there are many ways of viewing the Thames: from poetry 'which has always emphasised its affiliations with human purpose and with human realities', to Defoe, and many others, for whom the Thames was 'the life-blood of the nation'.²⁸ The Thames 'had always provided an excellent east-west highway, interrupted only by the dangerous rapids under London Bridge, and shifting sand banks'.²⁹ The Thames was also used for the annual investiture of the Lord Mayor, who travelled by water from the City to

22 J. Boulton, 'Neighbourhood migration in early modern London', in P. Clark and D. Souden (eds), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London, 1987), pp. 107–49.

23 R. Davenport, 'Urban family reconstitution a worked example', *Local Population Studies*, 96 (2016), pp. 28–49; see also Pooley and Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility*; I.D. Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain, 1550–1830* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 14; T. Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London, 2007), pp. 142–5.

24 White, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 3, 79.

25 Winter, 'Population and migration'; J. Landers, *Death in the Metropolis London, 1670–1870* (Cambridge, 1993); Inwood, *History of London*, pp. 272–5; C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, 'Migration and mobility in Britain from the 18th to the 20th centuries', *Local Population Studies*, 57 (1996), pp. 50–71.

26 C. Day, 'Geographical mobility in Wiltshire, 1754–1914', *Local Population Studies*, 88 (2012), pp. 50–75, here at p. 50.

27 See S. Dimmock, 'The origins of Welsh apprentices in sixteenth-century Bristol', *Welsh History Review*, 24 (2009), pp. 116–40.

28 P. Ackroyd, *The Thames: Sacred River*, (London, 2008), pp. 7, 190.

29 Inwood, *History of London*, p. 541.

Westminster in his decorated barge, followed by barges from the other eleven great City companies.³⁰

The Thames was important for those visiting the theatres in Bankside, which were ‘advantageously placed, as audiences could be brought by the watermen to the riverside landing stages close by’.³¹ The Thames was also used by those attending meetings and dances at freemasons’ lodges. The social links based on freemasonry can be found throughout London, and in East London centred on the Dundee Arms Lodge in Wapping, whose members included many local merchants, the artist Francis Holman and Elder and Younger Brethren of Trinity House. The St Georges Lodge, also in Stepney, attracted members from both banks of the Thames and further afield, and requires further research.³²

When, discussing the disadvantages of living in eighteenth-century London as it grew more and more crowded, White concluded ‘it was the sheer inability to get from one place to another that most of all refashioned central London on the ground’.³³ One aspect of life in London was the ownership of coaches. The 1750s tax on carriages reveals that in Stepney there were about 270 ‘keepers of coaches’, and many of these men and women were prominent in their localities but, for the vast majority of residents, walking was the only way of moving around London.³⁴ For those who wished to drive to their estates in their own or hired coaches, it was much more comfortable, faster and cheaper, to ride out to Essex and Suffolk than it was to cross to the south bank via London Bridge or the horse ferries. The Thames was essential to the movement of goods and people and provided an acceptable route for migrants to London, particularly from coastal counties but its role, if any, in influencing an immigrant’s final destination in the city is not understood. Nor is it clear what proportion of river journeys were for business, as distinct from social visits and possibly courting.³⁵

Migrants to London

Wareing found that by the beginning of the eighteenth century London’s ‘migration field’ had contracted to a radius of 130 km.³⁶ More recent research has also argued that ‘London voraciously absorbed lower class migrants from its immediate hinterland its pull increasing the closer one approached’, but this study had no information on lower-class migrants from Essex, Kent or Surrey.³⁷ It is possible that migrants might have been following distinct

30 Schneer, *Thames*, p. 65.

31 S. Porter, *Shakespeare’s London: Everyday Life in London, 1580–1616* (Stroud, 2009), pp. 210–14.

32 Morris and Cozens, *Wapping 1600–1800*, pp. 24–8, 127, 131.

33 White, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 39; Morris, *Whitechapel 1600–1800*.

34 D. Morris, ‘Silver and carriage duties; 1757–1766’, *Genealogists’ Magazine*, 30 (2011), pp. 147–151; Morris, *Whitechapel*, p. 46.

35 See H. Humphreys, *History of the Origin and Progress of the Company of Watermen and Lightermen* (London, 1981).

36 J. Wareing, ‘Changes in the geographical distribution of the recruitment of apprentices to the London companies, 1486–1750’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 6 (1980), pp. 241–9.

37 A. Crymble, A. Dennett and T. Hitchcock, ‘Modelling regional imbalances in English plebeian migration to late eighteenth-century London’, *Economic History Review*, 71 (2018), pp. 747–71, here at p. 763.

migration circuits but when Clark examined this question he concluded that there was nothing to show that distinct geographical concentrations of Kentishmen or Yorkshiremen existed in the capital. In general, provincial loyalties were probably more diluted and fragmented than was the case in continental cities.³⁸ Clark thought that he had located boarding houses in Wapping in the 1740s that catered for migrants from Kent and the west country, providing them with regional food and drink, but this is now accepted as an incorrect interpretation of the account books of Betty Wright of Gosport.³⁹

Earle's examination of the depositions of witnesses in the London Church courts between 1665 and 1725 found that some 30.7 per cent of men and 34.6 per cent of women came from the 'near counties', within 100 km of London, which included Essex and Kent. Unfortunately, he did not provide an analysis based on individual counties, to test the hypothesis that the Thames was a barrier. But from his analysis it is clear that Kent is not in the top twelve counties sending migrants to London, and Essex only tenth, but Kent comes fourth as a source of sailors coming to London.⁴⁰

Marriages 'across the water'

That Stepney merchants invested in Essex and Suffolk rather than south of the river might be a reflection of a major aspect of life in Stepney, and the strengths of its links with London and the Home Counties. The first aspect of life to be studied were marriages, which usually resulted from everyday contacts, bringing together people of similar ages and social backgrounds living fairly close to each other. The distances between the places of residence of brides and grooms at the time of their marriage have been seen as measures of patterns of contact and the extent of the horizons of various social groups.⁴¹

There have been a limited number of studies of the marriage horizons of east Londoners. Cressey examined the depositions of witnesses dwelling in the east London parishes of Stepney and Whitechapel in ecclesiastical court cases of the Diocese of London for 1580 to 1640.⁴² His sample included the birthplaces of 104 working men living in Stepney and Whitechapel, but only three men had been born in Kent, compared to five in Essex, four in Hertfordshire, and ten in Devon. However, the low proportion of men from Kent may be a consequence of the small sample size and its source. For the period 1606–1610 a study of 841 marriages in Stepney concluded that 79 per cent were between partners from within the parish, and 21 per cent involved partners from outside Stepney.⁴³

38 P. Clark, 'Migrants in the city: the process of social adaption in English Towns, 1500–1800', in P. Clark and D. Souden (eds), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London, 1987), pp. 267–91.

39 D. Morris and K. Cozens, 'Mariners ashore in the eighteenth century: the role of boarding-house keepers and victuallers', *Mariner's Mirror*, 103 (2017), pp. 431–49; P. Clark, personal communication.

40 Earle, *City Full of People*, pp. 45–7, 76, see Table 3.3; Wareing, 'Changes in the geographical distribution'.

41 Whyte, *Migration and Society in Britain*, pp. 44–6; M. Saxby, 'Marriage horizons in Surrey and Nottinghamshire', *Local Population Studies*, 91 (2013), pp. 63–7.

42 D. Cressey, 'Occupations, migration and literacy in east London, 1580–1640', *Local Population Studies*, 5 (1970), pp. 53–60.

43 East London History Group, 'The population of Stepney in the early seventeenth century: report on an analysis of the parish registers of Stepney, 1606–1610', *Local Population Studies*, 3 (1969), pp. 39–52.

Again, the number of partners from Kent was low, only 15 (1.78 per cent), but 'it was impossible to assess the reliability of these statistics for measuring immigration to Stepney'.⁴⁴ To follow up this study we selected 208 marriages between 1606 and 1610 where the abode of both partners was given. This showed that of the 199 Stepney women:

- 146 (73.4 per cent) married a groom from Stepney;
- 25 (12.6 per cent) married a groom from the City or a north London suburb;
- 12 (6.0 per cent) married a groom from Essex;
- 9 (4.5 per cent) married a groom from Southwark and Deptford; and
- 5 (2.5 per cent) married a groom from Kent and Surrey.

There was one groom from Yorkshire and another from Cambridgeshire but none from counties to the west of London.

As expected, for 153 Stepney grooms the proportions are different: 146 (95.4 per cent) married a bride from Stepney and seven (4.6 per cent) married a bride from outside the parish: four from the City and Essex and three from Kent. Again, there were no marriage links with the counties to the west of London.

Marriages between men and women from both banks of the Thames

Our study of marriages in the eighteenth century where one of the partners came from a parish on the opposite bank of the Thames was based on an analysis of over 4,000 marriages. Three points are notable. First, an analysis of 220 marriages at St Dunstons, Stepney, between January 1740 and December 1742, reveals that 206 (93.6 per cent) of the marriages involved local men and women. In only two cases did the groom come from outside London and the Home Counties: John Lee from Devon and Henry Fenwick from South Shields.⁴⁵ Again there were no marriage links with the counties to the west of London. It has yet to be shown if this pattern changed with time and parish. Second, all the parishes studied recorded men from ports in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, reflecting the strength of the coastal trading links with London's eastern parishes. The distant home towns of some of the grooms are included in Tables 1 and 2. Third, the number of marriages between partners from opposite banks of the Thames appears to be very low, less than 1 per cent, given that these parishes are all within a mile or so of each other. Both St Dunstan, Stepney, and St Saviour, Southwark had a dozen or so marriages, where both partners came from the opposite bank.

These marriages reflect a pattern that can also be found in the Fleet Clandestine Marriages: between 1736 and 1754, from a sample of 224 there were only five (2.23 per

44 East London History Group, 'Population of Stepney', p. 49.

45 LMA, P93/DUN/039, St Dunstan, Stepney marriages, 1719-1754. John Lee, 24 October 1741, Henry Fenwick, 7 June 1742.

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Table 1 Marriages in Stepney between men and women from both banks of the Thames

Parish	Dates	Number of marriages	Marriages of men from Stepney to women from south of the Thames	Marriages of women from Stepney to men from south of the Thames	Grooms also came from
St Anne, Limehouse	1730–1754	588	7	10	Carmarthenshire, Monmouth
St Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney	1734–1749	1,788	1	11	Cornwall, Hartland and Topsham, Devon, Southampton, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, North Shields
St Paul, Shadwell	1740–1749	281	1	4	St Just, Cornwall, Stoke Demeral, Devon, Milford, Southampton, Yarmouth, Tynemouth, Northumberland
Totals		2,657	9 (0.34%)	25 (0.94%)	

Source: Parish registers of London, all available at https://www.ancestry.co.uk/search/categories/london_met_archives/ [accessed 21 November 2018]. In particular, see registers of St Anne, Limehouse, P93/ANN/022; St Dunstan and All Saints, Stepney, P93/DUYN/039; and St Paul, Shadwell, P93/PAU3/016.

cent) marriages of men and women from north of the Thames to partners from south of the Thames.⁴⁶

In assessing the value of these discoveries it is clear that one important factor was Stepney's large population: Whitechapel in the mid eighteenth century, had a population of about 25,000, double the size of Hull and about the same size as Glasgow and Liverpool.⁴⁷ This meant that there were hundreds of possible partners available locally, and there was little need to search elsewhere for a partner. Another explanation for the low number of marriages between partners from opposite banks of the Thames is that there were many poor men earning a few shillings a week who could not justify twopence to take sculls on a regular basis to court a partner on the other bank. Their only free option was to walk into

46 M.D. Herber, *Clandestine Marriages in the Chapel and Rules in the Fleet Prison, 1680–1754* (London, 1998–2001); The National Archive (hereafter TNA), Nonconformist and non-parish births, marriages and deaths, 1567–1969. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/nonconformist-non-parish-births-marriages-deaths-1567-1969/> [last accessed 15 November 2018].

47 Morris, *Whitechapel 1600–1800*, p. 1.

Table 2 Marriages south of the river between men and women from both banks of the Thames

Parish	Dates	Number of marriages	Marriages of men from south of the Thames to women from Stepney	Marriages of women from south of the Thames to men from Stepney	Grooms also came from
St Paul, Deptford	1736–1754	302	2	0	Portsmouth, Liverpool, Cork, Whitby, York, Scarborough
St Alphege, East Greenwich	1751–1759	356	2	4	Bristol, Stockton, Durham
St Saviour, Southwark	1732–1760	1,124	4	6	Hereford, Southampton, Essex, Whitby
St Mary Magdalene, Woolwich	1744–1753	76	2	1	Wexford, Limerick, Manchester, Falmouth, Gosport, Devon, Newcastle, Midlothian, Bermuda
Totals		1,858	10 (0.54%)	11 (0.59%)	

Source: Parish registers of London, all available at https://www.ancestry.co.uk/search/categories/london_met_archives/ [accessed 21 November 2018]. In particular, see registers of St Paul, Deptford, P75/PAU/001; St Alphege, East Greenwich, P78/ALF/030, 031; St Saviour, Southwark, P92/SAV/3039-40; St Mary Magdalene, Woolwich, P97/MRY/006.

the City and meet there or cross to the other bank by London Bridge, but few, if any, seemed prepared to walk 20 km: ‘a separation distance ... [that] is usually regarded as a practical limit to courtship for those who had to travel on foot’.⁴⁸ Another possibility, examined here, is that for some of these marriages the partner, originally from one bank of the river, had moved to the other side as an apprentice, so the address in the marriage registers is that of their most recent abode and not of their original parish.

Movement of apprentices across the Thames

There has been much research on the movement of apprentices from all over England to

⁴⁸ L. Inglis, *Georgian London: Into the Streets* (London, 2013), p. 248; B. Parker, ‘Marriage horizons at Woodstock a revised approach’, *Local Population Studies*, 94 (2015), pp. 67–70, here at p. 69.

masters in London and how this pattern changed with time, and it has been shown for the period 1600–1749 that there is:

little evidence that personal ties strongly shaped apprentice recruitment. The typical London apprentices had no identifiable tie to their master through kin or place of origin. Migrant apprentices' fathers were generally outside the craft sector. The apprenticeship market was strikingly open: well-to-do families accessed a wide range of apprenticeships, and would-be apprentices could match ability and aptitude to opportunity.⁴⁹

An unexplored area is the movement of apprentices between London parishes, and in particular (to the best of our knowledge) no one has looked at the pattern of movement between the north and south bank of the Thames down river from the Tower. Clearly much depended on a family's connections, and where particular trades were centred watchmakers in Clerkenwell, coachmakers in Long Lane, butchers in Newgate Market, and the leather trades in Bermondsey. It might also be expected that Southwark's links would be strongest with the City rather than Stepney. Equally, there must be differences between the companies, and between one master and another. The 'Great' companies were concentrated in the City near their livery halls, whilst large numbers of watermen and shipwrights were concentrated on the banks of the Thames, down river from the Tower.⁵⁰

When searching for evidence on the movement of apprentices between the north and south banks of the Thames it is important to remember the great variation to be found in the policies and operations of livery companies.⁵¹ The City companies recruited their apprentices from all over the country and all social groups, and premiums varied between and within trades. Thus important decisions concerned the level of premium that a family could afford to pay a master, and how many of their children could be apprenticed.⁵² The master, in exchange for the premium, was expected, within the strict terms of apprenticeship indentures and statute law, to provide the apprentice with training for a period of years (normally seven years but eight years for apothecaries), and to provide food, accommodation and other items necessary for the training. For Defoe the premiums of £500 or more commanded by the leading City merchants were 'an unaccountable excess, which is the ruin of many servants'.⁵³ In contrast a weaver in Bethnal Green would take an apprentice for

49 T. Leunig, C. Minns and P. Wallis, 'Networks in the premodern economy: the market for London apprenticeships, 1600–1749', *Journal of Economic History*, 71 (2011), pp. 413–43, here at p. 413.

50 C. Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, social mobility and the middling sort, 1550–1800', in J. Barry and C. Brooks (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550–1800* (London, 1994), pp. 52–83; P. Wallis, 'Apprenticeship and training in premodern England', *Journal of Economic History*, 68 (2008), pp. 832–61; L.D. Schwarz, 'London apprentices in the seventeenth century: some problems', *Local Population Studies*, 38 (1987), pp. 18–22.

51 Inwood, *History of London*, pp. 181–4.

52 Leunig *et al.*, 'Networks in the premodern economy'.

53 D. Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesmen*, 1726, edited by N. Mander (Gloucester, 1987), p. 114; the premium paid for William Fitzhugh from Mile End in 1734 was £1,400, Guildhall, Ms 15860, Vol. 8, Haberdashers' Company.

£3 or £4.⁵⁴ A ‘Great’ company, like the Drapers, was no longer concerned with the day-to-day control of their trade, and it must not be assumed that the majority of men in a trade were free of a company. In Stepney there were over 70 grocers but only a dozen or so were members of the Grocers’ Company. Several could charge premiums of between £50 and £100, wealthy enough to feel at home with grocers from the City, but out of hundreds of apprentices only one boy from the south bank (from Deal) found his way to a master in Stepney. Equally, there were merchants south of the river who could afford to pay premiums of £300. William Barber, a linen draper in Southwark in 1796 received a premium of £60, and Simon Warner, a Bermondsey coal factor, paid a premium of £310 to Richard Harris, a seedsman in the City.⁵⁵

A good example of a company whose cross-Thames trade links between Southwark and Stepney were weak is the Clothworkers’ Company. In Whitechapel many members of the Company were cheesemongers, and locally, the textile trades were dominated by silk throwsters whose connections were with the silk industry in Spitalfields, and not with the felt makers in Southwark. The apprentices from Stepney in the Clothworkers’ Company records who went south of the river, were apprenticed to a variety of trades, including a broom maker, a salesman, a ropemaker, and only two to masters in the textile trade.⁵⁶

The extent of the catchment area from which an individual master attracted his apprentices, depended on his family and trade links. The Shipwrights’ Company masters in the City, Stepney and on the south bank, attracted apprentices from Perth to Plymouth and from Dublin to Amsterdam, but mainly from an area close to London. At the individual level there were great variations: Charles Lane, a Southwark shipwright, had ten apprentices between 1738 and 1770 and none came from Stepney. In contrast John Goater, a mathematical instrument maker in Wapping, and also free of the Shipwrights’, between 1779 and 1782 had six apprentices, one coming from Southwark.⁵⁷

An even bigger problem, in trying to understand our analysis of the marriages, is that many apprentices did not become free of their livery company. In the Watermen and Lightermen’s Company half of the boys failed to gain freedom. This might be a reflection of the charges that occurred when granting a freedom. For the shipwrights the fees on making persons free on a Court Day, which were held on the last Tuesday of each month, were:

To the Warden	£0 5s 0d
Stamp	£0 2s 0d
Company	£0 9s 4d
Clerk	£0 1s 6d

54 P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, pp. 94–5.

55 Morris, *Whitechapel 1600–1800*, pp. 27–8; Drapers’ Company, www.londonroll.org [accessed 26 August 2017]; Guildhall, Grocers’ Company, Apprentice bindings, MS 11598/005.

56 Morris, *Whitechapel 1600–1800*, pp. 65–70; Clothworkers’ Company, www.londonroll.org [accessed 27 August 2017].

57 Guildhall, C. H. Ridge, *Records of the Shipwrights’ Company*, Vol. 1 1428–c.1780, Vol. 2 c.1780–1858.

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Beadle	£0 1s 6d
Poor's Box	£0 1s 0d
 Total	 £1 0s 4d

If an apprentice was made free on a day when the Court was not sitting, another seven shillings had to be paid. For a young man at the age of 21 years or so with an income of perhaps £12 a year this was a large expenditure for little immediate gain: until perhaps later in his career when establishing trade networks would be important.⁵⁸ Equally, it is not certain whether, after completing their apprenticeships, they stayed in the area of their master, or moved elsewhere in the search for work. Tables 3 and 4 are based on all the entries in the selected livery company records, which gave the parish of the apprentice at the time of binding. It is probably impossible to discover where the apprentice was born or

Table 3 Destinations of south bank apprentices, 1700–1800

Company and dates	Sample size	South Bank	Stepney	City	Source
Butchers 1782–1793	32	2	2	28	MS 06447/005
Clothworkers 1700–1800	264	167	8	127	Londonroll
Drapers 1700–1800	88	38	3	47	Londonroll
Shipwrights 1700–1784	148	76	23	3	Ridge
Tallow Chandlers 1764–1782	38	22	4	12	MS 06159/2
Watermens 1750–1760	140	140	0	0	MS 06891/10 Findmypast

Sources: See column 6 of table. All MS sources are to be located in the Guildhall. For 'Londonroll' see www.londonroll.org. For 'Findmypast' see www.findmypast.co.uk. For 'Ridge' see Guildhall, C. H. Ridge, *Records of the Shipwrights' Company*, Vol. 1 1428–c.1780, Vol. 2 c.1780–1858

Table 4 Destination of north bank apprentices, 1700–1800

Company and dates	Sample size	South Bank	Stepney	City	Source
Butchers 1782–1793	18	3	6	9	MS 06447/005
Clothworkers 1700–1800	122	7	49	66	Londonroll
Drapers 1700–1800	91	3	44	44	Londonroll
Shipwrights 1700–1784	113	31	57	0	Ridge
Tallow Chandlers 1764–1782	21	4	9	8	MS 06159/2
Watermen 1750–1760	182	0	182	0	MS 06891/10 Findmypast

Sources: See column 6 of table. All MS sources are to be located in the Guildhall. For 'Londonroll' see www.londonroll.org. For 'Findmypast' see www.findmypast.co.uk. For 'Ridge' see Guildhall, C. H. Ridge, *Records of the Shipwrights' Company*, Vol. 1 1428–c.1780, Vol. 2 c.1780–1858

⁵⁸ Guildhall, Shipwrights' Company, Court minutes, MS 4598/1, April 1728–1806.

brought up but it is assumed that most had lived in the immediate area. With the above qualifications in mind Tables 3 and 4 illustrate the differences, between the 'Great' companies and those more representative of trades in the eastern parishes.

A similar picture is found in the archives of the Brewers', Butchers', Carpenters', Drapers', Founders', Girdlers' and Ironmongers' Companies. Typically, of 26 brewers known in Whitechapel only one was free of the Brewers' Company and none took an apprentice from south of the river.⁵⁹ The Butchers' Company records show that between 1782 and 1793 the majority of apprentices from the south bank were apprenticed to masters in Fleet Market, Newgate Market and Aldgate High Street, though there over 23 masters in Stepney. Out of 29 apprentices only two moved to masters in Stepney. In the opposite direction only one apprentice out of 33 went from Stepney to the south bank.⁶⁰

Between 1428 and 1780 over 4,800 apprentices are recorded in the archives of the Shipwrights' Company, a strong indication of its importance to London's maritime industries on both banks of the Thames. Stepney in the seventeenth century was a major centre for ship building and repairs and Blackwall Yard was the centre for East India Company ships from 1660 to the 1830s.⁶¹ It might be expected that there was a large flow of apprentices from one bank to the other, taking advantage of changing economic fortunes in naval and merchant shipbuilding. Between 1700 and 1784 (from a sample of 148 apprentices) some 31 (20.9 per cent) apprentices went from Stepney to masters on the south bank, and in the opposite direction from a sample of 113 apprentices on the north bank, some 23 (20.4 per cent) came from the south bank.⁶²

By Shakespeare's time, '3,000 or so watermen were engaged in a regulated business, with their own company under the oversight of the City Corporation. They had a high profile, being used by the majority of visitors to London, as well as its citizens, because the river offered a relatively easy way of moving upstream and downstream, and a speedier way of crossing the river rather than by negotiating the narrow and congested bridge.'⁶³ By 1796 there were 3,000 registered watermens' wherries on the Thames and over 12,000 members of the Watermens' Company, including lightermen.⁶⁴ The records of the Watermens' Company reveal that between 1750 and 1800 the number of boys apprenticed averaged 240 per year. With such large numbers of apprentices the search for this paper was limited to the period 1750–1760, when a total of 3,097 apprentices are recorded: some 20 per cent on the south bank and 9 per cent in Stepney. It appears remarkable that in a sample of 500 apprentices from the City, Stepney and the south bank, no examples have yet been found in their records of a boy from one bank being apprenticed to a master on the other bank.

59 Guildhall, Brewers' Company, Apprentice bindings, MS 5450, 1685–1906.

60 Guildhall, Butchers' Company, Apprentice bindings, MS 6447/5, 1783–1792.

61 J. Sutton, *Lords of the East: The East India Company and its Ships, 1600–1874* (London, 2000).

62 Ridge, *Records of the Shipwrights' Company*.

63 Porter, *Shakespeare's London*, pp. 96, 150–1.

64 White, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 222; Humphreus, *History of the Origin and Progress of the Company of Watermen*, p. 283; R.J. Cotterell, *The Company of Watermen and Lightermen of the River Thames: Bindings Index, 1688–1908* [microfiche], (n.d.).

It is possible that there were large numbers of boys on both banks who wanted to become watermen, so that the masters did not have to look very far to find apprentices who came from known families, and also knew the area around the Stairs from which they operated. Equally, it may reflect that the Watermen's Company's clerks were not too concerned about an apprentice's origins. To test this hypothesis a search has been made for the baptismal records of 81 apprentices in Wapping between 1750 and 1760. This is difficult because of the duplication of names but, from the 66 baptisms identified so far, some 56 (84.8 per cent) were baptised in Wapping or adjacent parishes, and seven (10.6 per cent) were baptised in the City.⁶⁵ Only one apprentice who was baptised south of the river has been identified in Wapping.⁶⁶

From the archives, examined to date, the evidence is that relatively few apprentices crossed from one bank to the other: the majority went either to masters in the City, or stayed closer to home. When considering the reasons why apprentices moved from one bank to the other it is important to recognise the broad contrasts between the economies on either bank of the Thames, downstream from the Tower. Whilst many activities were common to both banks there were major differences in the sectors serviced, and the sources of finance. By the early eighteenth century, a narrow strip of land on the north bank of the Thames, from the Tower to Limehouse, had been fully developed. Much of the finance came from local sources, with no government investment in the infrastructure.⁶⁷ Rents for warehouses and wharfs were high, with merchants competing for direct access to the river. They benefited from contracts with the Victualling Board and Ordnance Board on the nearby Tower Hill, and servicing the needs of the merchant fleet and of Londoners. In contrast, the south bank of the Thames since the time of Henry VIII was dominated by the growth of the Royal Dockyards and the Woolwich Arsenal, which had received millions of pounds of government support.⁶⁸

Traders across the Thames

It is possible that the marriage and apprenticeship records are grossly underestimating the extent of the connections across the Thames, and that, in fact, a strong and closely-tied economy linked the two banks with merchants investing widely in the opportunities on the opposite bank. This question has been examined using insurance records from the Sun Fire Office, for the advantages described earlier, and because these policies can also be related

65 Humperus, *History of the Origin and Progress of the Company of Watermen*, pp. 3, 4; www.findmypast.co.uk [accessed 27 August 2017].

66 Joseph Brock baptised Lambeth 24 July 1744, apprenticed Wapping 1760: www.findmypast.co.uk [accessed 27 August 2017].

67 D. Morris and K. Cozens, *London's Sailortown 1600–1800: a social history of Shadwell and Ratcliff, an Early Modern London riverside suburb*, (London, 2014), pp. 84–5.

68 Morris and Cozens, *London's Sailortown 1600–1800*, pp. 59–104; P. MacDougall, *London and the Georgian Navy*, (Stroud, 2013); P. Stone, *The History of the Port of London: a Vast Emporium of all Nations*, (Barnsley, 2017).

to the extensive land tax records for Stepney.⁶⁹ From this large database only three insurances issued to Stepney merchants involved property in Ramsgate, Gravesend, Woolwich and Chatham, and only 29 insurances covered property in Deptford, Bermondsey and Rotherhithe. There were only 30 in the reverse direction. The problem is to understand why these numbers appear to be low for a city, where it might be assumed there would be a high level of commercial interactions between nearby parishes. It might reflect a policy of the Sun Fire Office, but this seems unlikely, so perhaps it reflects the traders and their assessment of risks and profits. The traders insuring property on both banks of the Thames were mainly brewers, who owned or leased taverns, and merchants who insured stock in warehouses on both banks of the Thames, thus spreading their fire risks. Two examples of the first group are Henry Goodwin and partners, brewers in Lower East Smithfield, who insured over 20 taverns on both sides of the river, including the Dukes Head in Southwark and the George in the Minorities.⁷⁰ In the opposite direction, Henry, Thomas and William Holcombe, brewers in Southwark, insured a tavern in Deptford, the Bear brewhouse in East Smithfield, and taverns in Ratcliff, Limehouse, Wapping and Colchester.⁷¹ Typical of the second group were John and James Mangles, 272 Wapping, who insured stock in Wapping and Rotherhithe for £5,500, and Robert Wilson and James Moore, Whitechapel corn factors, who insured utensils and stock at Hanover Stairs, Rotherhithe for £540 and in the nearby Smith's Granary for £760 in 1788.⁷² One man who insured property on both banks of the Thames was Peter Everitt Mestaer, a well-known shipbuilder, who lived in style in Wanstead and insured his property at the King and Queen Dock, Rotherhithe, and in Bethnal Green and Shadwell.⁷³

Private property owners

By 1800 the population of Stepney was approaching 200,000, and the area contained a wide range of commercial enterprises and many wealthy men and women. For those considering investment in country estates only five have been found who chose estates in Kent and Surrey. One of this small group was Charles Hamden Turner, FRS, the most prominent sailmaker in the Thames estuary, and a long-term Limehouse resident, who invested in the 140-acre Rooks Nest estate in Surrey.⁷⁴ Residents on the south bank confined their interests in the north bank to insuring property and goods in warehouses. Again the numbers are very low and typically, Jesse Curling, a well-known ship owner from Rotherhithe insured for £800 his sugar in a Wapping warehouse.⁷⁵ The overall conclusion is that the Thames

69 D. Morris, 'The land tax assessments for Mile End Old Town, 1741–1790', *Newsletter, London Topographical Society*, 51 (2000), pp. 5–7; Morris and Cozens, *London's Sailortown 1600–1800*, pp 182–3.

70 LMA, CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936, 356/548440 (1788).

71 LMA, MS 11936, 379/586052 (1791), 418/700412 and 700413 (1800), 424/727795 (1802).

72 LMA, MS 11936, 423/738721 (1802), 352/543826 (1788), 354/543726 (1788).

73 LMA, MS 11936, 387/604992 (1792).

74 TNA, PROB 11/1787, Charles Hamden Turner, proved 8 February 1831.

75 LMA, MS 11936, 398/621205, 15 November 1793.

was perceived by the majority of businessmen on both banks to be a barrier to the successful management of land and property on the opposite bank.

Conclusions

This paper has developed new insights and understanding of the links and relationships between Stepney, the City, and the parishes on the south bank, which have not been clear until now. It demonstrates that commercial and personal links between the north and south banks were lower than might be expected, though it is always possible to find individuals with links to both banks.⁷⁶ By expanding Gauci's mapping of London merchants involved in overseas trade from the City into Stepney, it has become clear that, whilst Stepney merchants were prepared to invest in high-risk shipping ventures and trade with America, the Mediterranean, India and China, they were reluctant to trade with merchants in the south bank parishes. This might be a reflection that investment in south bank industries and property was associated with lower profits than could be found in Stepney, the City and overseas trade. It might also reflect the geographical extent and the historical evolution of the commercial networks developed by merchant families on both banks, but this requires further research.

It is usually assumed (without much evidence) that migrants arriving in London dispersed themselves at random in the City and suburbs. Stepney's strongest links were with its immediate hinterland in Essex and Suffolk rather than with Kent and Surrey or counties west of London. It is suggested that perhaps Southwark's strongest links were with counties south of the river, and that research is needed to determine whether London's northern and western parishes had similarly strong links with their immediate hinterlands. We also need to know about the strengths of the links between the communities on the north and south banks in London upstream from London Bridge. Another aspect that requires examination is whether other livery company records reveal different patterns of apprentice movements from those described in this paper, and how, if at all, these patterns changed with time.

An important feature of the paper for other researchers is that it draws attention to the powerful London Metropolitan Archive search facility that enables one to identify links between separate localities via insurance policies for the period 1782 to 1840: a period strongly associated with the strong growth in the country's industries.⁷⁷ This technique could be used to explore commercial connections between any pair of towns or parishes in England, Wales and Scotland. It is possible that a study of the policies might challenge the current understanding of the strength of links between, say, Hull and Liverpool, or Dover and London. Equally, they might challenge Estabrook's thesis that '[u]rban and rural interaction in courtship, markets, and places of work was rare, incidental or even strained'.⁷⁸

76 TNA, PROB 11/1374 (1802), Richard Colgate of Limehouse with links to Kent; LMA, MS 11936, 296/451377 (1781), John Rixon, a Wapping cooper, insured property in Southwark.

77 B. Trinder, *Britain's Industrial Revolution: the Making of a Manufacturing People, 1700–1870*, (Lancaster, 2013).

78 C.B. Estabrook, *Urbane and Rustic England: Cultural Ties and Social Spheres in the Provinces, 1660–1780*, (Manchester, 1998), p. 276.

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