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Presented for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the

University of Kent

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN A MID-VICTORIAN RESORT:

RAMSGATE, 1851 - 1871

by

ROBIN S. HOLMES

July 1977

18181

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN A MID-VICTORIAN RESORT:

RAMSGATE 1851 - 1871

Robin S. Holmes

ABSTRACT: Using linked information from the census enumerators' books of 1851 and 1871, and rate books, the thesis examines processes and spatial patterns in Ramsgate during the mid-Victorian period.

Socio-economic structure is examined in terms of family, household, housing, occupation and class. Stability over the period is shown to be clearly evident, not only with respect to individual variables, but also with respect to the relationships between them. It is shown that rateable values are the best single indicator of status available, and also that the life cycle operated independently of other variables.

Residential mobility is examined using birthplaces and rate book material. The main currents of in-migration are shown to have been relatively constant and several of Ravenstein's laws of migration are demonstrated as having been in operation. Very high turnover rates are revealed, however, and it is shown that the persistency rates were in inverse proportion to the poverty of a district.

Spatial patterns are examined by computer mapping techniques (SYMVU) based on three hectare grid squares, over 98% of the houses having been previously identified on contemporary maps. Several additional relationships are revealed. Segregation is further examined using a correlation matrix between 44 variables calculated on a street basis, and segregation indices. It is shown that segregation tended to increase over the period, caused by persons in Classes I and II seeking more exclusive locations.

The final chapter attempts to resolve the dichotomy of a town so stable in overall structure yet so fluid in terms of its population.

Possible future research avenues are then outlined.



CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN A MID-VICTORIAN RESORT:

RAMSGATE 1851 - 1871

'A faire felde ful of folke fonde I there bitwene,
Of alle manner of men, the mene and the riche,
Worching and wandring as the worlde asketh.....'

WILLIAM LANGLAND
Piers Plowman, B Text
Prologue, 17

FRONTISPIECE: Ramsgate Sands, a photograph dating from the mid
to late 1850s (See Appendix G)

PREFACE

FOLLOWING his translation from Anglicanism to Catholicism, Cardinal Newman felt obliged to write a book entitled Apologia Pro Vita Sua. The present writer does not feel so obliged, even if, like the Cardinal, a significant change is evident from his curriculum vitae: in this case, an initial degree ⁱⁿ of Geography, with post-graduate work in Economic and Social History. As such it might be reasonable to expect that the first chapter of this thesis would be methodological, even if not on Newman's scale. Such a chapter is indeed to be found, but it was also deemed necessary on other grounds. Some recent research in urban history has been criticised for its lack of any significant conceptual framework¹, whilst historical geographers have occasionally been depicted as taking refuge in their county record offices from the methodological storms that rage in academia.² It may be, of course, that there are conceptual frameworks implicit in urban history research, albeit undetected by the reader, and that historical geographers are sure enough of their methodology to be uninterested in what might be, for them, time-wasting debates. Nevertheless, it would be unfortunate if the work of urban historians and historical geographers came to be regarded by the uninitiated as of the type where all energy is devoted to minute empirical inspection of the trees, leaving no time for even an acknowledgement of the concept of a wood.

Chapter I therefore delineates this metaphorical wood, and explains where the stand of timber that is the subject of this thesis is to be located within it. Chapter II examines in detail the sources used, whilst Chapter III sets the historical context of Ramsgate in the mid-Victorian period. Chapter IV analyses the personal details of the inhabitants of the town, based on the available sources for 1851 and 1871, and considers changes over the period. Chapter V looks closely at the high degree of mobility that was evident in the town during the period; Chapter VI examines the spatial patterns that resulted. Chapter VII draws together the major conclusions of the thesis, and looks to areas of potential further research.

1. Lubove (1967), 33. In fairness, this comment does seem to have been directed towards research in North America

2. Harley (1973), 69-70, a point taken up by Baker (1973), 101

A lengthy piece of research is bound to leave a string of personal debts in its wake. Especial thanks are due to the following: to Mr. B.H. Farmer, my former Director of Studies at Cambridge, and to C.T. Smith, also at that time a Fellow of St. John's College, for their stimulating guidance during my undergraduate days; it is to the latter in particular that I owe my interest in historical geography; to Dr. W.A. Armstrong for his encouragement at the initiation of my research, and subsequent good offices as supervisor; to Mr. Charles Busson, Chief Librarian, Ramsgate Public Library, for privileging me with unrestricted access to various local records, and for the stimulation of his continued interest in my work; to Dr. E.B. Spratt, of the Computing Laboratory, University of Kent, for arranging the punching of my 1851 data onto cards, and to Mrs. Wilson and her staff for effecting it; to Professor Pahl, for putting the punching services of the Council for Research in the Social Sciences at my disposal for the 1871 data, and to Mrs. Gates who carried out the arduous task; to Miss Joan Dobby who provided invaluable advice on computer procedures during the early stages of my research; and to Mrs. Zarine Kemp, also of the University of Kent Computing Laboratory, who not only advised on computer mapping techniques and other programing details, but who also was most helpful in monitoring output and detecting and correcting errors. Debts are also due to Dr. E.W. Cooney, University of York, who made helpful comments on my analysis of the Ramsgate Building Cycle; to Mr. Charles Baker, Ramsgate Rate Officer, who explained to me the niceties of practical rate assessment; to the organisers and sponsors of the first British-Canadian Symposium in Historical Geography, held at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, in September 1975, both for selecting me and for funding my participation as a member of the British delegation; to Mrs. Harding of Ramsgate Public Library for her assistance in stretching the Inter-Library Loan system to its limits on my behalf; to Mr. Styles of the Photographic Unit, University of Kent, for assistance with diagrams; to my employer, Mr. Peter Harris, Headmaster of St. Lawrence College, Ramsgate, for allowing me leave in order to attend relevant confer-

ences; to my colleague, Colin Baker, for his second opinion on technical matters, and for checking through the typescript for typographical errors; and to four pupils who at various times have allowed themselves to be impressed into service as rate book transcribers: Bernard Bell, Gary Bray, Philip Edwards and Andrew Nightingale. The greatest debts of all, however, are probably due to the CDC7600 and CDC6600 computers at the University of London Computing Centre (and their designers), and to the microfilm reader at Margate Public Library, whose ^{se}eccentricities ultimately turned it into an old friend.

St. Martin's Day, 1977

R.S.H.

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'Something there is that doesn't love a wall.'
ROBERT FROST
Mending a Wall

The relationship between history and geography

Probably the most lucid analysis ever written on the position of history and geography within a classification of the sciences was that by Alfred Hettner, first holder of the Chair of Geography at Heidelberg University, and published in the Geographische Zeitschrift of 1905.

Hettner proposed a threefold division of the empirical sciences: systematic, chronological and chorological¹. The systematic sciences select a particular phenomenon as the centre of their study. Thus chemistry selects chemical phenomena as its *raison d'être*. The relationships between chemical phenomena and other sorts of phenomena, such as biological or physical phenomena, are not thereby excluded; but the focus of the study remains chemical phenomena. The systematic sciences logically cover the whole of empirical knowledge, since each individual phenomenon in the Universe can be made the subject of a separate science. It is this that distinguishes the systematic sciences on the one hand from the chronological and chorological sciences on the other; for the latter are characterised by the methods of study, rather than by the kinds of things that they study. The chronological

1. As Hartshorne has pointed out (1960), 176, this schema can also be found in the lectures of Kant, delivered in Königsberg in 1775, and in a work by Humboldt written in Latin in 1793. There is no evidence that this material was known to Hettner however.

sciences select time as their focus, studying interrelationships of diverse phenomena in any period, and causal developments through time. History is obviously one of the chronological sciences, archaeology another. The chorological sciences, of which geography and astronomy¹ are examples, in contrast select space as their focus, considering the interrelation between phenomena in the same place and the interconnections with phenomena in other places. Thus:

'Ebenso wie die Geschichte den verschiedenen Charakter der verschiedenen Zeiten, so hat die Geographie den verschiedenen Charakter der verschiedenen Örtlichkeiten² der Erdoberfläche.....zu betrachten.'

'Just as history examines the different characteristics of different times, so geography examines the different characteristics of different places on the earth's surface.'

And again:

'Die Geographie ist nicht Wissenschaft von der örtlichen Verteilung der verschiedenen Objekte, sondern von der dinglichen Erfüllung der Räume. Sie ist, wenn man will, eine Raumwissenschaft, ebensogut wie die Geschichte eine³ Zeitwissenschaft ist.'

'Geography is not so much a science of the distribution of different objects, as of the way that regions are put together. It is, if you like, a spatial science quite as much as history is a temporal science.'

Geography is therefore characterised by what Hettner later came to term the 'chorological point of view' (die chorologischen Auffassung).

According to Hettner, the goal of the chorological point of view is:

'die Erkenntnis des Charakters der Länder und Örtlichkeiten aus dem Verständnis des Zusammenseins und Zusammenwirkens der verschiedenen Naturreiche und ihrer verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen.'⁴

1. Hettner (1905), 552

2. Ibid., 558

3. Ibid., 559

4. Hettner (1927), 130

'the knowledge of the character of Länder¹ and places through the understanding of the co-existence and interplay of the different natural worlds and their different aspects.'

Hartshorne, Hettner's principal English language apologist, successfully managed to incorporate these ideas into his own view of geography; thus:

'any phenomenon, whether of nature or of man, is significant in geography to the extent and degree to which its interrelations with other phenomena in the same place or its interconnections with phenomena in other places determines the areal variations of those phenomena, and hence the totality of areal variation.'²

and,

'Geography, in seeking to analyze^a the complexity of integrated phenomena in reality, is concerned to examine relationships among phenomena of whatever kinds, which are found to be significant in the total integration.'³

The relative positions of history and geography in a classification of the sciences may be summarised therefore by saying that as the former studies integrations and interrelations in time, so the latter studies them in space. Both the chronological and chorological sciences extend over the whole of empirical knowledge, respectively covering the history of the Universe and its spatial aspects, both now and in time past.

Hettner also considered the inter-connexion between history and geography, pointing out that both are to a greater or lesser extent complementary⁴. It is not difficult to provide an example to demonstrate why this should be so. The history of Sweden would be incom-

1. 'Länder' is best left untranslated because of its wide connotations: it can simply mean 'lands' (and hence 'continents' and 'countries'), 'regions' or 'administrative divisions'. It is therefore more powerful as a term than either the English 'region' or the French 'pays'.

2. Hartshorne (1960), 46

3. Ibid., 63⁴

4. Hettner (1905), 558, 563-4³.

prehensible unless one knew it to be located in Europe, its position within Europe and its internal spatial arrangement; in the same way, its present-day geography would be incomprehensible unless one were aware of its geological and glacial history, together with a history of its land-use, industry and trade. There is an essential difference between history and geography, however, in terms of their outlook. As Hartshorne puts it:

'Historical studies of changing integrations are essentially geography rather than history as long as the focus of attention is maintained on the character of the areas, changing in consequence of certain processes, in contrast to the historical interest in the processes ¹ themselves.'

or again:

'The key to a proper understanding of the function of time in geography is the recognition that the constant concern of geography is to study phenomena not in themselves nor in their separate variations over the earth but in the areal variation of the phenomena as interrelated with each other, either in relatively simple integrations, or in more complex but still partial integrations, in order to approach the total integration of interrelated phenomena. Some extent of time is necessary in the primary description of existing interrelationships and rates of change. Explanatory description of individual relationships may require analysis of process relationships considerably farther back in time, but the purpose of such dips in the past is not to trace developments or seek origins but to facilitate ² comprehension.'

It is significant that in both of the preceding quotations, Hartshorne alludes to 'process'. Both historian and geographer are interested in process, but from different standpoints: for the former it is de jure, for the latter it is de facto.

Geographers have recently come to be much more interested in process

1. Hartshorne (1960), 107

2. Ibid., 106

however. The necessity for this interest is explained by Berry:

'Static pattern analysis is incapable of indicating which of a variety of equally-plausible but fundamentally different causal processes have given rise ¹ to the patterns.'

It is this coincidence of interest in process that is one of the unifying strands between geography and history in general, and between urban history and historical geography in particular. To this particular association we now turn.

The relationship between urban history and historical geography.

We have seen above that the interest of historians is in process de jure, whilst geographers are interested in process de facto. In the specific fields of urban history and historical geography the relationship is closer still, especially with regards to studies in the mid-Victorian period. This is because of the nature of the source material that is being increasingly exploited by both disciplines. Quantitative work on the period frequently resorts to census enumerators' books as its principal source². Therein lies the rub. However much geographers de facto wish to study process:

'the information available....is often such that it is, at worst, impossible, or, at best, extremely inconvenient to offer anything other than a cross-sectional ³ study.'

However much urban historians de jure wish to study process⁴:

'even the most detailed census material provides only a snapshot at one moment in time, when what is needed is an understanding of the dynamics of a process occurring over time.'⁵

Thus Dyos has pointed out that the level of actual 'explanation' poss-

1. Berry (1973), 3

5. Ibid., 676

2. Wrigley (1972), 1

3. Walton and Phillips (1976), 126

4. Thernstrom (1973 B), 675

ible, even when several cross-sections are taken, is limited¹, ('explanation' in this context presumably meaning 'historical explanation'), and Patten has alluded to the problem of 'comparative statistics', which he suggests is even more pressing for historians, than it is for geographers with their interests in spatial patterns².

In compensation, the realisation that their de jure study of process has been denied them seems to have made urban historians de facto more interested in the province of the historical geographer.

Whilst the Editorial of the Urban History Yearbook, 1974, maintained that there was:

'nothing to be gained from attempting to mark out rigid demarcation lines between the different historical studies concerned in some way or other with the development of towns and cities...'³

it also asserted that the inaugural⁴ lecture of H.J. Dyos, the first holder of a Chair of Urban History in Britain, was the 'most comprehensive statement (available) of the current range and objectives of urban history.'⁴ If this is so, it is interesting to compare a statement made during that lecture with one of Hartshorne's quoted earlier:

'Whether concerned with cities as more or less isolated or systematic or universal phenomena, it is the study of the characteristically symbiotic relationships of their different characteristics, of the ways in which their components fitted together or impinged on other things, that distinguishes urban historians.'⁵

DYOS

'Geography, in seeking to analyze the complexity of integrated phenomena in reality, is concerned to examine relationships among phenomena, of whatever kinds, which

1. Quoted Patten (1973 B), 230

2. Ibid.

3. Page 6; and cf the quotation which heads this chapter

4. Ibid., 5

5. Dyos (1973), 25

are found to be significant in the total integration.' ¹
HARTSHORNE

The position of the two writers appears to be remarkably close, although one may reasonably inquire whether Dyos' statements were intended to be ratio decidendi or merely obiter dicta. Dyos in fact goes on to state that:

'urban history differs...from its first cousins in this country, economic history and geography, in being more interested than they can afford to be, in their different ways, in the humanistic and functional elements composing the urban scene.'

'Functional elements' however have always been the concern of geographers, and although it is not clear from the context what is intended by the term 'humanistic', if it is meant to imply that geographers are not interested in 'people', this is not true either³.

One may summarise the current position by saying that urban historical geographers are becoming interested in the things studied by urban historians, namely process, although they find this rather difficult to do in the mid-Victorian period; and that urban historians, also finding it difficult to study process, as a result of the nature of the source material, are becoming more interested in the traditional field of the urban historical geographer. There is therefore nothing irreconcilable in a thesis written from the standpoint of both an urban historical geographer and an urban historian. This is not to say, however, that urban historical geographers and urban historians will not find elements in this thesis which are of relevance to their own particular disciplines. This aspect of the matter will now be examined.

1. Hartshorne (1960), 63-4

2. Dyos (1973), 25

3. Johnston (1971), 16

Time and Place

Ramsgate 1851 - 1871: thesis objectives

Hartshorne presents a cogent argument to explain the areal cover of any geographical work. A single phenomenon can be studied on a world-wide basis, but once the relationships between phenomena are considered, the areal extent has to be limited. The more complex the interrelationships, the smaller the area that can be considered. Hartshorne applies this idea to suggest that systematic and regional geography are logically at either end of a continuum¹. It can also be used to explain why such a small segment of time and space as Ramsgate 1851-1871 was selected as a subject of study: the wealth of data available and the number of variables that could be extracted from it were such that very complex interrelationships could be examined, at both dates. Herein lies the justification from the geographical point of view.

From the urban historians' point of view, they are content to see studies of small towns per se²; and, moreover, studies that can be compared with others³. Thus any study of a small town carried out in this way can be considered a furtherance of this end.

The above is to argue however that there is a case for studying a small town at a particular time. Why Ramsgate? And why 1851-1871?

There were three basic reasons for selecting Ramsgate. Firstly, as will be seen, the town had a wealth of local records, the raw data for the analysis of Hartshorne's 'integrations and interrelationships'. Secondly, because of the size of the town, it was possible to study

1. Hartshorne (1960), ch. 9

2. Urban History Yearbook, 1974, editorial, 7

3. Loc. cit.; Thernstrom (1973B), 675

the entire population, and not a sample of it, which, for methodological reasons discussed subsequently, the writer was anxious to do. Finally, the writer wished to satisfy his curiosity about the place in which he was living.

As with choice of place, choice of time was constrained to some extent by the availability of sources also. In order that comprehensive files of information on individual households might be compiled, it was desirable to link the local Ramsgate records with those of the census enumerators' books. A fortiori this could only be done at those dates when there was a census. 1851 was the first date when detailed information on birthplaces and household composition was recorded; under the 100 year confidentiality rule, 1871 was the last date at which the books could be studied.

From the above therefore it will have become apparent that the basic data of this thesis is the information that could be assembled on each and every household in Ramsgate in 1851 and 1871, and that what it sets out to do is to analyze the temporal and spatial variations which the data reveals.

This is important, for it serves to distinguish this thesis from some other recent work in the field. There is thus no primary focus upon those inhabitants who were most vociferous, prominent or given to recording their experiences¹, nor upon the subjective reactions of the inhabitants to their social and economic conditions, based upon contemporary papers and diaries². It is not directly concerned with

1. cf Katz (1972), 402

2. For an example of the latter approach, see Lawton and Pooley (1975A)

a sociological interest in the emergence and development of power groups within the society¹, nor with family or kinship structure².

It does not seek to make value judgements about the faults and merits of mid-Victorian society, nor about the extent to which its inhabitants obtained social justice³.

Instead at least three central aspects of the study can be identified which may be of interest to the urban historian and the urban historical geographer:

1. Sources. These should be of interest to both disciplines. When this study commenced, the census enumerators' books were already known as a blanket source for the mid-Victorian period. Rate books, an important source for this thesis, were relatively unexplored. The possibilities and problems of linking together rate books and census had not been examined⁴; neither had those of identifying individual properties based upon an interpretation of the respective walks of rate assessor and census enumerator on their rounds of the town. Chapter II examines these sources in detail.

2. Ramsgate as a mid-Victorian society. This is likely to be of more interest to the urban historian⁵. Views of mid-Victorian society as a series of pathological case studies, or as a golden age of the family as an institution, for example, are relatively common. But what was the experience of the silent majority?⁵ How large were mid-Victorian families; how common was it for six families to share a house; how many families had servants; how common was owner-occupancy; how often

1. eg Foster (1967)

2. eg Anderson (1969)

3. eg Harvey (1973)

4. Called for in Armstrong (1974), 200

5. cf Katz (1972), 403

did people move house ? Questions such as these, and there are many more, could only be answered if an entire population were examined. Further, in more abstract terms, there were some important unanswered questions as to the most important determinants of the socio-economic composition of a town. Those who had worked with the census were convinced of the extent to which occupation could explain socio-economic variation within a population¹; those who had used rate books were impressed with the importance of rateable values². The two sources had not yet been put together to examine the way in which the two variables were related. And did individual householders in Ramsgate choose housing in response to income and status, or to family size and age ?³ A case study should provide answers to both these questions. Finally, Ramsgate demanded interest as a resort town. Its distinctive function would enable comparisons to be made with other towns with equally distinctive functions. And the notion could be tested that the social tone of seaside resorts tended to decline during the period⁴.

3. Ramsgate as a small town. This is likely to be of more interest to the historical geographer. Much work has been done on spatial patterns within cities⁵, but relatively little is known about groupings within small towns. Did persons on similar stages of the life cycle, with similar occupations or of the same class cluster together ? Did

1. Carlsson (1958), 44-5; quoted Thernstrom (1964), 84, Armstrong (1968), 79, Goheen (1970), 13, Armstrong (1972), 202, Armstrong (1974), 15

2. Robson (1971), 105

3. Robson (1973), 29

4. Perkin (1974)

5. See Johnston (1971) for example.

any such tendency become any more or less pronounced during the mid-Victorian period ?¹ How, and on what scale, were such groupings and tendencies to be measured ? The linkage of rate book and census variables to determinable spatial co-ordinates provided the opportunity to investigate these questions.

Ramsgate 1851 - 1871: problems of method

What this thesis sets out to do has been outlined above; how it should actually go about it is another matter.

1. The general issue. The major problem in writing this thesis was in deciding upon the basic approach. There were two possibilities. Firstly, two major cross-sectional studies could have been written, one for 1851 and one for 1871. If the society had been rapidly changing this would have been appropriate. Little repetition would have been involved. On the other hand with a slowly changing society such an approach would have been extremely tedious for the reader. Secondly, one major cross-sectional study could have been written for the period as a whole, taking note of any changes that had taken place between the terminal dates. In a relatively stable society this approach would be more suitable. It would not be difficult to cater for changes. If the society were changing rapidly, however, this approach would require an excessive amount of qualification and marginalia. Unfortunately elements of both stability and change were evident in mid-Victorian Ramsgate, so that the choice was not easy. On balance, however, it was decided that there was more to be gained from the second type of approach, and consequently it was this which was adopted.

1. Another question raised by Robson (1973), 29

2. Quantification: the role of mathematics

Although occasional barrages are still fired at quantification per se, a tradition started by Dr. Johnson who scorned those writers who 'prove with mathematical formality what no man has yet pretended to doubt'¹, there can be no doubt that it has been accepted as a valid technique in many of the social sciences. If it were not so, the phrases 'the new geography', 'the new economic history' and 'the new urban history', would not be in vogue. What is objected to in some quarters, however, and rightly so, is the way in which mathematics has tended to take over completely many of the papers published in learned journals, to produce what Floyd has termed a 'cliff paper':

'The jargon-eschewing reader advances confidently through the first paragraph or so to the edge, takes a look at the sea of jargon and statistics below, and beats a sorrowful retreat, to resume contact (if at all) at the end'²

and to the obfuscation rather than clarification which is often thereby created³, - especially if the remaining English text is framed in sociologese⁴. The tendency appears to be furthest advanced in economics, where now the chances of the inclusion of a paper in an economic journal are severely lessened unless it is 'embellished with

1. Quoted Floyd (1973), 207-8

2. Ibid., 210

3. Floyd and O'Brien (1976), 19; cf Andreski (1972), ch. 10

4. The entry against 'sociologese' in Fowler's: Modern English Usage is worth reading: 'Sociology is a new science concerning itself not with esoteric matters outside the comprehension of the layman, as the older sciences do, but with the ordinary affairs of ordinary people. This seems to engender in those who write about it a feeling that the lack of any abstruseness in their subject demands a compensatory abstruseness in their language. ..There are of course writers on sociological subjects who express themselves simply and clearly; that makes it the more deplorable that such books are often written in a jargon which one is almost tempted to believe is deliberately employed for the purpose of making what is simple appear to be complicated, exhibiting in an extreme form the common vice of preferring pretentious abstract words to simple concrete ones.' Fowler (1975 ed.), 570

lengthy and complex calculations, although it scarcely matters whether they are appropriate, statistically significant or comprehensible.¹ Greatly to be preferred is the approach of the older school, who were by no means ignorant of mathematics:

'The great economists of the older Cambridge tradition, such as Marshall and Keynes, were accomplished mathematicians, but they kept mathematics to an appendix, and used the conclusions, combined with common sense and a broad factual knowledge, to illuminate the discussion of current problems. What these economists would have kept to an appendix, or simply worked out on the back of an envelope, some of their successors² treat as the subject matter of economics.'

It is indeed a pity that the whole arsenal of modern quantitative techniques, which could potentially achieve so much in terms of clarifying issues, should often be regarded as a means of obscuring them. Every effort was therefore made in writing this thesis to relegate technique to a subordinate role, even though it was essential to employ quantitative methods in order to handle and analyze the very considerable body of data.

3. Quantification: factor analysis

It was also partly on the above grounds that factor analysis was not employed in this thesis, although there were important theoretical grounds as well.

As with quantification in general, it is easy enough to find polemics against factor analysis. Thus:

'Factorial ecology...can be said to represent the technical sterility and abstracted empiricism of that part of geography which seems geared, in large part, to Dury's GIGO (Garbage In, Garbage Out)³ principle of data processing.'⁴

1. Floyd and O'Brien (1976), 18

2. Hallett (1967), quoted ibid., 18

3. Dury (1972), 282

4. Eyles (1973), 159

and Harley warns that in historical geography

'as ends in themselves such exercises could easily become the quantifiers' own brand of antiquarianism, contributing little to our understanding of ¹ either process or spatial pattern.'

To pass to more technical considerations, there have been misgivings on the use of factor analytic methods in geographical research in general:

'There can be very little justification within presently designed geographic theory for the assumption that varimax obtained, orthogonal factors are what ² are required.'

and attention has been drawn to the severe technical difficulties of choice of types of rotation, choice of method and interpretation of results.³ Objective justification for the choice of a particular set of variables in such studies is difficult, and yet the choice is vital since it so strongly conditions the results.⁴ And in relation to work on cities, specifically, it has been asked why one should even expect 'two or three general constructs, all relating to the social fabric of the city, to be independent in any situation'.⁵ For such independence to exist, Herbert has listed the necessary antecedent conditions:

'ranking by socio-economic status, clear stages of the life cycle, a housing market structured to cater for each possible combination of these characteristics in distinctive sub-areas, and a population consisting of independent households mobile enough to use the possibilities.'⁶

Even if these were thought to be such highly specific conditions that

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1. Harley (1973), 71
 2. Johnston (1970), 301
 3. Robson (1973), 27
 4. Loc. cit.
 5. Lawton and Pooley (1975 B), 20
 6. Herbert (1972), 175

factor analysis could rarely, if ever, be employed with profit, there is even a lack of agreement as to what actually constitutes 'socio-economic status' and 'life cycle', within the terms of the results:

'In comparing factorial ecologies it is evident that factors universally labelled 'socio-economic status' (or family status) often load on a completely different set of variables, both between studies and over time.'

Whilst factor analysis might be thought by some to be appropriate for twentieth-century cities, there is much more doubt about it with regards to those of the nineteenth. Thus Doucet employed factor analysis to thirty-three variables for Hamilton, Ontario, for the mid-Victorian period, but ended up by severely questioning the validity of such a technique on nineteenth-century data sources². If nothing can be made from the Canadian data, which has the addition of information on personal income, derived from the assessment rolls, a fortiori the same will apply to English data too³ - although this did not prevent Lawton and Pooley from applying the technique to Liverpool⁴.

As with choice of basic approach, the final test of the applicability of a technique depends upon the nature of one's data. In a rapidly changing society there might be quite abrupt changes in factor loadings⁵ over even quite short periods of time⁶. In a basically unchanging factor structure, it has been suggested that 'diagnostic variables' may be more suitable in identifying changes in spatial pattern⁷. This is because even in a basically unchanging situation,

1. Lawton and Pooley (1975 B), 18

2. Reported Pooley (1973), 206

3. Gittus has also commented on this point: Lawton & Pooley (1973), 30

4. Lawton and Pooley (1975 B)

5. See ~~Appendix B~~ *Factor Definition* Nie *et al* (1970), 211

6. Although even in the U.S.A, factor change can be slow. San Fran-

cisco showed little change between 1940 and 1950: Timms (1975), 185

7. Dennis (1976 A), 112

factor loadings are likely to change marginally over time, so that one can never be sure whether an apparent change in an area's status is due to a change in its actual ecology, or to a slight change in loading¹. Against this must be set the objection that the identification of 'diagnostic variables', that is, those variables which the researcher considers to be most important, is necessarily intuitive. But then so is the identification and interpretation of factors intuitive².

Several correlation tests were carried out on the data, and it was decided that the 'factor structure' of Ramsgate during the mid-Victorian period was indeed basically unchanging. For this reason, factor analysis was held to be inappropriate, and reliance was placed instead upon an analysis of certain key variables, which, after thorough acquaintance with the data, were considered^e to be of most importance.

Perhaps the last word should be left with Alfred Marshall, however:

'In my view every economic fact whether or not it is of such a nature as to be expressed in numbers, stands in relation to cause and effect to many other facts: and since it never happens that all of them can be expressed in numbers, the application of exact mathematical methods to those which can is nearly always a waste of time, while in the large majority of cases it is positively misleading; and the world would have been further on its way forward if the work had never been₃ done at all.'

4. Sampling

It was decided that sam[?]ling would be inappropriate to this study for several reasons:

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1. Dennis (1976 A), 111-2
 2. Timms (1975), 52
 3. Quoted Floyd and O'Brien (1976), 17

i) The process of identifying properties, (which is described in the next chapter), involved the linkage of all census and rating material. Having dealt with all the data once, it appeared to be a waste of effort to discard all but say 10% of it.

ii) The total volume of data, without sampling, was still manageable. The town contained about 11,000 individuals in 1851 and 14,000 in 1871. This is slightly in excess of the volume of data handled by Lawton and Pooley in their sample study of Liverpool. For future reference, however, it is fair to say that it is unlikely that an individual researcher would want to deal with many more than 25,000 people.

iii) If sampling had been carried out, the confidence that could have been placed in some of the results would have been doubtful. This has two related aspects:

a) on an overall scale, any slight changes between 1851 and 1871 would have been impossible to detect since confidence limits might well have been wider than those of the variations themselves. In the event, only slight changes were indeed evident in several aspects of the town's character, so that the decision not to sample was fully justified from this point of view;

b) on a smaller scale the number of topics that could have been discussed would have been severely reduced. It was decided, for example, that few useful generalisations could be made unless there were at least ten items present. Thus on a street scale a 10% sample of households would have left one able to discuss only the High Street in 1851, instead of the 83 streets

that could be examined by not sampling. Likewise birthplace clusterings were interesting items to consider, one of which was an abnormal number of persons born in Devon. There were 60 male household heads born in that county living in Ramsgate at the time of the 1851 census; a 10% sample would have left one talking about 6 of them. Examples of this sort of loss of detail could obviously be magnified many times.

iv) Sampling would have made comparisons between neighbouring households impossible, and between neighbouring streets and areas extremely difficult¹. In contrast, the decision not to sample meant that distributions could be analyzed and mapped with confidence.

This chapter has outlined in general terms the methodology and content of this thesis. Content in specific terms is however necessarily determined by available sources, and an examination of these is the subject of the next chapter.

1. A point raised in Anderson (1973), 2

'The statistics of Victorian England, for all their fascination and all their abundance, have not been turned to...service...at all adequately.'

A.K. CAIRNCROSS¹

HAVING EXPLAINED in the previous chapter the objectives of this thesis, this chapter examines in detail the data sources upon which the study was based. The important subject of the linkage of the sources is also examined, and the technique of identifying the individual properties in the town is explained. Details of the variables extracted from the sources, details of coding and details on punched card format are, however, to be found in the Appendices.

Rate Books

Despite the lip-service that is now more frequently paid to rate books at conferences² and in footnotes to publications³, work based upon them is still in remarkably short supply⁴. Changing urban morphology is a subject for which rate books are an appropriate source. Robson's analysis of Sunderland⁵ and Jennings' work on Mansfield⁶ are examples of this type of approach; both studies examine the pattern of rateable values at a series of different dates. When rateable values are divided by floor area, the resulting index can be used to map out the extent of a town's central business district, a type of study pio-

1. Cairncross (1949), 67

2. Lawton and Pooley (1973), 49; Dennis (1976 A), 110-1

3. Lawton and Pooley (1975 B), 8

4. Perhaps because of lack of advertisement. Wrigley's edited volume (1972) on the quantitative study of nineteenth-century society, for instance, fails to give rate books a single mention

5. Robson (1969)

6. Jennings (1966)

neered by Herbert on Newcastle-under-Lyme¹. A different emphasis is seen in Giggs' study of the relationship between trade cycles and vacancy rates, evidenced by 'empties' in the rate books, in Barry, Glamorgan². All these studies are primarily geographical in their emphasis. Economic, social and urban historians appear to be even more reluctant to use the source, only two examples being known to the writer³.

The neglect of rate books is partly caused by their availability. Some rate books have failed to survive the ravages of time, the last war in particular taking a heavy toll: those of Liverpool were destroyed, and those of Tunbridge Wells were used for salvage, for example. Older rate books have tended to be stored in unsuitable places by local authorities, where they deteriorate. Unless they are stored in county archives, there is no register of them to advise researchers of their very existence. Neglect is also, perhaps, caused by their bulk, which can be distinctly off-putting.

What the records lack in conciseness, however, they compensate for by their comprehensiveness. Thus although Ramsgate has a daunting 403 volumes of manuscript rate books, there is a virtually unbroken chain of rating assessments, usually carried out once a quarter, for the last 250 years, from 1717 onwards.

1. Herbert (1961)

2. Davies, Giggs and Herbert (1968)

3. Nossiter (1973) linked rate books to poll books to examine voting patterns. Daunton (1976) in a recent study has assumed perfect correlation between rateable value and class in Cardiff (p.23). As the Ramsgate evidence will show (Table IV.50 ff) such an assumption is highly questionable; and depending upon how the relationship is measured a one to one correlation held for only half the Ramsgate households at the most.

Format. Prior to the Parochial Assessment Act, 1836, 6 & 7 William IV c.96, the format of rate books tended to be on an ad hoc basis for individual parishes. Thus the early Ramsgate rate books are simple lists of rate-payers, with the town being divided into four 'Ends', labelled according to the points of the compass. By the end of the eighteenth-century, however, this had been replaced by a street labelling. Against the name of each rate-payer was recorded the amount that he actually had to pay. There are grave problems in interpreting this early material. An increase in the amount paid by individuals, or in the number of rate-payers, was not necessarily the result of increased wealth or increased town size. It might instead have been the result of a greater demand being put upon the poor rate, or, in other words, of greater overall poverty. In addition, one cannot be sure how many houses there were in a street at any one time, since an unknown proportion of the householders would have been liable for the payment of poor rate.

After the 1836 Act the position became clear. With the exception of a very small class of properties which were exempted from the payment of rates¹, all properties were listed, whether the occupier was to pay rates or not as a result of a means test. In addition, gross estimated rental, rateable value and the names of the owner were recorded. Unlike the column showing the amount that individuals had to pay to the authorities, gross estimated rental and rateable value remained relatively constant from assessment to assessment. Certain

1. Buildings exempted from the payment of poor rate were listed in H.C. 493 (1861), liv, Return of all houses, buildings and lands which are exempted from the payment of Poor Rate, together with their theoretical values. Eight such buildings were listed for Ramsgate in 1861

properties might indeed be upgraded from time to time if they were improved, or downgraded upon appeal, but one can be sure that such variations were caused by changes in the properties themselves, and not by changes in the overall economic well-being of the town. The values change as a whole on the occasion of reassessments, which in the case of Ramsgate, took place about once a decade.

Gross estimated rental, is, as the name suggests, the amount which it was considered that the property would yield in annual rent, if it were to be leased. Rateable value is this amount, minus the amount which the landlord would have to spend upon necessary annual maintenance. Rateable value thus includes an index as to the state of repair of the property, ^{and} ~~which~~ was on average about two-thirds of the gross estimated rental in Ramsgate. This proportion was by no means uniform, however, indicating that individual cases were considered on their merits. Rates were then calculated by the authorities on the basis of the rateable value. Rates did fluctuate from assessment to assessment, and they correspond to the single amount recorded in the pre-1837 rate books.

Table II.1, an example from Ramsgate High Street in 1851, shows the format of the non-monetary columns of the post-1836 rate books. Some comments need to be made on these columns and their reliability, before describing the information which can be obtained from them.

The object of the rating assessment was to collect money from individuals. It was therefore in the interests of the authorities that the 'Name of Occupier' column should be continuously updated. The compiler was normally ^rscupulous in his attention to detail in this column there-

TABLE II.1 Extract from the High Street entries in the Ramsgate rate book, May 1851

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name of occupier</u>	<u>Name of owner</u>	<u>Description of pro- perty rated</u>	<u>Name or situation of property</u>
56	Edward L Tapply	Edward L Tapply	House	54 High Street
57	Thomas Spain	Thomas Spain	House	55 High Street
"	Thomas Sapin	Ditto	House	5 Albion Hill
58	John F Grundy		House	High Street
59	Thomas Rammell	Thomas Rammell	House and Premises	Ditto
"	Thomas Rammell	Ditto	Coach-house etc.	Clover Hill
60	Edmund Barrow	Edmund Barrow	House	56 High Street
"	Edmund Barrow	Ditto	Stabling	Broad Street
61	Andrew Paton	Thomas Rammell	House	57 High Street
62	John Shaw	John Shaw	House	58 Ditto
63	Charles Fisher	Thomas A Grundy	House	Ditto
64	Humphrey Bourne	Ditto	House	Ditto
65	William Adley	Ex. William Chandler	House and Shop	59 High Street

fore, since he would wish to avoid ambiguity. Thus in cases of possible confusion between persons of the same name, the middle initial or name was added (although it tended to be only the middle class who had a middle name at this time), or occasionally the suffix 'Junior'. In 1851 and 1871 it was possible to check the reliability of the Rams-gate rate books on this point, by comparing the name of occupier with the name of household head recorded in the enumerators' books¹. The tally was remarkable at both dates. All divergences could be safely ascribed to one of two causes: either there had been a house move between the dates of the two surveys; or else the landlord (determined from the 'Name of Owner' column) was registered as the 'occupier', in the legal sense, and was hence liable for the payment of rates. This situation might arise for one of two reasons. If a house was a sea-front property which was let for the season, the rating authorities found it considerably more convenient to deal with the landlord, who was usually a permanent resident, rather than with transients. Alternatively, and especially after the Poor Rate Assessment and Collection Act, 1869, properties with very low rateable values were 'compounded', that is, the owners were made to pay the rates. Properties rated in this way had a 15% rate reduction², whilst the landlords recouped their extra expenses via increased rents. This situation was much more convenient for the authorities, since the landlord was usually much more accessible than his tenants, and was less likely to default or to leave town without trace. The resultant loss of infor-

1. The Census of 30th March 1851 was linked to the rate book of 26th May 1851, and the Census of 3rd April 1871 was linked to the rate book of 3rd January 1871.

2. Daunton (1976), 21

mation on occupiers (in the physical sense) at the time of the 1871 census is however unfortunate.

It must be admitted that the information supplied in the 'Name of Owner' column is potentially the least reliable used in this study. Unlike the occupier column, there is no independent source against which its authenticity can be judged, although this is a common criticism of most sources used in historical studies. One cannot check Domesday Book entries. Even if entries in the owner column are 'as complete as could reasonably be expected', which appears to be enough to satisfy one writer¹, this is not in itself a proof of authenticity. The test that is usually adopted is that one accepts the authenticity of a source unless there appears to be reasonable grounds for not doing so. Unfortunately, in the case of the owner columns there are. A Parliamentary inquiry was conducted into the ownership of land in England and Wales in the early 1870s². The relevant information was obtained from an inspection of the owner columns in the rate books of all the different rating authorities. The preface observes that 'the parish lists were defective, especially as regards the names of owners', that rating authorities were 'not required by statute to fill in the names of the owners' and that they were under no obligation to keep the owner column updated'.³ This would appear to be damning evidence indeed. How then can one justify using the Ramsgate data on ownership at all? There are six reasons.

1. Whilst the Parliamentary inquiry may have had difficulty with information on ownership in a number of rating areas, there is

1. Daunton (1956), 21
2. C. 1097, H.C. (1874), lxxii (1 & 2)
2. Ibid., 7-8 passim,

- no evidence that they did so in Ramsgate.
2. Rating authorities did have an interest in filling in the owner column and in keeping it up to date. In default of rate payment by the occupier, it was the owner to whom the rating authorities would turn.
 3. Inspection of the Ramsgate rate books revealed the frequent juxtaposition of two owners' names against a property, one directly opposite the entry, the other a little above it, which then appeared as the sole entry in the succeeding rate book. This would be an understandable process if entries were to be copied from one book to the next at the same time as keeping the ownership column updated
 4. A high proportion of the listed owners could actually be identified in the enumerators' books (the remainder were presumably absentees who might well be numerous in a resort), and were not therefore fictitious characters.
 5. Whilst it is true that gaps appeared in the owner column against particular properties from time to time (entry No. 58 in Table II.1 is a case in point), these gaps did not usually remain for very long. They were presumably the result of a change in freehold about which the authorities were still waiting to be told.
 6. Likewise, whilst it is true that the phrase 'heirs of x' appears in the books against particular properties from time to time, and sometimes for long periods on end, this can also be explained. The property might well have been held in trust, with a life interest for the heirs of x (an especially popular arrange-

ment with the Victorians), or else it could have been the subject of a lengthy Probate or Chancery case. One does not have to read very much of Dickens: Bleak House to be aware that the latter might be extremely protracted.

Thus whilst there are indeed grounds for suspecting the data on ownership, there are insufficient grounds for discarding it altogether.

Unfortunately there is an additional problem connected with the data on ownership however. If 'owner' in fact means 'the person who pays the rates if the occupier defaults', 'owner' in some cases could obviously refer to the holder of a long lease who is sub-letting to the occupier. There is no way of assessing the extent to which this was the case. It is however of some consolation that the Parliamentary inquiry, whilst accepting this fact¹, nevertheless published their findings on the data.

Table II.2 may serve as a useful point of departure for a discussion of the two remaining non-monetary columns in the rate book. The right hand column of Table II.2 shows the occupations of the individuals listed in Table II.1, obtained from the 1851 census enumerators' books. From the 'Description of Property Rated' column in the rate book, it would seem that there was only one shop along this section of the High Street, that of William Adley. Table II.2 very quickly dispels this notion. None of the occupiers concerned were stated in the 1849 Isle of Thanet Directory, which after all had a commercial purpose², as having business premises elsewhere in the town, so that these properties would not appear to be merely private houses. In fact it would seem that only one of these properties was not a shop,

1. C.1097, H.C., (1874), lxxii, (1), 7-8

2. Norton (1950), 1

TABLE II.2 Comparison between the address of individuals listed in Table II.1 given in the May 1851 Rate Book, the 1849 Isle of Thanet Directory and the March 1851 Census Enumerator's Book.

<u>Occupier</u>	<u>Rate book address</u>	<u>Directory address</u>	<u>Census address</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Edward L Tapply	54 High Street	54 High Street	54 High Street	Linen draper, silk mercer and haberdasher
Thomas Spain	55 High Street	54 High Street (printer's error ?)	55 High Street	Tailor
John F Grundy	High Street	56 High Street	56 High Street	Grocer and tea dealer
Thomas Rammell	High Street	High Street	High Street	Shipowner
Edmund Barrow	56 High Street	High Street	57 High Street	Linen draper
Andrew Paton	57 High Street	57 High Street	High Street	Bookseller, stationer and printer
John Shaw	58 High Street	Albion House, High Street	Albion House, High Street	Linen draper and silk mercer
Charles Fisher	High Street	High Street	58 High Street	Chemist to the Queen
Humphrey Bourne	High Street	58 High Street	58½ High Street	Linen draper and silk mercer
William Adley	59 High Street	59 High Street	59 High Street	Plumber and glazier

that of Thomas Rammell. Whilst this column of the rate book may be ineffective in distinguishing shops from houses however, it is useful in distinguishing residential from non-residential properties. Thus gardens, stables, coach-, tallow- and slaughter-houses, for example, are always clearly indicated, a considerable advantage when it comes to trying to identify properties.

After 1836, and well into the present century, the order in which the properties were listed in the rate book follows the path of the rate assessor on his rounds of the town, the properties being referenced under the 'Name of Situation of Property' column. There is an exception to this order when an occupier also occupied another property, as in the frequent case of shops, and here that property was listed directly after the first entry. This would be the logical way of listing if the object was to collect money from individuals, as indeed it was. Thus in Table II.1, Thomas Spain's property in Albion Hill is listed directly after his High Street entry. This means that one has to examine an entire rate book before one can be sure that one has found all the entries relating to a particular street. A further problem in dealing with this column is caused by the fact that the referencing system used by the authorities for house numbers was by no means exact. Table II.1 shows that some of the High Street properties did not have house numbers, but further complication is added by Table II.2 which shows that the house numbers accorded to these properties in contemporary sources often failed to tally. The comparison is facilitated by the fact that none of the individuals moved house during the period concerned, and because all of them are listed in the Directory. The three sources only agree about the addresses

of three of the ten houses, and one of these points of agreement was that Thomas Rammell's house did not have a number. Comparisons over time can be yet further complicated by the fact that house numbers were sometimes officially altered to take account of infill. Thus Ramsgate High Street had at least two major numbering changes prior to 1866-7. At the latter date the entire system was changed to the familiar 'even-one-side-odd-the-other', with the sequence starting at the end of the street closest to the town centre. Prior to that date numbers went sequentially down one side of the street and back sequentially up the other - where, that is, the houses were numbered at all¹. For all these reasons it was decided that house numbers were at best only a rough guide to property identification; much greater use was made of the rating schedule numbers, found in the left hand margin of the rate book.

Information derived. Of the two indices available on property value, rateable value was selected in preference to gross estimated rental. This is because it contains the built-in 'state of repair' element, as previously explained². The census enumerators' books showed that house sharing was relatively common, however. For this reason, after linkage was completed, it was decided to divide the rateable value by the number of households sharing the property³. This is a logical step, provided that one is primarily interested in the householders rather than the houses. Buildings in the town had been constructed

1. Conzen (1974), 1, reports a similar problem with Milwaukee; in 1860, with a population of 40,000 there was still no numbering system outside the downtown area.

2. See above, page 23

3. As Daunton was unable to do. Daunton admits (1976), 23, that he was unable to take account of multiple-occupancy which makes his assumption of a one to one correlation between rates and class all the more extraordinary.

at different times, they were often of different sizes and had perhaps been built for different needs¹. Rateable value per se could take no account of the value that various socio-economic groups either attached to that property, or were able to afford. In the case of large houses, subdivided between several families, it would clearly have been misleading to ascribe full rateable value to each household. The index thus obtained was one of 'rateable value per dwelling unit'. An alternative index could, of course, have been obtained by dividing the rateable value by the total number of persons found in the house on census night. It was felt, however, that such an index would have been somewhat arbitrary; the number of persons actually sleeping in a house on census night would have been affected by random factors, there would have been the problem of deciding who was likely to have been only a temporary occupant and of deciding what weight to give to children of different ages.

The indices of the number of properties owned in the town and the total rateable value of properties owned in the town by individuals were both derived from a card index of owners made for 1851 and 1871. The indices themselves are self-explanatory. The latter index was an important adjunct to the information on rateable value in some cases. Thus an owner-occupier might be sharing his property with another household, in which case both the total rateable value of the property and the share of this which his occupancy represented were recorded against his name. Finally, if a particular owner held a relatively large number of properties this was recorded in a different way.

1. It is now a commonly accepted view that housing type as a diagnostic variable is only valid in terms of the original group for whom it was built; see Herbert (1972), 125.

Properties belonging to the fifty owners with the most properties were indexed against the names of their occupiers. The object here was to test whether or not particular owners specialised in particular types of property or in particular types of tenant.

The form of tenure of household heads can be decided from rate books and enumerators' books once they have been linked. Five categories exist: owner-occupancy; leasehold; leasehold with the landlord paying the rates (a short tenancy); sub-tenancy (found in shared houses); and a non-determinable category. Table II.3 shows the various permutations that can arise in the records for single household dwellings, together with two which are found in cases of multiple-occupancy. These variations should be interpreted as follows:

Case 1. 'A' could either be an owner-occupier or a leaseholder. Since the name of the owner is not given in the rate book this cannot be resolved. 'A''s status is therefore non-determinable.

Case 2. 'B' could either be an owner-occupier or a tenant who has moved in to replace 'A' between the time of the census and the rate book compilation; alternatively 'B' could be a sub-tenant of 'A'. 'B''s status is therefore non-determinable.

Case 3. 'A' is an owner-occupier.

Case 4. 'B' is prima facie the holder of a short lease. This may be assumed unless i) 'B' appears as occupier in the next rate book, in which case he is a leaseholder, or, ii) 'B' appears as owner and occupier in the next rate book, in which case he is an owner-occupier.

Case 5. 'B' is a leaseholder

Case 6. 'C' is a tenant if his name appears as occupier in the next

TABLE II.3 Tenancy types

<u>Case</u>	<u>Name of owner</u> (from rate book)	<u>Name of occupier</u> (from rate book)	<u>Name of head</u> (from census)
<u>Single household dwellings</u>			
1.	-	A	A
2.	-	A	B
3.	A	A	A
4.	A	A	B
5.	A	B	B
6.	A	B	C
<u>Multiple-household dwellings</u>			
7.	A	B	B C
8.	A	B	C D
For explanation see text			

rate book, but the holder of a short lease from 'B' if it does not.

Case 7. 'B' is a tenant and 'C' is 'B''s sub-tenant.

Case 8. 'C' is assumed to be a tenant since his name is listed first, and 'D' a sub-tenant. This assumption has the best chance of being correct, since in Case 7 type examples, the Rams-gate enumerators listed 80% of tenants before their sub-tenants. 'C''s name may of course appear in the next rate book, and if this is so it will distinguish him as a tenant, as opposed to the holder of a short lease from 'B' (Case 6).

Table II.1 may be taken as a further example of the way in which tenurial status is decided, since the enumerator's book shows that the names of the High Street occupiers were the same as those of the household heads, and that there were no instances of house sharing. Edward L Tapply, Thomas Spain, Thomas Rammell, Edmund Barrow and John Shaw are all examples of Case 3 and are therefore owner-occupiers. Andrew Paton, Charles Fisher, Humphrey Bourne and William Adley are examples of Case 5 and are leaseholders. John F Grundy corresponds to Case 1 so that his status is non-determinable. Finally the extract shows that a check must be made in the enumerator's book on 5 Albion Hill; if it was occupied it will be an example of Case 4 and a short-tenancy. Since Thomas Spain was actually enumerated as living at 55 High Street, the other contingencies under Case 4 can be ruled out. If of course 5 Albion Hill was unoccupied this will be recorded as such.

Since rate books list occupiers, by comparing successive rate books it is possible to decide whether individual occupiers made house moves

over a given time period, and also to discover whether they moved to higher or lower rated property¹. Prior to the Poor Rate Assessment and Collection Act, 1869, if an occupier's name disappears from the rate book there are two possibilities: he could either have moved out of town or died². The latter can be checked from the Death Registers at the District Register Office, since after 1837 burial could not legally be performed in England unless death had been registered. It is, of course, questionable whether the names of those who appear on the Death Registers and those whose names disappear from the rate books were the same people. In the case in hand, however, a small town, with a high degree of differentiation of surnames, such an assumption is not unreasonable. Five possibilities over time are therefore apparent: occupiers could stay put; move to more highly rated property; move to lower rated property; die; or make an external move³. After the 'compounding' of rates in 1869 a sixth possibility unfortunately emerges. This is that an occupier whose name disappears from the rate books could have moved into a 'compounded' property, in which case his name would be replaced by that of the landlord. This fact makes the post-1869 data much less amenable to analysis, especially since the pre-1869 data showed that it was exactly the people living in compounded property who were most likely to make house moves.

So far the information which rate books can yield on individual

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1. Care must be taken if there is a general rating reassessment in the course of the time period covered. Rateable values should be compared at the time of the move.
 2. A third possibility is that he could have moved into shared property and become a sub-tenant. Without a closer series of censuses one cannot estimate the likelihood of this happening. A check between an 1850 rate book and the 1851 census showed it to be uncommon in Ramsgate however
 3. Treated as a residual category

household heads has been examined. Analysis of the books can also give information on building cycles, however, which relates to the town as a whole. Rate books list all buildings at the time of each rating assessment. In principle, therefore, all that needs to be done is to count up the number of buildings listed in successive rate books; calculation of the rate of change will reveal building cycles. The time consuming nature of this exercise, however, makes it impractical. Added to this, a numerical count of the buildings erected gives no indication of their quality or value. An alternative method is therefore to be preferred: that of examining the total rateable value of property in the town at succeeding dates. Possible objections to this method are that a) as a monetary measure, prima facie, rateable values are a prey to inflation; b) rateable values are reassessed periodically; c) total rateable value relates to all property, so that no distinction is possible between the types of property being erected. These objections can all be countered. Firstly, inflation is a problem with regards to using rates (the amount that occupiers actually had to pay) rather than rateable values. Between the rating reassessments the vast majority of rateable values remain constant. Secondly, the periodic reassessment of rateable values is indeed a problem, although it is a simple matter to identify the timing of these reassessments by comparing the rateable values of a number of randomly selected properties in succeeding rate books. Comparison is only prevented between the year of the reassessment and that which immediately preceded it. Finally, the inclusion of all types of building within the total rateable value would only pose problems of interpretation if a large manufacturing or commercial concern were to be

established in a town within a short period of time. Total rateable value, on the other hand, has much to commend it over simple building counts. Besides being quickly determined, since the figure is stated at the end of each rate book, it takes account of the value of building being erected. Hence the total rateable value is an index of the amount of capital invested in building at any one time. Property values tend to decline with the age of building; inflation¹ tends to increase them; in the meantime new buildings are constructed. Total rateable value is thus a convenient measure of the balance of these forces².

The foregoing has described the uses to which rate books can be put. The actual variables obtained from the rate books that were used in this thesis, together with details of coding, may be found in Appendix A. Further consideration of the building cycle in Ramsgate is to be found in Chapter III.

The Census

The format of the census enumerators' books is sufficiently well documented for it not to require rehearsal here³. Instead discussion will focus upon the reliability of the information which the books contain, the problems that can be caused by the way in which the books were sometimes compiled, and upon the limitations to the conclusions that can be drawn from the data.

Reliability of information. Contemporary comment was quick to point

1. Inflation was modest after 1850, and prices were generally sinking after 1872: Wood (1909), 91-103
2. Provided that the town is overbounded
3. Armstrong (1966), Tillott (1972). In 1871 the books show slight variation in format over those of 1851 and 1861.

out the general difficulty of conducting a census. Thus the editorial of the Thanet Advertiser of 1st April 1871, (two days before the 1871 census), remarked that:

'The proceeding is surrounded with difficulty, arising from the prejudice and ignorance of all classes of society; for whilst it may be true that those engaged in making the return have to do with the very lowest orders of the people, whose degraded habits and besotted propensities render them extremely difficult to deal with, they also have to surmount the prejudices and remove the objections of a large class of whimsical folks, who look upon the census as a legalised inquisition, which disturbs the sacredness of private life and brings beneath the public gaze facts in individual history which they would prefer to keep secret.'

Some of the information in the enumerators' books is clearly more reliable than others. Houses seem to have been missed very infrequently. This can be checked from rating returns and contemporary maps when they are available. Thus in Ramsgate in 1851 the enumerators only missed one house, a large sea-front property, probably empty at the time, but which was nevertheless not recorded as such. In 1871 all the houses in the town were enumerated, as far as can be judged.

The names of people also seem to have been very thoroughly recorded, a check being possible from the rate books. Only one nameless family was found in the town in 1851: a man, wife and small daughter spent census night in an otherwise crowded house in one of the poorest parts of the town. Their host obviously either neglected, or was unable, to discover their names or the man's occupation before they (presumably) left early the next morning.

Examples have been quoted elsewhere to show that people did not

always record the same age (plus ten) at a succeeding census¹. Some people may genuinely not have known their ages². Falsification of ages may also have occurred, and contemporary comment suspected that this might be most true of certain women:

'Perhaps in the subjects enumerated the greatest objection which can be felt will have reference to condition and age. It is well known that maiden ladies have a strong dislike to the disclosure of their ages when they are past the usual matrimonial period, and that recourse to various artificial means to rejuvenate those whose youthful charms have been impaired by the ravages of time, so as to buoy up the almost sinking hope that they shall not remain spinsters for ever, is sometimes made. Ladies 'fat, fair and forty', or even a little older, need be under no apprehension. Prurient curiosity will not be allowed to scrutinize the returns, and the possibility of matrimonial alliances will not be rendered more remote by the census³ returns of the present year.'

The reliability of information on occupation has received frequent comment. Certain occupations are never recorded, although they obviously existed: poachers, pickpockets and prostitutes never declare themselves as such⁴. Contemporaries such as Charles Dickens were highly suspicious of the occupations returned for some of the poorest people, and an anonymous article in 1854 in Household Words, of which he was the editor, made the distinct suggestion that the census was in part a white-wash on the part of the authorities to conceal actual living conditions⁵. There is also a suspicion that some people may have been tempted to inflate the status of their occupations when it came to filling in the returns⁶. Can one be sure for instance that

1. Tillott (1972), 108

2. A common situation in Africa today. There is even doubt about the age of Jomo Kenyatta, President of Kenya, for example

3. Thanet Advertiser, 1st April 1871, 2

4. One wonders how Fagin, Bill Sikes, The Artful Dodger and Nancy would have recorded their occupations in Dickens: Oliver Twist

5. Charles Dickens: Hard Times (Penguin Edition, 1969), note 26, p 327

6. Armstrong (1974), 9

the William Cook of Ramsgate in 1851 who described his occupation as 'importer of foreign cigars' was what he said he was, or was he perhaps just a tobacconist ? Two literary examples may serve to illustrate this point further. In Dickens: David Copperfield, Mr. Micawber is always waiting for something to 'turn up'. One feels that he might be quite capable of describing himself as an architect or as a merchant as the mood took him. Likewise in Hard Times, Mr. Gradgrind is infuriated to find that the father of Sissy Jupe (a pupil at his model school) works in a circus. The following conversation takes place:

'...What is your father ?'

'He belongs to the horse-riding, if you please, sir.'

Mr. Gradgrind frowned, and waved off the objectionable calling with his hand.

'We don't want to know anything about that, here. You musn't tell us about that, here. Your father breaks horses, don't he ?'

'If you please, sir, when they can get any to break, they do break horses in the ring, sir.'

'You musn't tell us about the ring, here. Very well, then. Describe your father as a horsebreaker. He doctors sick horses, I dare say ?'

'Oh yes, sir.'

'Very well, then. He is a veterinary surgeon, a farrier,¹ and a horsebreaker..'

In the course of these few lines, Mr. Jupe has risen from Class IV, through the skilled trade of farrier, to reach Class II as a veterinary surgeon. It is not difficult to imagine this sort of sequence going through the minds of many as they filled up their returns. Finally, a reading of mid-Victorian Directories leaves one in no doubt that a number of people had more than one occupation. There were several such cases in the 1849 Ramsgate Directory, and four examples are quoted here to illustrate the multiplicity of occupations that some-

1. Dickens: Hard Times (1854) ch. 2

times occurred:

Henry Challis: Fruiterer, greengrocer, carman and fly proprietor.

William Edward Smith: Architect, surveyor, auctioneer, house agent, builder and undertaker

Israel Abraham: Tailor, draper, hatter, outfitter and agent to the Alliance Life and Fire Insurance Co.

Timothy Thomas Saddler: House and estate agent, agent to the County Fire and Life Office, London, registrar of marriages for the Isle of Thanet and coal merchant. 1

Yet this detail tends not to be recorded in the census. Very few cases of multiple occupation were found in the Ramsgate enumerators' books. What seems to have happened is that people filled in the occupation which they considered to be their chief form of livelihood, or possibly, that by which they wished to be remembered. Whilst this helps to simplify the analysis, it does mean that the census missed detail.

Information on birth-place has also been questioned. As with ages it is possible that some people did not know what these were². This may even help to explain the fact that has now been established that some people filled in a different birth-place for themselves in succeeding censuses³. Some Victorians may have wished to conceal their origins (even from their families), in order to pretend that they were either higher or lower than they really were⁴. Ambiguity is also not uncommon if there is more than one place in the county with the same name, and especially is this true if the name of the county is not

1. Even under the Armstrong-Booth classification, Armstrong (1972), 253-310, these occupations collapse to two (D5, T5), three (B1, D13, MF14) and four (D4, D13, MF23, IS1 and B1, IS1, PP2, D1) categories.

2. The convict Magwitch in Dickens: Great Expectations has no idea where he was born, for example, (ch. 42)

3. Armstrong (1974), 9

4. Mr. Bounderby in Dickens: Hard Times is an example of the latter, forever boasting (quite incorrectly) that he has risen from the gutter.

recorded. There are ninety-six places in the British Isles called Newtown, for example, with several counties recording three or more occurrences¹.

Problems caused by compilation. This has three aspects. Firstly, there is sometimes ambiguity as to the definition of households and household relationships, a problem which has been adequately treated elsewhere². Secondly, the handwriting of some of the enumerators was sometimes such that it is difficult to decipher³. In Ramsgate it seemed that the poorer the district the worse was the enumerator's hand, which poses added problems for obtaining information on the poorer districts. Finally, in some enumeration districts it seems that the officials were none too careful about the way in which they compiled their books. One is left with the distinct impression, for example, that in one district in Ramsgate in 1851 the enumerator loosely bundled together his schedules under street headings and then wrote the contents into his book almost at random. Again, this was a poor district.

Limitations to conclusions from the data. Whilst the great strength of the census is that it gives a snapshot of an entire society at one moment in time, this is also its great limitation. It is worth rehearsing what these limitations are:

1. The census only records those people actually present on census night. The permanent absence of those who have 'left home' prevents analysis of fertility rates and family reconstitution, whilst temporary absences can be an important limitation to analysis of age and

1. Bartholomew's: Gazetteer of the British Isles (1972 ed.), 509

2. Anderson (1972 A); Tillott (1972)

3. cf Dyos (1968), 92, footnote 22

occupational structure. Whilst it might be thought that temporary absences would be randomly distributed, this is not always the case. Particular groups may be abnormally under-represented, and in Ramsgate's case there are problems caused by the absence of part of the fishing fleet in both 1851 and 1871.

2. The census does not tell one where people worked. One does not know therefore if some of the town's inhabitants worked outside the town's boundaries; conversely one does not know how many people came into the town to work each day. This is again important if one is trying to assess occupational structure.

3. The census records the living and not the dead. This is an important limitation for family reconstitution procedures, since, coupled with the first problem listed above, one has no means of knowing how many children were born to particular unions. Important matters such as infant mortality are also beyond its scope.

4. Birthplaces (up until the 1966 sample census) are the only clue as to the origin of in-migrants. Not only are birthplaces somewhat fortuitous¹, but they give no clue as to intervening migratory moves, which are likely to be of far greater interest. It is true that such moves can sometimes be surmised from the birthplaces of children born to the union, a method that is obviously not entirely reliable, but one must be careful not to place too much reliance on such data since it is a fortiori weighted towards families, whose migratory patterns may have been quite different from the unmarried or those without children. The volume of migration flows are also hard to assess if based

1. In 1871 a Ramsgate woman was listed as having been born in Tierra del Fuego. This was presumably not by design, and was more likely to have have happened on a sea voyage

on birthplace data, since only living migrants are recorded¹. Neither can one time the arrival of migrants, unless there is a regular supply of children to act as indicators.

5. The time of the year when the census was conducted is an important limitation of the character of the town changed with the seasons. This is a particular problem for a resort such as Ramsgate. Both the 1851 and 1871 censuses were carried out in early spring, well before 'the season' was underway. One is therefore left with relatively few clues as to the type of visitor who was attracted to the resort at the different dates. Put differently, this means that it is difficult to assess whether there was any change in social tone of the resort during the period.

6. Domestic servants who lived out are enumerated as separate households. One does not know to which employers they should be ascribed, an important limitation if the number of servants in a household is to be taken as an index of status².

None of these limitations should be taken to imply that the census enumerators' books are not an immensely useful source for the study of the mid-Victorian period, a fact that can be testified by the large number of studies in progress which make use of them in some form or another. A large number of variables can be obtained from the books, and those used in this study are indexed in Appendix B, together with coding details.

Coding procedures. Two aspects of coding procedures adopted in this

1. A fact noted in research in the United States: Lee and Lee (1960), 672

2. Living-out servants were, fortunately from this point of view, rather uncommon in Ramsgate at this period.

study (Appendix B) call for explanation. These are respectively those that deal with occupations and birthplaces.

1. Occupational groups were determined using Charles Booth's classification, as edited by Armstrong¹, with the purely technical difference that for computer purposes a numerical code was used. It was felt that for comparative purposes alone this classification would be extremely useful, irrespective of its intrinsic merits which are considerable. Lawton and Pooley used the classification in their Liverpool study², and it is hoped that ultimately a typology of British towns in the nineteenth-century may emerge through its use, a goal that is eagerly awaited in some quarters³.

2. Occupational status was determined according to the 1951 Registrar General's Classification of Occupations, as amended by Armstrong for use in the nineteenth-century⁴. The arguments that have been advanced for adopting this classification appear convincing, and it too was used in the study of nineteenth-century Merseyside⁵. It is indeed unfortunate that there is no contemporary classification which can be applied to nineteenth-century data, but Armstrong's amendments go a long way to removing obvious anomalies. Although one must agree with Mlle Daumard that:

'Les références de base (du type de classification) doivent rendre compte de la hiérarchie sociale que ⁶ connaissaient les contemporains',

it is also true that 'we can never know how the Victorians in York or

1. Armstrong (1972), 253-310

2. Lawton (1973), 61

3. Urban History Yearbook (1974), Editorial, 8

4. Armstrong, op.cit., especially 209-11

5. Lawton, loc.cit.

6. Daumard (1963), 185

Preston would in fact have rated occupations in class terms'.¹

3. Birthplaces were coded according to Registration areas, but in such a way as to give weight to places close to Ramsgate. Thus adjacent locations were classified according to parishes (and places very close to the town according to parts of parishes), the remainder of Kent, plus London, according to Registration Districts, the rest of England by counties, and other places according to country. Coding on this basis gave the advantage of maximum comparability with published data sources whilst enabling a scale factor to be included in the study of mobility (Chapter V). Coding details are included in Appendix B.

Linkage and property identification

Ramsgate was surveyed twice during the mid-Victorian period. In 1849 a local surveyor produced a map on the scale of approximately 1: 2,250²; and in 1872 the Ordnance Survey carried out a detailed survey at a scale of 1: 500. Both maps were, as far as can be judged, extremely accurate. The date of the two surveys was fortunate because it meant that the great majority of properties in the town in both 1851 and 1871 could be found on one or other of them. Source linkage proved to be an essential preliminary to identifying the properties however.

Linkage of rate books to the enumerators' books proved to be in the main straightforward. Both sources contained the 'identifiers'³ of full name and address of household head (or occupier), the full name

1. Banks (1974), 45, an observation which makes it all the more surprising that he criticises Armstrong for not attempting 'an approximation of their likely point of view'.

2. Hinds (1849). *Copies in Ramsgate library.*

3. Wrigley (1973), 6

and address of 'n' neighbours on either side, together with the order in which the officials recorded the information. It was found that these identifiers were sufficient to obviate the use of computerised techniques of record linkage that have been described elsewhere¹.

Enumeration districts were first delimited on the contemporary map, based upon the description found at the beginning of each enumerator's book. Sometimes full delimitation had to await the examination of other districts, however, when marginal properties could be allocated. Census schedule numbers were listed for the district, with occurrences of house sharing and uninhabited houses being noted. Rate book schedule numbers were then allocated to census schedule numbers on a street basis², where the names of 'head' and 'occupier' were the same, or where there had been an unambiguous intervening house move. Residual properties in the enumeration district were then identified from residual census and rating schedule numbers. Throughout the operation only schedule numbers were used because of the possibility of discrepancy between house numbers in the two sources. The latter were often a useful guide however. With linkage achieved it was then possible to start to identify individual properties.

Identifying individual properties was found to depend upon two different types of evidence: what another study has termed 'the subtle locational clues'³ contained within each source; and an analysis of the walk of the rate assessor and census enumerator.

Hardres Street (Figure II.1) may be taken as an example to illus-

1. Wrigley (1973)

2. Taking care to include relevant rate book entries other than under the street heading itself; see above p 30

3. Robinson (1975), 40

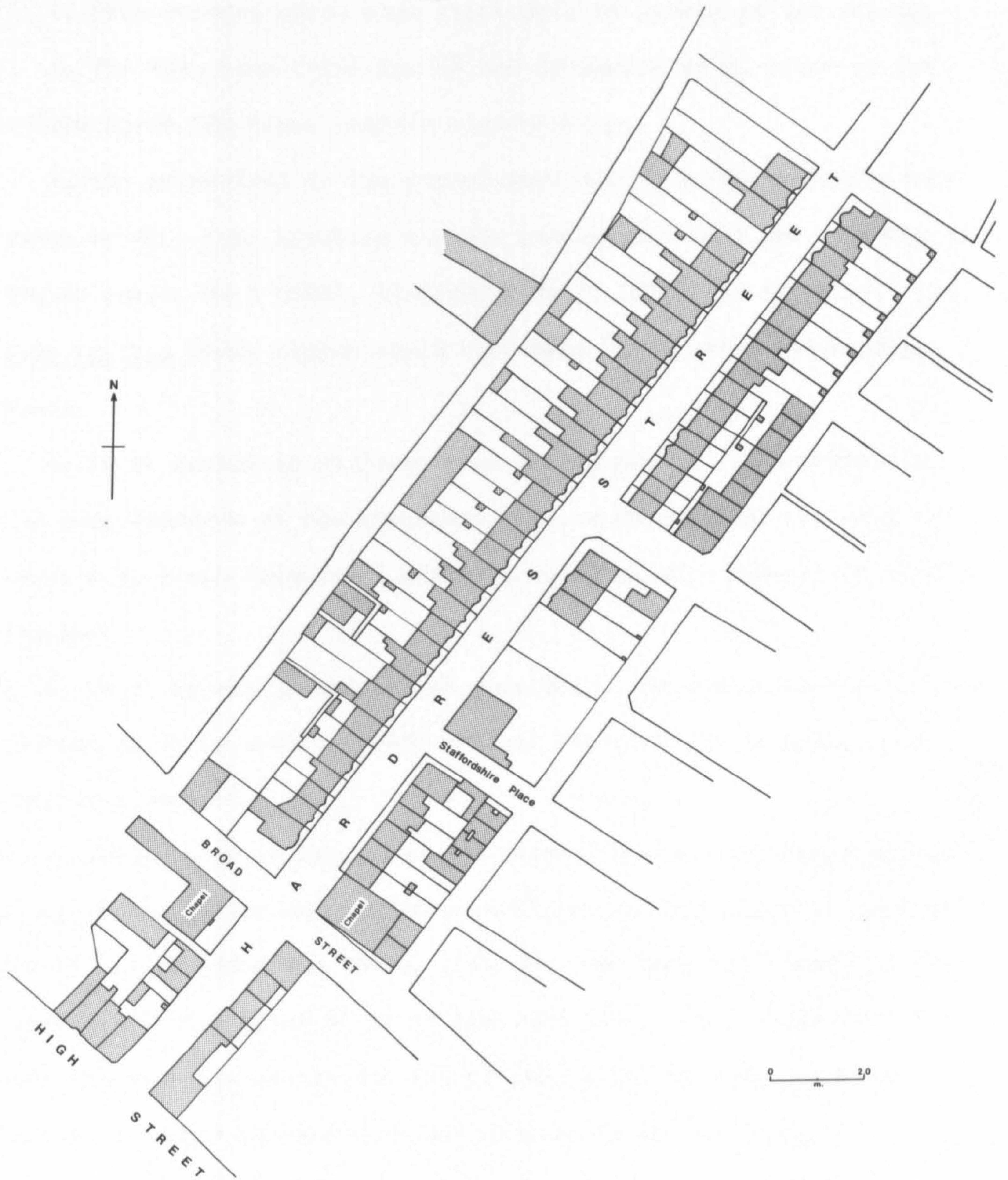


Figure 11.1. Hardres Street in 1851, redrawn from Hinds' contemporary survey.

trate the use of subtle locational clues in identifying its properties in 1851. The two sources¹ show the following:

1. Both sources agree that there were 69 houses in the street.
2. The rate book lists Nos 68 and 69 before No 1, although the census lists the house numbers sequentially.
3. The properties in the street were mostly in the rateable value range of £8 - £12, although certain properties stood out as being more highly rated: No 1 (£20), No 8 (£20), No 20 (£25), No 57 (£24). Ceteris paribus these houses would have been larger than their neighbours.
4. No 24 contained 24 persons on census night. In addition to the nine children of the household head, a Minister of the Gospel, there were seven 'scholars' present, together with some visitors from Jamaica.
5. No 33 is not listed in the rate book. In the enumerator's book against No 33 is written 'plot of land intended for building, now used as a garden'.
6. After No 36 in the rate book there are some unnumbered properties. Later in the enumerator's book², properties 'back of Hardres Street, north side' are found, with the same household heads as the occupiers listed after No 36 in the rate book. This shows that the rate assessor had got to one end of the street at this point and had then gone behind to deal with the properties at the back.
7. After No 57 both sources list the 'Woodman Inn'. This is not marked on the map, but we might reasonably expect it to have been a corner site.

1. H.O./107/1630/292-300. Rating schedules 294-324, 326-30, 337-59, 361-8, 1741

2. H.O./107/1630/300. Rating schedules 331-3

The chief clues to the identification of the individual properties comes from points 5 and 6. A gap can be seen on the map towards the north-east end of Hardres Street, the 'plot intended for building', making it the equivalent of No 33¹, and three houses further on brings one to the end of the street, to No 36, as suggested by point 6. Counting back down the north side, No 1 appears as the first house east of Broad Street, not the first of the two isolated properties to the west of it, next to the High Street, as might have been expected: instead these must have been Nos 68 and 69 (point 2) - no doubt the result of infill, after the other numbers in the street had already been allocated. The rate assessor listed Nos 68 and 69 first because he simply walked down the north side of the street recording what he found; the enumerator obviously wanted to present a greater degree of uniformity in his book which would be going to the Census Office. If this interpretation is accepted, Nos 1, 8 and 20 are indeed larger than their neighbours (point 3). At the back of No 24 there is a large building which might have served the seven scholars as a schoolroom (point 4). Counting down the south side makes No 57 the large property east of Staffordshire Place (point 3), and the Woodman Inn the corner site immediately west of Staffordshire Place (point 7).

The use of the walk of the officials as a means of identifying properties rests on the same principle as that used in pollen analysis or auger borings: the relation of the material to other material is as important as the material itself. Consider for example a street of 20 houses with occupiers represented by the letters A to T,

1. This does not of course imply that this is No 33 now; it is in fact now (1977) No 70

and the resulting list of the two officials:

Enumerator's list: A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H,I,J,K,L,M,N,O,P,Q,R,S,T

Rate assessor's list: I,H,G,F,E,D,C,B,A,T,S,R,Q,P,O,N,M,L,K,J

Comparison of the two lists shows that there must have been nine houses on one side of the street and eleven on the other: which side was which can be checked on the map. Which house was occupied by A can be checked from seeing the last known location of the enumerator, and which house was occupied by I can be cross-checked by seeing the previous location of the rate assessor.

To illustrate the method of using the walk of the two officials we may take another example, this time of Alfred Place in 1851. Table II.4 shows the information recorded in the two sources¹ for the street. Despite first appearances, and the apparently unhelpful rate book addresses, the combined information can be quite easily unravelled. To each occupier a symbol has been given in the table to facilitate comparison. Once this has been done, it appears that Alfred Place can be divided into three parts: one row of 6 houses and two rows of 7 houses each. It will also be noted that occupiers G to M appear in the same sequence in both sources, whilst A to F and N to T appear in reverse sequences:

Rate book listing: A.....F; G.....M; N.....T

Census listing: G.....M; F.....A; T.....N

This can now be compared with the contemporary map of Alfred Place, which diagrammatically appears thus:

(Turn to page 54.)

TABLE II.4 Comparison between Rate Book and Census Enumerator's Book entries for Alfred Place, Ramsgate, in 1851

Address	Rate book data		Census data	
	Name of occupier	Ref.	Name of head	Address
Alfred Place	John Fox	A	Charlotte Stokes	1 Alfred Place
"	Andrew Macey	B	John Solly	"
"	James Challis	C	John Osbourne	"
"	William Claris, Jnr.	D	Thomas Newman	"
"	George Perkins	E	Samuel West	"
"	Thomas Moses	F	Thomas Norris	"
"	Charlotte Stokes	G	One uninhabited	"
"	John Solly	H	One building	"
"	John Osbourne	I	Thomas B Moses	1 Alfred Cottage
"	Thomas Newman	J	George Perkins	2 "
"	Samuel West	K	William Lowther	25 Frederick St.
"	Thomas Norris	L	William Claris	3 Alfred Cottages
"	Unoccupied	M	James Challis	4 "
"	James Jarman	N	Andrew H Macey	5 "
"		O	Sarah Griffin	"
"	John Maxted	P	John Fox	6 "
"	John Lake	Q	Henry H Evans	7 "
"	Susanna Bouden	R	Richard Pay	8 "
"		S	Charles Wherrett	"
"		T	William S Wellman	"
"		U	Eliza Ashby	"
"	Benjamin Barnes	V	Benjamin Barnes	9 "
"	William Wellman	W	Susanna Wilsden	"
"	Henry H Evans	X	Mary Ann Gore	10 "
"		Y	John Lake	11 "
"		Z	Thomas Stupples	5 Hardres Place
"		AA	John Maxted	12 Alfred Cottages
"		AB	James W Jarman	13 "

Notes: * anomalous entries. Other entries for these streets are found elsewhere in the enumerator's book
 † an example of a house move between the dates of the two surveys

decide which the houses were, particularly if they were not distinguished by the characteristic kitchen projections at the back, or the privy down the yard. This was a problem in two streets in 1851, but the larger scale of the 1872 map resolved any difficulties at the later date. Secondly, the compilation of the enumerators' books caused occasional problems, again mostly confined to the earlier date. Mention has already been made of one district where the order of returns recorded was not that which the enumerator had followed when distributing the schedules¹. Another instance arose in a small part of the harbour area where the enumerator annoyingly dealt with all the Inns first, perhaps because he conscientiously wished to catch visitors before they departed on the morning after the census. The Inns were all marked on the contemporary map and would have provided useful landmarks in interpreting the walk. In the vast majority of streets, however, evidence was as conclusive as that found in the examples of Hardres Street and Alfred Place, so that in total it was possible to link rating and census schedules to over 98.5% of the properties in both 1851 and 1871.

Derived variables

The sources used in this thesis have now been described. Appendix A contains a list of the variables obtained from the rate books, Appendix B those from the census. Both Appendices contain coding details. Appendix C describes the way in which the co-ordinates of individual properties were calculated and matched between the two dates. Appendix D shows how all the variables were fitted onto 80 column punched cards.

1. See above p 43

Once the data is in machine readable form, it is frequently the case that one needs to have the data in a slightly different format. In other words, whilst it might have been convenient to tabulate data in one way, it might be necessary to have it tabulated in another for the purposes of analysis. The computer can in fact be instructed to change the format of variables, to create what are termed 'derived variables'. In the present study several derived variables were created. Rateable values, for instance, showed a highly skewed frequency distribution: they were therefore logged. Numbers of children in different age groups had been recorded: these were expressed as percentages of the total number of children born to the union. Areal comparisons were made possible by regrouping data on a grid square and street basis. Finally, a combination of variables was used to create a new variable: 'life cycle', which took account of the age of a couple, ages of children and so on. All derived variables are fully described in Appendix E.

Sources of error

Figure II.2 shows the twenty-five stages of data collection and processing that were necessary to produce the three-dimensional displays shown in Chapter VI. If the various machine commands are subdivided and checking at each stage included, this figure can be multiplied by a factor of at least three. It is not surprising therefore that there are several potential sources of error, and the diagram shows that these can occur at eleven of the stages identified. Some of these sources of error have already been discussed; there are others however, and for convenience all sources of error are pres-

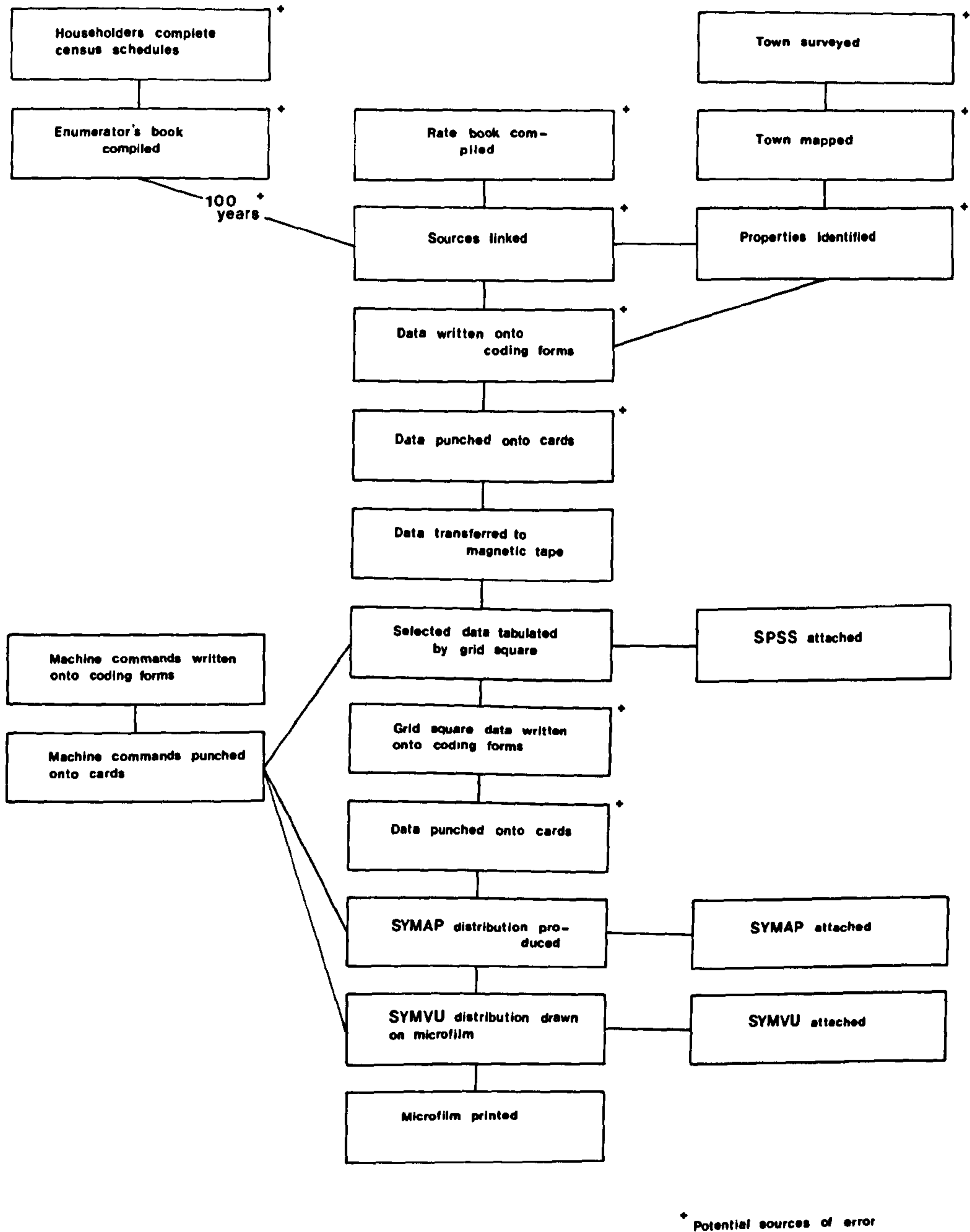


Figure 11.2. Stages involved in creating the three-dimensional displays shown in Chapter VI, indicating potential sources of error.

ented in summary form below.

1. Error in the original sources

- a) Individual householders may have falsified certain census details, have been ignorant of them, or have given ambiguous information.
- b) The census enumerator may have filled in the details incorrectly, missed houses, made entries in an illogical sequence, or had illegible handwriting.
- c) The rate assessor may have made errors in recording rateable values, failed to record the names of new owners or filled in house numbers in a misleading way.
- d) There may have been inaccuracies in the surveying of the town. In particular, temporary shelters are likely to have been missed or ignored¹.
- e) Inaccuracies in draftmanship may have lead to cartographic errors.
- f) The time factor affected all the sources, although only a corner of one page of the Ramsgate enumerators' books was actually missing.

2. Errors of linkage and property identification

Whilst every care was taken in linking the records, it is obviously possible that some error was involved. Such error may have occurred where:

- a) The rate book made no attempt to number properties;
- b) The enumerator's book listed properties in a non-systematic way;
- c) Shanty property (if any) was ignored in mapping and by the

1. It is possible that there was some shanty property in Ramsgate at both dates.

rating authorities¹;

d) The rate books list owners as occupiers, especially following the decision to 'compound' low rated properties after 1869. Analysing the work of the rate assessor then becomes much more difficult.

3. Errors in recording information.

The coding of eighty variables on twenty-five thousand individuals may have involved some error. It would, indeed, be surprising if it did not. Every effort was of course made to check coding. Similarly data punching may have multiplied errors. The punched cards were checked by machine in the standard way, but errors may nevertheless have slipped through undetected. The greatest problem in checking for errors was the time that had to be spent going through such a large volume of information.

Comparability

It may seem premature to consider the comparability of this thesis before any results of the data analysis have been presented, yet in terms of sources alone there are grounds for examining this aspect. By putting together information from the census with that of rate books, a sum total of variables is created which exceeds that which has been available in previous nineteenth-century British studies. Thus data on tenurial status, residential mobility and rateable values is provided, which was lacking in the study of nineteenth-century Liverpool, for example². Whilst this combined information is superior in British

1. Shanties seem to have been more of a problem in the United States: see Conzen (1974), 2

2. Lawton and Pooley (1975 B), 8

terms, however, making it more comparable to North American data, it is sobering to realise its limitations even when compared with the latter. Thus the Canada Census of 1851 involved questions on religion; normal place of residence if different from that on census night; number of deaths occurring in the household during 1851 and their causes; the construction materials of the house, and its number of stories; shops, stores, inns, taverns and mills owned. An agricultural census was conducted simultaneously which gave details of the acreage under cultivation, crops, pasture, gardens, orchards, or wood; acreage and produce of wheat, barley, rye, peas, oats, buckwheat, maize, potatoes, turnips; production of clover, timothy grass, other grasses, carrots, mangle worzzels, beans, hops, hay, flax, tobacco, wool, maple sugar, cider, fulled cloth, linen, flannel, butter, cheese, beef, pork and cured fish; numbers of calves, horses, sheep and pigs. When to this is added details on personal income, stud horses, horses three years old and upwards, oxen four years old and upwards, milch cows, cattle two to four years old, closed carriages with four wheels, two wheeled carriages, phaetons or open carriages with four wheels and pleasure waggons, obtained from the various assessment rolls, the limitations of even the linked British data become apparent¹. Few Canadian studies to date have been able to synthesise all this data, however, and the best comparison to draw therefore in terms of sources is between this work and that of Goheen on Toronto and Katz on Hamilton², who use only a selection of the available data. The only major category of information which Goheen and Katz draw upon, and which is not available for the Ramsgate study, is that on personal income.

1. I am grateful to Dr. Norris of McMaster University, and to the Chief Librarian, Hamilton Public Library, Hamilton, Ont., for having made it possible for me to examine this data at first hand

2. Goheen (1970); Katz (1975) 61.

Comparability with North American data is not only coincidental, however; it is also useful. A number of authors have noted a similarity between nineteenth-century British towns and those in the U.S.A. and Canada¹, Radford, for example, remarking that:

'at the end of the nineteenth-century, Toronto, from many points of view still warranted the characterization which had been applied to it earlier in the century: A British Town on American Soil'.²

Such observations justify enlarging the scope of this thesis to a consideration of patterns and processes on both sides of the Atlantic. Data comparability makes such comparisons all the easier.

Finally, mention should be made of the fact that a number of studies are in progress which also involve identifying properties at a micro-scale. Conzen is working on Milwaukee at this scale, using the census, directories and contemporary maps, although assessment rolls do not appear to be available to her³. In the rapidly expanding research field of the historical geography of Latin America, Robinson has managed to reconstruct census takers' routes in Caracas, 1761-73⁴. Both workers emphasize the need for large scale contemporary maps, and indeed this is a vital requirement, although obviously to some extent extrapolation can be made from earlier or later maps⁵.

1. Marshall (1973); Katz (1972), 408, 424; Radford (1975) 4-5

2. Radford loc.cit.

3. Conzen (1974), 1-2

5. Conzen (1974), 1; Robinson (1975), 40

4. Robinson (1975), 13-7



'Who was your mother?' 'Never had none,' said the child with another grin. 'Never had any mother? What do you mean? Where were you born?' 'Never was born,' persisted Topsy; 'never had no father, nor mother, nor nothin'. I was raised by a speculator.'

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE
Uncle Tom's Cabin. Chapter 20

The Causes of Growth

Lack of material on the early history of Ramsgate was so striking to a nineteenth-century historian of the town, C.J. Richardson¹, that he concluded that 'there was nothing to record'². Certainly settlement and development was late by English standards. The original nucleus was the village of St. Lawrence, a mile inland, which was itself not separated from Minster as a distinct parish until 1275. By the fifteenth-century some sort of maritime function had developed, for in 1444 the town was obliged to join with Sandwich in making a contribution to the cost of Henry VI's marriages, and in 1483 Ramsgate officially became a limb of the Cinque Port of Sandwich. The town was still small, nevertheless; even as late as 1565 a contemporary estimate put the number of houses as low as twenty-five. It was about this time that a key factor in further growth was established, however, for in 1578 Ramsgate was given the right to levy dues and droits on all vessels using a small pier which had been recently constructed³.

Previous Page: PLATE I, a photograph of Ramsgate sands, dating almost certainly from the mid to late 1850s (See Appendix G). cf FRONTISPICE

1. Richardson's book on Ramsgate, published in 1885, was remarkable not for its style or interpretation, but for the wealth of factual material that it contains. The author was thorough in his search for sources, and he had recourse to the rate books from time to time. This chapter draws quite heavily in places on the facts which Richardson collected.

2. Richardson (1885), 10

3. Ibid., 9 - 14 passim

From the 17th Century onwards, several distinct factors can be distinguished which accounted for the further economic growth and development of the town.

1. Trade

By 1688 there is evidence that Ramsgate was showing an increasing involvement in trade. Contact with Russia and the Baltic is specifically mentioned in the literature, although it is possible that this was mostly in the form of persons, rather than of vessels, from the town¹. Nevertheless, by 1701, Ramsgate had become the first ranking port in Kent and fifteenth in England². The growing trade of the East India Company, and others, benefited Ramsgate, in common with other settlements on the Thanet coast, and Deal; provisions were foyed to passing ships. A trade in fish with Iceland had been established by 1750, eleven vessels trading between Ramsgate and Icelandic ports. These developments were reflected in the construction of a number of new houses³.

Trade was limited by the size of the harbour, however. This was completely rebuilt on a much larger scale in the 18th Century, the immediate cause being somewhat fortuitous. In 1748 a severe storm wrecked a number of ships off the North Foreland, and in consequence an Act was passed in 1749 authorising the construction at Ramsgate of a harbour of refuge. Construction was started in 1750, interrupted between 1755 and 1761 and completed in 1779. Certain additions were made between 1792 and 1802⁴.

1. Richardson (1885), 15, 19

2. Munslow (1972), 202-3. Cargoes were mostly imports of coal, timber and hemp.

3. Richardson (1885), 15 - 22 passim

4. The history of Ramsgate harbour is exhaustively treated in Munslow (1972)

The construction of the harbour unquestionably stimulated economic development. The presence of construction workers aided the local economy by means of the multiplier effect. After the works were completed a number of officials remained, concerned with the operation of the harbour, so that in 1853 for example there was a total of forty-six men so employed, according to Board of Trade accounts¹.

With regards to sea-borne trade, however, the effects of the new harbour were limited. The harbour was never allowed to operate at capacity. Its whole raison d'etre was that it was a harbour of refuge; berthing space had to be reserved for ships which found themselves in distress as a result of sudden adverse weather conditions off the North Foreland or in the Downs². Even if the harbour had been allowed to operate at capacity, however, it is doubtful whether it would ever have done so. Ramsgate's hinterland provided none of the new industrial products that were in demand overseas; agricultural products could be moved to the port only with difficulty, in the absence of inland water transport. By the time that the railway arrived in 1846 the export trade of the county had been successfully diverted to ~~either~~ Dover, London or the other Thames and Medway ports³. As a result, Ramsgate's trade was almost solely confined to imports, coal being an important item. Board of Trade accounts for 1853-61 show that duty was paid overwhelmingly on ships entering the port rather than leaving it⁴.

1. Munslow (1972), 194.

2. Ibid., 204

3. Munslow misses these simple points, preferring to argue that the lack of trade was because the harbour was tidal and because the entrance was awkward. Yet all sea ports are tidal, including London, Rotterdam and New York. And the 'awkward' entrance could be negotiated by anyone with seaman's papers; certainly pilots were not needed.

4. Ibid., 205-9

The effect of the harbour should not be underestimated however. A cross-channel service functioned intermittently during the nineteenth-century; ships tended to winter in the port, and the payment of crews generated money for the local economy¹, no doubt a welcome supplement to the essentially summer expenditure of the town's fashionable visitors; and the opportunity to repair wintering ships was seized, giving rise to a prosperous industry, augmenting that of shipbuilding². Finally, for the fishing industry and from a military point of view the harbour was also important, factors which are now discussed.

2. Fishing

Judged by national standards, Ramsgate was never to attain the status of a major fishing port during the nineteenth-century. Figures of fish tonnage carried by the various railway companies to London, for example, show that the London, Chatham and Dover Railway handled a smaller amount of fish than any other during the mid-Victorian period³. Yet the growth of the fishing industry, based on the new harbour, was dramatic. 1813 had seen only three or four fishing boats in Ramsgate⁴, a figure which may well have been depressed by wartime conditions; but by 1846 there were ninety⁵. During the 1830s Ramsgate's increasing number of boats had been augmented by others from the West Country⁶. The stimulus for the development was the growth of trawling. The North Sea was far more suitable for trawling than the Channel⁷, and Ramsgate benefited from the migration of fish-

1. Munslow (1972), 198

2. Ibid., 198-201

3. Stern (1971), Table 14, p 66

4. H.C. (1866), xviii, Q. 10086; Q. 10088

5. Munslow (1972), 211

6. H.C. (1866), xviii, Q. 10264

7. Oddy (1971), 14

ermen to the East Coast. Ramsgate was the first harbour that these migrant fishermen encountered that had direct access to the North Sea, and they used the spacious harbour¹. Torbay, Devon, was a major source². Mackerel and herring were the main types of fish landed³. In 1861 fishing in Ramsgate was at its peak⁴.

That catches from the North Sea declined during the 1860s is certain because a Royal Commission was established to enquire into its causes⁵. Over-fishing was certainly a possible reason⁶, although migration of herring shoals from the southern North Sea is also known to have taken place. Whatever the reason, by the time that the Royal Commission visited Ramsgate there were only fifty boats based there⁷.

The importance of the fishing industry with regards to the present study is two-fold. Firstly, the mid-Victorian period was the time at which the fishing industry attained its maximum importance in the town. There would have been at least ninety boats based in the port in 1851, and perhaps fifty or a little under in 1871⁸. In terms of local employment this was substantial. Secondly, the characteristics of those employed in this distinctive occupation are obviously something that can be examined from the sources outlined in Chapter II. Many of the fishermen were from Devon, and, as will be seen in ensuing chapters, they were distinguishable from the rest of the population in many different ways.

3. The Army

The new harbour was eminently suitable for troop embarkation - the

1. H.C. (1866), xviii, Q. 10411; Q.10413

2, 3, 4. Munslow (1972), 211, 211, 214

5. Royal Commission on Sea Fisheries, 1863-4, H.C. (1866), xvii & xviii

6. See Cleghorn (1855), especially 242

7. H.C. (1866), xviii, Q. 10098-9

8. These figures do not of course take into account possible increases in the size of boat over the period.

only drawback being the narrow streets surrounding the harbour. It is indeed possible that the harbour had been constructed with this purpose partly in mind. The onset of the Napoleonic Wars saw considerable use being made of the harbour; and both the East and West Cliffs were taken over for military purposes, the former as an exercise ground, the latter specifically for cavalry, with a barracks and officers' quarters¹. The Times reported substantial troop movements through the port. Thus three Regiments of Dragoons embarked between the end of August and the middle of October 1799, as did two Regiments of Foot, five companies of Rifles, and two battalions of Guards in October 1805. Five thousand Guards sailed in July 1806, taking with them '280 dozens of old port wine and madeira for the use of the officers'. A Highland Regiment disembarked in February 1809, followed by four more in September; whilst eight hundred cavalry and artillery left in June 1811, and in November 1813 'large numbers of troops' were reported to be waiting to embark². There may of course have been other movements which the paper did not report, perhaps for security reasons³. An unknown number of troops certainly left the port for the final campaign which culminated in Waterloo; the Duke of Albermarle had his lunch at the London Hotel whilst waiting for his own troops to embark⁴.

The presence of troops in the town was important for several rea-

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1. Richardson (1885), 60-9 passim
 2. The Times: 30th August 1799, 19th September 1799, 16th October 1799, 26th October 1805, 28th July 1806, 1st August 1806, 16th February 1809, 8th September 1809, 12th June 1811, 3rd December 1813.
 3. Munslow (1972), 219, using harbour papers, presents figures for Army transports entering the harbour for the period 1804-16, which certainly suggest that this was the case. Main movements do seem to have been reported in The Times however.
 4. Richardson (1885), 94

sons. Local purchasing power was obviously increased. Whilst a barracks sometimes had a detrimental effect on a town's image¹, this was certainly not true of officers' quarters. Readers of 'Pride and Prejudice' will be aware of the flutters that went through the bosoms of unmarried young ladies and their mothers when officers were seen in town; indeed, Mrs. Bennet is all for taking her daughters to Brighton one summer for this very reason². As will be seen below, Ramsgate's heyday as a resort was arguably during the Napoleonic period, and this was in no small part due to the presence of officers and gentlemen who raised the social tone. Finally, the exercises, manoeuvres and embarkation of troops would themselves have provided a tourist attraction³, although the unloading of wounded and broken troops in 1809⁴ no doubt added a touch of realism which the town would have preferred to do without.

4. Resort

Important as trade and fishing were to the town, on their own they are insufficient to account for its growth, far less its status. Of much greater import were the town's fashionable summer clientele.

The beneficial effects of sea-bathing were first advertised in the mid eighteenth-century. Shortly afterwards there appeared in Margate bathing machines, an innovation which quickly spread to neighbouring Ramsgate. They are first mentioned in the town in 1754⁵. The aristocracy were not slow to sample their delights, nor to frequent those

1. cf Watson (1975), 9, in his discussion of Halifax, Nova Scotia

2. Jane Austen, Pride and Prejudice (1813), ch 39. Miss Austen had relatives in Ramsgate and certainly stayed in the town. It is possible that the military detail in the novel, together with the reactions of the indigenous population, is actually modelled on Ramsgate. A seduction incident in Ramsgate is specifically mentioned in chapter 35.

3. Mr. Pickwick watches military manoeuvres in chapter 4 of Pickwick Papers, Charles Dickens (1837)

4. The Times, 16th February 1809. 5. Whyman (1970), 1
69.

places where they might have easy access to them, as an alternative to their more traditional spas¹. Ramsgate in fact seems to have benefited more from aristocratic patronage than Margate, probably because the sea journey from London to Ramsgate, around the North Foreland, was that much more difficult than it was to Margate, thus rendering the place more exclusive².

Although evidence is somewhat fragmentary, it seems that at first it was the lower echelons of the nobility that took houses in the town. Thus during the period up until the Napoleonic Wars, Lord Mountcharles, Lord Conyngham, Sir David Lindsay, Bart., Lady Westmorland and Sir William Curtis, Bart., are the only titled persons to be recorded in the rate books³. They were in the company of some academics: Professor Vince, F.R.S., Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge, and the Rev. W. Abbot, D.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Prebend of York. Sir Henry Layard, discoverer of the ruins of Nineveh was probably born in the town⁴.

As indicated above, the stationing of officers in the town at the end of the eighteenth-century raised its social tone. Thus The Times in September 1802 reported the arrival of forty-one persons of note, and on the 22nd September the Duchess of Devonshire gave a dinner, followed by a ball. Amongst the eighty guests were twenty-two members of the peerage, including two Dukes, three Duchesses, a Marquis, two Earls and two Countesses⁵. In 1803 the Princess of Wales took a house in Ramsgate from April until September⁶, a precedent followed by The

1. Walton (1974), 1

2. Richardson (1885), 53

3. Ibid., 85, 112, 114, 146, 147

4. Ibid., 69, 84, 86

5. The Times, 16th September 1802, 25th September 1802

6. The Times, 25th April 1803, 15th September 1803

Marquis Wellesley, who lived in Albion Place. The Duke of Clarence gave a ball for two hundred guests at the Albion Hotel in 1811. On the East Cliff there was the permanent residence of Lady d'Ameland, who had had the doubtful distinction of having made two attempts to marry the Duke of Sussex, sixth son of George III, only to have them frustrated by the Royal Marriages Act¹.

The needs of such visitors were met in a number of ways. Amenities and suitable houses were provided, as will be discussed more fully below. An official Master of Ceremonies was appointed, who arranged all introductions and functions. During the season he would hold a ball once a week, and a card assembly twice a week. In turn, social acceptability was extremely limited without the blessing of the M.C.

'The custom adopted was, on arrival, for a visitor to write his name and address in the visitor's book, kept for the purpose at one end of the libraries, or in the M.C.'s especial book. This was soon followed by a personal call, during which the wishes and desires of the visitor were made known and put into practice upon the earliest opportunity. His introduction was thenceforth a passport everywhere and to anything taking place in the society of the town, and recognised as such by all.'

Even in 1831, when Richardson noted that the official's importance had begun to decline, the outgoing tenant was able to auction his post for £500³.

After the Napoleonic Wars, events tended to move against Ramsgate as an aristocratic resort. Troops were finally withdrawn in 1819⁴, taking with them the attraction of officers on hand. Peacetime conditions made possible the resumption of the 'Grand Tour', at the ex-

1. Richardson (1885), 68-70, 122, 134

2. Ibid., 119-20

3. Ibid., 120-1

4. Ibid., 61

pense of purely insular resorts. This process of decline would have been much more rapid, however, had it not been offset by the favours shown to Ramsgate by the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria. Their first visit was in 1822, when the Princess was three, and this was followed by another in 1827 when Leopold, King of the Belgians, also came to stay. Two years later saw another summer spent in the resort. The longest visit of all was in 1835, however. Albion House was taken initially for two months, but the stay lasted until January 1836, as a result of prolonged alterations to Kensington Palace. Visitors during this time included Uncle Leopold again, and the Duke of Wellington¹.

Whatever Queen Victoria's affection for Ramsgate, which was reputedly considerable, her accession effectively put an end to her visits, and with it the greater part of the aristocratic connections of the resort. It is true that the visit of several persons from Court in 1838 led to speculation in The Times that there were plans afoot to build a Royal Palace on the West Cliff². The report was dated August, however, during the Parliamentary recess and the traditional 'silly-season' for newspapers; it is therefore difficult to know how much credence to put upon it. If there were plans they were never put into effect, and the Queen paid her last visit to Ramsgate in 1842 when she made a day trip with Prince Albert from Walmer Castle³. Thereafter the only visits of royalty was in transit to and from the continent⁴.

1. The Times, 13th August 1822, 20th August 1829, 30th September 1835, 2nd October 1835, 23rd December 1835, 14th January 1836.

2. The Times, 24th August 1838

3. Richardson (1885), 155

4. Ibid., 155-8 passim

Despite the loss of royal patronage, the tone of mid-century Ramsgate was still respectable. Residents at the time of the 1851 Census (before 'the season' had begun) included an impressive leavening of the propertied and leisured classes, the architect Augustus Pugin, and even a Baroness of the Holy Roman Empire - albeit married to a commoner. Taxation data from 1847-8 shows that the resorts such as Ramsgate were still very much the reserve of the wealthier members of society¹, an observation which seems amply substantiated by William Frith's: Ramsgate Sands, painted in 1851 and acquired for the Royal Collection (detail shown in PLATE II).

It is tempting to view the later nineteenth-century as a period of declining 'social tone' in Ramsgate, a process which has continued into the present century. Before the evidence for this view is examined, and its cause analysed, it is as well to be aware that even in the eighteenth-century there were complaints about the type of people appearing in the resort. Thus The Times commented in 1796:

'Our early season is already begun (in Ramsgate), and those who are fond of cheap lodgings, have made their appearance hirundine prima. I assure you, we have City misses here at the moment, each of whom in the vain idea of rising

'a new-born Goddess from the Sea' sources² into salt water every morning. Our company is of the greater sort. We have Mrs. Deputy Plumb, with her naked daughters, who have scarce more cloathing (sic) than a fig-leaf on them, and imitate their great grand-dame Eve in much more even than that. Then we have Mrs. Pop from Whitechapel. She came down in her own job-coach, which was loaded so full with

1. Phillips and Walton (1975), 46

2. An obsolete use of the word, originating from falconry. A hawk 'sources' into the air when it takes off. The metaphor is cruel: instead of rising like a Goddess, the City miss jumps in, only to flounder in the water as a hawk which sourced into it would do. The object is thus 'vain' and 'in vain'. Note also that hawks have ugly noses.

with unredeemed Articles for family wear, that her dear Pledges of domestic Love, her daughters, who are the very duplicate of herself, in delicacy and beauty, were forced to come in the Hoy. But she vows it is so shocking to her feelings, 'that they never shall ride down no more in that nasty sort of water conveyance, though she should spend upon their luxury and elegance ten out of that thirty per cent which she grinds from the necessitous misery of hard earned industry'. Then we have three learned Ladies, who, after the great fatigues of novel writing in the winter, have retired hither to display not naval, but navel discoveries, to the vast pleasure and edification of some ancient enamouratas, who would not yield to Old Q. himself in pretensions to gallantry.

'In truth, we begin to look gaily, early as it is, and I would that the salt-water, for the benefit of the Pops and the Plumbs, who frequent our watering-places, could as easily wash away the mud of vulgarity and affectation from their hearts, as it 1 does the rouge from their faces.'

The sentiments expressed in this piece, written when Ramsgate could have been labelled as an aristocratic resort, would have found sympathy at virtually any time during the last hundred and eighty years, and they should make us beware of any simplistic conclusions on the subject of changing 'social tone'. It appears as though there was always a less desirable element in the resort's clientele, less desirable that is from the point of view of those who considered themselves to be more desirable. Infiltration might be gradual, and would probably begin, as the passage above suggests, at either end of the season². In time, even less desirable people would appear and the more desirable would depart, leaving a new dominant elite, who in turn gave way to lower orders³. Pictorial evidence is always difficult to evaluate, but there does seem to be a distinct difference of kind between Frith's: Ramsgate Sands of 1851, the very portrait of gentility,

1. The Times, 8th July 1796

2. The social tone of resorts in Lancashire also changed with both season and over time: Perkin (1974), 1

3. Dickens was finally driven from Broadstairs in 1851 by the incessant noise of German bands and street musicians. Hardwick & Hardwick (1973), 211



and the vulgarity endemic in the photograph of the unchaperoned, bare-kneed bathing belles taken in the 1890s (PLATE II, between pages 74 and 75).

A number of causes can be suggested for this filtering process. Railways were certainly an important factor, although the precise mechanism was not in fact simple. Prior to the railways, the only way of getting to Ramsgate (apart from by the limited coach service) was by boat: sailing hoy up until 1815, and by steamboat thereafter¹. In 1846, however, railways started to provide competition. To counter this, the steamship company lowered its fares²; in its turn the railway retaliated to the extent that it actually became cheaper to travel from London to Ramsgate (162 km) than it was to travel from London to Ashford (107 km)³. Richardson comments thus on the steamboats:

'So long as they continued to bring down from May to the end of November, almost daily, freights of well-to-do respectable people who occupied either entire houses or good apartments, and remained perhaps for weeks and months together, so long the company and their boats were everything that could be, excellent.'⁴

Likewise the railways were at first welcomed⁵, but as soon as the steamboat fares were lowered the howl went up of: 'did you ever see such a set?'⁶ The provision of another line in 1863, with its concomitant competition, exacerbated the problem even further:

'Suggestions are now (the 1880s) being made that both the quantity and the quality of the visitors brought (by the railways) are becoming means of deterioration to the town and reducing it to a lower standard among watering places than is desirable it should take, and

Previous pages: PLATE II. Upper: detail from William Frith's: Ramsgate Sands, 1851. Lower: Copy of a lantern slide sold in Ramsgate in the 1890s.

1. Whyman (1970), 7

2. Richardson (1885), 109

3. Whyman (1970), 34

4. Richardson (1885), 109

5. Ibid., 108

6. Ibid., 109

it is proposed that a limit should be put on the number of cheap trains, and that the quality of visitors should be, unlike the quality of mercy, somewhat strained, in order to encourage a better class and higher tone of visitors to occupy the larger and more expensive houses for the general benefit of the town.' ¹

Blame, if blame there be, cannot be entirely levelled at the railways, however. The lower orders of society would not have come to the resort if facilities had not been provided for them. As will be discussed more fully later, the second quarter of the nineteenth-century saw smaller houses being built for seasonal hire² (which would fit the pockets of a lower class of clientele), as opposed to the more grandiose constructions of the earlier part of the century³. The latter became converted to lodging houses, enabling several families to share them⁴. At the same time, smaller and smaller houses began to take lodgers⁵. Meanwhile aristocratic facilities, such as the Kent Baths in Paragon, were closed⁶. The inhabitants must therefore accept a share of the responsibility for the lowered social tone. The choice that they had to make was between seeing the town die as a resort altogether and offering facilities to a different type of visitor. The choice that they actually made was therefore understandable, but it was one about which they had little right to complain.

The specific change, if any, in social tone that took place in Ramsgate between 1851 and 1871 is a subject that will be taken up in more detail in the next chapter.

1. Richardson (1885), 108-9

2. Such as the Liverpool Crescent area, built 1827-36

3. Such as Nelson & Wellington Crescents, Prospect Row, Albion Place and Paragon

4. There were 234 lodging houses in Ramsgate in 1849, according to the Isle of Thanet Directory. In comparison, Blackpool in 1861 had about 300 (Myerscough (1974), Table 4).

5. Mrs. Tuggs finds that a bill intimating that 'apartments' are to be let within a Ramsgate house refers to a parlour and a mattress.

Dickens: Sketches by Boz (1836), ch 4

6. Richardson (1885), 59

The Expression of Growth

Housing

The provision of housing in Ramsgate may be most conveniently considered in terms of the factors that influenced the demand for different types of housing and of those that influenced the supply of houses actually constructed - always remembering that the two sets of factors were interrelated.

Several groups of people needed to be housed in the town at different times, and each of them had different housing requirements. Three groups in particular can be identified: the aristocratic element, present when Ramsgate was at its heyday as a resort; a strong middle-class element, which was the replacement of the former; and a group of labouring poor, including, insofar as they were a distinct sub-set, the fishermen. The order in which these groups have been presented is not accidental; each group dominated the group(s) which follow it on the list, in housing as well as in social terms.

Speculative builders were the chief group of people who affected the supply of houses, themselves always anxious to supply the top end of the market. But supply was also affected by such factors as the trade cycle (and its translation into housing terms in the form of the building cycle), and, to a far lesser extent, philanthropic notions relating to the housing of the poor.

Demand for housing

Of the groups interested in housing, the aristocratic element was able to make the highest bids for sites. The sites that it actually chose to bid for were either those overlooking the sea (and hence on either the East or West Cliff), or else on the fringes of the town

facing open country. The distinction is important, for whereas the former sites were static (at least in historical terms), the latter moved with the expansion of the town. Thus Effingham Street, now in a central part of the town, and even by mid-Victorian times well surrounded, was described in a 1785 Handbook as 'the most eligible place for the residence of persons desirous of retirement'¹; indeed it was here that Lord Mountcharles lived². Whilst some streets were overtaken by events, however, in general the houses constructed for the aristocratic element were large and tended to retain their more exclusive quality and value, even if only because in many cases they were surrounded by gardens. There was one part of the town's fringe where the wealthier elements did not choose to live, however. This was the north-eastern portion of the town, successively the location of the Work-House³ (conveniently far removed from the rest of the town when it was built in the early eighteenth-century) and the Gas Works. This area was left for the bids of other groups.

The middle-class groups, including those who took up residence in the later nineteenth-century, when other sites had already been occupied, were housed in those areas which were marginally less attractive. These included parts of the East and West Cliffs which were not actually within sight of the sea, and areas towards the town's fringes. After the aristocratic elements had ceased to make bids for sites in the town altogether, the middle-class groups were themselves able to penetrate into the rural-urban fringe. They too showed a distinct lack of interest in the Gas Work's end, however.

1. Quoted Richardson (1885), 112

2. Ibid., 112

3. Ibid., 50

The labouring poor were left with the residual sites. Throughout the town they could be found in little corners of land which nobody else wanted¹; inn-courtyards, back-alleys, and in the vicinity of slaughter-houses, blacksmiths' shops and mews. They could even be found on the supposedly exclusive enclave of the East and West Cliffs. There was one major quarter of the town which they had virtually to themselves, however, the area which no one else wanted adjoining the Gas Works². Working class housing had originated in this area quite early on, dating at least from the construction of the harbour, when it accommodated the labourers³. Land values surrounding this area tended to be depressed also.

Fishermen had a natural interest in housing close to the water's edge. The physical geography of the town ensured that there was one place where they could be accommodated without being outbid by other groups. The areas around York Street were particularly low-lying and this was the location of much cottage property. Here was the original nucleus of the town, pre-dating the aristocratic element, grouped not only around the harbour, but also around the cross-roads at the centre of the town. Behind the shops and inns were again a number of nooks which fishermen in particular found useful. Other groups were not interested in this land. Buying property would have meant buying out the trading interest and demolishing existing properties. There was no incentive either, for the land was low-lying and commanded no views.

Supply of housing

A great deal of the housing constructed for the aristocratic and

1. cf Dyos (1967), 25

2. Gas Works are specifically mentioned by Dyos as being likely to act as a nucleus for slums: loc. cit.

3. Richardson (1885), 104

middle class market in Ramsgate was built speculatively¹.

First amongst the major speculative builders in the town were the Townley family who operated during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. In some ways they may be regarded as entrepreneurs, for they clearly would not have survived financially if the houses that they built were not taken up. A large number of the houses built for the aristocratic element may be ascribed to the Townleys. It was they who built much of Chapel Place in the 1790s, the neighbouring Chatham Place, and the later Townley Castle and Townley House; all these properties were on the contemporary rural-urban fringe, with the added attraction that they had views of the sea, unobscured by intervening houses at that time. It was also the Townleys who first started to build on the Cliffs, Albion Place being largely their undertaking during the Napoleonic period. On the West Cliff they acquired the Spencer Square area, on which they erected the barracks and officers' quarters; after the withdrawal of troops in 1819 they were dismantled and private houses were constructed. Later the family purchased a whole new tract of building land further out on the West Cliff, in 1825-6².

Others followed. Some occasionally managed to outdo the Townleys, such as the solicitors: King and Wells. They purchased the land on which Kent Terrace now stands from the Townleys, and sold it again at a considerable profit³. Not all were initially successful, however. Thus the land on which Wellington Crescent was built was

'bought by Messrs. Underdown, a smith; Miller, a shipwright; Smith, a builder; and Pilcher Longley, a car-

1. 'Speculative building means simply building houses in anticipation of demand for them': Dyos (1966), 122

2. Richardson (1885), 60, 61, 67, 87, 88, 195

3. Ibid., 72

penter; who laid it out in a well designed plan and built the houses at the east end. The scheme at first seemed unsuccessful and likely to end only in failure. Underdown became bankrupt and died.... the others became deeply indebted, and no one liking to sue them, as the case seemed almost hopeless, it so drifted on, until suddenly a demand for land arose, when it was rapidly bought up at good prices, some portions realising 14 guineas a front footage, and Miller and Smith did well out of it at last.'

Wellington Crescent was the last major undertaking aimed specifically at the aristocratic market. Thereafter houses tended to be smaller and were designed for the new clientele arriving in the resort. Thus when the Liverpool Crescent area was projected in the late 1820s by Crisford and Jarman, two builders, the individual houses were on a fairly small scale. Likewise the Truro Estate (beyond Wellington Crescent) was divided up into small plots in the late 1830s, later to be covered with several terraces.²

There was much variation in the depths of middle class pockets, however, and some builders aimed for those with the deepest. Thus in the 1840s Vale Square was laid out by James Eddles, with large detached and semi-detached villas³. Interestingly it was not until a Church was also built in the Square⁴ that the buildings began to sell well. Adjoining the Vale was a large house and grounds owned by the Tomson family, local brewers. This came on the market in the 1860s, being sold and built upon piecemeal through the agency of the British Land Company⁵. The larger houses were on the same scale as those in the Vale, although gardens were rather smaller. There can be no doubt that this was a

1. Richardson (1885), 68-9

2. Ibid., 64-70 *passim*

3. Ibid., 63

4. Loc. cit. According to Thompson (1974), 382, a church was essential for a good building estate in the Victorian period.

5. Richardson (1885), 63, 159. According to Dyos (1966), 116-7, the purpose of the British Land Company was to develop estates by advancing substantial proportions of purchase costs.

speculative venture. In 1871, 36% of the houses in the enumeration district in which the estate (the Elms) was included were vacant, and in individual rows figures were sometimes much higher - 75% in Seymour Terrace¹ for example. This estate was equipped with a good public house, another prerequisite for a successful building estate².

It should not be imagined that all the speculative building in the town was executed by large scale operators. There was a multiplicity of land ownership, and few streets were the responsibility of a single builder³, resulting in considerable variations in architectural detail. It is true, however, that the large scale operators were chiefly interested in the top end of the market, so that there were few equivalents, in lower class housing terms, of the uniformity of Wellington Crescent, for example. In fact, as far as can be judged from the rate books, only one builder in Ramsgate seems to have specialised in housing the lower orders: Matthew Geneste who constructed Sussex Street in the 1850s.

If housing for the top end of the market was built ahead of demand, this was certainly not true of the houses of the labouring poor. This can be judged from the degree of overcrowding and house sharing in those parts of the town where they lived⁴. It is somewhat ironic that there were so many houses standing empty in the Elms Estate in 1871; the people who were physically constructing them were for the most part living in overcramped conditions in another part of the town. There was then a considerable demand for cheap houses in the town, although

1. R.G. 10/996/73-4

2. The Elms Hotel; cf Thompson (1974), 229

3. cf Dyos (1966), 85, 127 on Camberwell

4. This finding helps to throw light on Dyos' question (1966), 34, as to whether the flow of private capital into suburban (i.e. de facto middle class) housing has not always tended to be at the expense of investment in lower grade housing.

the building industry was not prepared to supply them if there was even the remotest chance of supplying the rest of the market first.

Demand was not so great, however, that back-to-back houses were built. Beresford has traced the development of back-to-backs, arguing that they were a descendant of unventilated one-up-one-down cottages found in innyards¹, whilst Treble has indicated two intermediate forms: the 'front house' (less than 4m square in Liverpool) found in streets open at both ends, and with a fairly large gap between the parallel rows; and the court, typically two rows facing one another, open at only one end and with a much smaller intervening distance². These types could all be found in Ramsgate, but not the back-to-back itself; the reason would seem to be that these would only have been built if absolute numbers of the labouring poor had been substantial.

The 'model' housing movement started in the 1850s³. The object was to provide houses of a minimum standard of comfort and sanitation for the labouring poor. In Ramsgate such developments were very limited, a block of about twenty cottages being built in the 1860s. The problem of providing this type of accommodation - and this is true of cities in the developing world today - was that those who built them wished to recoup their outlay. At least a moderate rent had to be charged therefore. As a result it was rare if the people for whom the cottages were designed actually came to occupy them⁴. The evidence from London is that the majority of the occupants of model cottages were artisans rather than the labouring classes⁵, and the Ramsgate 1871 enumerator's book tells the same story.

1. Beresford (1971), 105
2. Treble (1971), 176, 217
3. Wohl (1971), 38
4. Ibid., 41
5. Ibid., 39

The Building cycle

The supply of new housing was not constant. Table III.1 shows the changes in the total rateable value in Ramsgate for the period 1839-1914, which as explained in Chapter II is a convenient way of measuring changes in housing stock. The table cannot unfortunately be extended backwards in time, since comparable information was not recorded in the pre-1839 rate books. The period after 1971 is not the direct concern of this thesis, but it is included here in order to set the building activity of the mid-Victorian period in perspective. The total rateable value of the property in the town was calculated from the various rating assessments for each particular year. Blanks in the increase column occur as a result of the reassessments of 1842, 1852, 1877 and 1895¹. The reassessment of 1865 did not involve a break in the table since there were assessments both before and after the change. Percentage change in total rateable value over the preceding year was calculated from these figures, and summarised using three-year moving means. The results are shown in Figure III.1

The general pattern of building activity is readily apparent from these figures: the peak years of 1865-72 and 1878-85, with but one exception having annual increases in rateable value of over £1,000, with apexes respectively in 1869 and 1882; the more abrupt peak at the turn of the century; the troughs of the mid-1850s and the mid 1890s; and, particularly noticeable, the run of negative figures between 1905 and 1913, with 1911 providing a paltry exception. The latter trough was so marked that total rateable value in 1913 was lower than it had been more than a decade earlier.

1. See the discussion in Chapter II p 37 on this point.

TABLE III.1. Changes in total rateable value, 1839-1914

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total R.V.</u> (£)	<u>Increase</u> (£)	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total R.V.</u> (£)	<u>Increase</u> (£)
1838	35 287		1876	69 381	297
1839	35 999	712	1877	73 087	
1840	37 303	1 304	1878	74 156	1 069
1841	37 976	674	1879	75 342	1 186
1842	31 386		1880	76 253	911
1843	31 850	464	1881	77 515	1 262
1844	32 253	403	1882	80 108	2 593
1845	32 671	418	1883	82 355	2 247
1846	33 060	390	1884	83 389	1 034
1847	33 310	250	1885	84 537	1 148
1848	33 670	360	1886	84 377	- 160
1849	34 064	394	1887	84 637	260
1850	34 261	197	1888	84 767	130
1851	34 840	579	1889	84 953	186
1852	47 140		1890	85 094	141
1853	47 471	331	1891	85 133	39
1854	47 986	515	1892	85 379	246
1855	48 192	206	1893	85 586	207
1856	48 072	- 120	1894	85 270	- 316
1857	48 079	7	1895	96 103	
1858	48 079	0	1896	96 647	- 456
1859	48 686	607	1897	95 012	- 635
1860	48 885	199	1898	95 686	674
1861	49 544	659	1899	96 119	433
1862	50 097	553	1900	97 534	1 415
1863	50 838	741	1901	102 378	4 844
1864	51 531	693	1902	101 743	- 635
1865 (1)	52 572	1 041	1903	102 010	267
1865 (2)	56 787		1904	103 890	1 880
1866	57 859	1 072	1905	104 062	172
1867	59 387	1 528	1906	103 459	- 603
1868	60 528	1 141	1907	102 686	- 773
1869	63 103	2 572	1908	101 887	- 799
1870	64 351	1 248	1909	101 027	- 860
1871	65 745	1 394	1910	100 451	- 576
1872	67 175	1 430	1911	100 457	6
1873	68 029	854	1912	100 185	- 272
1874	68 151	122	1913	99 869	- 316
1875	69 084	933	1914	101 373	1 504

Note: horizontal lines indicate years of rating reassessments

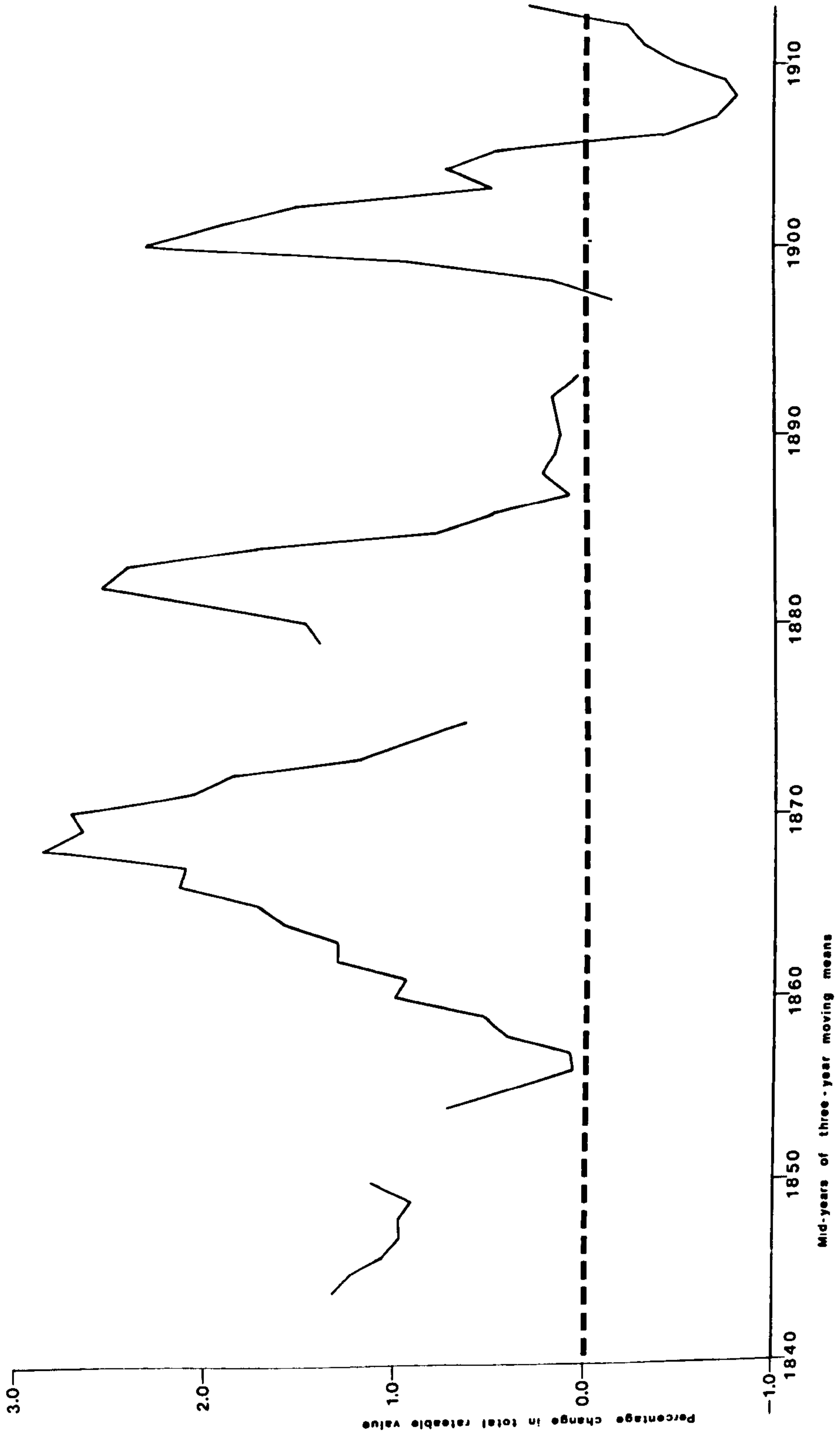


Figure III.1. The Ramsgate building cycle, 1844 - 1913.

How are these variations to be explained? Cairncross has pointed out that a building cycle could in theory be purely stochastic: assuming an initial 10% vacancy rate, with a 2% increase in actual demand, the industry could work at half rate for eight years, and then work at double rate for the next four years, resulting in a twelve year swing without any change in demand at all¹. Indeed, he argues that such a situation would be likely in an industry with a number of small scale operators in it, who cannot expand or reduce output quickly in response to changes in demand². There is good reason to believe, however, that the Ramsgate building cycle was not stochastic, for the three main factors that are traditionally used to explain building cycles: demographic variations³, variations in the monetary supply⁴ and speculation⁵ can all be shown to have operated. The first of these factors affects building supply indirectly, through demand; the other two affect supply directly.

Demographic variations can be obtained from a comparison of the census figures with those of the Registrar General for births and deaths, the residual being treated as the result of migration. Statistics are unfortunately not available for Ramsgate, per se, but for the larger Ramsgate sub-district, which included Broadstairs and the surrounding rural area. Table III.2 shows these figures for the period 1851-1931, the 1840s being excluded because of the more fragmentary evidence on building. The 1850s were clearly a period of out-migration; how much of this emanated from Ramsgate itself, however, is difficult to say, since most of it could have been from surrounding rural areas. We may

1. Cairncross (1953), 31

2. Loc. cit.

3. Cairncross (1953), 25; Lewis (1965), ch 7; Thomas (1973)

4. Lewis (1965), especially the earlier chapters, and summary, 215-6

5. Saul (1962); Lewis (1965), 85-7

TABLE III.2 Population change in Ramsgate Sub-District, 1851 - 1911

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u> ¹	<u>Absolute dec- adal increase</u>	<u>Percentage dec- adal increase</u>	<u>Absolute nat- ural increase</u>	<u>Percentage nat- ural increase</u>	<u>Percentage migrational increase</u>
1851	17 828					
1861	18 007	179	1.0	1 652	9.3	- 8.3
1871	23 833	4 184	32.4	2 213	12.3	20.1
1881	27 670	3 837	16.1	2 990	12.5	3.6
1891	30 811	3 141	11.4	2 924	10.6	0.8
1901	35 491	4 680	15.2	2 321	7.5	7.7
1911	38 532	3 041	8.6	2 555	7.2	1.4

1. Census data

2. Annual reports of the Registrar General of births, marriages and deaths in England. Abstracts of births and deaths

note, however, that this period coincides with a distinct trough in the building cycle, which is suggestive. In contrast, the 1860s were the years with the highest percentage increases in population, both in terms of natural increase and of net immigration. It was also this decade that showed a continual increase in building activity. Although one must beware of post hoc ergo propter hoc reasoning, there would appear to be at least some connection between the building cycle and demographic change, a view which also receives support from the figures for the 1901-1911 period.

On the supply side itself, evidence of speculation has already been presented¹. Monetary factors are more complex to interpret. There was no obvious mechanism to ensure that all regions had building booms in the same cycle during the first half of the nineteenth-century², and towards the end of the century building activity was less dependent on the trade cycle since migrants were increasingly middle class, whose movements were less directly dependent upon trade fluctuations³. We might nevertheless suspect that monetary factors were important in explaining the Ramsgate building cycle if activity was in fact in phase with other parts of the country. Table III.3 shows that the Ramsgate cycle was in fact in phase with the national cycle at the beginning of the period - when nationally there was decreased purchasing power caused by increased taxation during the Crimean War⁴ - and at the end of it. It was out of phase from the early 1860s until the early 1880s. The pattern in Ramsgate during this middle period is exactly paralleled, however, by the pattern in London: building activ-

1. See above pp 80-2

2. Habakkuk (1962), 202

3. Ibid., 206

4. Lewis (1965), 99 quoting a letter to The Builder, 31st January 1857

TABLE III.3 Comparison between the national and Ramsgate building cycles, 1850 - 1914

<u>National</u> ¹		<u>Ramsgate</u>	
Trough	1855	Trough	1856
Peak	1863		
Trough	1869	Peak	1869
Peak	1876	Trough	1874
		Peak	1882
Trough	1886	Trough	1886
Peak	1899	Peak	1901
Trough	1912	Trough	1909

1. Thomas (1973), Table 52, p 175

ity increasing very steadily during the 1860s, an abrupt decline after 1869, with the industry remaining at a depressed level until 1876 when a substantial increase occurred¹, reflecting the trade revival at the end of the decade².

The connection between London and Ramsgate during this period was not fortuitous. The majority of new building in Ramsgate during the 1860s was initiated by the British Land Company, operating on the Elms Estate³. The British Land Company had estates elsewhere, but over 80% of those mentioned periodically in the financial columns of The Times were in the London area (the exceptions being Bristol, Ramsgate, Rochester and Sittingbourne)⁴. A number of the occupiers of the new estate were retired London middle class⁵. Finally, the dividends paid out by the British Land Company closely paralleled the Ramsgate building cycle: 17% in 1865, 20% in each of the years 1866-8, a dramatic drop to 7½% in 1871, when The Times commented that 'during the last 12 months, the company has experienced a falling off in demand for building land', a nadir of 2% in 1874, and a slow rise to the early 1880s, with 10% in 1880 and 1881⁶.

Thus we can see that the physical growth of Ramsgate was the product of several forces. There was an uneasy balance between supply and demand, which resulted in over-provision of houses at the top end of the market, and under-provision at the bottom. Meanwhile overall controls were provided by demographic, social and monetary factors.

1. Cooney (1949)

2. Habakkuk (1962), 210

3. See above pp 81-2

4. The Times, 7th February 1867, 24th February 1869

5. R.G. 10/996/61-84

6. The Times, 9th February 1866; 7th February 1867; 20th January 1868; 26th February 1868; 3rd February 1869; 19th February 1872; 23rd February 1875; 27th January 1881; 26th January 1882

Amenities

Recreation in resorts generally took the form of promenading, listening to open-air music, attending assembly rooms for dancing and concerts, sitting and taking refreshment in the open-air¹. The precise type of amenities that a resort provided was a crucial factor in determining its social tone².

Entrepreneurs in Ramsgate were not slow to provide for their aristocratic visitors. Besides an ample supply of bathing machines from the mid eighteenth-century onwards, warm baths were built in Paragon in 1814-7, and later in front of Kent Terrace. Chapels and churches were built in 1791, 1827, 1844-5 and 1847. There were two libraries, built respectively in 1803 and in the late 1840s, the latter next to a billiard room. A coffee house was available by the harbour. For more formal entertainments there was a Concert Room in Hardres Street, built in 1813 and used for entertainments, concerts, theatricals and religious services in turn, whilst in 1824 a Private Act was obtained to licence a theatre³.

The departure of the aristocracy saw a reluctant removal of these amenities. Thus the Paragon Baths, one of the libraries, the harbour coffee house and the Hardres Street Concert Room had all closed by the late 1850s. A belated attempt to emulate Scarborough by building a large Grand Hotel, the Granville, ended in a bankruptcy petition being filed against the architect and owner⁴.

The purpose of this chapter has been to analyse the various factors

1. Walton (1974), 1

2. Perkin (1974), 4

3. Richardson (1885), 20, 44-5, 51, 55, 63, 70-2, 115

4. Ibid., 160

that affected the growth and development of Ramsgate up to and including the mid-Victorian period. With the historical context thus set, it is possible to proceed to a more detailed examination of the people who lived in the town between 1851 and 1871, and of the patterns and processes which were at work.

'Happy the people whose annals are blank in history books'

THOMAS CARLYLE

Frederick the Great, Book XVI

THE APPENDICES to this thesis show that there are a large number of variables to be considered with respect to the personal characteristics of Ramsgate's mid-Victorian population. It is possible to group these into four basic categories: those dealing with family characteristics (family size, the marital status and age of the household head, age of wife and children if any, and the 'life cycle' in general); those dealing with household characteristics (servants, lodgers, visitors, kin and information on house sharing); those dealing with occupation and class; and those dealing with housing (rateable value and tenure type). This chapter examines each of these groups in turn, together with an analysis of the interrelationships between the groups. Figure IV.1 shows these interrelationships diagrammatically, and it also indicates the sections of the text dealing with each group of variables or set of relationships.

IV.1 Family characteristics

Table IV.2 shows the percentage of families of different sizes in Ramsgate in 1851 and 1871. A major theme of this chapter is immediately revealed by this table: the striking similarity of statistics relating to the socio-economic characteristics of the town's population between the two dates. There were some changes it is true, but they were only marginal. These marginal changes can be explained by reference to other indices, but these other indices in turn also show

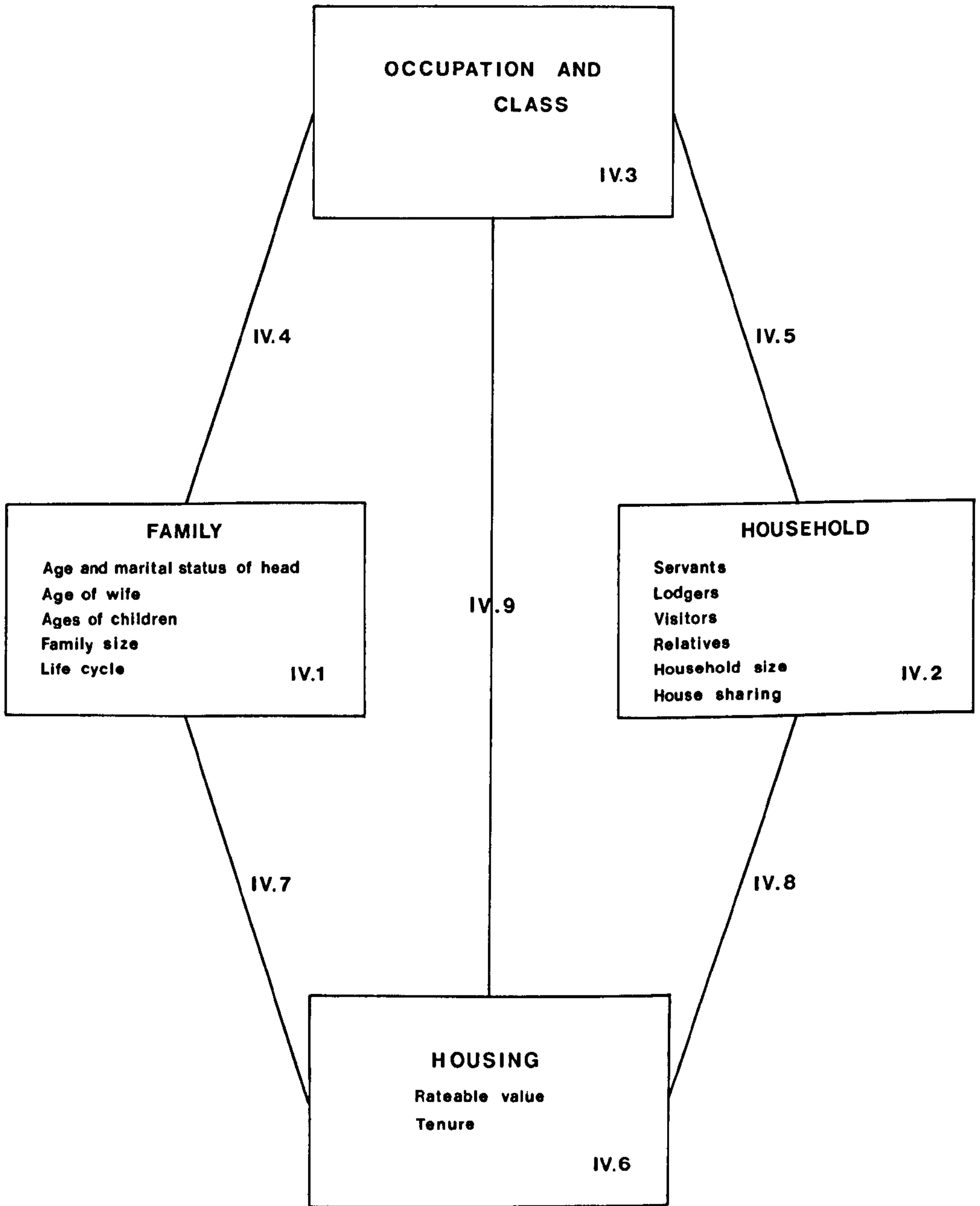


Figure IV.1. Variable groups and interrelationships examined in Chapter IV.

TABLE IV.2 Persons per family

<u>Family size</u>	<u>Ramsgate</u> <u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>York</u> ¹ <u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>Ramsgate</u> <u>1871 (%)</u>
1	20.4	15.7	17.5
2	22.8	23.7	25.3
3	15.9	18.1	17.9
4	11.7	15.6	12.7
5	10.5	11.5	9.3
6	6.9	7.2	6.4
7	5.7	4.1	4.5
8	2.8	2.2	2.8
9	1.8	1.3	1.9
10	1.0	0.6	0.2
11	0.2	0.1 (11 Or more)	0.2
N =	2 496	628 (sample)	3 011
Including 'one person' families			
Mean	3.46	3.45	3.37
Median	2.90	2.59 ²	2.85
Mode	2.00	2.00	2.00
Excluding 'one person' families			
Mean	4.12	3.92 ²	3.91
Median	3.58	3.03 ²	3.37
Mode	2.00	2.00 ²	2.00

1. Armstrong (1974), 176 and Table 7.1

2. Figures recalculated from Armstrong's data, loc.cit.

marginal changes only. Continuity is therefore the keynote, although a major part of this section considers the slight changes which did take place.

Table IV.2 also includes 1851 York figures for comparison. It will be noticed that both York and Ramsgate had relatively few large families. Over four-fifths of the families in York and Ramsgate at the two dates contained five persons or less. The full significance of this observation must naturally await the results of research on other towns. It might be, however, that our vision of 'large' Victorian families needs a new yardstick. It might be, on the other hand, that the picture is over-clouded by the fact that the figures relate to co-resident family size only¹. In view of this clouding effect, the similarity of the family size distribution in Ramsgate at the two dates is all the more striking.

Although mean and modal family size in York and Ramsgate were uncannily similar, the raw frequency distribution shows that York tended to have slightly smaller families than Ramsgate in 1851. Conclusions as to the reason for this must be tentative owing to the lack of strictly comparable data. Differential mortality would seem to be a key factor, however. Armstrong has calculated that the average death rate in York, 1841-51, was 24.0 per 1 000²; the Ramsgate average for 1851-3, using the same method of computation was only 18.7 per 1 000. Death rates were above average in the densely populated parts of York³, and the smaller extent of overcrowding in Ramsgate would have tended to lower mortality figures⁴. The chances of a large family

1. See the discussion above, pp 43-4

2. Armstrong (1974), 126 and note 58, p 241

3. *Ibid.*, Table 5.6, p 131

4. Epidemics could still strike Ramsgate with considerable force, however. In 1854 the death rate rose to 28.7 per 1 000 when cholera struck.

surviving intact would therefore be smaller in York. Unfortunately this hypothesis can only be tested if and when the Registrar General releases data which will enable age specific mortalities to be calculated.

Finally, Table IV.2 shows that there was a marginal change in favour of the two to four person family in Ramsgate by 1871. This change could have been more apparent than real if enumerators had been more inclined to treat 'one person' families as lodgers in shared houses in 1871 than they had been in 1851. In order to remove this factor from the calculations, a new set of means, medians and modes were calculated, excluding the 'one person' category, and they are shown in the bottom half of the table. The figures still reveal a slight decline in family size over the period.

Apart from the growing acceptance of the idea of family limitation (which cannot be tested from the data), there are several factors which could have caused a reduction in family size: increased mortality; a lower incidence of marriages; out-migration - the assumption being that it will be the younger people who leave; a relative increase in the number of young married persons, who would be on an early stage of the life cycle; or, conversely, a relative increase in the number of elderly people.

It would have been surprising if there had been an increase in mortality in Ramsgate during the mid-Victorian period, a time when several medical advances were being made. The Registrar General's figures¹ show that the average death rate in the Ramsgate Sub-District for the period 1851-1861 was 19.1 per 1 000, and 18.4 per 1 000 in

1. Calculated as in Armstrong (1974), note 58, p 241

1861-1871. Mortality would not seem to explain smaller family size.

Neither does the explanation lie in a reduced incidence of marriage. Table IV.3 shows that on the contrary there was an increase in the proportion of married household heads during the period, and that there was a corresponding fall in the proportion of single and widowed heads.

Out-migration must also be rejected as a hypothesis. Whilst Table III.3 does indeed show that there was an out-migration of some 8% during the 1850s from the Ramsgate Sub-District, this was more than compensated for by the 20% in-migration during the 1860s, the decade during which the percentage increase in Ramsgate's population was higher than in any other of the whole Victorian period.

Were there then more people on the early stages of the life cycle? Table IV.4 shows that on the contrary there were relatively fewer young couples without children. The percentage of families without children, but with the spouse still within child-bearing range, fell from 19.4% to 17.3%

The explanation for the relative decrease in co-resident family size appears to be quite simple: the population was on the whole 'older' in 1871. 21.1% of all married males had a spouse beyond child-bearing age and no co-resident children in 1851; by 1871 this figure had risen to 24.0%. It was this category of married couples that increased most over the period: the total number of married couples increased by 30%, but the number of married couples beyond child-bearing age increased by 47.6%, an increase which must in large part have been the result of in-migration.

Many other statistics support the idea of an aging population.

TABLE IV.3 Marital status of household head

<u>Status</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
Married	69.6	72.7
Single	9.9	8.7
Widowed	20.4	18.6
N =	2496	3011

TABLE IV.4 Married couples and the life cycle

<u>Life cycle stage</u>	<u>1851</u>		<u>1871</u>	
	N	%	N	%
Couples with no children, wife under 25	176	10.6	193	8.9
Couples with no children, wife 25-44	147	8.9	181	8.4
Couples with between 1 and 4 children	772	46.5	1016	47.0
Couples with more than 4 children	215	12.9	252	11.7
Couples with no children, wife 45 or over	351	21.1	518	24.0
	1661	100.0	2160	100.0

Table IV.5 shows that the mean and median ages of male heads and female heads or wives increased over the period. Likewise the mean and median ages of married and single males and females increased. The only category to show a decline in mean and median ages were widows. An increase in mean and median ages could have been associated with increased range of ages, but Table IV.6 shows that in general this was not so. There was a very slight increase in the variability of the ages of male heads as a whole, and of married males and females in particular. Otherwise there was a decrease in age variability of all other categories, especially noticeable in the case of single female and widowed male heads. Thus not only was the population older, but it was also more uniformly older.

Table IV.7 amplifies the conclusions from Table IV.5. The male age cohorts which showed percentage increases in 1871 over 1851 were in the over 50 range (with the exception of the 25-29s). Amongst female heads and wives the picture was slightly more complicated, the under 30s increasing in percentage terms, but again there was a relative increase amongst the 45-69 range.

If the parents of families were on average older in 1871 than they had been in 1851, we would also expect their children to have been older. Table IV.8 shows that this was so. The percentage of families with at least one child under 1 year old fell from 18.0% to 17.0% of the total, those with children aged 1 to 9 years fell from 61.5% to 59.8% and those with children aged 10 to 14 years fell from 39.8% to 35.1%. The percentage of families with daughters aged 15 to 19 also fell. It was only those families with children over 20, or sons over 15, which increased relatively. As a result the median age of the

TABLE IV.5

Average ages of household heads

<u>Category</u>	<u>Mean age</u>		<u>Median age</u>	
	1851	1871	1851	1871
Male heads	43.6	45.1	41.4	43.8
Female heads or wives	44.1	44.4	41.6	43.0
Married male heads	43.1	44.5	41.0	43.0
Married females	40.8	41.6	39.0	40.0
Single male heads	35.4	40.6	31.4	37.5
Single female heads	44.6	49.6	43.3	50.5
Widowed male heads	57.2	62.3	58.0	61.8
Widowed female heads	59.1	57.7	59.9	58.3

TABLE IV.6

Coefficients of variation of ages of household heads (Standard deviation/mean x 100)

<u>Category</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1871</u>
Male heads	32.0	32.5
Female heads or wives	33.4	33.4
Married male heads	30.9	31.9
Married females	30.9	32.0
Single male heads	38.4	36.7
Single female heads	36.3	28.4
Widowed male heads	26.4	21.3
Widowed female heads	23.6	23.5

TABLE IV.7 Age cohorts of male heads, and of female heads and wives

MALE HEADS

<u>Age cohort</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>	<u>Increase (+)</u> <u>Decrease (-)</u>
Under 25	5.3	4.7	-
25 - 29	10.8	11.7	+
30 - 34	15.2	13.3	-
35 - 39	12.8	11.4	-
40 - 44	13.6	10.3	-
45 - 49	10.7	10.7	=
50 - 54	9.6	9.8	+
55 - 59	6.3	9.5	+
60 - 64	6.8	7.3	+
65 - 69	3.8	4.6	+
70 +	5.1	6.7	+

FEMALE HEADS AND WIVES

Under 25	6.0	7.3	+
25 - 29	11.2	11.1	+
30 - 34	13.2	12.4	-
35 - 39	13.2	11.0	-
40 - 44	12.8	11.1	-
45 - 49	10.1	10.7	+
50 - 54	9.3	10.2	+
55 - 59	6.8	8.4	+
60 - 64	5.9	8.0	+
65 - 69	4.8	3.8	+
70 +	6.7	5.9	-

TABLE IV.8 Families with children in different age ranges

<u>Families with at least one child:</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>	(+) (-)
Under 1 year old	18.0	17.0	-
1 - 9	61.5	59.8	-
10 - 14	39.8	35.1	-
15 - 19 (Male)	14.8	15.6	+
15 - 19 (Female)	17.5	15.3	-
20 Or over (Male)	12.1	12.5	+
20 or over (Female)	18.5	20.0	+

TABLE IV.9 Persons per household

<u>Household size</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
1	8.6	5.4
2	17.3	17.6
3	17.1	18.3
4	14.8	16.4
5	12.8	12.5
6	9.6	9.4
7	7.5	7.1
8	4.2	5.1
9	2.9	3.2
10	2.5	2.1
11	1.1	1.0
12	0.5	0.4
Over 12	1.2	1.3
Mean	4.54	4.69
Median	3.97	4.02
Mode	2.00	3.00
Total number of persons	11 411	14 110

eldest co-resident child rose from 12.0 in 1851 to 13.0 in 1871.

On the other hand, in families with employed children, the median age of the eldest child in the family without some form of employment remained at 10.5; in other words, children still stayed at home in 1871 until they were about the same age as their counterparts had been twenty years earlier. Finally, if parents were aging we might expect an increased chance of the death of one of the marriage partners, and hence in the proportion of children from one parent families. This indeed happened, the percentage increasing marginally from 18.2% to 18.7%.

The conclusion must be therefore that the slight change in Ramsgate in favour of the two to four person co-resident family by 1871 was caused by the increased age of the population.

Before passing on to consider household composition, however, we might also notice that Table IV.8 throws light on Burn's assertion that the dependent daughter was one of the fundamentals on which the mid-Victorian home was based¹. No less than 20% of Ramsgate families in 1871 possessed one aged 20 or over.

IV.2 Household characteristics

In addition to the basic family units, households might contain servants, visitors, lodgers or kin. The household is thus a much more complex unit to study than the family, because of the greater number of variables to be considered. Higher status households, for instance, would be more likely to contain servants, whilst lower status groups might be expected to have more lodgers; household size, ceteris paribus, could still be the same. Household composition cannot be fully

1. Burn (1964), 251

understood until interrelationships with class and housing type have also been considered, respectively the subjects of Sections IV.5 and IV.8. This section is concerned with presenting the basic outline.

Table IV.9 shows the percentage of households of different sizes in Ramsgate. In the light of the above comments about the essentially complex nature of household composition, the stability of household size is all the more striking. A 3% change in the proportion of one person households was recorded (although, as with family size, this change could also be ascribed at least in part to changing enumerators' whims)¹; apart from this, the biggest change in the proportion of any given household size was a mere 1.6%. Since families were the major component of the household, it would not be surprising if the slight changes in household size mirrored changes in family size. Closer examination of Table IV.9 shows that this was so. In general there were relatively fewer larger units. The household size which showed the greatest increase was that of the two to four person category. As a result the overall frequency distribution in 1871 was considerably more peaked than it had been in 1851². The decline in the proportion of large households was, however, more than offset by the decline in the one-person household. As the table shows, the mean and median household size actually increased marginally over the period. Whether household size was in fact greater in 1871 than it was in 1851 thus depends upon how one measures it. It was true, nevertheless, that these marginal changes did mean that the most frequently found household size in 1871 was three, whilst in 1851 it had been two,

1. See Section IV.1 above. The relatively small number of one person households coincides with Katz's finding for Hamilton, Ontario, in 1851, that it was extremely unusual for people to live alone; Katz (1975 A), 36

2. Kurtosis (see Appendix F) was 130 in 1871 as against 116 in 1851

the respective modal values. These global household sizes contain many different elements, however, and it is to these that we now turn.

Domestic servants were the largest component in household composition, after the family. In 1851 Ramsgate contained 1 142 of them, 1 in 9.9 of the whole population; and in 1871 1 361, 1 in 10.4 of the population, a modest relative decline. In comparison, servants formed 1 in 20 of the population of England and Wales as a whole in 1851, 1 in 18 in 1861 and 1 in 16 in 1871¹. The Ramsgate figures were clearly above the national average, even if that average was increasing whilst Ramsgate was experiencing a slight decline. London, on the other hand, saw much more substantial changes: in 1851 it had accounted for 24.0% of the domestic servants in England and Wales, but only 6.9% of the population; by 1871 it still accounted for 22.8% of the servants, but 14.3% of the population.

Judged by an alternative yardstick, however, Ramsgate saw no decline in servant keeping over the period. In 1851 25.4% of households contained domestic servants, compared with 25.9% in 1871. Continuity is obviously more apparent than change in this context. The Ramsgate figures may be compared with those for York in 1851 (21.4% of households with servants)², Preston (10%)³ and Hamilton, Ontario, where the percentage fell from 30 in 1851 to 21 in 1861⁴. Clearly if the proportion of households employing servants can be taken as an index of high social tone, Ramsgate was a front-runner. Table IV.10 gives a more detailed breakdown of the number of servants employed by households.

1. Printed Census returns: Table xxv, 1851; Tables xix and xx, 1861; Tables xviii and xix in 1871.

2. Armstrong (1976), 85, figures calculated on the same basis as the Ramsgate ones. For Armstrong's original figures see (1974), 179-80

3. Quoted Katz (1975 A), 221

4. Ibid., 59

TABLE IV.10

Households with servants

<u>Number of servants</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
0	74.6	74.1
1	15.4	15.7
2	5.0	6.1
3	2.5	2.4
4	1.3	0.7
5	0.5	0.3
6	0.4	0.2
7	0.1	0.1
8	-	0.1
9 or more	0.2	0.1
Total number of servants	1 142	1 361

TABLE IV.11 Sex and marital status of servants

<u>Sex</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
Male	18.0	12.8
Female	82.0	87.2
<u>Marital status</u>		
Married	2.6	3.0
Single	94.7	92.9
Widowed	2.7	4.0

Constancy is again immediately apparent, even at this scale, although it is true that there was a marginal contraction in the proportion of households employing large numbers of servants. What was lost at the top end of the scale was more than compensated for at the bottom, however, a larger proportion of households employing at least one servant in 1871 than they had done in 1851.

Table IV.11 and IV.12 distinguish servants by marital status and sex. It is no surprise to find that domestic servants were overwhelmingly female, 82% in 1851 and 87% in 1871. Male domestic servants are usually taken as being indices of high status (butlers, footmen and the like). It is interesting therefore that in England and Wales as a whole in 1851, 86.3% of domestic servants^{nt} were female, increasing to 88.9% in 1871¹. Again Ramsgate scores relatively highly on this particular scale. In comparison, 90% of servants in Hamilton in 1851 were female². 95% of Ramsgate's servants were single in 1851, 93% in 1871. The Hamilton figure for 1851 was also 93%.³ The single female domestic was therefore the norm, accounting respectively for 78.1% and 81.7% of all servants at the two dates (Table IV.12).

The age distribution of servants (Table IV.13) again shows a striking resemblance at the two dates. The age of thirty appears to have been an important threshold, for at both dates the percentages fell off very rapidly at this point. Here again comparisons can be made with other towns: Armstrong calculated that 87.8% of York servants were under 35 in 1851⁴; the Ramsgate figures were an uncannily similar 84.3% and 84.4% in 1851 and 1871 respectively. Likewise the 15-24

1. Sources as per Note 1, p 107

2. Katz (1972), 413

3. Loc.cit

4. Armstrong (1974), 180

TABLE IV.12 Cross-tabulation of sex of servants by marital status. (All figures are percentages of the total number of servants)

1851			
<u>Sex</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Widowed</u>
Male	1.4	16.6	0.0
Female	1.2	78.1	2.7
1871			
Male	1.2	11.2	0.3
Female	1.8	81.7	3.7

TABLE IV.13 Age cohorts of servants

<u>Age cohort</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
10 - 14	5.8	5.9
15 - 19	28.8	33.7
20 - 24	26.4	26.3
25 - 29	15.6	13.2
30 - 34	7.7	5.3
35 - 39	4.9	4.0
40 - 44	4.1	2.9
45 - 49	1.9	2.4
50 - 54	1.7	2.4
55 - 59	1.3	1.5
60 - 64	1.3	1.2
65 - 69	0.4	0.7
70 or over	0.2	0.4

age group in York accounted for 53.3% of servants in 1851¹; the corresponding figures for Ramsgate were respectively 55.5% and 60.0%². Ages in Hamilton, Ontario, were definitely lower, however. More than half the Hamilton servants were under 20 in 1851³, as against only 34.6% in Ramsgate at the same date; three quarters of Hamilton servants were under 25, as against 61.0% in Ramsgate. Ramsgate and York seem to have been very similar therefore, whilst the 'young' image of Canada is also reflected.

Lodgers were another, if minor, category contributing to variations in household size. The most noticeable fact apparent from Table IV.14 is the very considerable increase in the overall numbers of lodgers between 1851 and 1871, the first major difference between the two dates to be noted so far in this chapter. Whilst this increase could in part be attributed to changed enumeration definitions, it would be unlikely for it to account for all of it. Only 4% of households in Ramsgate had lodgers in 1851, whilst by 1871 this had risen to 14.8%. In contrast, 17.4% of York households⁴, 23% of Preston households⁵ and 28% of Hamilton households⁶ contained lodgers in 1851. Is it possible that the presence of lodgers is an indication of a rapidly expanding economy? If so, the increase in the number of lodgers in Ramsgate could be attributed to the building boom of the late 1860s, and the regeneration of the local economy through the multiplier effect. To support this argument by inference, by 1861 Hamilton was experiencing economic depression, and the percentage of households con-

1. Armstrong (1974), 180

2. That domestic servants tended to be drawn more exclusively from younger age groups in 1871 is a reflection of national trends: 35.8% of ~~domestic~~ ^{female} servants were ~~under 20~~, nationally, in 1851, as against 39.5% in 1871. (Source as per note 1, p 107)

3. Katz (1972), 413. 4. Armstrong (1976), 85

5. Anderson (1972 B), Table 7.3, 220. 6. Katz (1972), 419

TABLE IV.14

Households with lodgers

<u>Number of lodgers</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
0	96.0	85.2
1	2.7	9.2
2	0.9	3.0
3	0.3	1.4
4	neg.	0.7
5 or more	neg.	0.5
Total number of lodgers	163	825

TABLE IV.15 Sex and marital status of lodgers

<u>Sex</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
Male	64.8	52.0
Female	35.2	48.0
<u>Marital status</u>		
Married	23.2	19.0
Single	65.4	63.8
Widowed	11.4	17.2

lodgers fell to 20%¹. Occupations of lodgers are clearly important in understanding the reason for the increase in Ramsgate, and conclusions must therefore await discussion in Section IV.3. We can, however, notice that the peak Ramsgate figures were lower than in Hamilton in 1861, building boom versus slump or no. In other words, if the hypothesis is accepted that the strength of a local economy would, ceteris paribus, be reflected in the number of lodgers, then the relative stability and low key of the Ramsgate economy is clearly underlined.

The overall increase in the number of lodgers was reflected by an increase in the number of lodgers found in individual households (Table IV.14); most of the increase was accounted for by households taking in single lodgers, however, and households with large numbers of lodgers (five or more) were rare, even in 1871.

Table IV.15 and IV.16 show some other interesting changes in the details concerning lodgers. The male: female ratio was paradoxically much more even in 1871 (52:48 as against 65:35). Alternative enumeration practices in 1871 may have been responsible for this trend; the relative increase in the female lodger population can, however, be partly accounted for by the increase in the number of elderly widows living alone. Specifically, the number of widowed lodgers increased from 11.2% to 17.2% of the total over the period (Table IV.15), at a time when the percentage of widowed household heads actually fell (Table IV.3); the percentage of widowed females living alone rose from 6.3% to 11.6% (Table IV.16) and the percentage of lodgers aged 70 or over increased three-fold from 3.1% to 9.4% of the total number of lodgers (Table IV.17). Increased longevity, the resultant enhanced

1. Katz (1975 A), Table 5.1, 221

TABLE IV.16 Cross-tabulation of sex of lodgers by marital status. (All figures are percentages of the total number of lodgers).

1851						
<u>Sex</u>	<u>Lodgers alone</u>			<u>Lodgers with kin</u>		
	<u>Marrried</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Widowed</u>
Male	6.3	44.7	3.8	6.3	3.8	0.0
Female	1.3	13.2	6.3	9.4	3.8	1.3
1871						
Male	3.2	33.1	3.5	6.2	5.7	0.2
Female	1.6	16.5	11.6	7.8	8.5	2.0

TABLE IV.17 Age cohorts of lodgers

<u>Age cohort</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
0 - 4	8.1	4.6
5 - 9	2.5	5.0
10 - 14	2.5	4.0
15 - 19	10.0	6.8
20 - 24	16.9	14.8
25 - 29	8.1	12.0
30 - 34	6.3	6.7
35 - 39	5.6	7.0
40 - 44	8.8	5.6
45 - 49	5.0	4.6
50 - 54	6.3	6.3
55 - 59	5.0	4.0
60 - 64	8.8	4.5
65 - 69	1.3	3.7
70 or over	3.1	9.4

chances of split unions occurring, the attraction of the seaside for retirement, coupled with the lack of purpose-built housing for the elderly are all factors that are likely to have contributed towards this change. In spite of the increase in widowed females as lodgers, however, the typical lodger remained the single male, although the percentage fell from nearly half in 1851 to $\frac{1}{3}$ about a third of the total in 1871 (Table IV.16).

In both 1851 and 1871 the most frequently found age range of lodgers was 20-24, accounting respectively for 16.9% and 14.8% of the total (Table IV.17). If the second most frequently found age range is examined, however, a significant ^eaging of the lodger population is apparent. In 1851 it was the 15-24 age group that accounted for about a quarter of the lodgers (26.9%), whilst in 1871 it was the 20-29 age group (26.8%). Another significant difference was that in 1851 there appeared to be a fairly clear generational pattern amongst lodgers, with the age cohorts 0-4, 20-24, 40-44 and 60-64 being relatively highly represented (Table IV.17). By 1871 this pattern had disappeared, the frequency distribution being much more unimodal. Such conclusions are enigm~~atic~~atic, and their significance must await the findings on other towns. How far these figures represent a national trend is an interesting question. Data is available for Hamilton, Ontario, but this does little more than to underline the basically youthful nature of the contemporary Canadian population; in 1851, 84% of Hamilton's lodgers were under 31¹, whilst in Ramsgate only 48% were under 30.

Visitors were but a small element in Ramsgate household composition at the time of the two censuses. This is understandable, since April

was way in advance of 'the season'. It would in fact be unlikely if the visitors to the town recorded in the census were representative of those who would be arriving later in the year. Table IV.18 shows that the number of visitors was indeed small - 367 in 1851 and 249 in 1871 - and, for what it is worth, that fewer households on census night in 1871 were entertaining them. Table IV.19 demonstrates that there was relatively little change in the characteristics of the visitors over the period, however. In 1851 62% of visitors were female, as against 68% in 1871. Unmarried visitors predominated at both dates, accounting respectively for 68% and 69% of the total. As with servants, the typical visitor was the single female therefore, comprising 37% and 43% of the total number of visitors (Table IV.20). Most visitors came without kin. This was true of 81% of visitors in 1851 and 77% in 1871. Typically visitors were young. 52% of visitors were under 30 in 1851 as were 50% in 1871; 28% of the total were in their 20s in 1851, 23% in 1871, (Table IV.21).

Relatives¹ could be found in 20.0% of Ramsgate households in 1851 and 21.3% in 1871 (Table IV.22). These figures are strikingly close to the 21.6% of households which contained relatives in York in 1851² and 23% in Preston at the same date³. Hamilton, Ontario, had fewer households with kin, however, - 15% in 1851⁴ - no doubt reflecting the more fragmented nature of a society which had been exposed, at least in part, to the effects of trans-Atlantic migration. The Ramsgate figures, so close to those of York and Preston, are in marked contrast to the 10.1% of households containing kin found in Laslett's 61 pre-

1. As understood in Armstrong (1974), 184-5

2. *Ibid.*, Table 7.8, 185

3. *Loc.cit.*

4. Katz (1972), 419

TABLE IV.18

Households with visitors

<u>Number of visitors</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
0	90.2	94.4
1	7.2	4.1
2	1.6	0.9
3	0.4	0.4
4	0.2	0.2
5 Or more	0.2	0.2
Total number of visitors	387	271

TABLE IV. 19 Sex and marital status of visitors

<u>Sex</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
Male	38.1	31.7
Female	61.9	68.3
<u>Marital status</u>		
Married	19.9	21.3
Single	67.8	69.1
Widowed	12.3	9.6

TABLE IV.20 Cross-tabulation of sex of visitors by marital status. (All figures are percentages of the total number of visitors).

1851						
<u>Sex</u>	<u>Visitors alone</u>			<u>Visitors with kin</u>		
	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Widowed</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Widowed</u>
Male	4.1	24.0	3.0	4.9	1.9	0.3
Female	4.9	37.3	7.9	6.0	4.6	1.1
1871						
Male	4.8	16.5	1.6	5.6	3.2	0.0
Female	4.4	43.0	6.8	6.4	6.4	1.2

TABLE IV.21 Age cohorts of visitors

<u>Age cohort</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
0 - 4	5.0	3.2
5 - 9	5.8	5.6
10 - 14	5.0	6.8
15 - 19	7.8	11.2
20 - 24	16.9	11.2
25 - 29	11.6	11.6
30 - 34	9.7	8.4
35 - 39	5.5	4.4
40 - 44	6.9	8.0
45 - 49	3.6	7.6
50 - 54	5.8	6.0
55 - 59	6.1	4.8
60 - 64	3.9	3.6
65 - 69	1.7	4.0
70 or over	4.7	3.2

TABLE IV.22

Households with co-resident kin

<u>Number of co-residing kin</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
0	80.0	78.7
1	13.8	14.7
2	3.7	3.8
3	1.4	1.5
4	0.7	0.6
5 or more	0.4	0.5
Total number of kin	778	985

TABLE IV.23

Households sharing with other families

<u>Number of families with whom sharing</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
0	70.9	83.5
1	23.3	13.2
2	4.5	2.5
3	0.6	0.4
4	0.6	0.2
5 or more	neg.	0.2
Total number of families sharing with one or more others	931	635
Maximum number of families sharing any one house	6	5

industrial communities, however¹. The differences in the economies of Preston and Ramsgate at this date were considerable, yet a similar proportion of kin co-resided with household heads. One must tentatively conclude, therefore, that the co-residence of kin was more related to societal norms than to the differences in local economies.

Table IV.23 shows the incidence of house sharing. In 1851 29.1% and in 1871 26.5% of Ramsgate households shared with at least one other family. A relative decline in house sharing over the period might indeed have been expected from the building boom. Large numbers of families sharing the same house was an uncommon occurrence. In 1851 the maximum number of families sharing a house was six, a figure found only once, and in 1871 the maximum was five, found twice only. At the same time we should not be deceived by these figures; the rise in the number of lodgers may well have cancelled out the apparent decline in house sharing.

In conclusion, Table IV.24 shows for the reader's convenience, and for the purposes of comparison, a summary of selected comparable statistics for Ramsgate, York, Preston and Hamilton, Ontario, in 1851. It would be reasonable to suggest at this date that Preston was more industrialised than York, and that in turn York was more industrialised than Ramsgate. If this is accepted it will be immediately seen that the statistics of the English towns follow a distinct pattern. The greater the degree of industrialisation, the larger the household size, the higher the percentage of households with eight or more members, the higher the percentage of households with co-resident kin, the higher the percentage of households with lodgers, but the smaller the per-

1. Armstrong (1974), Table 7.8, 185

TABLE IV.24

Comparative household statistics: Ramsgate, Preston, York and Hamilton, Ontario, 1851

	<u>Ramsgate</u> 1851	<u>Preston</u> 1851	<u>York</u> 1851	<u>Hamilton</u> 1851
Mean household size	4.5	5.4	4.8	5.8
Percentage of households with eight or more members	12	23	13	23
Percentage of households with co-resident children	82	81 or more	66 or more	78
Percentage of households with co-resident kin	20	23	22	15
Percentage of households with lodgers	4	23	17	29
Percentage of households with servants	25	10	21	30

Sources: With the exception of the Ramsgate data, this table is based upon Katz (1975 A), Table 5.1, 221, which is itself based on a collection of sources indexed loc. cit. York figures on lodgers and servants have been taken from Armstrong (1976), 85 to permit comparability.

centage of households with servants. No such relationship is discernible with respect to the percentage of households with co-resident children, however. It is not easy to fit Hamilton into this picture. Mean household size, the percentage of households with eight or more members and the percentage of households with lodgers suggests that Hamilton was on a par with Preston. Hamilton had fewer co-resident kin, but this could be ascribed to a much longer migrational pull. The high proportion of households with servants, however, suggests that Hamilton was anything but industrialised, although it is fair to point out that this figure had fallen to 21% by 1861¹. Whatever the explanation for the apparently anomalous position of Hamilton, it would seem that the derivation of a typology of towns based upon the 1851 census, a task ardently sought in some quarters², will be more easily accomplished within national boundaries. At the same time, the exercise would itself enable Canadian scholars to assess to what extent their towns and cities had a separate identity, as opposed to being merely trans-oceanic derivatives³.

IV.3 Occupation and class

The absolute numbers of male household heads, and of female heads and wives engaged in different occupations⁴ is shown in Table IV.25. The limitations to the conclusions that can be drawn about the occupational structure of a town have already been outlined in Chapter II⁵. Nevertheless, the very considerable resemblance of the occupational listing at the two dates is remarkable, and this in spite of

1. Katz (1975 A), Table 5.1, 221

2. Urban History Yearbook (1974), 8

3. cf Radford (1975), 4-5

4. For classification see Appendix B

5. See above pp 43-4

TABLE IV.25 Occupations of male heads, and of female heads and wives (absolute numbers).

Occupation	Males		Females	
	1851	1871	1851	1871
Farming	32	48	1	1
Land service				
Breeding	5	10		
Fishing	65	144		
Mining				
Quarrying	1	2		
Brickmaking	3	1		
Salt and waterworks				
Building management	16	29		
Building operatives	220	247	1	1
Roadmaking	1	1		
Machinery				
Tools	2	3		
Shipbuilding	59	64	1	1
Iron and steel	21	22		
Copper, tin and lead	9	11		
Gold and silver	1			
Earthenware		1		
Coal and gas	4	4		
Chemicals				
Furs and leather		1		
Glue tallow	4	2		
Hair	1	1		
Wood	19	16		
Furniture	28	28	1	1
Carriage and harness	11	17		1
Paper	1			
Heavy cloth				
Woollens	1	1		
Cotton and silk	2		1	
Flax and hemp	10	8		
Lace	1			
Dyeing	5	1		
Dress	161	145	97	96
Sundries	5	11	1	1
Food preparation	2	10		
Baking	45	56	4	7
Drink	14	29		1
Smoking	4	5		
Instruments	8	12		
Printing	4	12		
Unspecified	4	16		
Warehouses and docks	32	56		
Ocean navigation	240	181		
Inland navigation				
Railways	7	31		

TABLE IV.25 (cont.)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	1851	1871	1851	1871
Roads	40	49	1	
Coals	10	13		
Raw materials	8	9		
Clothing materials	3	1	2	
Dress	18	33		3
Food	121	155	15	15
Tobacco	1	8	1	1
Wines, spirits, hotels	65	87	10	10
Lodging houses	21	25	125	194
Furniture	5	8	1	
Stationery	14	10	1	3
Household utensils	10	21	1	2
General dealers	20	34	7	15
Unspecified	11	19		
Banking	3	12		
Labour	121	152		
Central administration	21	31	1	
Local administration	5	5		
Sanitary service	1	2		
Army	14	29		
Navy	35	34		1
Police and prisons	17	18		
Law	13	17		
Medicine	23	29	1	2
Painting	7	10		1
Music	1	1	1	1
Literature	3	6		
Science	2			
Education	27	39	23	27
Religion	21	23		1
Indoor domestic	21	14	22	26
Outdoor domestic	23	6		
Other service	24	29	178	143
Property owning	91	96	180	157
Unemployed (sic)	2	8	17	1
Residual	3	19	1538	2048
N =	1873	2278	2232	2761

Note: for occupational classification see Appendix B

the large population turnover (Chapter V) and classification difficulties¹. This aside, there are several other points of interest shown by the table.

Firstly, certain caveats must be entered:

1. The table purports to show that there was a slight increase in the numbers in farming and animal breeding over the period. It is certainly true that there would have been some agricultural employment available in the town, if only to supply fresh milk; even Camberwell had its resident cow-keepers². Occupations in the census were often taken to refer to the job that people were trained to do, however; in other words an increase in those with occupations in agriculture could merely reflect an in-migration of those from rural districts. Similarly there was nothing to prevent people working in agriculture from living inside the town boundaries, although they might have worked on farms outside them. For these two reasons an increase in those working in the agricultural sector in the town could have been more apparent than real.

2. The table shows a two-fold increase in those employed in fishing, and a drop of a third of those employed in ocean navigation. Here again there is difficulty, for one neither knows what percentage of the fishing fleet was in port, nor how many of the town's merchant seamen were at home, on either of the two census nights³.

3. There were 21 male heads in 1851 and 31 male heads in 1871 employed in central administration. Clearly Ramsgate did not have a function as a national administrative centre. All that the figures

1. There was a distinct lack of change in the occupational structure of Hamilton, Ontario, between 1851 and 1861, in spite of many other changes. Katz (1975 A), 51

2. Dyos (1966), 151; (1967), 25

3. Part at least of the fishing fleet was out on both census nights

mean was that those normally employed in central administration were actually resident in Ramsgate on census night, for reasons no doubt connected with its resort function. Similar comments could be made about a number of professional men, including a resident General.

Secondly, those occupations which experienced a decline during the period form an interesting group. Very largely these were occupations which would have contributed towards a certain degree of self-sufficiency in the town. Their disappearance was a reflection of increased trade contacts and the resultant competition from the newly-developed manufacturing regions of the country. Thus gold and silver working disappeared, and so did paper making. The numbers in brickmaking fell from three to one (in spite of the building boom), glue tallow from four to two. Most noticeable amongst the declining industries were those connected with clothing, however, significantly one of the most heavily mechanised in the country as a whole. Thus lace making disappeared, cotton and silk working nearly did so, numbers in dyeing fell from five to one; even flax and hemp, mostly concerned with rope making, fell from ten to eight. A much bigger group, however, is dress and clothes making as a whole, where numbers fell from 161 to 145. Against this rather neat view must be set some increases: those employed in copper, tin and lead working rose from nine to eleven, and there was employment in earthenware, and furs and leather apparent in 1871 for the first time. In general, however, declining self-sufficiency is a trend which seems to be well substantiated¹.

Thirdly, there was some obvious increases in certain occupations.

1. A contemporary, Ogle (1889), 231, also noted this trend in the rural parts of the country, attributing the cause to increased ~~xxxxx~~ competition from the industrialised areas, facilitated by the railway system.

The building boom of the late 1860s was reflected in the increase of those employed as building operatives and in building management. An increase in the town's retailing and central place functions can be seen from the increased numbers employed in food preparation, baking, drink preparation and the making of smoking materials, in clothes and food retailing, the selling of household utensils, in the numbers of general dealers and of those employed in banking. More employment in carriage and harness would have been necessary to meet the increased demand for transport in a larger town, whilst an increased number of annual visitors was reflected in changes in employment in wines, spirits and hotels and in lodging house keeping. Technical innovations would be most likely to result in increased employment; the 'unspecified manufacturing' category included all things mechanical, and showed a four-fold increase over the period, and this ^{was} accompanied by a two-fold increase in the selling of such items ('unspecified retailing'). Transport in general saw relatively large increases¹; the opening of a new station resulted in employment in railways rising from 7 to 31; likewise numbers employed in warehouses, docks and shipbuilding also rose, which also incidentally suggests that the decline in ocean navigation was more apparent than real. All these increases seem to have stimulated that residual category, general labour, where numbers rose from 121 to 152.

Finally, some comment is necessary on the employment of female heads and wives. It is obvious that there was a much smaller degree of employment for this group, and also that there was very little increase over the period. In fact there were only 19 more female heads and wives

1. Increases in retailing and transport seem to have been general over the period; see Ogle (1889), 231-2.

employed in 1871 than there had been twenty years earlier, in spite of the considerable increase in overall numbers. Consequently the percentage of female heads and wives in employment fell from 31.1% to 25.8% of the total¹. This does not necessarily mean that there was less employment opportunity for women, however; the increase in the percentage of married women with children, and in the number of older women (Table IV.4 and IV.7) could alone account for the change. Similarity in occupational structure amongst women was if anything even more marked than amongst males. Lodging house keeping and some branches of retailing claimed larger numbers, whilst there was a decline in 'other service' (such as laundering) and property owning, the latter suggesting a possible change in social tone. Numbers in other occupations remained virtually static.

If occupations are grouped into generic types (Table IV.26) a similarly stable pattern is again revealed. Apart from the increase in primary occupations, (chief amongst which was fishing), and the decrease in transport, (chief amongst which was ocean navigation), both changes which may have been illusory for reasons explained earlier, parallels are extremely close. Dealing increased in importance whilst manufacturing decreased, again underlying respectively the principles of increasing central place status and declining self-sufficiency. Professional occupations increased whilst property owning declined relatively, arguing both for and against a change in social tone. Numbers in the building industry increased as a result of the building boom, although their relative status amongst occupations as a whole actually declined. The chief purpose of this table is not to enable

1. The number of employed adult women in Hamilton, Ontario, also fell, from 25% to 21% of the total, between 1851 and 1861; Katz(1975 A), 59

TABLE IV.26 Occupational groups of employed male heads

Occupational group	1851		1871	
	N	%	N	%
Primary	102	5.5	202	9.0
Mining	4	0.2	3	0.1
Building	237	12.7	277	12.3
Manufacture	426	22.8	476	21.1
Transport	319	17.1	317	14.1
Dealing	307	16.4	423	18.8
Labour	121	6.5	152	6.8
Professions	193	10.3	256	11.4
Domestic	68	3.6	49	2.2
Property owning	91	4.9	96	4.3
N	1 868	100.0	2 251	100.1

TABLE IV.27 Occupational groups of employed male heads:
Ramsgate and York, 1851

Occupational group ¹	Ramsgate 1851		York 1851 ¹	
	N	%	N	%
Modern manufacturing and extractive industries	109	6.1		8.9
Agriculture, including fishing	102	5.7		9.9
Building	237	13.3		11.9
Transport	320	18.0		7.6
General labour	121	6.8		6.1
Domestic service	68	3.3		3.5
Public service and professions	193	10.9		9.4
Other manufacturing, dealing, wholesale and retail	380	35.3		42.7

1. Groupings following Armstrong (1974), 28, 45. Data ibid.

reiteration of earlier findings, however, but to enable comparisons, however limited because of classification differences, to be made with other towns.

In 1851 Hamilton, Ontario, had 1.3% in primary occupations¹; Ramsgate's 5.5% is understandably higher because of its fishing fleet - even allowing for the fact that not all of it was in port on census night. Hamilton had 15.1% in building as against Ramsgate's 12.7%. In common with many North American towns and cities, this can be easily attributed to Hamilton's rapid expansion at the time. Manufacturing claimed 26% of employment in Hamilton compared with 23% in Ramsgate, surprisingly similar and therefore throwing further light on Table IV.24. Commerce was significantly more important in Hamilton with 26.8 % of employment, whilst the Ramsgate figure was only 16.4%. In this connection it should not be forgotten that at this time Hamilton was vying with Toronto for the hegemony of the Province of Upper Canada; as such we would expect it to have a fairly high level of central place functions. Finally Ramsgate had 10.3% of its male heads employed in the professions as opposed to only 4.3% in Hamilton, an interesting comment on the implied relative social status of the two towns.

A marginal reclassification of occupational groups (Table IV.27) enables a comparison to be made between York and Ramsgate in 1851, and moreover a comparison that is direct since the classification is identical, and figures in both cases relate to male household heads. In terms of all branches of manufacturing and dealing, employment was relatively higher in York, attributable to its status as a county town

1. All figures in this paragraph relating to Hamilton are taken from ,Katz (1975 A), 51. Katz's figures seem to relate to all adult males and not just to household heads, although (and this is not made clear) lodgers, servants and visitors were presumably excluded. Strict comparability is not therefore possible, although basic patterns would be unlikely to be affected greatly.

(with important central place functions) and proximity to a more industrialised part of the country. Agriculture too appears to have been more important in York, partly attributable to recent immigration from Ireland, and partly perhaps because the 'town boundary' included relatively more agricultural areas. In all other occupational groups employment was relatively more important in Ramsgate. Especially noticeable was the difference in transport, so that despite York's railway functions, the port activities of Ramsgate far outweighed them in relative terms. Building too was at a relatively higher level in Ramsgate, although the town was not experiencing a building boom at the time (Figure III.2); it would be interesting for comparative purposes to discover whether York was in fact undergoing a building slump in 1851. Proportions in domestic service and as labourers appear to have been somewhat similar, although proportions in the professional groups again support the contention that Ramsgate still enjoyed a relatively high social tone in 1851¹.

Throughout this discussion on occupations, the relatively strong influence of the sea upon the town has been implicit. Table IV.28 seeks to establish how strong this influence was, by listing all those occupations which had a direct link with the sea. It is, of course, impossible to say whether all those connected with fishing or ocean navigation were present in the town on census night. Consequently it is also impossible to say whether the apparent increase in the number of those in jobs connected with the sea was a true reflection. What can be established, however, is that at least a quarter of the town's household heads were in occupations directly connected with the sea at both dates, and that in 1851 the figure was closer to at least 30%.

1. See above p 73

TABLE IV.28 Male heads in occupations connected with the sea

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>1851 (N)</u>	<u>1871 (N)</u>
Fishing	65	144
Shipbuilding	59	64
Flax and hemp ¹	10	8
Warehouses and docks	32	56
Ocean navigation	240	181
Navy (including coastguards)	35	34
Total	441	487
Percentage of all male heads in gainful employment	29.0	26.2

1. Rope and sail makers formed the bulk of this category
 Note: occupations in iron and steel have been omitted; most were
 blacksmiths, some of whom may also have made anchors. No head
 was specifically returned as an anchor maker however.

TABLE IV.29 Class of male head

<u>Class</u>	<u>1851</u>		<u>1871</u>	
	N	%	N	%
I	149	8.0	158	7.0
II	475	25.4	566	25.1
III	847	45.4	978	43.4
IV	211	11.3	306	13.6
V	185	9.9	245	10.9

If to this is added those occupations indirectly connected with the sea (lodging houses; a proportion of those in dealing and manufacturing, who would have served the seasonal visitors; and, a proportion of those of independent means, for example) the figure rises to at least half. The sea dominated the local Ramsgate economy.

Another category of occupation that demands special attention is that of persons of independent means. These formed 1 in 42 of the Ramsgate population in 1851, akin therefore to York, where Armstrong has calculated that 1 in 41 of the population fell into this category¹. By 1871 the Ramsgate figure had fallen to 1 in 56 of the population, prima facie evidence of a declining social tone, although it is almost certainly true that by 1871 it had become more fashionable nationally to claim a definite occupation. Only 1 in 85 of the population of the country as a whole was a person of independent means in 1851², a figure which also declined during the mid-Victorian period. Even when judged by an 1851 yardstick therefore, Ramsgate in 1871 was still respectable.

Table IV.29 examines the Class of male heads according to the Registrar General's scheme³. Absolute numbers in all Classes increased over the twenty year period, but in relative terms there was only very slight variation. Any changes were but marginal, with a slight decline of those in Classes I and II, a slight increase of those in Classes IV and V. The proportion of semi-skilled and manual groups was still modest, however, showing an overall increase from 21.12% to 24.5% of the total⁴. The trend again seems clear: overall respectability, but with

1. Armstrong (1974), 44

2. Loc. cit.

3. See above p 46

4. cf Hamilton, where the proportion of adult males in semi-skilled and manual grades fell from 23.5% to 23.1% between 1851 and 1861: Katz (1975 A), 51

a marginal loss of it.

Table IV.30 is a cross-tabulation of Class with the occupational groups previously considered in Table IV.26. Such a table is necessary to serve as a reminder that whilst some occupational groups were predetermined by the nature of their occupations to fall within a certain Class (fishermen in Class IV; labourers in Class V; property owners in Classes I and II), this was not true of all. Thus within the building trade, occupations could range from a celebrated Architect, Augustus Pugin, to a menial builder's labourer; within manufacturing from the substantial brewer, Richard Tomson, to those who heaved ^asacks of hops and yeast; and within the professions from General Sherburne Williams of Augusta Terrace to messengers employed by coastguards. Comparison of the rows of the table shows in fact that the broad pattern was very similar at both dates, not only for the predetermined categories, but for the others as well. All occupational groups had a mode in the same Class in 1871 ^{as} ~~and~~ they had in 1851. What is of greater interest is the changes reflected in the columns of the table. Thus we see that in 1871 Class I drew most of its members from the professions, rather than from the property owning groups as it had done in 1851, although again this no doubt reflects the societal norm to claim an occupation rather than state 'independent means' by 1871. Both Classes II and IV saw fewer in manufacturing, no doubt reflecting the overall changes in the town's economy, and both Classes II and III saw more in dealing, for similar reasons. Many more of Class IV were in primary occupations in 1871, but this may again only have been because of the presence of a higher percentage of the fishing fleet on census night. Relatively fewer in Class V were described purely as labourers;

TABLE IV.30 Occupational groups of male heads in different Classes, compared with the groups of all male heads (%)

1851						
Occupational group	Class					All male heads
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Primary	0.0	1.3	0.7	42.5	0.0	5.5
Mining	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.4	0.0	0.2
Building	4.1	4.6	21.4	0.5	14.5	12.7
Manufacture	0.7	15.2	38.4	12.3	1.6	22.8
Transport	0.7	3.2	27.9	21.2	11.8	17.1
Dealing	1.4	56.2	1.9	5.7	5.4	16.4
Labour	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	65.1	6.5
Professions	45.9	14.5	5.4	3.8	0.5	10.3
Domestic	0.0	0.6	4.3	12.7	1.1	3.6
Property owning	47.3	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.9
1871						
Primary	0.6	1.4	0.5	61.1	0.8	9.0
Mining	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.1
Building	1.9	6.9	21.3	0.0	11.0	12.3
Manufacture	1.9	9.0	40.7	5.2	3.3	21.1
Transport	0.0	1.9	21.2	20.9	14.3	14.1
Dealing	3.2	60.1	6.0	1.3	7.8	18.8
Labour	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	61.6	6.8
Professions	57.0	13.1	8.1	2.0	1.2	11.4
Domestic	0.0	0.5	2.0	8.5	0.0	2.2
Property owning	35.4	7.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3

there was instead a noticeable increase in manual work connected with transport, that is, as dock labourers. Although there were changes of this nature, however, none of them could be described as being more than marginal.

So far discussion of occupation and Class has been confined to a consideration of household heads. Table IV.31 shows an occupational breakdown for servants. The most obvious difference between 1851 and 1871 was the apparent decline in House Maids and the substantial increase in the number of General Servants. There must be, however, a strong presumption that these two terms were used synonymously, and that no change is therefore implied. If the percentage of General Servants and House Maids is in fact combined at the two dates, the resultant figures are almost identical, being respectively 62.7% and 61.8% of the total number of servants. Apart from these two categories, the rank order of servant type was virtually the same at the two dates. Most numerous were Cooks, followed by Trade Assistants, Nurses, Apprentices and Housekeepers. There were a few changes amongst the less numerous categories, however. Butlers and Footmen declined¹, as did Governesses, although it is fair to point out that with a generally ageing population there would be less need for them. On the other hand these declines were offset by an increase in the number of Ladies' Maids (although this could obviously reflect changing terminology only²),

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1. Although prima facie this is diagnostic of declining social tone, this trend must be viewed in the light of the declining proportion of male servants amongst domestics in the country as a whole (see above p 109). By 1871 the expansion of the national labour market was claiming a higher percentage of potential male domestics. A decline in the number of Butlers and Footmen in Ramsgate may have therefore reflected a change in supply rather than of demand.
 2. One recalls Goodwin in Dickens: Pickwick Papers (1837), who would no doubt have been returned as a Ladies Maid: 'attached to Mrs. Potts' person was a body-guard of one, a young lady whose ostensible employment was to preside over her toilet, but who rendered herself useful in a number of ways' (ch 16).

TABLE IV.31

Occupations of servants

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>1851</u>		<u>1871</u>	
	N	%	N	%
Companion	4	0.4	7	0.5
Butler	13	1.2	5	0.4
Housekeeper	24	2.1	31	2.4
Governess	15	1.3	6	0.5
Cook	96	8.6	118	9.0
Kitchen Maid	10	0.9	10	0.8
Parlour Maid	0	0.0	6	0.5
House Maid	341	30.4	165	12.5
Ladies Maid	4	0.4	22	1.7
Nurse	62	5.5	91	6.9
Footman	18	1.6	13	1.0
Groom	3	0.3	4	0.3
Coachman	1	0.1	2	0.2
Gardener	2	0.2	2	0.2
General Servant	362	32.3	649	49.3
Trade Assistant	82	7.3	128	9.7
Journeyman	18	1.6	3	0.2
Apprentice	48	4.3	47	3.6
Errand Boy	17	1.5	3	0.2
Clerk	1	0.1	5	0.4

and, interestingly, by an increase in the number of Grooms and Coachmen (from four to six). Journeymen, by 1871 becoming an obsolete term, also declined as did living-in errand boys, although the number of living-in clerks increased. It should be noted that all these changes were confined to types of servant of which there were relatively small numbers, and which, consequently, could be a prey to the whims of the nomenclature of the household head (or his wife) as he filled in his census returns¹.

The occupations and Class of lodgers and visitors are most conveniently considered together. This is because the information on them was collected in the same way, that is by individuals rather than by household. Statistics therefore relate to all employed persons. It was suggested earlier² that the occupations of lodgers would provide important clues as to the reasons for the increase in their numbers. Numbers in all occupational categories in fact increased (Table IV.32), with a six-fold increase in dealing (reflecting enhanced central place functions), and a more than three-fold increase in primary occupations (the enigmatic fishing fleet again), in building (reflecting the boom), general labour and living-out domestic servants. These increases are but paltry, however, compared with the thirteen-fold increase in the number of property owners, and the twenty-five fold increase in public and professional occupations - always remembering that the latter might include a fair spread of Classes (Table IV.30). In terms of rank, property owners rose from 7th in 1851 to 1st in 1871 in respect of the number of lodgers, and professional occupations rose from 9th to 3rd.

1. Dickens furnishes another example of such a process of 'up-grading', John in Sketches by Boz (1836): 'a man who on ordinary occasions acted as half-groom, half-gardener; but who, as it was important to make an impression on Mr. Sparkins had been forced into a white neckerchief and shoes...to look like a second footman'.

2. p 113

TABLE IV.32 Occupational groups of lodgers and visitors

1851

Occupational group	Lodgers		Visitors	
	N	%	N	%
Primary	7	6.1	6	2.9
Mining	0	0.0	0	0.0
Building	15	13.2	8	3.8
Manufacture	29	25.4	44	21.2
Transport	17	14.9	8	3.8
Dealing	11	9.6	14	6.7
Labour	11	9.6	10	4.8
Professions	3	2.6	21	10.1
Domestic	15	13.2	33	15.9
Property owning	6	8.8	64	30.8

1871

Primary	25	4.9	0	0.0
Mining	2	0.4	0	0.0
Building	49	9.5	3	2.9
Manufacture	75	14.6	20	19.0
Transport	31	6.0	3	2.9
Dealing	69	13.4	12	11.4
Labour	51	9.9	0	0.0
Professions	74	14.4	23	21.9
Domestic	61	11.9	21	20.0
Property owning	77	15.0	23	21.9

Whereas in 1851 11.4% of lodgers had been in one or other of these two occupational groups, by 1871 the figure had risen to 29.4%. We must conclude therefore that the increase in lodgers was not confined to any one occupational group, since all groups recorded significant increases, but that increases were much more marked amongst some groups than others. Clearly the increase in the number of property owners can be used to underline the conclusions reached earlier on the increase in elderly widows¹. To a certain extent though the shift in balance amongst lodgers is puzzling, until we recall Katz's finding on Hamilton that lodgers were by no means confined to the lowest groups of the population². It is possible therefore that some such equalisation process was taking place amongst Ramsgate lodgers during the mid-Victorian period. In contrast, amongst visitors there was very little change in rank between the two dates. Property owners remained the most numerous type of visitor, whilst those in professional occupations rose from being 4th in rank to being 1st equal. Before any firm conclusions are reached on the implications for the social tone of Ramsgate, however, we must remember that visitors in April or March were unlikely to be representative of their successors during 'the season'. If the frequency distribution of the occupations of lodgers and visitors are now compared, it will be seen that, in general, and as might be expected, visitors commanded the higher status occupations. Visitors were more highly represented amongst the property owners and professional groups, whilst lodgers predominated in primary occupations, building, transport, dealing and labour. It is not clear, however, why domestic servants should have been more likely to have been visitors than lodgers, ex-

1. See above pp 113-5

2. Katz (1975 A), 36

cept that as such a very large group in the population of the country as a whole a certain number at any one time might have been expected to have been on holiday or visiting friends and relations. One interesting change is seen in the table, however, in that in 1851 relatively more lodgers than visitors were employed in manufacturing, whilst in 1871 the position had been reversed. This doubtlessly reflects the growth in numbers employed in manufacturing over the period in other parts of the country, even if such growth were absent in Ramsgate.

Finally, Table IV.33 showing the Class of lodgers and visitors underlines some of these conclusions. Lodgers in Classes I and II are seen to have risen from 11.7% to 30.1% of the total over the period, and lodgers in Classes IV and V to have correspondingly declined from 43.4% to 31.6%. It is, of course, a moot point as to whether these changes represent an increasing social tone of the resort, a declining relative status of Classes I and II, or simply changing societal norms as to whom might become lodgers. Visitors on the other hand showed a much more stable pattern, those in Classes I and II comprising respectively 46.6% and 47.6% of the total, those in Classes IV and V 21.8% and 19.0%.

IV.4 Class and the family

No matter what statistical tests were applied, no relationship could be established between the size of a family and the Class of its head, nor between the life-cycle stage¹ of a family and Class. This was true of the town at both dates². Such a conclusion substantiates other

1. See Appendix E for explanation of the life cycle

2. Chi squared yielded respectively a significance of only 0.2178 and 0.4951 with family size; and 0.0024 and 0.5858 with life cycle.

Kendall's Tau: C showed 0.05143 (sig. 0.0008) - a faint suggestion only - and 0.02003 (Sig. 0.0840) with family size. See Appendix F for statistical terms

TABLE IV.33 Class of lodgers and visitors

1851

<u>Class</u>	<u>Lodgers</u>		<u>Visitors</u>	
	N	%	N	%
I	2	1.8	39	18.9
II	10	8.9	57	27.7
III	52	46.0	65	31.6
IV	28	24.8	31	15.0
V	21	18.6	14	6.8

1871

I	58	11.2	25	23.8
II	98	18.9	25	23.8
III	199	38.3	35	33.3
IV	67	12.9	18	17.1
V	97	18.7	2	1.9

research findings. Thus Katz noted that there was little relationship between wealth and the number of children in Hamilton in 1851¹, whilst Armstrong could find no clear relationship in York in 1851 either². On a more theoretical level, too, the independence of life cycle as a variable has been noted by virtually all workers who have investigated towns by means of factor analysis³.

Why should there be no relationship? Or, in other words, why should the propensity for large (or small) families not have been confined to one Class? Several reasons can be tentatively suggested. Small families amongst lower Classes could have been the result of higher mortality levels in the districts where they lived; small families amongst the upper Classes could have been the result of the ideas of family limitation. Large families amongst lower Classes could have been the result of the desire to increase the number of breadwinners and to insure against old age; large families amongst upper Classes could have been the result of surplus income which could thus be spent on up-bringing. Smaller co-resident family sizes could have been the result of sending children out to work at earlier ages amongst the lower Classes, or of sending them away to school amongst the upper. Ramsgate also had an elderly retired element, mostly from the higher status groups, few of whom had co-resident children. Finally, with regards to the life cycle, people in one Class would be theoretically no more likely to marry, have children and then see them leave home than in any other. It is unfortunate that it is only tentative suggestions such as these that can be made, until full demographic data is

1. Katz (1972), 413

2. Armstrong (1974), 177

3. See for example Johnston (1971), 37; Robson (1975), 21; Timms (1975),

released from public records, hence allowing family reconstitution methods to be employed¹.

IV.5 Class and household

In marked contrast to family size, household size showed a significant relationship with Class in both 1851 and 1871 (Table IV.34)², a relationship moreover of the same order at both dates³. In general it can be stated that the higher the Class, the larger the household size, although, as the correlation coefficient shows, this relationship was rather weak. Closer examination of the table shows that the reason for this weak correlation was the anomalous position of those in Class III. In general, heads in Class III had the smallest households, those in Classes IV and V medium sized ones, with the largest households (those of eight or more persons) being virtually confined to Classes I and II. Since household size was a surrogate for many different components, however, full explanation of these differentials must await their respective consideration.

1. cf Armstrong (1974), 173

2. A similar finding to that of Katz (1972), 413; (1975 A), 28,35

3. In Table IV.34 as in certain subsequent ones, the notation '100=Expected' is used. Its derivation is as follows. In each cell of the table the percentage occurrence of a variable in a certain Class (or, later in the chapter, Rate Quintile) was compared with the percentage occurrence of that Class (or Rate Quintile) as a whole. Thus if in Table IV.34 for 1851, 8.0% of male household heads with sixteen or more persons in their households were found to have come from Class I, 25.4% from Class II, 45.4% from Class III, 11.3% from Class IV and 9.9% from Class V, the table would read 100, 100, 100, 100, 100 for this was exactly the frequency distribution of male household heads as a whole (Table IV.29). In fact the table reads 230, 322, 0, 0, 0 - i.e. Class I had 2.30 times the number of very large households that their numbers would suggest ($2.30 \times 8.0 = 18.4\%$ of the total), and Class II 3.22 times ($3.22 \times 25.4 = 81.8\%$ of the total). This procedure enables the reader to establish relative over- or under-representation very quickly.

TABLE IV.34

Class and household size

1851

Household size	Class of male head						
	I	(I & II)	II	III	IV	(IV & V)	V
1	104	(95)	89	116	82	(77)	72
2	62	(72)	76	112	103	(117)	132
3	106	(93)	89	108	93	(94)	94
4	104	(101)	100	103	106	(93)	78
5	48	(84)	94	107	108	(111)	115
6	91	(95)	97	96	97	(115)	135
7	119	(99)	94	92	128	(117)	105
8	146	(132)	128	76	101	(103)	104
9	109	(152)	162	82	62	(61)	57
10	80	(111)	123	106	91	(68)	42
11 to 15	396	(222)	172	32	72	(48)	21
16 or over	230	(294)	322				

Chi squared significance = 0.0000

100=Expected

Kendall's Tau C = -0.07303; sig. 0.0000

1871

1	73	(42)	35	135	138	(119)	92
2	86	(70)	66	107	127	(126)	125
3	86	(95)	98	107	87	(92)	99
4	85	(83)	100	101	110	(103)	95
5	92	(98)	100	100	102	(104)	107
6	58	(92)	102	108	103	(97)	91
7	145	(97)	83	95	110	(116)	123
8	123	(114)	111	87	90	(105)	126
9	95	(138)	150	93	65	(59)	50
10	342	(190)	146	58	54	(45)	33
11 to 15	165	(216)	230	57	30	(16)	
16 or over	238	(276)	288		6	(45)	100

Chi squared significance = 0.0000

100=Expected

Kendall's Tau C = -0.10494; sig. 0.0000

Table IV.35 shows the relationship between Class and the number of servants. The arrangement within the table was obviously very similar at the two dates, even to the extent of actual numbers in the table being almost identical. The relationship was thus clear and constant, although its direction was unremarkable: the higher the Class of the household head the more likely a household was to have servants¹. The correlation coefficient is, nevertheless, seen to be rather low. The reason for this is that although it was true that the higher the Class the more likely it was for a household to contain at least one servant, beyond this the relationship was not constant. In other words a definite prediction that because a household head was in Class 'x' he would have 'y' servants is not possible, although it would be possible to estimate the probability. Many factors would have caused a clouding of a strictly linear relationship, chief of which would have been income (which would clearly not be solely related to Class), and more particularly disposable income. Housing itself would be likely to absorb varying proportions of the latter. Finally, in certain circumstances children might perform the functions of domestic servants. Mention has already been made for the propensity for Ramsgate families to keep a dependent daughter².

The relationship between Class and the number of lodgers (Table IV.36) tells a different story. In 1851 Class showed only a random association with the number of lodgers³. This again tallies with the finding for Hamilton, Ontario, that lodgers were not confined to the lowest groups⁴. By 1871 the relationship was slightly clearer, al-

1. cf Armstrong (1974), Table 7.4, 179

2. See above p 105

3. Chi squared registered a significance of only 0.1730 in 1851

4. Katz (1972), 419; (1975 A), 36

TABLE IV.35

Class and servants

1851

Number of servants	Class of male head							
	I	(I & II)	II	III	IV	(IV & V)	V	
0	33	(61)	66	120	119	(123)	126	
1	186	(218)	228	45	46	(32)	16	
2	456	(272)	216	18	11	(6)		
3 to 5	616	(284)	180	6	24	(13)		
6 or more	543	(300)	224					

Chi squared significance = 0.0000
Kendall's Tau C = -0.30340; sig. 0.0000

100=Expected

1871

0	39	(59)	65	117	120	(123)	127
1	164	(193)	200	66	49	(40)	28
2	440	(262)	213	30	22	(12)	
3 to 5	560	(291)	216	9	20	(11)	
6 or more	381	(312)	292				

Chi squared significance = 0
Kendall's Tau C = -0.28438; sig. 0

100=Expected

TABLE IV.36

Class and lodgers (1871 only)

<u>Number of lodgers</u>	<u>Class of male head</u>						
	I	(I & II)	II	III	IV	(IV & V)	V
0	111	(105)	104	98	96	(97)	99
1	23	(63)	74	112	132	(127)	121
2		(52)	67	131	135	(109)	76
3 to 5	31	(76)	88	123	98	(91)	82
6 or more	204	(222)	227		105	(117)	131

Chi squared significance = 0.0013
Kendall's Tau C = 0.03866; sig. 0.0030

100=Expected

TABLE IV.37

Class and kin (1851 only)

<u>Number of co-residing relatives</u>	<u>Class of male head</u>						
	I	(I & II)	II	III	IV	(IV & V)	V
0	96	(93)	92	102	105	(108)	110
1	93	(125)	135	98	75	(64)	53
2	249	(148)	116	87	58	(54)	49
3 to 5	87	(155)	176	68	90	(80)	69
6 or more		(300)	394				

Chi squared significance = 0.0001
Kendall's Tau C = -0.06342; sig. 0.0000

100=Expected

though correlation was still extremely weak. In general it can be seen that the lower the Class the more likely a household was to have at least one lodger. Beyond this the pattern was somewhat confused. Those in Classes IV and V were likely to have either one or two lodgers, or else a very large number. Those in Class III were likely to have any number of lodgers, except very large ones. Those in Classes I and II, if they had lodgers at all, would be only likely to have a large number. The reason for this is the simple one that the occupation of 'lodging-house keeper' is classified under Class II. Hence those specialising in this calling would naturally affect the overall balance of the table and contribute to the random aspect of the association between these variables.

Class showed no relation at all with the number of visitors in a household¹. In other words people of one Class were no more likely to be entertaining visitors on census night than people in any other. This need cause no surprise, and a similar conclusion was reached about York in 1851².

In 1851 a relationship could be demonstrated between the Class of male head and the number of co-resident kin (Table IV.37), although in 1871 no significance could be established³. It can be seen that in 1851 the higher the Class of the male head the more likely it was that the household would contain kin. This again substantiates Armstrong's somewhat cautious findings about York⁴, and it also coincides with results obtained from Hamilton⁵. In fact it was only those in Classes I

1. Chi squared registered a significance of 0.0753 and 0.0614 in 1851 and 1871 respectively

2. Armstrong (1974), 184

3. Chi squared significance 0.2483; Kendall's Tau C = -0.01996 (Sig. 0.0778)

4. Armstrong (1974), 187

5. Katz (1972), 419

and II who were more likely to have households with kin in them than their overall numbers would suggest. Lodging house keepers, who formed part of Class II, often specifically retained a relation to help in the running of the establishment, and this would have strengthened the underlying trend.

We are now in a position to reconsider the conclusions drawn from Table IV.34 relating to Class and household size. It is not difficult to see why households with male heads in Classes I and II should have been large. They were swollen by servants; in 1851, at least, by kin; and, to a certain extent, by lodgers. The medium household sizes of those in Classes IV and V cannot lie in servants, nor visitors, nor kin; it must therefore lie partly in the number of lodgers, and, at least partly one suspects, in the elusive family size, although as we have seen there was no overall demonstrable relationship between family size and Class in this respect. Those in Class III on the other hand were not likely to have servants, nor visitors, nor kin, and the number of lodgers was small on the whole. The composition of Class III households in other words was much more likely to rely on the nuclear family alone than was any other Class. If analysis of household size appears to be complex, however, this will not be the first study of the mid-Victorian period to have made this discovery¹.

An additional consideration is whether there was any relationship between the Class of a household head and whether or not he shared his house with other families. Table IV.38 establishes that such a relationship was fairly direct. The lower the Class of the household head the more likely he was to share. House sharing does not appear to have

1. cf Katz (1972), 423

TABLE IV.38

Class and house-sharing

1851

<u>Number of families with whom sharing</u>	<u>Class of male head</u>							
	I	(I & II)	II	III	IV	(IV & V)	V	
0	119	(121)	122	93	88	(82)	75	
1	65	(52)	48	117	131	(140)	150	
2		(20)	27	137	95	(145)	203	
3 to 5				102	68	(252)	462	
6 or more				95	376	(267)	143	

Chi squared significance = 0.0000

100=Expected

Kendall's Tau C = 0.15397; sig. 0.0000

1871

0	99	(106)	108	100	96	(91)	85	
1	114	(63)	49	104	115	(142)	177	
2	63	(68)	69	84	143	(172)	209	
3 to 5		(28)	36	63	200	(265)	350	
6 or more				nil.				

Chi squared significance = 0.0000

100=Expected

Kendall's Tau C = 0.23333; sig. 0.0000

been confined to a narrow sector of the population by any means, and the table shows that it was only those in Classes I and II who were less likely to share than their overall numbers would suggest. The relationship was not linear, however, as the correlation coefficient shows, and this is because house sharing would itself be related to many other variables, chief amongst which would probably be the size of house, the size of the family, and not least disposable income, itself not entirely dependent upon Class.

IV.6 Housing

Table IV.39 shows the distribution of rateable values in Ramsgate in 1851 and 1871. Although the figures are not strictly comparable, on account of intervening rating reassessments (Table III.1), and also because rateable values were divided by the number of households sharing the house (there being different proportions so doing at each date), the table does reveal certain basic patterns and trends. Thus at each date rateable values showed a distinct positive skew, reflecting the far larger number of houses at the lower end of the rating spectrum. At the same time the changes in different rate ranges are instructive. There were quite large increases in the £16 to £20 and £31 to £40 rating ranges, but the largest increases of all were in the £50 or over range, clearly showing that the Ramsgate building boom was aimed at the top end of the market¹. Although the median and modal rateable value increased over the period, reflecting the effects of rating reassessment, as did the absolute range of rateable values, the coefficient of variation of rateable value actually declined. In other words, by 1871 there was less overall variation in the rateable value

1. See above p 81

TABLE IV.39

Rateable values

<u>Rateable value</u> (£)	<u>Dwelling units</u> (%)		<u>Change</u> (%)
	1851	1871	
1 - 5	40.5	17.5	-56.8
6 - 10	22.1	23.0	4.1
11 - 15	13.7	16.5	20.4
16 - 20	7.4	12.9	74.3
21 - 25	5.3	8.4	58.5
26 - 30	3.7	4.7	27.0
31 - 35	1.8	3.6	100.0
36 - 40	2.0	4.6	130.0
41 - 45	1.2	1.4	16.7
46 - 50	0.9	1.4	55.6
Over 50	1.7	6.2	264.7
Median (£)	7.22	13.04	
Mode (£)	4.00	7.00	
Maximum (£)	163.00	384.00	
Minimum (£)	1.00	1.00	
Coefficient of variation ⁽¹⁾	45.2	38.2	

Note: (1) In order to correct for positive skew, rateable values were transformed logarithmically; mean and standard deviation were then calculated for the transformed data to give the coefficient of variability (standard deviation/mean x 100)

of houses, and housing conditions had become slightly more equitable.

Tenurial conditions are an aspect of mid-Victorian social history which have hitherto been regarded as a dark spot¹. Table IV.40 shows the percentage of houses held on different types of tenure in the town. It can be seen that there was a relative decline in the percentage of owner-occupied houses over the period, from 16.4% to 14.2%, although the actual number of owner-occupied houses increased from 298 to 334. One of the few directly comparable figures available is that for Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, where a mere 17 houses (about 1% of the total) were owner-occupied in 1863². The contrast is startling, yet conditions in Mansfield were quite different, where the Duke of Portland and several industrialists controlled the vast majority of the town³, and where also the incidence of copyhold tenure (a tenancy, but a tenancy for life) tended to blur the overall picture⁴. We should not be surprised therefore if owner-occupancy was a rather rare phenomenon in Mansfield. Most studies on tenure conditions concentrate on the experience of the householder, however, rather than upon the way in which different houses were held. In other words the focus changes to what percentage of householders were owner-occupiers, rather than what percentage of houses were owner-occupied. Table IV.41 shows the recast data, and includes sub-tenants⁵, a class automatically excluded if only houses are considered. The overall percentage of owner-occupiers is naturally reduced by the inclusion of sub-tenants, but at the same time the figures help to substantiate Best's supposition that owner-occupancy was by no means the norm for mid-Victorian Britain⁶. The implicit ass-

1. Best (1971), 282

2. Jennings (1966), 53. This thesis also uses rate books as a source

3. *Ibid.*, 55

4. *Ibid.*, 102

5. See above p 33

6. Best (1971), 221

TABLE IV.40

House tenure

<u>Tenure</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
Owner-occupied	16.4	14.2
Short-tenancies	8.6	27.1
Leased	75.0	58.7
Number of occupied houses	2 008	2 669

TABLE IV.41

Tenure of household heads

<u>Tenure</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u>	<u>1871 (%)</u>
Owner-occupiers	12.9	12.4
Short-tenants	6.7	23.7
Leaseholders	58.7	51.3
Sub-tenants	21.7	12.6

umption that is often made that owner-occupancy was on the increase during this period is not borne out, however, and it is interesting that the percentage of owner-occupiers also fell in Hamilton, Ontario, between 1851 and 1861¹. In numerical terms, however, the Ramsgate figures are well below those for towns and small cities in the United States and Canada at the time. Thus the Hamilton figures were 34% owner-occupiers in 1851 and 28% in 1861², whilst Katz and others have calculated that in four small to medium sized American cities 30% of householders were owner-occupiers³. In contrast in a city the size of Philadelphia, the percentage was only 13, that is, the same as in Ramsgate⁴. The reason that is usually given for the low levels of owner-occupancy in Britain at this period is the small return that property gave on capital⁵. Whilst much research remains to be done in this field, it is possible to apply this particular hypothesis to explain the differential between Philadelphia and the smaller American cities: in Philadelphia, with its higher degree of industrialisation and commercial activity, capital would have been attracted away from housing. Nevertheless it is interesting that the overall North American figures are higher than those available on English towns. The explanation possibly lies in the urge of the immigrant to own his own property, and hence to stake out his territorial claim. One suspects also that he would have more disposable income to be able to do so⁶.

1. Katz (1975 A), 80

2. Loc.cit.

3. Ibid., 31

4. Loc.cit.

5. cf the conversation between Uncle James Forryte and his niece June, which supposedly takes place in 1886, when she suggests that he should build himself a house in the country south of London. His retort is: 'Buying land - what good d'you suppose I can do buying land, building houses? - I couldn't get four per cent for my money !!'

J. Galsworthy, Man of Property (1906), Penguin Edition, 53

6. For a detailed discussion on this point see Cole and Deane (1965), 30-

Other points of interest from Table IV.41 are the obvious increase in the percentage of short-stay tenants, and the relative decline in the percentage of sub-tenants. As explained earlier these trends can be attributed respectively to the increased tendency to 'compound', and, at least partly, to the reclassification of sharing householders as lodgers by the census authorities. If the percentage of householders experiencing some form of leasehold is summed, however, this will be seen to rise from 87.1% to 87.6% of the total over the period. Stability would appear to be very much the keynote.

One might expect that there would be a broad relationship between tenure type and the rateable value of housing. Owner-occupancy does indeed show a direct relationship with rateable values (Table IV.42)¹, and owner-occupiers were found in greater numbers than their overall distribution would suggest in the higher rate quintiles. It is interesting to note that by 1871 above average owner-occupancy had permeated down to the third quintile, however, again underlining the point already mooted in this chapter that conditions were becoming marginally more equitable over the period. At the same time it should not be forgotten that owner-occupancy was not exclusively confined to the higher rate quintiles at either of the two dates. In 1831 short-stay tenants were found in above average numbers at both ends of the spectrum, reflecting on the one hand the very poor housing where the landlord paid the rates, and on the other, the large sea-front properties with their sometimes equally high turnover. By 1871 short tenancy had become confined almost exclusively to the lowest rate quintiles, however, reflecting the wholly disproportionate growth of compounding. At both

1. A finding closely paralleling that for Hamilton: Katz (1975 A), 80

TABLE IV.42

Rates and tenure

1851

<u>Tenure</u>	<u>Rate quintile</u>				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
Owner-occupiers	16	25	85	151	221
Short-tenants	114	105	61	103	115
Leaseholders	77	106	118	111	92
Sub-tenants	221	150	89	22	14

1871

Owner-occupiers	17	30	126	158	200
Short-tenants	187	209	11	26	19
Leaseholders	32	72	151	134	128
Sub-tenants	299	83	31	40	39

100=Expected

dates leasehold tenure peaked in the middle rate quintile, whilst sub-tenancy was found very largely in the lowest quintiles. Apart from the changes in short-tenancy therefore, there was again relatively little change over the period.

IV.7 Housing and the family

It has already been noted that there was no discernible relationship between Class and family size, nor between Class and the life cycle (Section IV.4). Neither was there a demonstrable relationship between rateable value and these two variables¹. The implications of this finding are interesting. One might have expected that people who lived in bigger houses might have had more children than those who lived in smaller ones, but this was not so. Large families were found in houses with high and low rateable values alike, as indeed were small ones. Despite all the residential movement in the town (see Chapter V), housing was not adjusted to family size, and persons on any stage of the life cycle might be found living in any type of house. Whilst this again underlines the findings from factor analysis as to the independence of life cycle as a variable², it also helps to throw light on an issue which Robson has identified as a research frontier on the nineteenth-century town. Individual households do appear to have selected housing in response to income and status rather than to family size and age³.

IV.8 Housing and household

In the same way that there was a relationship between the Class of

1. Rateable value and family size: chi squared significance 0.5609 and 0.4027; Kendall's Tau C, significance 0.2213 and 0.2821. Rateable value and life cycle: chi squared significance (1851), 0.0488; it was significant in 1871, but no pattern could be discerned.

2. See above p 43

3. Robson (1973), 28

male household head and household size, so also was there a relationship between rateable value and household size (Table IV.43). Besides noting that the overall numbers in the table were similar at both dates, we can see that in general single households were found in the lowest rate quintiles, and that the lowest quintile contained the smallest household sizes. The highest rate quintile also contained the largest household sizes. Further than this, however, the pattern appears more confused, and the reason is again that household size contained many different elements. Table IV.44 shows the relationship between rateable value and the number of servants in a household. This relationship was very clear and remarkably similar in both 1851 and 1871, reinforcing conclusions on the connection between Class and servants. The lower the rateable value the less likely it was for a household to contain servants and vice versa. This relationship was not linear, however, as the correlation coefficient shows. One reason for this is that the table does not distinguish between type of servant, clearly an important additional variable. In other words the table gives the same weight to a teenage skivvy as it does to Pugin's Butler. Several tests were therefore made on the 1851 and 1871 data to see what relationships held between rateable value and servant type. The following points emerged.

1. If domestic servants only are considered, the male to female ratio increased up the rating scale. Thus the higher the rateable value the higher the proportion of male servants employed by a household.

2. The ages of servants seemed to vary but little up the rating scale. House Maids recorded a median age within the 20-24 range in both 1851 and 1871 no matter what the rateable value was of the house-

TABLE IV.43

Rates and household size

1851

<u>Household size</u>	<u>Rate quintile</u>				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
1	181	137	100	43	24
2	123	88	120	111	54
3	98	106	88	130	78
4	94	94	103	112	98
5	89	112	108	106	87
6	103	92	99	91	114
7	63	109	106	74	153
8	76	88	64	79	196
9	49	112	99	79	169
10	57	91	91	109	158
11 to 15	8	10	67	87	343
16 or over	0	0	0	37	479

Chi squared significance = 0.0000

100% Expected

Kendall's Tau C = 0.19009; sig. 0.0000

1871

1	251	99	53	61	45
2	152	97	97	102	56
3	92	109	106	119	73
4	91	106	92	107	103
5	60	123	118	84	107
6	93	88	124	108	89
7	72	102	95	105	124
8	83	88	112	94	124
9	51	87	92	121	149
10	26	54	134	34	255
11 to 15	19	22	45	91	334
16 or over	0	33	0	42	429

Chi squared significance = 0.0000

100% Expected

Kendall's Tau C = 0.18612; sig. 0.0000

TABLE IV.44

Rates and servants

1851

<u>Number of servants</u>	<u>Rate quintile</u>				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
0	131	128	116	90	29
1	12	21	73	187	223
2		16	37	70	392
3 to 5		14	5	10	486
6 or more					515

Chi squared significance = 0.0000
Kendall's Tau C = 0.37662; sig. 0.0000

100=Expected

1871

0	133	130	113	86	33
1	13	23	82	187	209
2		2	45	98	369
3 to 5			15	31	465
6 or more					510

Chi squared significance = 0.0000
Kendall's Tau C = 0.37415; sig. 0.0000

100=Expected

hold in which they were in service; likewise all Nurses also fell into the 20-24 range. The median age of Cooks was uniformly 30-34 in 1851, although it is true that by 1871 there was some extension into the 25-29 range, (albeit displaying no clear pattern), suggesting perhaps an increase of demand over supply. On the trade front, as might be expected, Apprentices showed median ages of 15-19 throughout the rateable value range, and Trade Assistants medians of 20-24 in 1871 - although some were younger in 1851, but again with no clear pattern. The only age variation that could be definitely shown up the rating scale was that amongst General Servants: in the poorest houses their median age was in the 15-19 range (at both dates), whilst in all others it was 20-24.

3. The occupations of servants in contrast varied very considerably up the scale. Thus in 1851 the only types of servant to be found in houses rated at under £10 were, on the female side, General Servants, Housemaids, Housekeepers and Nurses; and on the male side, Apprentices and Trade Assistants, together with the odd Journeyman and Errand Boy. As rateable value increased, however, so did the range of servants. Thus on the female side Companions were first encountered in the £10-£19 range, as were Ladies' Maids and Cooks. Governesses appeared in the £20-£29 range, as did Kitchen Maids in the £30-£39 range. On the male side, Footmen and Grooms first appeared in the £20-£29 bracket, resident Gardeners in the £30-£39 and Butlers, Coachmen and Chefs in the £40 or more range. (Only 2.3% of Ramsgate householders actually lived in properties rated at £40 or more in 1851). As these more exalted servants appeared up the scale, so the proportions of the more general types were reduced. Thus in the £1-£9 rateable value range in

1851 64.4% of all female servants were General Servants, in the £10-£19 range it was 53.6%, in the £20-£29 range it was 43.5%, in the £30-£39 range 25.9%, in the £40-£49 range 22.7% and in the over £50 range a mere 12.8%. A similar relationship was obvious amongst other male servants. As a rider, Butlers, who first appeared in the £40-£49 bracket formed 15.8% of all male servants in this range, but 25.0% of all male servants in the over £50 range.

In 1871 the same general picture was also true. Direct comparability with 1851 is difficult because of intervening rating reassessments, so that one cannot be sure that similar properties are being considered. If anything Butlers, Footmen, Grooms, Cooks and Kitchen Maids seem to have been found rather lower down the rating scale than they had been in 1851, and a new appellation - Parlour Maid - was applied for the first time. The smaller overall numbers of Butlers and Footmen in 1871, however, means that it would be dangerous to read too much of a filtering down process into the data.

Table IV.45 provides an interesting contrast to the lack of relationship that was found between Class and the number of visitors in a household¹. At both dates it can be seen that the higher the rate category the more likely the household was to be entertaining visitors². Large numbers of visitors were virtually confined to the highest rate quintile. A simple explanation for this is of course possible: larger houses had more space to entertain visitors. The pattern in both 1851 and 1871 was very similar, but again the correlation coefficient was quite low, emphasizing the lack of a simple linear relationship. Clearly

1. See above p 149

2. Suggesting, perhaps, that 'visitor' was a more genteel description of a 'lodger', although such a possibility can obviously not be tested. No doubt most visitors were bona fide

TABLE IV.45

Rates and visitors

1851

<u>Number of visitors</u>	<u>Rate quⁱⁿtile</u>				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
0	105	103	102	98	90
1	63	76	79	123	164
2	22	77	90	118	206
3 to 5	23	0	81	137	271
6 or more	0	86	0	0	429

Chi squared significance = 0.0000
 Kendall's Tau C = 0.06344; sig. 0.0000

100=Expected

1871

0	104	104	101	97	94
1	37	35	108	172	162
2	21	32	60	102	294
3 to 5		25	91	124	270
6 or more		105			383

Chi squared significance = 0.0000
 Kendall's Tau C = 0.05178; sig. 0.0000

100=Expected

other factors besides rateable value affected the number of visitors in a household on census night.

The connection between the presence of kin in a household and rateable value (Table IV.46) shows a similar overall relationship with that of Class¹. The higher the rate category the more likely a household was to have co-residing kin, and, moreover, more than one relative. The figures in the table are very close at each date, demonstrating a distinct lack of change in the town in this respect, although there was a certain amount of variation in households containing large numbers of kin. Again the correlation coefficient warns us against making facile assumptions about the strength of the overall relationship however.

Table IV.47, showing the relationship between rateable value and house sharing, is to a certain extent spurious in that rateable value relates to rateable value per household and not per house. It would therefore be surprising to find say the highest levels of house sharing in anything except the lowest rate quintile. The table is presented, however, for three reasons. It shows that the higher the rateable value the less likely it was for a household to be sharing with another one; it enables comparisons to be made with Table IV.38, which shows a very similar pattern, albeit with a different independent variable; finally it shows the marked degree of similarity over the period.

IV.9 Occupation, Class and housing

So far it has been established that there was a definite relationship between both household composition and occupation and Class on the one hand, and between household composition and rateable value on the

1. See above p 149.

TABLE IV.46

Rates and kin

1851

<u>Number of co-residing relatives</u>	<u>Rate quintile</u>				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
0	112	104	99	92	91
1	60	82	110	131	124
2	24	87	95	119	185
3 to 5	38	10	88	153	134
6 or more	74	0	86	173	172

Chi squared significance = 0.0000

100=Expected

Kendall's Tau C = 0.09233; sig. 0.0000

1871

0	111	105	100	91	92
1	58	85	91	137	131
2	68	67	119	126	127
3 to 5	44	72	118	127	143
6 or more		139	259	88	

Chi squared significance = 0.0000

100=Expected

Kendall's Tau C = 0.08272; sig. 0.0000

TABLE IV.47

Rates and house sharing

1851

<u>Number of families with whom sharing</u>	<u>Rate quintile</u>				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
0	56	77	107	133	134
1	168	174	102	23	20
2	357	81	18		
3 to 5	304	161			
6 or more	416				
Chi squared significance = 0.0000				100=Expected	
Kendall's Tau C = -0.32252; sig. 0.0000					

1871

0	56	101	114	113	113
1	287	110	35	34	40
2	437	33	7	42	14
3 to 5	447	38		48	
6 or more	501		43		
Chi squared significance = 0				100=Expected	
Kendall's Tau C = -0.20597; sig. 0					

other. The relationship between the two independent variables may now be examined.

Table IV.48 shows the relationship between tenurial type and occupational group. Owner-occupiers and leaseholders were found in much the same sort of respective category at both dates. The former had above average representation in building (as one might expect), dealing, the professions and amongst property owners; the latter amongst manufacturing and dealing. The most noticeable change, however, was amongst the short-stay tenants where there was a shift towards the less reputable occupational groups. Compounding also resulted in short-tenancy becoming an index of low status, and this is further reflected in Table IV.49 showing the relationship between Class and tenure. This table again shows a remarkable degree of similarity between the two dates - with the exception of the short-tenancy category. It can be generally seen that the lower the Class the less likely it was for a householder to be an owner-occupier¹; that there was a tendency for

1. 'Although in general it can be said that the wealthier a man the more likely he was to own his own houses, there still remains a great deal of variation to be explained': Katz (1975 A), 81, on Hamilton, Ont. A further illustration of this point is to be found in Dickens: Our Mutual Friend (1865), ch 9. As a result of the presumed death of the heir, the Harmon estate passes to Mr. Harmon's confidential servant Mr. Nicodemus Boffin (Class III at the most on the Registrar General's scheme). Since the value of the estate was £100,000 Mr. Boffin would have been thereby elevated to Class I. The following conversation ensues when Mrs. Boffin is asked what she thinks should be done with their fortune:

'I say a good house in a good neighbourhood, good things about us, good living and good society. I say, live like our means, without extravagance, and be happy.'

'Yes. I say be happy too,' assented the still pensive Mr. Boffin.

'Lor-a-mussy !' exclaimed Mrs. Boffin, laughing and clapping her hands, and gaily rocking herself to and fro, 'when I think of me in a light yellow chariot and pair, with silver boxes to the wheels -'

'Oh ! you was thinking of that, was you, my dear ?'

'Yes !' cried the delighted creature. 'And with a footman up behind, with a bar across, to keep his legs from being poled'. And with a coachman up in front... and two bay horses... and you and me leaning back inside as grand as ninepence !'

TABLE IV.48 Occupational groups of male heads in different tenurial categories, compared with the occupational groups of all male heads (%)

1851					
<u>Occupational group</u>	<u>Tenurial type</u>			<u>All male heads</u>	
	Owner-occupiers	Short-tenants	Leaseholders		
Primary	1.4	1.8	4.8	5.5	
Mining	0.0	0.9	0.1	0.2	
Building	18.2	11.8	12.2	12.7	
Manufacture	18.6	20.9	24.5	23.8	
Transport	9.1	20.0	15.7	17.1	
Dealing	20.9	10.9	10.2	16.4	
Labour	0.0	9.1	6.7	6.5	
Professions	16.8	11.8	9.8	10.3	
Domestic	1.4	4.5	3.4	3.6	
Property owning	13.6	8.2	2.7	4.9	

1871					
Primary	2.9	10.5	6.3	9.0	
Mining	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.1	
Building	13.1	15.0	12.3	12.3	
Manufacture	26.1	21.7	22.5	21.1	
Transport	7.3	15.6	13.2	14.1	
Dealing	20.8	12.9	24.0	18.6	
Labour	0.8	16.0	3.7	6.8	
Professions	15.9	4.4	12.4	11.4	
Domestic	2.4	3.0	2.0	2.2	
Property owning	10.6	0.4	3.4	4.3	

TABLE IV.49

Class and tenure

1851				
<u>Class of male head</u>	<u>Tenurial type</u>			
	Owner-occ- upiers	Short- tenants	Lease- holders	Sub- tenants
I	308	193	54	81
II	161	42	111	49
(I and II)	(196)	(78)	(98)	(57)
III	61	112	102	109
IV	55	94	99	138
V	9	125	97	159
(IV and V)	(34)	(108)	(98)	(148)
100=Expected				
<hr/>				
I	259	14	83	183
II	159	35	126	49
(I and II)	(181)	(30)	(117)	(78)
III	84	112	100	91
IV	32	145	88	133
V	11	201	281	158
(IV and V)	(23)	(170)	(78)	(144)
100=Expected				

for leasehold to peak in Classes II and III; and that the incidence of sub-tenancy was inversely related to Class.

A much more telling table on the relationship between Class and housing is Table IV.50, however, which sets the two independent variables against one another. In general the relationship is clear, that the higher the Class the higher the rateable value, as indeed one might expect.¹ Moreover this relationship was also markedly constant, evidenced not only by the actual figures in the table, which were uncannily similar, but also by the correlation coefficients. Indeed such was the similarity of the Kendall's coefficients that it was decided to compute some other types of coefficient as well². These also showed striking parallels. Of particular interest is the Lambda_L^b coefficient which breaks down the total amount of correlation into those elements which can be attributed to each variable being independent of the other. As can be seen, the independent weight of Class and rateable value was roughly the same, although there is the distinct suggestion that rateable value was dependent upon Class rather than the other way round, a comforting result.

Table IV.50 also warns us to beware of facile assumptions, however. Some people were found on the table where one would least expect them to be - people in Class I living in the lowest quintile of housing, and people in Class V living in the highest quintile. Even the Kendall's coefficient of 0.5 warns us that the relationship was far from linear. The explanation for such apparent anomalies lies in the limited ability of the Registrar General's classification of occupations to predict life style. There are several reasons for this:

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1. Although see note 1, p 169
 2. See Appendix F for technicalities

TABLE IV.50

Class and rates

1851

Class	Rate quintile				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
I	6	20	48	122	347
II	13	45	91	167	213
III	115	131	123	85	35
IV	170	138	91	61	19
V	252	122	63	22	3

Chi squared significance = 0.0000

100=Expected

Kendall's Tau C = -0.50211; sig. 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.32629

Lambda, with rates dependent = 0.17

Lambda, with Class dependent = 0.14

1871

I	7	14	60	102	359
II	20	40	86	177	207
III	105	125	123	90	44
IV	151	142	117	55	13
V	268	149	48	14	4

Chi squared significance = 0.0000

100=Expected

Kendall's Tau C = -0.49098; sig. 0.0000

Cramer's V = 0.32359

Lambda, with rates dependent = 0.16

Lambda, with Class dependent = 0.13

1. Class was not the only element in determining disposable income.
2. Disposable income would not always be spent in similar proportions on housing between individuals of the same Class.
3. There was undoubtedly an overlap between Classes. Many instances of such overlap could be cited, although but one will suffice. In Roberts': Classic Slum¹ there are several photographs taken in Salford around the turn of the century. Amongst them are a general dealer and a clothier², both of whom would be placed in Class III³, and both of whom look distinctly unprosperous. In contrast is a hawker⁴, condemned to Class V⁵, but who was much better dressed than either of his theoretical superiors.
4. Class was implicitly left to individual interpretation, when the householder filled in his census form⁶. Rateable value on the other hand was objectively determined.

In the light of these qualifications, however, the apparent stability evidenced by the table is all the more remarkable.

In the first chapter of this thesis, the question was raised as to whether it was occupation or rateable values which explained most effectively socio-economic variations within populations⁷. We are now in a position to be able to answer this question for Ramsgate. Table IV. 51 summarises the significance of the chi squared test for the relationships between Class, rateable value and family and household characteristics. Neither Class nor rateable value yielded significant results at either date with family size. And only in 1871 did rateable value

1. Roberts (1971)
 2. Ibid., Plates 3 and 4
 3. Armstrong (1972), 210
 4. Roberts (1971), Plate 8
 5. Armstrong (1972), 210
 6. See above, pages 40-2
 7. See above, page 11

TABLE IV.51 Comparison of the significance of chi squared for the relationships between Class, rates and family and household characteristics

<u>Relation with</u>	<u>Significance of chi squared</u>			
	1851 Rates	Class	1871 Rates	Class
<u>Family characteristics</u>				
Family size	0.5609	0.2178	0.4027	0.4951
Life cycle	0.0488	0.0024	0.0000	0.5858
<u>Household characteristics</u>				
Household size	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
Number of servants	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
Number of lodgers	0.2896	0.1730	0.0000	0.0013
Number of visitors	0.0000	0.0753	0.0000	0.0614
Number of kin	0.0000	0.0001	0.0000	0.2482
Number of families with whom sharing	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000

For explanation see text and Appendix F

TABLE IV.52 Comparison of Kendall's Tau C coefficients for the relationships between Class, rates and family and household characteristics

<u>Relation with</u>	<u>Kendall's Tau C</u>			
	1851 Rates	Class	1871 Rates	Class
<u>Family characteristics</u>				
Family size	-0.01150	-0.05143*	-0.00785	-0.02003
<u>Household characteristics</u>				
Household size	0.19009*	0.07803*	0.18612*	0.10494*
Number of servants	0.37662*	0.30340*	0.37415*	0.28438*
Number of lodgers	-0.01052	-0.00758	0.00713	-0.03866*
Number of visitors	0.06344*	0.03199	0.05178*	0.02333
Number of kin	0.09233*	0.06342*	0.08272*	0.01996
Number of families with whom sharing	-0.32252*	-0.15397*	-0.20597*	-0.23333*

For explanation see text and Appendix F

* Significant at 0.01 level

yielded a significant result with life cycle stage at the 0.0001 level, other relationships being insignificant. Rateable value was therefore not quite such a bad predictor of family characteristics as was Class, although one can hardly claim that the results are very striking. In terms of household characteristics the results are much more interesting. Rateable value showed significance at the 0.0001 level with 11 out of the 12 relationships tested, whilst Class showed significance with only 7 of them. The picture is broadly similar if correlation coefficients are considered (Table IV.52). Family size only yielded a significant coefficient with Class in 1851, but because the chi squared test showed a random result this must be rejected. In contrast 10 of the 12 relationships tested between rateable value and various household characteristics were significant, as against only 8 of the 12 relationships tested between Class and household characteristics. Moreover in all but one case the correlation coefficient between rateable value and the variable in question was higher than that between Class and the variable. In other words we can definitely say that in Ramsgate rateable values were a better predictor of socio-economic variation than was Class. Although Thernstrom concluded from his inspection of American data that 'occupation may be only one variable in a comprehensive theory of class, but it is the variable which includes more, and which sets more limits on the other variables, than any other criterion of status'¹, such a statement cannot be made about mid-Victorian Ramsgate.

IV.10 A property-owning elite ?

Many parallels have been drawn during the course of this chapter be-

1. Thernstrom (1964), 84. See also note 1, page 11 above

tween Ramsgate and Hamilton, Ontario. Katz has demonstrated that Hamilton was dominated by a property-owning elite¹. The Ramsgate data is unfortunately not as comprehensive as that available for Hamilton², but the question as to whether Ramsgate was also dominated by a property-owning elite can also be explored to some extent.

Table IV.53 shows the concentration of property ownership in Ramsgate in 1851 and 1871. It can be seen that this concentration was remarkably pyramidal, and that the situation was very similar at both dates. Most of the properties were, as in Hamilton, concentrated in relatively few hands. In 1851 all the houses in the town were owned by but 650 people and by only 785 in 1871. Over half the properties in the town were owned respectively by 101 and 128 persons. Stability was an obvious keynote in the structure of property ownership, however. At both dates exactly 46.6% of owners owned two or more properties. 43.0% of properties were owned by 62 people in 1851, and 43.1% of properties were owned by 69 people in 1871. In spite of this there were a few minor changes at the summit of the pyramid. Thus the top five owners owned 9.0% of the properties in the town in 1851, but 10.0% of them in 1871; similarly the owner with the most properties in 1851 controlled 2.1% of the town, but 2.7% in 1871. There was also a growth in the absolute number of properties owned by the top ten owners. Thirty people owned ten or more properties in the town in 1851; by 1871 their ranks had swollen to forty-five. Only one owner held forty properties in 1851; by 1871 five owners did, the largest of them owning sixty-five. Thus by 1871, although there were more properties to be owned in the town as a result of its expansion, the largest owners

1. Katz (1975 B), especially p 7

2. See above p 61

TABLE IV.53 Concentration of property ownership

<u>Landlords</u> <u>owning 'x'</u> <u>properties</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>properties</u>		<u>No. of</u> <u>owners</u>		<u>% of</u> <u>properties</u>		<u>% of</u> <u>owners</u>	
	1851	1871	1851	1871	1851	1871	1851	1871
1 or more	1918	2386	650	785	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2 do.	1570	1967	303	366	81.9	82.4	46.6	46.6
3 do.	1360	1705	198	235	70.9	71.5	30.5	29.9
4 do.	1165	1501	133	167	60.7	62.9	20.5	21.3
5 do.	1037	1345	101	128	54.1	56.4	15.5	16.3
6 do.	932	1135	80	86	48.6	47.6	12.3	11.0
7 do.	824	1033	62	69	43.0	43.3	9.5	8.8
8 do.	747	956	51	58	38.9	40.1	7.8	7.4
9 do.	635	884	37	49	33.1	37.0	5.7	6.2
10 do.	573	848	30	45	29.8	35.5	4.6	5.7
15 do.	428	575	18	21	22.3	24.1	2.8	2.7
20 do.	289	440	15	13	15.1	18.4	2.3	1.7
25 do.	228	375	7	10	11.9	15.7	1.1	1.3
30 do.	173	270	5	6	9.0	11.3	0.8	0.8
35 do.	110	238	3	5	5.7	10.0	0.5	0.6
40 do.	40	238	1	5	2.1	10.0	0.1	0.6

had managed to strengthen their hands, slightly in relative terms, but considerably in absolute terms. Ramsgate was then dominated by a relatively small number of people, but at the same time it should not be forgotten that over half the properties were owned by the small landlords, those with five properties or less, a condition also found in a part of England as different as the Lancashire cotton towns¹.

Table IV.54 shows the concentration of the value of property amongst resident household heads. It too shows a pyramidal structure, that is with the majority of owners owning relatively little. Comparison between the two dates is difficult because of intervening rating reassessments, but one point is clear: the expanded number of household heads that owned property in the town in 1871 held property that was more valuable. Thus whilst only twelve household heads held property of a total rateable value of £200 or more in 1851, their numbers had doubled by 1871. If the assumption in fact held true that rateable value equalled the amount which properties would be expected to yield in rent, minus the amount that the landlord would have to spend on upkeep, one owner at least would have appeared to have been very comfortably off in 1871 with an income of over £1000 a year net from property within the town alone. This table also furnishes evidence therefore of an elite.

In what ways, finally, did the occupations of property owners differ from those of male heads as a whole? Table IV.55 shows the occupational grouping of male heads who owned more than ten properties in the town at the two dates. It is obvious that at both dates those in dealing and manufacturing had the dominant control, and a superior one to

1. Marshall (1968), 228

TABLE IV.54 Concentration of the value of property
(resident household heads only)

<u>Landlords owning property of rate- able value £'x'</u>	<u>Number of owners</u>		<u>Percentage of owners</u>	
	1851	1871	1851	1871
more than £1	383	423	100.0	100.0
more than £10	317	402	83.0	95.0
more than £20	227	308	59.4	72.8
more than £30	177	241	46.3	57.0
more than £40	147	191	38.5	45.2
more than £50	110	163	28.8	38.5
more than £100	38	74	9.9	17.5
more than £150	19	40	5.0	9.5
more than £200	12	24	3.1	5.7
more than £250	9	19	2.4	4.5
more than £500	1	9	0.3	2.1
more than £1000		1		0.2

TABLE IV.55 Occupational groups of male heads owning ten or more properties, compared with those of all male heads (%)

<u>1851</u>		
<u>Occupational group</u>	<u>Male heads owning 10 or more prop- erties</u>	<u>All male heads</u>
Primary	0.0	5.5
Mining	0.0	0.2
Building	29.4	12.7
Manufacture	23.5	22.8
Transport	0.0	17.1
Dealing	29.4	16.4
Labour	0.0	6.5
Professions	0.0	10.3
Domestic	0.0	3.6
Property owning	17.6	4.9
<u>1871</u>		
Primary	0.0	9.0
Mining	0.0	0.1
Building	4.2	12.3
Manufacture	20.8	21.1
Transport	4.2	14.1
Dealing	33.3	18.8
Labour	0.0	6.8
Professions	8.3	11.4
Domestic	4.2	2.2
Property owning	12.5	4.3

those who were property owners per se. In other words those who controlled the town's business activities also tended to control its properties, and in this sense Ramsgate was indeed governed by an elite. One further point of interest emerges from Table IV.55: those in the building trade were dominant real property owners in 1851, but by 1871 their position had deteriorated very considerably, in spite of the building boom. The conclusion is inescapable: the commercial interests in the town provided much of the capital for the building boom. The property-owning elite therefore not only passively controlled the town, but also actively steered its growth. It is also therefore the commercial interests which must take part of the responsibility for any change in social tone over the period, a point argued from more conventional evidence in Chapter III¹.

IV.11 Changing social tone ?

Allusion has been made throughout this chapter to social tone. The evidence for changing social tone during the mid-Victorian period in Ramsgate can now be summarised. In support of the hypothesis that the social tone improved, one can cite the fact that there were relatively more houses at the top end of the rating scale by 1871, coupled with less overall variation in rateable value. To this must be added an absolute increase in owner-occupancy over the period; a filtering down of owner-occupancy through the Classes; relatively more employment in professional occupations; a higher percentage of households with servants; and more Ladies' Maids, Grooms and Coachmen. To argue for the decline in social tone there was the relative decline in owner-occupancy; the decline in the number of persons of independent means in rel-

1. See above p 76

ation to the town's population, (although the national figure also declined over the period); the slight decline in the percentage of male household heads in Classes I and II, and the slight increase in the percentage of those in Classes IV and V; the smaller percentage of households with large numbers of servants; and the fewer Butlers and Footmen. All that one can say therefore is that in certain respects Ramsgate's social tone seemed to improve whilst in certain other respects it seemed to decline. If this amounts to qualified stability, so be it. At the same time it is also obvious that census and rate book variables are not the only sorts of data that should be considered in assessing social tone¹. In the last analysis, a town's social tone was a concept that was found in the minds of contemporaries, and this evidence has already been presented in Chapter III. There is on the other hand no evidence at all to substantiate the assertion that by 1871 Ramsgate had become 'roaringly plebeian' as at least one economic historian would have us believe². Certainly the evidence presented in this chapter clearly points to the fact that there was very little change in the resort between 1851 and 1871, and that in national terms it was still eminently respectable.

IV.12 Conclusions

A very considerable amount of wide ranging data has been presented in this chapter, and it is now perhaps opportune to summarise some of the major conclusions.

On the theoretical level there are three important findings. Both family size and the life cycle have been shown to have been virtually

1. c.f. Perkin (1974), 1

2. Best (1971), 207

independent of both Class and rateable values. This underlines the findings of factor analysis on many other towns, and the results respectively obtained by Armstrong on York and Katz on Hamilton, Ontario. Secondly it has been seen that individual households selected housing in response to income and status rather than to family size and age, a current research issue in urban history¹. Finally rateable value has been shown to have been a better predictor of household characteristics than Class, throwing light on yet another debate².

On the empirical level, the patterns found in Ramsgate have been shown to have followed the same sort of directions as those in York and Hamilton. The fact that the overall determinants of socio-economic variations seem to have been similar in all three towns enables not only comparisons to be made between them, throwing new light on their respective structures, but it is also an important finding for future research work.

Finally, and also on the empirical level, a major conclusion is the remarkable degree of stability in Ramsgate over the period. Once one has allowed for uncertainty about numbers in the fishing fleet and in ocean navigation, the development of compounding, and the growth in the number of lodgers and concomitant decline in house sharing (suggesting enumeration changes), one is left with but very minor changes to explain. Most of these can be attributed to the fact that Ramsgate's population was on average older in 1871, and that in 1871 a building boom was in progress. There were also a few minor changes in occupational structure. Apart from this there was a very marked similarity in the town, not only in terms of single variables, but also in terms of the

1. Robson (1973), 28

2. See above p 11

demonstrable relationships between them. It is against this background that the very considerable residential changes, the subject of the next chapter, must be set.

'As on this whirligig of Time
We circle with the seasons'

ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON

Will Waterproof's Lyrical Monologue
viii

RESEARCH in North America has both drawn attention to and underlined the very high degree (even judged by the standards of today¹) of residential mobility that took place in towns and cities during the nineteenth century. Katz has gone so far as to assert that, together with inequality, transiency was one of the two great themes of nineteenth-century urban history², whilst Thernstrom has stated that the existence of a permanent floating proletariat is an issue which needs investigating above all others in the new urban history³. The importance of mobility might of itself seem to demand its separate and extended treatment in this thesis therefore; the wealth of data available presents a similar, if circumstantial, argument. This chapter therefore examines the available data on mobility in Ramsgate.

As explain^{ed} in Chapter II, mobility can be analysed from both data on birthplaces, in the census enumerators' books, and by comparing individual entries in successive rate books. The former thus yields information on in-migration, whilst the latter deals with residential mobility per se. Before this analysis commences, however, it is as well to recall the limitations of the data⁴. These are that rate books list only ratepayers, and that nominal linkage over time presents prob-

1. For data on 19thC turnover rates in North America see: Knights (1971), 59; Thernstrom (1973 A), 33-40 and (1973 B), 677; Katz (1975 A), 20. For contemporary American rates see Robson (1975), 31. In a recent British study, Pritchard (1976), it has been shown that mobility in Leicester has declined since the last century, chiefly associated with the growth of owner-occupancy.

2. Katz (1972), 403.

3. Thernstrom (1973 B), 678

4. See above pp 35, 36, 44

lems; that birthplaces are to some extent fortuitous, that they give no clues as to intervening house moves unless childrens' birthplaces are used as a somewhat uncertain indicator, and that they permit no assessment of the volume of migration from particular places since only living migrants are recorded. Further, the arrival time of migrants can never be assessed with confidence and migratory counter-flows can never be measured unless data from other places is also examined. In spite of these drawbacks, both sources are immensely superior to the County of Birth Tables which form part of the printed census returns, and they undoubtedly give the best cover of individual migration that is available for the period¹.

In-migration

Table V.1 shows the birthplaces of male household heads in Ramsgate during the mid-Victorian period. Several points from the table deserve comment.

1. There was a very wide geographical spread of birthplaces in the town at both dates, even if some parts of the country were proportionally under-represented. In 1851 every English county was represented amongst the male household heads in Ramsgate, except Huntingdonshire and Westmorland. Such a wide spread need not necessarily occasion surprise. It is known, for example, that Norwich apprentices even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came from a very wide area². Yet such a comment is necessary for a recent article on migration thought fit to draw attention to the (unremarkable) fact that the county of Huntingdon in 1901 had representatives of all English counties living in it³.

1. A point emphasized in Grigg (1977), 44

2. Patten (1976), especially 121-2

3. Grigg, loc.cit.

TABLE V.1

Birthplaces of male household heads

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>1851</u> N	<u>1871</u> N	<u>Change</u> N
Ramsgate	611	732	121
St. Lawrence	93	98	5
Broadstairs	18	24	6
St. Peter's	45	29	-16
Margate	77	80	3
Birchington	14	14	0
Manston & Stonar	8	1	-7
Minster	19	19	0
Acol	1	4	3
Monkton	5	4	-1
St. Nicholas at Wade	4	6	2
Sarre	1	4	3
Chislet	1	3	2
Stourmouth	2	2	0
Ash	21	24	3
Sandwich	71	47	-24
Deal	50	44	-6
Herne Bay	3	8	5
Canterbury	53	68	15
Dover	29	33	4
Whitstable	5	7	2
Folkestone	17	12	-5
Hythe	4	1	-3
Ashford	5	7	2
Maidstone	6	8	2
Eastry, district	28	47	19
Bridge, district	24	19	-5
Blean, district	16	15	-1
Dover, district	5	5	0
Elham, district	7	8	1
East Ashford, district	11	5	-6
Faversham, district	17	27	10
Sheppey, district	9	13	4
Milton, district	4	2	-2
Hollingbourn, district	3	3	0
West Ashford, district	7	5	-2
Romney Marsh, district	6	7	1
Tenterden, district	4	5	1
Cranbrook, district	3	4	1
Maidstone, district	1	2	1

TABLE V.1 (cont.)

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>1851</u> N	<u>1871</u> N	<u>Change</u> N
Medway, district	13	13	0
Hoo, district	0	1	1
North Aylesford, district	4	8	4
Gravesend, district	3	5	2
Malling, district	4	3	-1
Tonbridge, district	3	0	-3
Sevenoaks, district	3	3	0
Dartford, district	2	6	4
Bromley, district	0	0	0
Metropolitan Kent	5	14	9
Middlesex East district	15	18	3
Middlesex Central district	13	23	10
Middlesex West district	10	19	9
Middlesex North district	15	30	15
Metropolitan Surrey	17	27	10
London (unspecified)	45	86	41
Surrey (remainder)	8	12	4
Sussex	24	32	8
Hampshire	7	13	6
Berkshire	3	6	3
Middlesex (remainder)	12	13	1
Hertfordshire	12	10	-2
Buckinghamshire	5	8	3
Oxfordshire	2	5	3
Northamptonshire	5	6	1
Huntingdonshire	0	0	0
Bedfordshire	4	3	-1
Cambridgeshire	2	7	5
Essex	19	34	15
Suffolk	15	13	-2
Norfolk	7	17	10
Wiltshire	9	10	1
Dorset	12	5	-7
Devon	60	61	1
Cornwall	5	10	5
Somerset	13	15	2
Gloucestershire	5	6	1
Herefordshire	3	5	2
Shropshire	1	0	-1
Staffordshire	1	7	6

TABLE V.1 (cont.)

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>1851</u> N	<u>1871</u> N	<u>Change</u> N
Worcestershire	3	6	3
Warwickshire	3	6	3
Leicestershire & Rutland	6	9	3
Lincolnshire	3	6	3
Nottinghamshire	1	1	0
Derbyshire	5	4	-1
Cheshire	3	0	-3
Lancashire	6	10	4
Yorkshire	13	15	2
Durham	6	3	-3
Northumberland	2	2	0
Cumbria	1	3	2
Wales	5	4	-1
Scotland	9	18	9
Ireland	26	37	11*
Islands in the British Seas	0	9	9
British overseas possessions	3	11	8
British subjects born in foreign parts	6	5	-1
Foreign subjects born in foreign parts	10	20	10

2. The effect of distance from Ramsgate is obvious, as is the size of the parent populations of the donor areas. Thus the small parish of Ash supplied many more male household heads than the much more numerous but more distant Tonbridge Registration District. Likewise counties with large populations, such as Yorkshire, supplied larger numbers of household heads than say Cambridgeshire with its relatively small population. Countless similar observations underlie much elementary migration theory¹, even if they tend to be disguised in complex mathematical form in contemporary literature as distance-decay functions². It would in fact be fashionable at this stage of the analysis to compute such a model for Ramsgate, and then to comment upon anomalies. There are, however, a number of reasons why this has not been done. The construction of a mathematical model would require the quantification of three variables: the distance of place x from Ramsgate; the number of migrants from place x to Ramsgate; and the relative populations of Ramsgate and place x at the time of the migratory move. It will be quickly seen that none of these variables can be accurately^{e/} quantified. The measurement of distance is a questionable operation since places by the sea were more accessible to Ramsgate than places away from it; the number of migrants cannot be known since only living migrants are recorded in the census; and finally, since the time of the migratory move can rarely be established with confidence, the third variable is also elusive. Add to this fact that the small number of (surviving) migrants from certain places means that the calculations would be a prey to random factors, and the theoretical criticism that distance-decay functions do more to further the cause of det-

1. Ward (1971), 52

2. Taylor (1975) is a workshop manual of such functions

erminism than of explanation¹, and we are left with an exercise the validity of which would be at best dubious and at worst an illustration of Dury's GIGO principle². Large anomalies can in fact be determined by simple inspection, and it is such an anomaly that forms the substance of the following comment.

3. It is obvious that the county of Devon loomed very large, and anomalously, as a supplier of migrants to Ramsgate, numbers easily exceeding those from any other English county (apart from London), including neighbouring Sussex and populous Ireland. Furthermore, on the classification system used, it can be seen that very few places within Kent itself exceeded Devon as a source of migrants. The only ones to do so were the neighbouring parish of St. Lawrence, and the East Kent towns of Margate, Sandwich, and Canterbury (in 1871 only). The explanation for this surprising finding lies in the occupations of these Devon born heads: the enumerators' books show that nearly all were fishermen and that nearly all were born in Brixham. In other words we have here added evidence for the migration of trawler fleets from Devon to the North Sea in the early nineteenth-century³.

4. There was very little change in the numbers coming from different areas over the period. This finding is all the more remarkable in the light of the high turnover rates that ~~we~~^{will} be examined later in the chapter. Yet it also underlines some of the pioneering Swedish work on migration. Hägerstrand and others found a striking lack of variation in both distances and directions involved in migration fields over a hundred year period in Sweden⁴, together with an element of contin-

1. Patten (1973 A), 7

2. GIGO: Garbage In, Garbage Out; Dury (1972)

3. See above pp 66-7

4. Hannerberg (1941); Hägerstrand (1947); Bergsten (1951); Hanssen (1952)

uity in those changes which did occur¹. Amongst the few noticeable changes in the origins of the Ramsgate population over the period were increased numbers from London, Norfolk and Essex (although not Suffolk, which was already quite well represented) and Ireland. Within Kent, Canterbury, Eastry and Faversham Districts supplied more household heads in 1871, and it is probable that this increased representation from adjacent, largely rural, areas reflects the increased rural-urban migration of the later 1860s². The only places to supply Ramsgate with significantly fewer household heads in 1871 were St. Peter's, which adjoined the rapidly growing and hence alternatively attractive Broadstairs; and Sandwich, with its dwindling population.

5. Persons from London were represented amongst household heads at about the level that one would expect, given the size of the metropolis and its distance from Ramsgate. It would of course be intriguing to know if a similar number of Ramsgate household heads lived in London, and hence the extent to which Ravenstein's fourth law of migration, (that every migratory current has a counter current)³, was in operation. Such a study is, however, beyond the scope of the present thesis.

Unfortunately little can be gleaned from the table about the likely social status of the London born household heads. Although London is divided in the table into its constituent parts, there was a considerable amount of local variation within each. Thus whilst the Middlesex East District for example contained many areas of extreme poverty, it also contained some respectable ones too. An added complica-

1. Hägerstrand (1967 translation), 167

2. Cairncross (1949), 75

3. Ravenstein (1876), 230; (1885), 199; (1889), 287. Grigg (1977), 48
193.

ation is that some London born household heads simply recorded 'London' as their place of birth, without distinguishing which part of it. The social status of the London born can therefore only be assessed by reference to other information in the enumerators' books, and this is discussed following Tables V.8 and V.11.

Valuable as the detail is which is shown in Table V.1, there is much to be gained by regrouping the data according to larger geographical areas. This has been done in Table V.2, which also gives similar data on the birthplaces of female heads and wives¹. Again several important points emerge.

Firstly, the table shows that the percentage of Ramsgate born male household heads in the town was 33.8% in 1851 and 33.7% in 1871, arguing for a very high degree of stability indeed. The significance of this level of locally born household heads is difficult to evaluate owing to the lack of strictly comparable figures for other towns. Most available figures relate to the percentage of the populations as a whole who were locally born². Armstrong has shown, however, that in 1851 31.6% of all adults in York were locally born³. The Ramsgate figure was certainly below this, for if female heads and wives are taken

1. The groupings used in Table V.2 were: 1. Ramsgate; 2. Urban East Kent: Broadstairs, Margate, Birchington, Sandwich, Deal, Herne Bay, Canterbury, Dover, Whitstable, Folkestone, Hythe, Ashford, Maidstone; 3. Rural East Kent: St. Lawrence, St. Peter's, Manston & Stonar, Minsster, Acol, Monkton, St. Nicholas at Wade, Sarre, Chislet, Stourmouth, Ash; Eastry, Bridge, Blean, Dover, Elham, East Ashford, Faversham, Sheppey and Romney Marsh Districts; 4. West Kent: residual Kent Districts; 5. London: Kent, Surrey and Middlesex Metropolitan Districts, plus 'London' unspecified; 6. Eastern Counties: Essex, Suffolk & Norfolk; 7. South Central Counties: Sussex and Hampshire; 8. South-Western Counties: Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset; 9. Northern Counties: Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumbria; 10. Midland Counties: residual English counties.

2. Armstrong (1974), 89-90; Grigg (1977), 44

3. Armstrong (1974), 91

TABLE V.2 Birthplaces of male household heads and of female heads or wives

MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>1851</u>		<u>1871</u>	
	N	%	N	%
Ramsgate	611	33.8	732	33.7
East Kent urban	338	18.7	339	15.6
East Kent rural	327	18.1	338	15.6
West Kent	56	3.1	60	2.8
London	120	6.6	217	10.0
Eastern Counties	40	2.2	64	3.0
South Central Counties	31	1.7	45	2.1
South West Counties	90	5.0	91	4.2
Northern Counties	28	1.5	33	1.5
Midland Counties	93	5.1	130	6.0
Scotland	9	0.5	18	0.8
Wales	5	0.3	4	0.2
Ireland	26	1.4	37	1.7
Total		98.2		97.2

FEMALE HEADS OR WIVES

Ramsgate	513	23.1	700	25.4
East Kent urban	470	21.2	502	18.2
East Kent rural	507	22.8	519	18.9
West Kent	75	3.4	89	3.2
London	211	9.5	299	10.9
Eastern Counties	58	2.6	97	3.5
South Central Counties	52	2.3	62	2.3
South West Counties	101	4.6	135	4.9
Northern Counties	26	1.2	41	1.5
Midland Counties	146	6.6	204	7.4
Scotland	11	0.5	16	0.6
Wales	6	0.3	16	0.6
Ireland	21	0.9	36	1.3
Total		99.1		98.7

For definition of classification used in this table see text

into account (Table V.2), and, as will be shown, servants, lodgers and visitors (Table V.7), the resultant proportion of locally born adults would have been nearer a quarter. The reason for the difference between York and Ramsgate in this respect is a matter of surmise. Intrinsic factors may have been that York held out more employment opportunities at the time and hence managed to retain its sons and daughters more effectively; or, more nebulously, as a seaport, Ramsgate may have been more inclined to accept out-migration as a behavioural norm. Alternatively, an extrinsic explanation may have been that the numbers of retired people and of those living on unearned incomes attracted to Ramsgate served to depress the proportion of the population that was locally born. Whatever the cause, however, the result that obtained was that a minority of the adult Ramsgate community actually originated from the town¹.

Secondly it can be seen that male household heads were much more likely to have been born in Ramsgate than were female heads and wives. As a rider, all other parts of England were proportionally more highly represented by female heads and wives than they were by male heads. A minor exception^{cf} to this was that in 1851 (only) there were more males than females from the more distant parts of the country, that is from South-Western and Northern Counties. These observations illustrate Ravenstein's sixth law, that female were more migratory than males², but that men tended to travel longer distances³. The reasons normally given for this widely noted trend were the lack of employment opportunities for women in rural areas, the urban demand for domestic

1. c.f. Dyos (1966), 58 on Camberwell

2. Ravenstein (1876), 229; (1885), 199; (1889), 287

3. Grigg (1977), 49

servants and the fact that it was normally women who moved at marriage¹. In this context it is significant that the table shows that women born in East Kent were more likely to have been born in rural rather than urban areas.

Thirdly, the table provides ample evidence of Ravenstein's first law, that the majority of migrants travelled only a short distance². Ravenstein defined short distance migrants as those who moved from the county of their birth to an adjacent county³; the category included, by implication, those who had moved only within the county of their birth, Ravenstein's local migrants⁴. Since Ramsgate was located at one extremity of a fairly large county, however, it would probably be safer to regard short distance migrants as having originated within the county of Kent alone. Even if this more stringent definition is adopted, it can still be seen that the majority of migrants were short distance. In 1851 60% and in 1871 51% of the male migrants to Ramsgate who had become household heads were Kent born, as were 62% in 1851 and 54% in 1871 of female migrants who had either become heads of households or who had married in Ramsgate. In comparison, in 1851 some four fifths of migrants to Bradford were Yorkshire born⁵; and in 1861 half the migrants to Nottingham came from other places in the county⁶. Since these latter statistics relate to all migrants, however, and not merely to household heads it would seem unwise to hazard reasons for the apparent differences between the proportions in the three places, although Ravenstein himself asserted that 'health resorts and towns affected by annuitants and by grass widows, whose

1. Grigg (1977), 49

2. Ravenstein (1876), 202; (1885), 199; (1889), 199. For details of similar findings for other parts of the country see Grigg (1977), 44

3. Grigg (1977), 43. 4. Loc.cit. 5. Harrison (1971), 147

6. Church (1966), 234

husbands are on service abroad', would be expected to have a relatively low percentage of locally born¹.

Fourthly, it can be clearly seen that the migrational contacts of Ramsgate widened over the period. Mention has been made above that the proportion of Kent born migrants declined over the period. Amongst male household heads the percentage of London born increased from 6.6% to 10.0% of the total, those from Eastern Counties from 2.2% to 3.0%, from South Central Counties from 1.7% to 2.1%, from Midland Counties from 5.1% to 6.0%, from Scotland from 0.5% to 0.8% and from Ireland from 1.4% to 1.7%. The only areas outside Kent to supply relatively fewer migrants in 1871 were Wales (a change that could be explained simply in random terms in view of the small numbers) and the South West. The South West was still over-represented in absolute terms, however; all that the figures mean therefore is that the migrational tide from that quarter was becoming stemmed, a fact substantiated by evidence supplied to the Royal Commission on Sea Fishing in the 1860s². Amongst female heads and wives, all parts of the British Isles were more highly represented in Ramsgate in 1871 than they had been twenty years earlier, except the home county of Kent. These findings in turn serve to substantiate Ravenstein's ninth law, that migration increases as industries develop and the means of transport improves³, i.e. over time. They must also be set in opposition to a recent suggestion, however, that there was next to no increase in the distance travelled by migrants during the nineteenth-century⁴.

Finally, the proportion of rural to urban migrants in Ramsgate's

1. Ravenstein (1876), 206

2. H.C. (1866) xviii, Q. 10264-10268; Q. 10409-10411

3. Ravenstein (1889), 287

4. Grigg (1977), 45

chief migration pool in East Kent is of interest. As can be seen, male heads came chiefly from urban centres, whilst the majority of female heads and wives came from rural parts, although this differential was admittedly slight. The lack of employment opportunities for women in rural areas would again seem to be responsible for this.

Table V.3 has been designed to simplify the birthplace data still further, and this classification will be used in the majority of succeeding tables. In Table V.3 Ramsgate and the parish of St. Lawrence have been grouped together. Although St. Lawrence contained rural areas, the economy of the parish was undoubtedly tightly linked to that of Ramsgate; indeed Ramsgate absorbed its neighbour administratively later in the century. The Isle of Thanet has also been distinguished from the rest of East Kent, in order that the immediate hinterland might be examined separately.

The basic point outlined above about the widening of migratory contacts over the mid-Victorian period is obvious from the table. Amongst male heads there were relative losses from all parts of the county of Kent, including an absolute loss from Thanet, whilst there were both absolute and relative gains from London and the rest of the British Isles. The same pattern was broadly true of female heads and wives, although interestingly the absolute loss in their case was from East Kent, and not from the Isle of Thanet. Why there should have been fewer male heads from the immediate zone around Ramsgate, yet fewer female heads and wives from the next ring, is an intriguing question. The differential pull of other centres in East Kent, and indeed in other parts of the country, is likely to have been an important factor, however, and it may well be that this aspect of Ramsgate's migration

TABLE V.3 Birthplaces of male household heads and of female heads and wives

MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>1851</u>		<u>1871</u>	
	N	%	N	%
Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	704	39.0	830	38.3
Thanet	192	10.6	185	8.5
East Kent	386	21.4	402	18.5
West Kent	60	3.3	68	3.1
London	120	6.6	217	10.0
Elsewhere	345	19.1	467	21.5

FEMALE HEADS OR WIVES

Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	619	27.9	818	29.7
Thanet	233	10.5	289	10.4
East Kent	633	28.5	605	22.0
West Kent	80	3.6	98	3.6
London	211	9.5	299	10.9
Elsewhere	441	19.9	644	23.4

For definition of classification used in this and subsequent tables, see Appendix B

field must remain unexplained until similar analyses on other places in the area have been conducted.

We should not be surprised if the birthplaces of children reflected these broad trends shown amongst their parents, and Table V.4 shows that this was so. By 1871, relatively fewer households had at least one child born in Thanet or East Kent, whilst relatively more had one or more children born in the more distant parts of the county or in places outside Kent altogether. At the same time, a marginally higher percentage of households had at least one child born in Ramsgate, a fact that argues for a greater degree of stability towards the end of the period.

The birthplace of the youngest child in a family born outside a town is the best indicator that is available from the enumerators' books of its last migratory move. These birthplaces are compared in Table V.5 with the birthplaces of migrant household heads and wives. The results are very interesting. In 1851 it can be seen that the youngest child was less likely than was the male head to have been born in Thanet and less likely than either the household head or the wife to have been born anywhere else, ^{esp} except London. Youngest children were in fact almost three times as likely to have been born in London as were male heads. In other words, a much higher percentage of households than one would expect, judging from the birthplaces of their heads, had passed through London. Thus if a direct move was not made to Ramsgate, the most common indirect move was via London; the table shows that over a quarter of the couples who had already started to build a family before they moved to ⁵Ramsgate had come to the town in this way. By 1871 this situation was almost identical.

TABLE V.4

Birthplaces of children

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Percentage of households with at least one child born in the stated birthplace</u>	
	1851	1871
Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	82.7	88.5
Thanet	5.9	4.5
East Kent	9.1	8.9
West Kent	1.9	2.4
London	9.1	10.2
Elsewhere	9.0	12.8

TABLE V.5

Birthplace of the youngest child in a family born outside Ramsgate, compared with the birthplaces of male and female heads/wives born outside Ramsgate.

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>1851</u> <u>Male</u> <u>heads</u>	<u>1851</u> <u>Female</u> <u>heads</u>	<u>1851 (%)</u> <u>Youngest</u> <u>children</u>	<u>1871</u> <u>Male</u> <u>heads</u>	<u>1871</u> <u>Female</u> <u>heads</u>	<u>1871</u> <u>Youngest</u> <u>children</u>
Thanet	17.4	14.6	16.5	13.8	14.9	10.2
East Kent	35.0	39.6	27.6	30.0	31.3	23.3
West Kent	5.4	5.0	3.5	5.1	5.1	5.3
London	10.9	13.2	27.0	16.2	15.5	27.2
Elsewhere	31.3	27.6	25.4	34.9	33.3	34.0

However, by 1871 there was much less difference between the percentage of youngest children and the percentage of household heads and wives born in West Kent and other counties. This therefore argues for a much more direct migrational pattern to Ramsgate by 1871. Was it perhaps that the mid-Victorian period saw a decrease in the amount of step-wise migration ?¹

Table V.6 compares the birthplaces of servants with those of household heads and wives. It will be seen that, in general, there was a closer resemblance between servants' birthplaces and those of female heads and wives than there was between the former and birthplaces of male household heads. This is not particularly surprising since most servants were female and clearly quite a large number of women in the town would have spent time in service before they married. There are several points of interest in the table, however. Proportionally far fewer servants were Ramsgate born than were household heads or wives, reflecting the strength of demand for domestics in the town. In 1851 by far the most important source of these exogenous servants were the rural parts of East Kent, in a ratio of approximately 3:2 compared with local towns. By 1871, however, the ratio of urban to rural sources of Ramsgate servants in East Kent had almost equalised. This is at first sight surprising, since according to Cairncross rural to urban migration in the south of England was accelerating during the late 1860s², and there is no reason to suppose that domestic servants were a special case. Again it is important not to forget however that Ramsgate and its migration field did not operate as a closed system.

1. Ravenstein (1876), 202; (1885), 199. There are some doubts about the validity of the concept of step-wise migration, however: Grigg (1977), 47

2. Cairncross (1949), 75

TABLE V.6

Birthplaces of servants, compared with the birthplaces of male and female heads/wives

<u>Birthplace</u>	1851		(%)	1871		
	<u>Male heads</u>	<u>Female heads</u>	<u>Servants</u>	<u>Male heads</u>	<u>Female heads</u>	<u>Servants</u>
Ramsgate	33.8	23.1	14.8	33.7	25.4	18.3
East Kent urban	18.7	21.2	21.6	15.6	18.2	19.6
East Kent rural	18.1	22.8	31.0	15.6	18.9	19.5
West Kent	3.1	3.4	5.5	2.8	3.2	4.8
London	6.6	9.5	8.0	10.0	10.9	13.1
Eastern Cos.	2.1	2.6	3.3	3.0	3.5	4.3
South Central Cos.	1.7	2.3	2.0	2.1	2.3	3.7
South West Cos.	5.0	4.6	3.7	4.2	4.9	3.1
Northern Cos.	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.1
Midland Cos.	5.1	6.6	6.9	6.0	7.4	10.2
Scotland	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.6
Wales	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.9
Ireland	1.4	0.9	1.4	1.7	1.3	0.8

Note: birthplace classification follows Table V.2

TABLE V.7

Birthplaces of servants, lodgers and visitors

<u>Birthplace</u>	1851		(%)	1871		
	<u>Servants</u>	<u>Lodgers</u>	<u>Visitors</u>	<u>Servants</u>	<u>Lodgers</u>	<u>Visitors</u>
Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	19.6	27.8	15.4	22.9	23.1	11.4
Thanet	14.4	11.4	6.1	11.2	5.8	5.7
East Kent	32.9	13.9	19.8	23.7	14.2	11.0
West Kent	5.9	3.2	3.9	5.5	3.5	2.9
London	7.8	9.5	22.1	12.1	20.7	32.7
Elsewhere	20.4	34.2	32.7	24.6	32.6	36.3

Other towns may have been able to compete more successfully than Ramsgate for this supply of rustics.

The two other main sources of servants, at both dates, were London and the Midlands. Numbers of servants from both areas showed a relative increase over the period, but then so did the numbers of household heads and wives from these areas. Obviously some families migrating to Ramsgate brought their servants with them. Even when this factor is allowed for, however, there were relatively more servants from London and the Midlands than one would have expected in 1871. Several reasons can be suggested for this. Both areas had rapidly increasing populations during the mid-Victorian period so that their potential supply would have increased. Secondly, servants may, like other sections of the population, have become more mobile over the period¹. Finally, as will be shown below, there was a broad correlation between the social status of a household and the distance of the birthplaces of its servants from Ramsgate. If this hypothesis is accepted, the table can in fact be used to argue (yet again) for a higher social tone in the town in 1871 than there was in 1851.

One final point of interest to emerge from Table V.6 is that servants from the South West were relatively less numerous than were household heads and wives. We have already seen that most male heads from the South West were Devon born fishermen, who would a priori have seldom been attended by a servant, and who would not therefore have been expected to bring servants with them to Ramsgate. Nevertheless, the proportion of servants from the South West was unexpectedly high and it seems likely that the behavioural norm of migration

1. Ravenstein (1889), 287, and see above p 198

from Devon on the part of fishermen also spread to other occupational groups, even if on a reduced scale.

It is also useful to compare the birthplaces of servants with those of lodgers and visitors (Table V.7). It can be seen that there were important differences between these groups. In general, and as one might expect, visitors tended to have been born in more distant parts of the country than the other two groups. Lodgers had a distinct bi-medal distribution, i.e. they were either locally born, in which case they would have left home, but would not yet have become heads of their own household; or else they came from a much greater distance, presumably as birds of passage. Servants in contrast tended to come from more local areas, (in 1851 two-thirds had been born no further from Ramsgate than a line drawn north-south through Ashford, a proportion that was reduced to 58% by 1871), although there was a strong representation from areas outside the county as well.

Over the period there were slight, but important, differences in the birthplaces of servants, lodgers and visitors. Thus in 1851 servants came principally from East Kent, other counties and Ramsgate itself in that order; by 1871 the principal single source of servants had become areas outside Kent or London. Lodgers in 1851 came principally from a long distance, from Ramsgate or East Kent, the latter to be supplanted by London in 1871. Visitors on the other hand at both dates came primarily from either London or more distant parts of the country. London in fact loomed larger as a source for all these groups in 1871, as did, in general, other parts of the country. The proportion born in London and counties other than Kent rose from 28.2% to 36.7% in the case of servants, from 43.7% to 53.3% in the case of

lodgers, and from 54.8% to 69.0% in the case of visitors between 1851 and 1871. These figures alone should be sufficient to cancel doubts as to whether there was an increase in mobility during the nineteenth-century¹.

In the previous chapter it was emphasized that many characteristics of Ramsgate's population varied with both Class and rateable values. The birthplaces of male household heads showed a similar relationship (Table V.8 and V.9).

Table V.8 shows the relationship between Class and birthplace of male household head in 1851 and 1871. An obvious point to be noticed from the table was that there was very little change in the nature of this relationship over the period, numbers in various parts of the table being very similar. The nature of the relationship itself needs examination however.

In general terms it can be seen that the locally born male household heads tended to form the lower eschelons of society. Closer examination of the table shows that they were most strongly associated with Class III however. In other words, the locally born tended to be poor, but not to be the poorest. This is an important finding in view of the current debate on the position of the locally born in London². In York the situation appears to have been similar to that in Ramsgate³. Further research is needed to show whether the status of the locally born was related significantly to the size of town, in general. In Ramsgate it was in fact the Thanet born, that is the migrants from the immediately adjoining area, part rural part urban,

1. see Grigg (1977), 45

2. Jones (1971), ch 6 has examined this question; but see also Dyos (1967), 29-30

3. Armstrong (1974), 91-2

TABLE V.8

Class and birthplace: male household heads

1851

Birthplace	R.G. Class of male head						
	I	(I & II)	II	III	IV	(IV & V)	V
Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	41	(75)	85	118	96	(104)	113
Thanet	71	(58)	54	106	110	(156)	206
East Kent	39	(105)	125	94	95	(106)	118
West Kent	63	(98)	109	108	92	(87)	82
London	303	(157)	112	86	61	(40)	17
Devon	146	(88)	70	67	351	(190)	17
Elsewhere	265	(166)	135	71	78	(56)	32

1871

Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	22	(66)	78	116	124	(117)	110
Thanet	22	(53)	62	103	103	(159)	217
East Kent	45	(97)	111	92	110	(118)	126
West Kent	181	(124)	106	97	97	(70)	38
London	274	(169)	139	74	58	(49)	41
Devon	207	(113)	131	86	211	(109)	0
Elsewhere	226	(152)	82	88	42	(48)	55

100=Expected

who were most likely to end up on the lowest rung of the social ladder. Migrants from East Kent in contrast were most likely to be found in either Class II (principally as shop-keepers) or else in Class V. This in turn points to two distinct migrational streams from East Kent - those with capital and those with no skills whatever. It is significant that skilled persons from East Kent were less attracted to Ramsgate than were other groups, but this is not altogether surprising in view of the town's lack of industry. Persons from West Kent showed the greatest variation in Class over the period, but their relatively small numbers are sufficient to explain this; by 1871, however, there was a clear tendency for West Kent migrants to be from Classes I and II. The birthplaces of those born outside Kent showed a very similar pattern: the higher the Class, the higher the proportion from these areas. The one exception to this rule were migrants from Devon (treated separately in the table) who, as fishermen, were in strong association with Class IV. By 1871 however there were several Devon heads from Class I, pointing to the arrival of a different type of migrant from that county. The general implication from the table is clear, nevertheless, that the more distant the birthplace, the greater were the chances of a household head belonging to a higher Class. This in turn corroborates findings on migration to Birmingham, York and the Peak District¹.

Similar relationships obtained between rateable value and the birthplace of male household heads (Table V.9), relationships which were moreover also constant over time. Ramsgate, St. Lawrence and Thanet

1. Lawton (1972), 205; Armstrong (1974), 92; Hall (1974), 73

TABLE V.9

Rates and birthplaces: male household heads

1851

Birthplace	Rate quintile				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	120	101	112	89	73
Thanet	120	131	94	73	77
East Kent	105	95	93	107	98
West Kent	67	124	121	94	100
London	74	45	70	135	194
Devon	97	148	112	112	27
Elsewhere	51	91	89	121	159

1871

Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	120	115	107	91	62
Thanet	131	125	81	85	71
East Kent	102	111	96	109	73
West Kent	109	84	81	97	134
London	70	55	96	108	189
Devon	96	104	132	57	111
Elsewhere	59	74	99	118	159

100=Expected

born heads were most likely to occupy low rated property; East Kent heads again displayed a bi-modal distribution; by 1871 West Kent migrants were living mostly in high rated property; and at both dates London and other counties produced the household heads who occupied the most highly rated property. Devon born heads again formed an exception to this rule, however; commanding smaller incomes by virtue of their occupation they tended to live in relatively low rated property, although not as low as that occupied by the locally born. It should not of course be forgotten however that male household heads from different birthplaces might be found in any Class¹, or occupying any type of property. The above comments on Tables V.8 and V.9 must be taken to describe the broad trends only.

Tables V.10 and V.11 are an attempt to see if there was any relationship between the Class of a male household head, (or the type of property in which he lived), and his wife's birthplace. What one might expect, given the evidence from Tables V.8 and V.9 was that persons high up on the social ladder would have married women born at relatively distant removes from the town. The tables show that this was so to a marked degree. Locally born girls were most likely to have married skilled persons (in 1851); those from Thanet and East Kent those in Classes IV and V; and those from the more distant parts of the county, from London, or from other counties, those in Classes I and II. The only exception to this was again Devon: wives born in Devon tended to have husbands in Class IV, i.e. Devon born fishermen. These relationships in general obtained equally strongly in 1851 and 1871, the one exception being that by 1871 locally born girls were

1. In 1871 there were no Devon born male heads in Class V, but this is the only exception.

TABLE V.10 Class and birthplace: birthplaces of wives of male heads in different classes

1851

<u>Wife's birthplace</u>	<u>R.G. Class of male head</u>						
	I	(I & II)	II	III	IV	(IV & V)	V
Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	18	(78)	95	114	106	(104)	101
Thanet	24	(59)	68	113	114	(134)	158
East Kent	32	(76)	89	109	105	(115)	127
West Kent	128	(149)	155	83	76	(66)	53
London	346	(206)	165	55	26	(42)	60
Devon	151	(79)	58	74	316	(185)	35
Elsewhere	294	(158)	119	80	67	(58)	47

1871

Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	25	(60)	69	112	135	(130)	122
Thanet	34	(67)	75	108	106	(127)	152
East Kent	42	(90)	103	104	93	(106)	122
West Kent	88	(110)	118	103	79	(85)	91
London	342	(180)	139	78	40	(38)	38
Devon	100	(95)	93	60	307	(176)	0
Elsewhere	209	(153)	138	89	51	(54)	58

100=Expected

TABLE V.11

Rates and birthplace: birthplaces of wives of male heads occupying housing in different rate quintiles

1851

<u>Wife's birthplace</u>	<u>Rate quintile</u>				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	124	107	115	83	66
Thanet	126	114	99	97	56
East Kent	118	108	99	104	67
West Kent	61	100	114	94	136
London	52	47	57	129	232
Devon	103	147	94	100	50
Elsewhere	47	86	101	109	168

1871

Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	125	129	100	77	60
Thanet	124	107	124	84	59
East Kent	108	118	110	93	65
West Kent	94	56	122	119	119
London	57	40	78	156	186
Devon	125	134	106	50	75
Elsewhere	62	70	84	123	170

100=Expected

more likely to have married those in a lower Class than they had been prone to do twenty years earlier, implying a correspondingly declining status for this group.

Table V.11 shows that Ramsgate, St. Lawrence and East Kent born wives were most likely to be found in the lower rated properties, whilst those from West Kent, London and other counties were most likely to be found in higher rated ones, London having the commanding position. Devon of course proved an exception again.

Table V.10 and V.11 therefore serve to amplify the conclusions from Table V.8 and V.9. Did the birthplaces of children tell a similar story? Table V.12 and V.13 show that in general they did. The lower the Class of the male household head, the more likely it was that at least some of his children would have been born in Ramsgate or St. Lawrence, and an even greater chance that some of them would have been born in Thanet. Households with children born in East Kent tended to be headed by those who were more highly skilled. If a household had children born in West Kent, London or other counties, however, this was a very good indicator of a relatively high Class for its head. With regards to housing quality this relationship was not quite so clear (Table V.13). Nevertheless it can be seen that households with children born locally or in Thanet tended to occupy the lowest rated property, and that the converse was true for those households with children born in London or in other counties. The general relationship between Class and housing on the one hand, and the distance migrated on the other, is therefore clearly underlined yet again.

TABLE V.12

Class and birthplace: birthplaces of children
of male household heads in different classes

1851

<u>Birthplace of children</u>	<u>R.G. Class of male head</u>						
	I	(I & II)	II	III	IV	(IV & V)	V
<u>Ramsgate and St. Lawrence</u>							
None	167	(124)	110	95	74	(74)	74
Some	54	(84)	93	104	118	(118)	117
<u>Thanet</u>							
None	103	(102)	102	99	100	(98)	96
Some	34	(51)	56	115	102	(147)	198
<u>East Kent</u>							
None	102	(101)	100	99	103	(100)	97
Some	65	(87)	94	111	60	(100)	144
<u>West Kent</u>							
None	97	(99)	100	100	101	(101)	101
Some	373	(146)	72	100	0	(23)	45
<u>London</u>							
None	92	(97)	99	101	103	(104)	104
Some	242	(154)	126	87	53	(43)	30
<u>Elsewhere</u>							
None	86	(98)	101	102	96	(100)	104
Some	337	(140)	78	69	167	(107)	41

1871

<u>Ramsgate and St. Lawrence</u>							
None	252	(119)	108	92	89	(89)	89
Some	54	(85)	94	106	108	(109)	109
<u>Thanet</u>							
None	101	(101)	101	101	100	(98)	95
Some	66	(67)	66	83	114	(175)	252
<u>East Kent</u>							
None	103	(100)	99	99	104	(101)	98
Some	51	(101)	114	110	46	(86)	135

(cont.)

TABLE V.12 (cont.)

1871

<u>Birthplace of children</u>	<u>R.G. Class of male head</u>						V
	I	(I & II)	II	III	IV	(IV & V)	
<u>West Kent</u>							
None	98	(100)	101	100	101	(101)	100
Some	238	(121)	69	113	63	(68)	75
<u>London</u>							
None	91	(96)	98	101	103	(102)	102
Some	244	(160)	139	79	51	(60)	72
<u>Elsewhere</u>							
None	80	(96)	100	102	100	(102)	105
Some	350	(153)	97	76	105	(73)	32

100=Expected

TABLE V.13

Rates and birthplace: birthplaces of children of male household heads occupying housing in different rate quintiles

1851

<u>Birthplace of children</u>	Lowest	<u>Rate quintile</u>			Highest
		2	3	4	
<u>Ramsgate and St. Lawrence</u>					
None	86	86	92	110	124
Some	115	114	108	89	75
<u>Thanet</u>					
None	98	100	100	101	101
Some	154	109	97	69	63
<u>East Kent</u>					
None	Relationship not statistically significant:				
Some	Chi squared significance 0.1361				
<u>West Kent</u>					
None	Relationship not statistically significant:				
Some	Chi squared significance 0.4244				
<u>London</u>					
None	103	101	100	100	95
Some	49	79	98	96	181
<u>Elsewhere</u>					
None	103	99	100	100	98
Some	40	126	102	96	142

TABLE V.13 (cont.)

1871

<u>Birthplace of children</u>	<u>Rate quintile</u>				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
<u>Ramsgate and St. Lawrence</u>					
None	90	80	86	123	122
Some	112	124	117	73	73
<u>Thanet</u>					
None	99	99	100	101	102
Some	141	133	89	82	44
<u>East Kent</u>					
None	Relationship not statistically significant: Chi squared significance 0.2258				
Some					
<u>West Kent</u>					
None	Relationship not statistically significant: Chi squared significance 0.4969				
Some					
<u>London</u>					
None	104	102	100	99	95
Some	34	64	100	121	188
<u>Elsewhere</u>					
None	104	102	100	98	96
Some	51	77	104	119	145

100=Expected

But such relationships were not confined to the household head and his kin. If the birthplaces of servants found in properties of different rateable values are compared, they too show that in general the higher the status of the household the more distant were the birthplaces of the servants that it employed.

In both 1851 and 1871 House Maids were to be found in all types of household, and in large enough numbers for it to be possible to classify them according to the rateable value of the properties in which they served¹. From this data it is then possible to map the mean migration fields² of House Maids by rateable value (Figure V.1). The map clearly shows that House Maids serving in more highly rated properties came from a much wider area than those serving in lower status housing. Moreover the migration fields expanded over time³. Thus the mean fields of House Maids serving in houses rated at £50 or more in 1851 were the same as that for House Maids serving in houses rated at less than £28 in 1871, and this in spite of intervening upward rating reassessments (Table III.1). By 1871, Trade Assistants also formed a large enough group⁴ for a similar operation to be carried out on their birthplaces (Figure V.2). Again it can be seen that the mean migration field was considerably greater if the Trade Assistant was employed in a more highly rated property⁵.

Other types of servant occurred in smaller numbers, and it was not therefore statistically valid to classify their migration fields in

-
1. i.e. without creating cell frequencies that were too small to be statistically significant.
 2. The area from which the closest fifty percent came: Haggett (1965), 41
 3. c.f. above p 207
 4. Table IV.31
 5. General servants also formed a large group (Table IV.31) but unlike House Maids and Trade Assistants they tended to be found disproportionately in lower rated properties (see above pp 163-4), preventing a similar analysis.

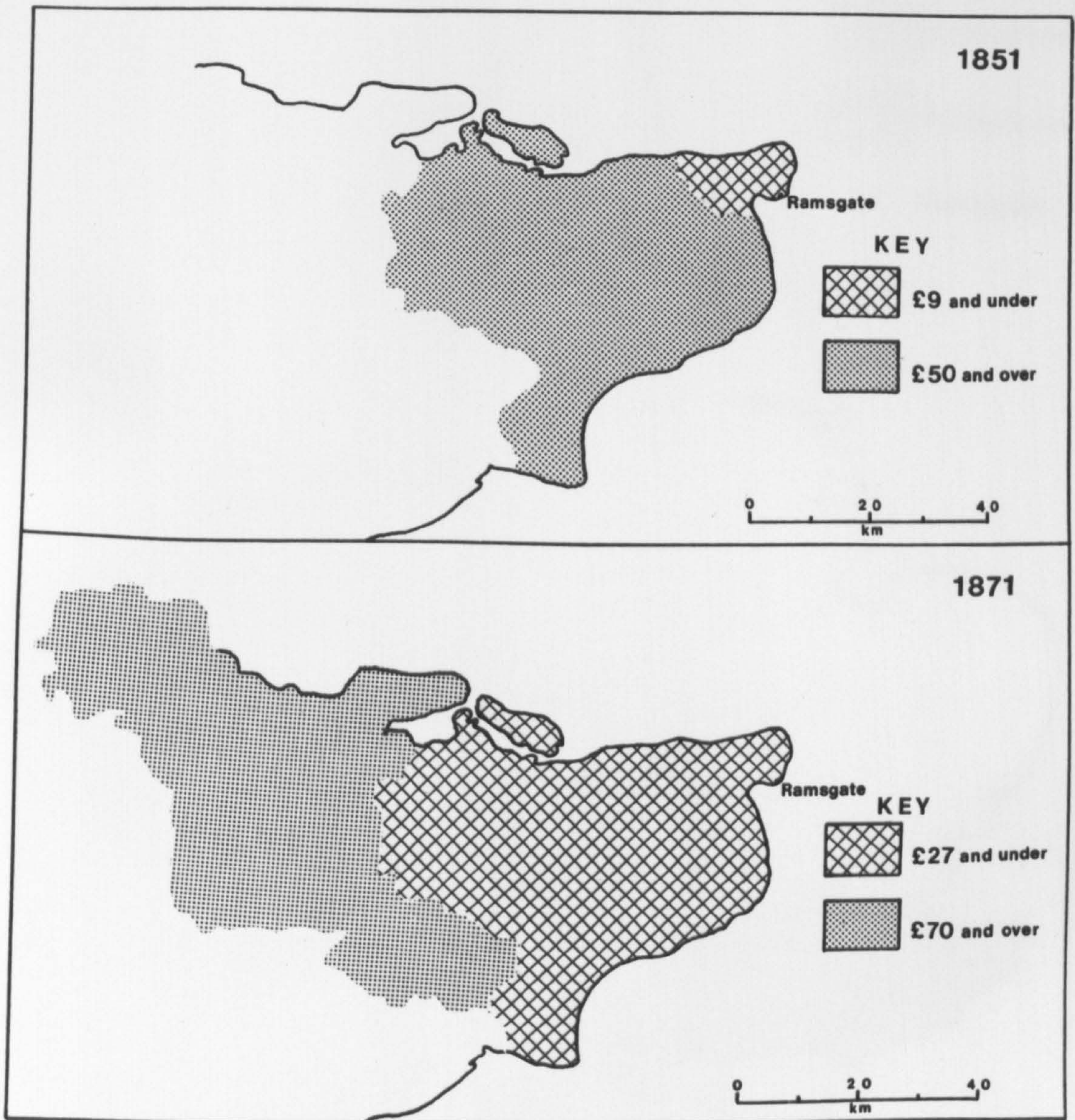


Figure V.1 Mean migration field of HOUSE MAIDS, serving in properties with different rateable values.

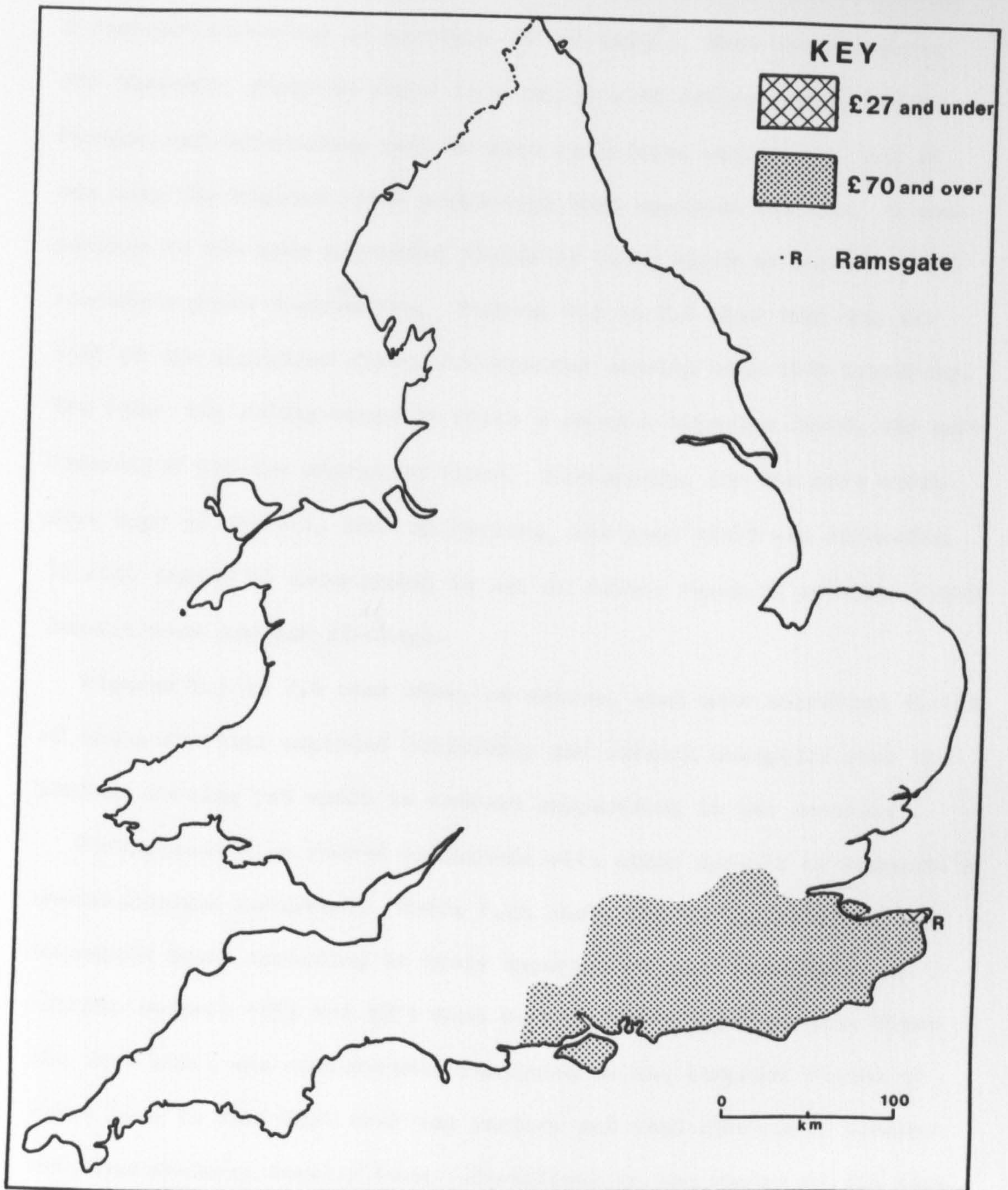


Figure V.2 Mean migration field of TRADE ASSISTANTS in 1871, serving in properties with different rateable values.

exactly the same way. It will be recalled, however, that there was a distinct hierarchy of servants in the town¹. Thus Housekeepers, for instance, could be found in a fairly wide rating range, whilst Footmen and Governesses were of more restricted occurrence. And it was only the highest rated properties that employed Butlers. A comparison of the mean migration fields of these types of servant might therefore prove ^{UC}inst^{UC}re^{UC}tive. Figures V.3 to V.6 show that the extent of the migration field corresponded exactly with this hierarchy. The wider the rating range in which a servant type was found, the more restricted was the migration field. Conversely, for the more exclusive type of servant, such as Butlers, the mean field was extensive. It will indeed be interesting to see if future research on other towns demonstrates similar findings.

Figures V.3 to V.6 also show, of course, that mean migration fields of these servants expanded noticeably and without exception over the period, serving yet again to redress suggestions to the contrary².

Birthplaces also showed variations with other aspects of Ramsgate's socio-economic structure. Table V.14 shows the birthplaces of male household heads according to their tenurial status. Two apparent changes between 1851 and 1871 must be dealt with first of all: these are that there was considerable variation in the tenurial status of those born in West Kent over the period; and that short-stay tenants were increasingly locally born. Variations in the status of the West Kent born can be safely ascribed to purely random factors, since their overall numbers in the population were small. As far as short-stay

1. See above p 163

2. c.f. Grigg (1977), 45

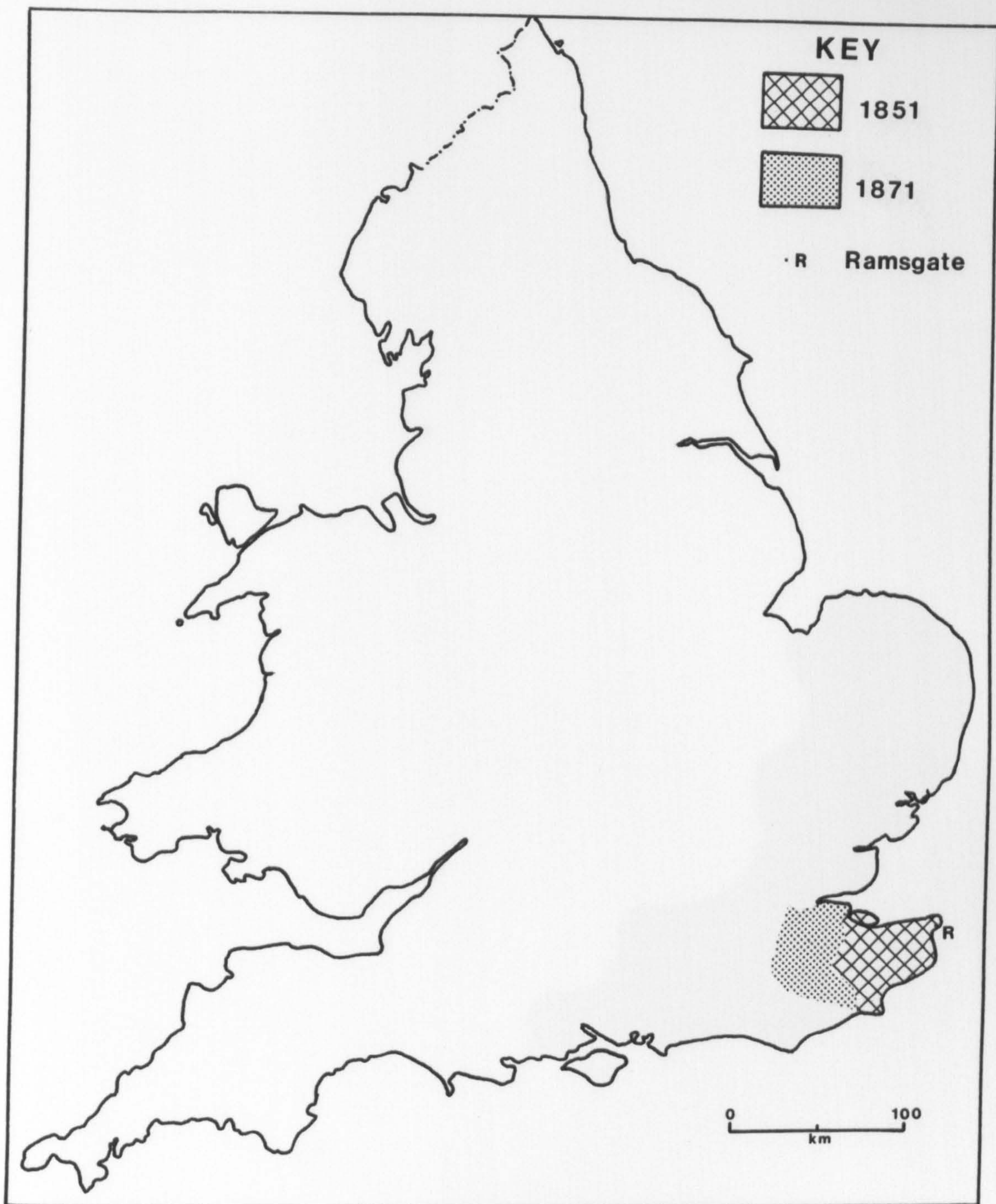


Figure V.3 Mean migration field of HOUSEKEEPERS in 1851 and 1871.

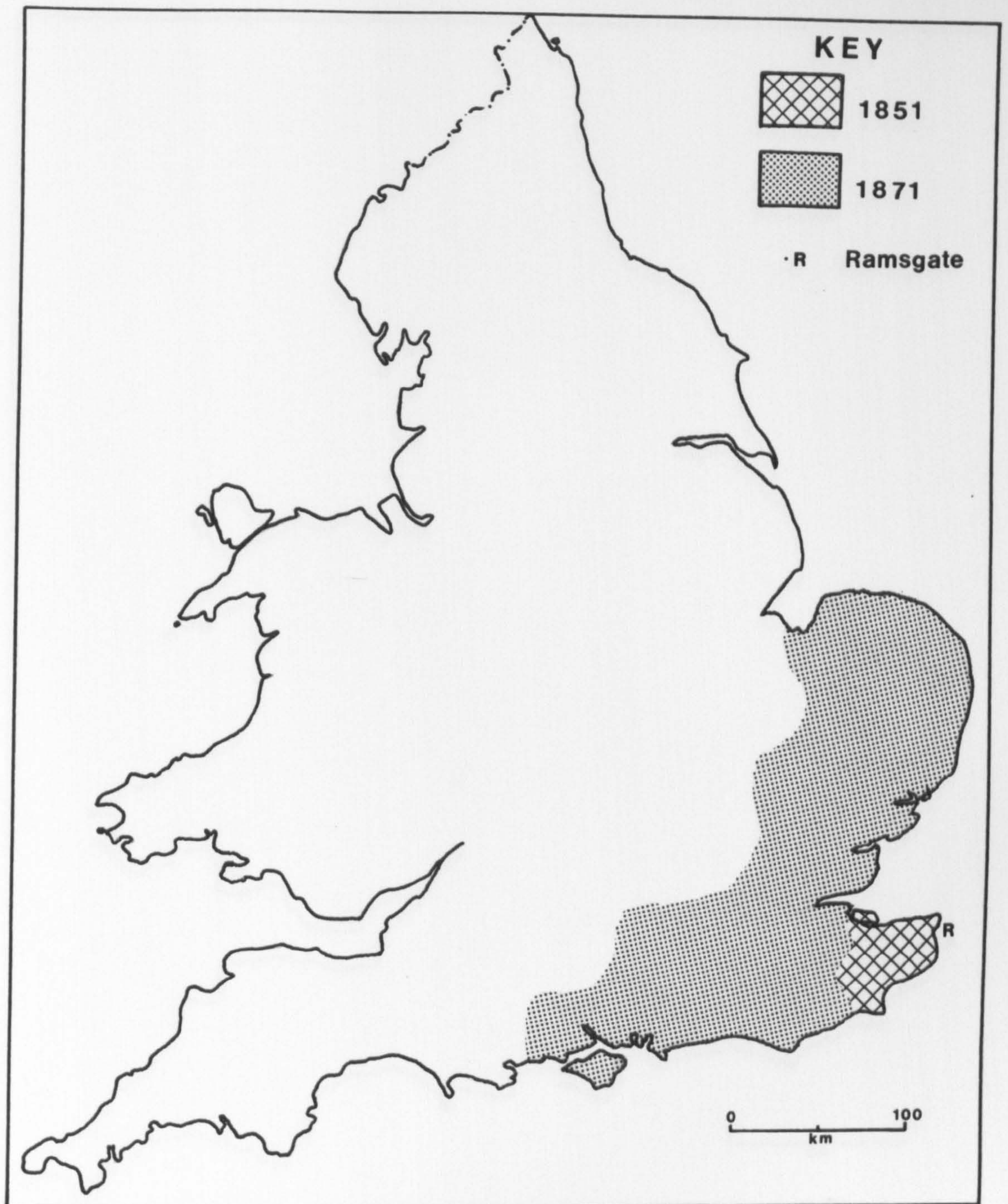


Figure V.4 Mean migration field of FOOTMEN in 1851 and 1871.

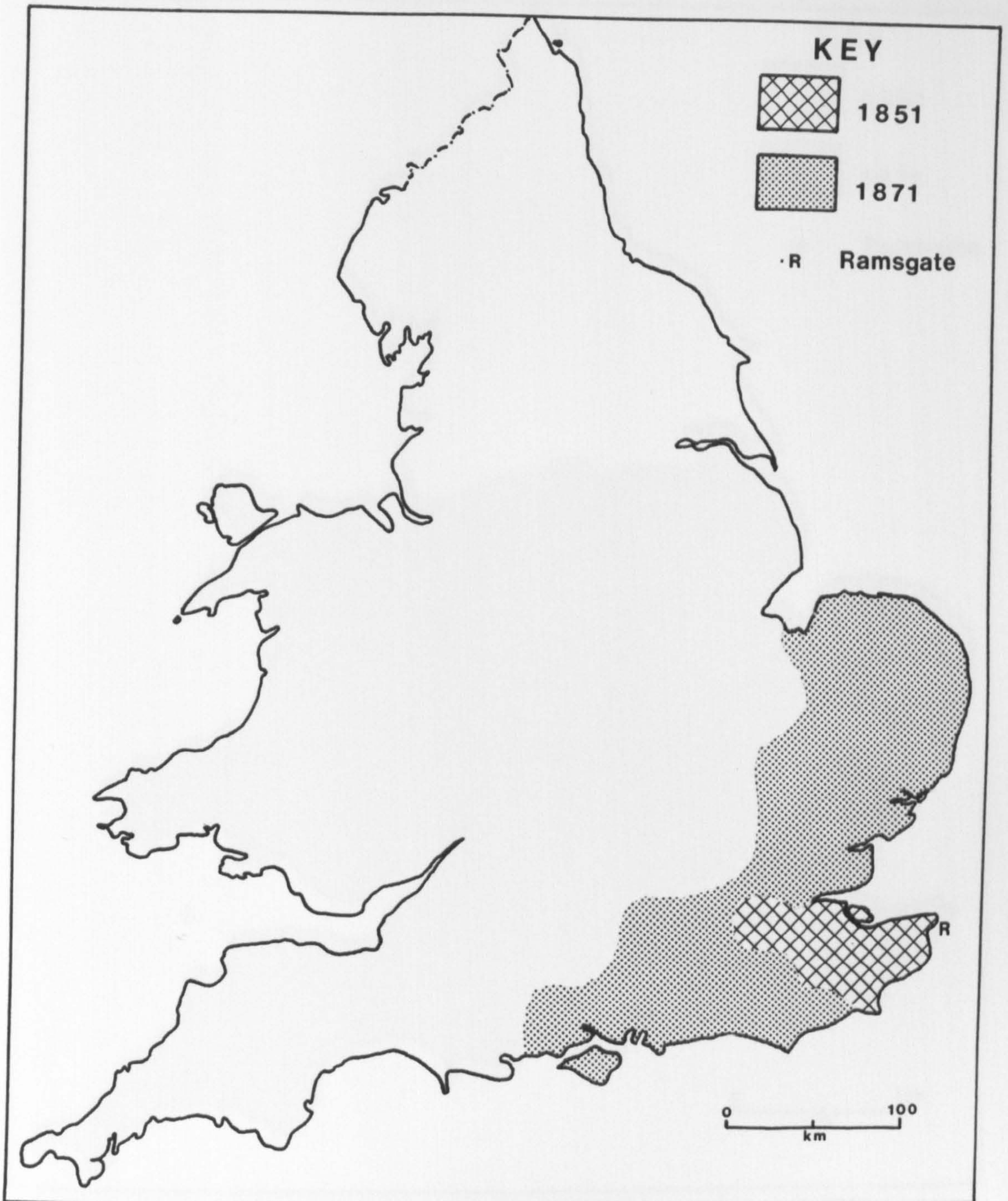


Figure V.5 Mean migration field of GOVERNESSES in 1851 and 1871.

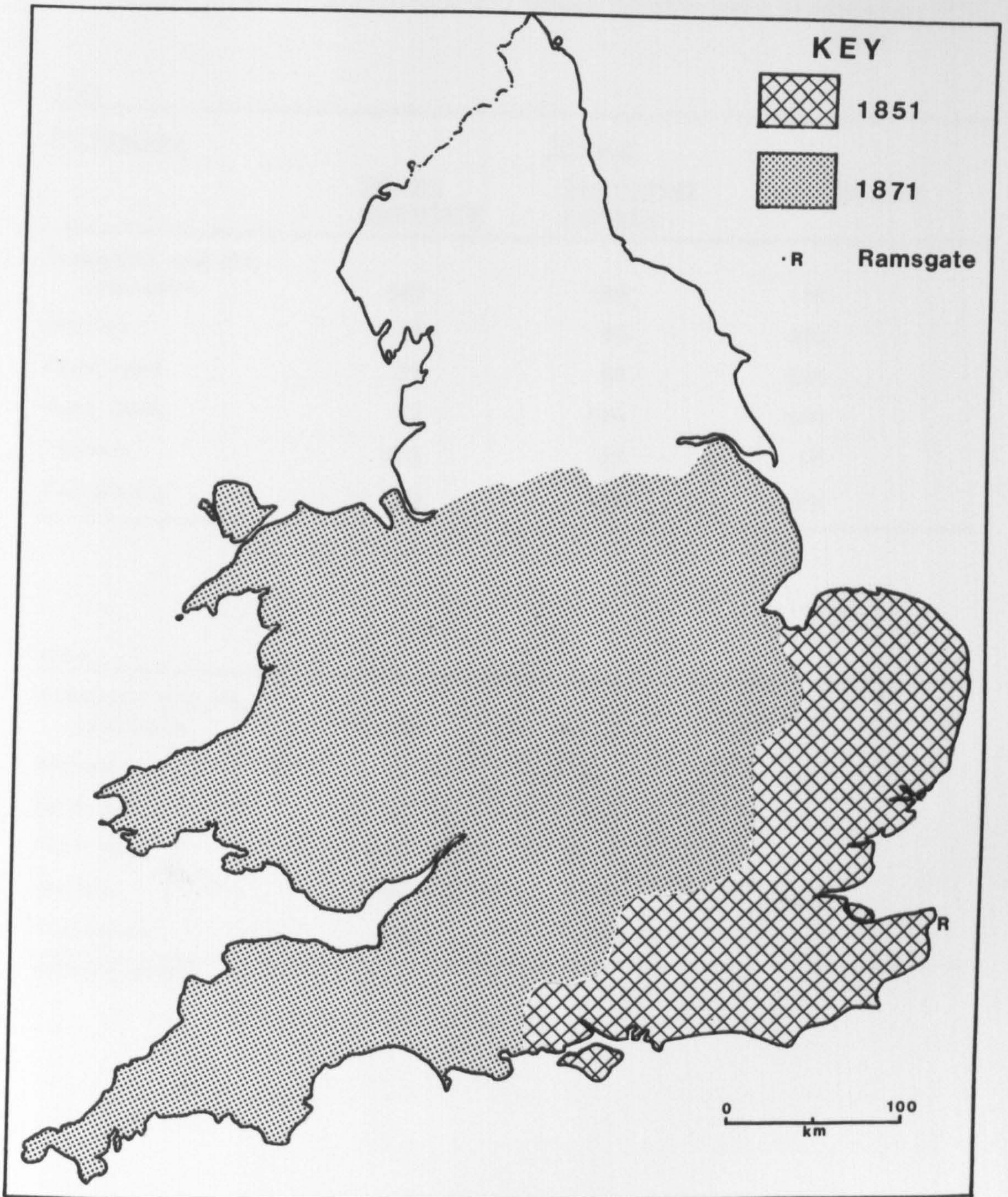


Figure V.6 Mean migration field of BUTLERS in 1851 and 1871.

TABLE V.14 Birthplace and house tenure: male household heads

1851

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Tenure</u>		
	<u>Owner-occupiers</u>	<u>Short-stay tenants</u>	<u>Leaseholders</u>
Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	125	109	96
Thanet	69	86	106
East Kent	85	89	100
West Kent	27	194	109
London	103	97	98
Elsewhere	95	85	103

1871

Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	114	116	93
Thanet	81	135	100
East Kent	99	108	102
West Kent	106	135	100
London	94	56	116
Elsewhere	87	67	103

100=Expected

tenants are concerned, we already know that the practice of compounding increased over the period¹, and that short-stay tenants were therefore increasingly drawn from lower status groups. Since lower status groups were themselves increasingly locally born (Table V.8) it will come as no surprise to see that short-stay tenants were also increasingly locally born. Once these two changes have been examined, however, it can be seen that tenurial status for all groups was relatively close to expected levels. There were some minor differences. Ramsgate and St. Lawrence born male heads were the most likely group to be owner-occupiers. The very fact that these locally born heads had not moved away from the town would increase their chances, ceteris paribus, of becoming owner-occupiers, since they would have an increased stake in continuity. The locally born were also well represented amongst leaseholders, however, and it may be that we are seeing here two distinctive types of Ramsgate born: those who had successfully emerged at the top of the town's hierarchy, and who, amongst other things, had become owner-occupiers; and those who were much more likely to be nearer the bottom of it (Tables V.8 and V.9). As a rider, non-Ramsgate born were most likely to be leaseholders, although all figures were close to expected levels. A final point to emerge from the table is that the status of the London born changed marginally over the period: in 1851 they were most likely to be owner-occupiers, whilst in 1871 they were more likely to be leaseholders. This is, of course, prima facie evidence of a declining social tone amongst the London born during the period. As has already been pointed out, however, property investment did not make a very

1. See above p 25

high return during the Victorian period compared with other types of investment¹; paradoxically therefore a decline in owner-occupancy amongst the London born could also reflect a higher social tone !

Finally, Table V.15 shows the birthplaces of male household heads who owned ten or more properties in Ramsgate in 1851 and 1871. They were overwhelmingly locally born. This information, combined with that in Table IV.55, demonstrates that the Ramsgate property market was dominated by locally born male household heads who were mostly traders, builders or local manufacturers. Conversely, those born further afield appeared to have little or no interest in local property, and as argued above, it is likely that they would have been able to derive higher incomes from other sources of investment anyway.

Residential mobility

It was stated at the beginning of this chapter that very high rates of population turnover have been found to have existed in North America during the nineteenth-century. These high mobility rates were by no means confined to any particular type of community. From small New England towns such as Newburyport, and Poughkeepsie, N.Y., to the larger towns and cities of Hamilton, Omaha, Atlanta, Birmingham and Chicago, a very high level of mobility has been demonstrated². These high rates have in fact been seen as formative influences on the social geography of the Victorian town³.

In Britain, the impression made upon contemporaries during the nineteenth-century was that residential mobility operated at a very high level, but on a scale which the census never recorded⁴. Although

1. See above p 156

2. Thernstrom (1973 B), 677; Katz (1975 A), 119

3. Rees (1970), 306-94; Thernstrom (1973 B), 678; Katz (1975 A), 44;
Ward (1971), 151

4. Dyos (1966), 59; c.f. Knights (1971), 53

TABLE V.15

Birthplaces of male household heads owning
ten or more properties in Ramsgate

<u>Birthplace</u>	%	<u>1851</u> Index	%	<u>1871</u> Index
Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	58.8	151	58.3	152
Thanet	5.9	56	12.5	147
East Kent	23.5	110	12.5	68
West Kent	0.0	0	0.0	0
London	5.9	89	4.2	42
Elsewhere	5.9	31	12.5	58

100=Expected

the census has the advantage of recording everybody in the community, the ten year photographic still that it presents is totally inadequate as a source for analysing mobility rates. In this respect rate books are a considerably superior source, because of the frequency of their compilation, even if they do only record ratepayers. They are particularly effective if their information can be linked to that available from the census. So far there has been very little work done on mobility using rate books however¹.

Any attempt to measure mobility will quickly reveal that persistency rates (i.e. the percentages of the population not making house moves) are very much easier to determine than are turnover rates. It is easy enough to see if the name of an occupier remains unchanged in successive rate books; on the other hand it will be impossible to measure accurate turnover rates if occupiers passed through properties more frequently than the rate books were compiled².

Table V.16 shows the persistency rates of certain selected streets in Ramsgate during the mid-Victorian period. The figures relate to 371 houses (about 15% of the 1851 total) and to seven streets. The sample was not a random one and the results are representative of the individual streets only. It should also be pointed out that the persistency rates relate to those who were occupiers in 1851 only; it might be that say 1850 or 1852 occupiers would have had different persistency rates³. However since about half the raw data used in this thesis relates to these same 1851 occupiers this cannot be seen as a

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1. Apart from an article of my own: Holmes (1973). A number of undergraduate dissertations at Cambridge University have taken up this theme however: B.T. Robson, private communication
 2. Although there is evidence nationally that most tenures of short duration were for quarters: Norton (1950), 22
 3. c.f. Doucet (1972)

TABLE V.16 Persistency rates in selected streets, 1851-1871

Street	Houses in 1851	Houses com- pounded N	1855 N	1851 ratepayers remaining by:		1867 N	1871 N					
				%	%							
<u>Commercial & residential:</u>												
<u>High Street</u>	146	9	87	59.6	64	43.8	52	35.6	36	24.7	29	19.9
<u>Sea-front & residential:</u>												
<u>Albion Place</u>	25	11	8	32.0	5	20.0	4	16.0	3	12.0	2	8.0
<u>Wellington Crescent</u>	28	11	11	39.3	9	32.1	7	25.0	5	17.9	4	14.3
<u>Chiefly residential:</u>												
<u>Spencer Square</u>	42	7	18	42.9	11	26.2	8	19.0	7	16.7	4	9.5
<u>Hardres Street</u>	68	3	25	36.8	15	22.1	7	10.3	4	5.9	3	4.4
<u>Camden Square</u>	31	3	10	32.3	6	19.4	2	6.5	2	6.5	0	0.0
<u>Brunswick & Waterloo Places</u>	31	2	11	35.5	9	29.0	6	19.4	5	16.1	3	9.7
TOTAL	371	46	170	45.8	119	32.1	86	23.2	62	16.7	45	12.1

Sources: Ramsgate rate books: May 1851; June 1855; January 1859; March 1863; March 1867; January 1871

disadvantage. The persistency rates were derived by comparing individual entries against selected street properties at four year intervals during the mid-Victorian period. Persistency was judged strictly as persistency at the same address¹, and moves to different addresses in the same street were not considered. In order to discount the effects of differential mortality between streets, persistency was assumed to exist if the surname of the occupier remained constant. Thus if a widow succeeded her late husband as an occupier this was not counted as a house move. The only major problem encountered during the exercise was the varying degree of compounding between streets. If a landlord was rated for a property, it is obviously impossible to say if its occupier changed. Compounding was, however, found in two types of property: those along the sea-front, which were let for the summer; and those with low rateable values. Both types of property undoubtedly had high turnover rates, and indeed this was the very reason why they were compounded at all. An assumption was made therefore that if a property was compounded in 1851 it would automatically have changed occupier by 1855. After all, if the 1851 occupier remained for as long as four years, it is likely that the rating authorities would have begun to deal with him directly. With these points in mind, the table can now be examined.

Several features emerge from Table V.16. Firstly, it can be seen that persistency rates were remarkably hyperbolic. That is, there was a rapid fall off of occupiers initially, but with time this rate of decline slowed down noticeably. As Dennis has pointed out, an indiv-

1. Thernstrom and others have recently been considering persistency within the same community, not persistency at the same address:
Thernstrom (1973 A), 222

individual's probability of moving correlates with his length of residence at his present address inversely¹.

Secondly, persistency rates varied between streets. This would no doubt be partly for reasons connected with life cycle stages, degree of owner-occupancy and changes in individual circumstances. But the table also shows that it was connected with the type of land use in the street itself. Thus the High Street, with its retailing functions, had the highest persistency rate amongst the seven streets. There were clearly good reasons for this, since those with established businesses would not wish to keep changing their addresses and moving their stock. Properties along the sea-front, in contrast, showed a much higher initial turnover, accompanied by long term relative stability. This in turn reveals the twin aspect of these sea-front properties. Some were available for short-term summer lets, and would, by definition, have a very high turnover; others were occupied either by lodging house keepers, who, like the shopkeepers, had an interest in inertia, or, by persons of independent means who tended to be owner-occupiers. As will be shown below, owner-occupiers were unlikely to make house moves as a group. Finally there were some differences amongst persistency rates in the residential areas, all of which however, showed lower persistency than the other types of property. As can be seen, there was a higher degree of persistency in Spencer Square than there was in Hardres Street, which in turn showed higher persistency levels than did Camden Square. This corresponds exactly with the rateable values of these areas. In other words, the higher the rateable value the higher the persistency rate, a fact which may in part

1. Dennis (1976 B), 2

be related to the degree of owner-occupancy, or simply to inertia caused by the accumulation of chattels. Before this explanation is accepted too readily, however, it must be pointed out that Brunswick and Waterloo Places had relatively high persistency rates; yet these were the streets with the lowest rateable values of all. This is not an insuperable difficulty, however. If the occupations of the three ratepayers who were still in the street at the end of the period are examined from the census enumerators' books, it emerges that they were respectively the licencees of the two public houses in the street, and the keeper of an unofficial lodging house¹, the very type of people that one would expect to profit from high turnover rates². Clearly therefore, whilst one must beware of mechanistic explanations, the principle still remains that persistency and socio-economic status were directly linked.

In contrast to persistency, Table V.17 examines turnover rates. Miniature Row, Ramsgate, contained six very small houses³, a fact which itself might well be inimical to long tenancies. The turnover rate of these houses was certainly very high, eighteen changes taking place between May 1851 and May 1853, a figure that itself may be too low if changes here were more frequent than the rate assessor was able to record. The table warns against facile assumptions on turnover. Thus

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1. Although the occupier did not record his occupation as lodging-house keeper, the house contained twenty-five people on census night in 1851, and twenty-two people on census night in 1871, divided respectively into six and five separate households. Not surprisingly, it was the most overcrowded house in the town
 2. c.f Stevenson (1928), 207
 3. Measurements from Hinds (1849) contemporary map show that the external dimensions of these houses were less than 3m. x 4m.

TABLE V.17 Tenancy of Miniature Row, May 1851 to May 1853

<u>May 1851</u>	<u>November 1851</u>	<u>April 1852</u>
1. Empty	1. Ann Robinson	1. Ann Robinson
2. Henry Rigden	2. Empty	2. James Bussey
3. Empty	3. Empty	3. Empty
4. William Packer	4. Empty	4. Empty
5. Empty	5. Henry H. Evans	5. Henry H. Evans
6. Empty	6. Stephen Norris	6. Stephen Norris

<u>July 1852</u>	<u>December 1852</u>	<u>May 1853</u>
1. Thomas Jones	1. Thomas Jones	1. George Ratcliffe
2. Empty	2. Thomas Jones	2. Henry Rigden
3. Sarah Edwards	3. Empty	3. Empty
4. Edward Paine	4. Edward Paine	4. Edward Paine
5. Empty	5. Thomas Watson	5. Thomas Watson
6. Stephen Norris	6. Empty	6. May Ann Hall

Note: none of these houses were owner-occupied, and they were all owned by the same landlord

TABLE V.18 Chain of occupancy changes, May 1851 to May 1853

<u>Name</u>	<u>Old address</u>	<u>New address</u>	<u>R.V. (£)</u>	
			<u>old</u>	<u>new</u>
Joseph Conder		21 Frederick Street		10.50
Ebenezer Handford	21 Frederick Street	10 Palins of Waterloo	10.50	17.00
Thomas Hurst	10 Plains of Waterloo	9 Hibernia Place	17.00	11.50
Joseph Spratling	9 Hibernia Place	14 Hibernia Place	11.50	11.50
William Meader	14 Hibernia Place	5 Plains of Watreloo	11.50	13.00
Thomas Sturges	5 Plains of Waterloo	7 Camden Place	13.00	18.50
Sampson D. Campbell	7 Camden Place	4 Wellington Crescent	18.50	42.00

if the rate book of May 1851 is compared directly with that of May 1853 it appears that there were only four changes over the period, Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 6 changing their occupiers, with Nos. 2 and 3 remaining the same. In fact however, Ann Robinson, Henry H. Evans, Stephen Norris, James Bussey, Thomas Jones (who seemed to need two houses in December 1852) and Sarah Evans had all been and gone from the street during the intervening period, whilst Henry Rigden who on the basis of direct comparison would have appeared to have stayed put, had in fact gone away and come back ! An accurate determination of nineteenth-century turnover rates is therefore likely to prove an elusive quest.

If ratepayers disappeared from one address in the town, it is obviously possible to look through succeeding rate books to see if they appeared in another one. Table V.18 shows that complex chains of occupancy changes might occur. Thus between May 1851 and May 1853, Joseph Conder appeared at 21 Frederick Street, not having previously been an occupier, to fill a vacancy created by Ebenezer Handford who had moved to 10 Plains of Waterloo, in turn replacing Thomas Hurst who had moved to 9 Hibernia Place. The previous occupant of 9 Hibernia Place, Joseph Spratling, had moved down the street to No 14, where William Meader had left for 5 Plains of Waterloo. Thomas Sturges at 5 Plains of Waterloo had moved to 7 Camden Place, where Sampson D. Campbell completed the chain, moving to 4 Wellington Crescent, a previously unoccupied property. It will be noticed that the only casualty of this particular chain was Thomas Hurst, who moved into lower rated property, whilst all the others, with the exception of Joseph Spratling, who moved sideways, were on the ascending ladder of

relative prosperity.

All rate book entries in Ramsgate were examined for two periods, 1851 to 1853 and 1869 to 1871, being respectively the beginning and end of the time span considered by this thesis. The results are presented in Table V.19. As can be seen, only about three-quarters of ratepayers remained at the same address during the two study periods¹. It is difficult to assess the significance of this level of persistence. This study was concerned with two year time spans, and because of the hyperbolic nature of persistency rates over time, it is not possible to compare these levels directly with rates estimated for longer time periods in other places. It seems likely that the Ramsgate rate was higher than that in Boston, Mass., however, where Knights found that during the period 1830-1860 up to one half of the population disappeared every other year or so². This is in fact hardly surprising, since Boston was at the time one of the principal ports of entry for immigrants into the United States³. By implication, the persistency rate in Ramsgate was also higher than that found in Philadelphia, which seems to have had an even higher turnover rate than Boston³. On the other hand it would seem that the Ramsgate persistency rate was similar to that found in some small New England towns, such as Waltham, Mass., Northampton, Mass., and Poughkeepsie, N.Y.⁴. In Canada, rates in Hamilton, Ont., seem to have been somewhat higher⁵, although a sample study of a suburb of Toronto during the late-Victorian period has revealed rates comparable to Ramsgate⁶.

1. It was assumed that cases such as that of Henry Rigden, Table V.17, would have been relatively rare, and rate books of 1851 and 1853, and of 1869 and 1871 were therefore compared directly; the alternative would have been to consider all intervening rate books, and it was felt that this could be safely rejected on the grounds of diminishing returns.

2. Knights (1971), 59.

3. Thernstrom (1973 A), Table 9.1, 222

4. Loc. cit.

5. Katz (1972), 406.

6. Doucet (1972), 49

TABLE V.19

House moves 1851-1853 and 1869-1871

<u>Type of move</u>	<u>1851-3 (%)</u>	<u>1869-71 (%)</u>
No move	74.5	77.8
Move to more highly rated property	6.5	3.2
Move to lower rated property	2.2	1.5
Moving out (1851-3) or Moving in (1869-71)	16.7	17.4
Percentage of total moves non-determinable	30.0	34.2

TABLE V.20

House moves of male household heads with different birthplaces (1851-1853 only)

<u>Birthplace</u>	<u>Type of move (1851-3)</u>			
	<u>No move</u>	<u>To higher R.V.</u>	<u>To lower R.V.</u>	<u>Moving out</u>
Ramsgate and St. Lawrence	100	108	107	91
Thanet	98	94	92	98
East Kent	104	109	106	91
West Kent	112	-	-	121
London	95	135	147	114
Elsewhere	96	83	84	123

100=Expected

Prima facie, Table V.19 shows that mobility declined in Ramsgate during the mid-Victorian period. This is to reckon without the complication caused by the growth of compounding. Mobility was almost certainly higher in low rated properties (Table V.16) which were precisely those properties which were increasingly likely to be compounded. Since the difference between 1851 and 1871 in the percentage of compounded properties was greater than the difference in overall persistency rates, it is not in fact possible to conclude that there was any change in persistency either one way or the other.

The other major feature of Table V.19 is that for both 1851-1853 and 1869-1871 it shows that a higher percentage of rate payers moved to more highly rated properties than moved to lower rated ones. It would be tempting to assert at this point that such a result indicates that upward mobility exceeded downward mobility in Ramsgate, neatly coinciding with American findings¹. It must be remembered however that the Ramsgate figures relate only to ratepayers and moreover ratepayers who stayed in Ramsgate. Some of those moving down the rating scale could obviously have moved into compounded properties and have hence become lost to view. Even putting this objection aside, it must be remembered that the town did not operate as a closed system. More people might be seen as moving up the rating scale than down it, but this might be because people who were faced with the prospect of moving down the scale chose instead to move out of town altogether. At the same time the table does tell us something about the people who did remain in the town as ratepayers. It is true that if an individual remained as a rate payer during either of the two year periods it was more likely that he would be living in a higher rated property

1. Katz (1975 A), 151 alludes to such work

at the end of it, rather than in a lower rated one.

So far this chapter has not considered who was most likely to make moves of different types, and it is this aspect of residential mobility which will now receive attention and occupy the rest of the chapter.

Studies in the United States have suggested that birthplaces are an important factor in determining who is likely to make house moves. The hypothesis is that people who have moved once are more likely to move again¹, and Knights has confirmed that this was true of Boston, Mass.². Table V.20 examines the situation in Ramsgate in 1851-3³. The table shows that it was indeed those born a relatively long distance away from Ramsgate who were most likely to move out again. In fact apart from migrants from East Kent, it can be said that in-migrants were more likely to be out-migrants than were the locally born. And it was the London born and those born in other counties who were least likely to stay at the same address during the period.

Table V.21 examines the residential mobility of different occupational groups in 1851-3. Those in primary occupations (fishing) were most likely to move out of the town during the period, a fact explained no doubt by the nature of their occupation. They were however replaced by others (Table IV.26). In contrast, builders were the least likely to move out; there was no marked building slump at the time (Figure III.2), but neither was there a boom, and upward and downward mobility equalised for the group. A downward move was the

1. Goldstein (1954)

2. Knights (1971), 54, 63

3. 1869-71 was not considered in this and subsequent tables because of the increased incidence of compounding; although 34.2% of properties were compounded in 1871, as against 30.0% in 1851, compounding in 1871 was increasingly confined to lower status groups, thus creating a disproportionate weighting effect

TABLE V.21

House moves of male household heads in
different occupational groupings (1851-3)

<u>Occupational group</u>	<u>Type of move (1851-3)</u>			
	<u>No move</u>	<u>To higher R.V.</u>	<u>To lower R.V.</u>	<u>Moving out</u>
Primary	67	60	58	135
Mining	-	-	-	-
Building	108	123	127	70
Manufacture	102	100	127	121
Transport	84	103	19	87
Dealing	134	66	157	96
Labour	91	66	-	91
Professions	89	153	156	111
Domestic	86	119	89	111
Property owning	98	67	65	82

100=Expected

TABLE V.22

House moves and class: male household heads

<u>Type of move</u>	<u>R.G. Class of male head</u>						
	I	(I & II)	II	III	IV	(IV & V)	V
<u>1851-1853</u>							
No move	104	(100)	99	99	100	(102)	104
To higher rated property	67	(93)	101	111	92	(87)	82
To lower rated property	-	(135)	176	107	58	(31)	-
Moving out	104	(96)	93	100	115	(106)	96
<u>1869-1871</u>							
No move	90	(99)	101	100	96	(105)	120

100=Expected

most likely for those in manufacturing, and this may reflect a loss of ground in relative terms for this group (Table IV.26). The upward trend amongst those in transport is harder to explain, since numbers in transport tended to decline over the period as a whole (Table IV.26); it may be that there was a minor cyclical fluctuation in operation therefore. Those in dealing were more stable, and it was of course they who had the most interest in remaining at the same address for business purposes; this is, in turn, reflected in the relatively high persistency rate of those living in the High Street (Table V.16). Some dealers were obviously not so fortunate however and it is probably that their downward moves mirrored the out-migration of the population as a whole during the 1850s (Table III.3). Labourers from the table do not appear to have been inclined to make any type of move. The reason for this is that it was they who tended to live in compounded properties and whose moves were therefore masked. It should be noted, however, that no labourers made downward moves, and this was because of the simple fact that it was impossible, since they were already occupying the lowest rated properties. Domestic were a small group (Table IV.26) and their propensity to make different types of move was probably not statistically significant. Finally, professional groups may be seen to have been fairly mobile with an equal tendency to move up or down, whilst property owners were more stable, but whose moves were again masked by compounding since they tended to live in sea-front properties which were often rated to owners during this period.

Social class is another variable which it has been suggested would have affected mobility¹. Table V.22 shows how mobility varied with

1. Dennis (1976 B), 4

the Class of the male household head, and presents some important findings:

1. In 1851-3 the most stable groups were at either end of the social spectrum. Those in Class I were the most likely to be owner-occupiers (Table IV.49), so that their reluctance to move was understandable. The fact that those in Class V were also stable is significant, and is perhaps not unconnected with findings on migration in the Third World today: it is often the case that the people who do not move from rural areas are those with the lowest levels of skills and education¹.

2. If Classes I and II and IV and V are grouped together it will be seen that at the later period there was a slight tendency for stability to decrease with decreasing status. This finding has been paralleled in several North American towns and cities².

3. Most movement up and down the rating scale was by those in Classes II and III.

4. Those most likely to move out of the town altogether were either those in Class I, the very Class most likely to have been born outside the town (Table V.8), emphasizing again the repeat migration hypothesis³; or else those in Class IV, the mobile fishermen.

5. The least likely group to move to higher rated properties were those in Class I, for the obvious reason that there were no more highly rated properties for them to move to⁴, except outside the town of

1. Germani (1963) on Argentina; Herrick (1965) on Chile; Adams (1969) on Colombia; Lowder (1970) on Peru; Roberts (1970) on Guatemala. More generally see Sjaastad (1962); Trewartha (1969), 138;

Zelinsky (1970), 62

2. Doucet (1972), 27; Katz (1972), 406; Thernstrom (1973 A), Table 3.3, 40; Thernstrom (1973 B), 678

3. Goldstein (1954)

4. This obvious point is mentioned because it seems to be missed in some modern migration studies, e.g. Goldstein and Mayer (1961) on Providence, R.I.

course, a location to which this group did sometimes move.

The relationship between mobility and Class was mirrored by that between mobility and rateable value at both dates (Table V.23). Thus rate quintiles 1, 2 and 5 had the most stable populations; most upward and downward movement emanated from the higher rated areas.

It was the life-cycle, however, which seems to have been the major determinant of house moves in Ramsgate (Table V.24), a finding which substantiates the suspicions of other workers¹. The table shows that the least likely group to continue living in their existing accommodation between either 1851 and 1853 or 1869 and 1871 were those with a child under one year old (but with no other children), that is those who were just starting to build families and who would be seeking more spacious accommodation. The next most likely group to move were childless couples, with wife over the age of 25, but under 45, followed by childless couples with wife aged under 25. Presumably being older the former group would have been able to accumulate savings, facilitating house moves. Groups with children were less likely to move, and significantly those with larger families were less likely to move than those with small ones. The least likely group to move, and hence the most persistent one, were the elderly couples without children, inertia and resistance to change being obvious factors.

The groups most likely to move out of Ramsgate altogether during the 1851-3 period reflect the above scheme exactly, except that the second and third groups were reversed. In other words single adults under 25, or young married couples without children, were more likely to move out of town than were childless couples who were older,

1. Doucet (1972), 27; Johnston (1974), 293; Dennis (1976 B), 4

TABLE V.23

House moves and rates: male household heads
occupying housing in different rate quintiles

<u>Type of move</u>	<u>Rate quintile</u>				
	Lowest	2	3	4	Highest
<u>1851-1853</u>					
No move	107	103	94	94	100
To higher rated property	78	86	135	120	82
To lower rated property	11	91	144	188	80
Moving out	74	88	107	126	107
<u>1869-71</u>					
No move	111	115	92	93	103
100=Expected					

TABLE V.24

House moves and the life cycle

<u>Type of move</u>	<u>Life cycle stage</u>					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>1851-1853</u>						
No move	91	89	57	96	100	104
To higher rated property	119	152	507	122	101	57
To lower rated property	76	120	-	161	84	74
Moving out	139	134	171	108	104	99
<u>1869-1871</u>						
No move	90	89	79	95	102	108
100=Expected						

For life cycle stages: see Appendix E

although not as likely as those starting families. The former group are of course traditionally regarded as being a highly mobile group¹. Movement to higher rated property again reflected exactly the tendencies to make a move of any sort. And it was again those who were just starting to build families who would be most likely to seek more highly rated property, space demands necessarily entailing a higher expenditure on housing. Significantly none of this group sought lower rated accommodation.

Table V.25 finally considers the mobility of those owning ten or more properties in the town. This group was obviously highly stable, and the main point of interest is that some 10% of owners in this category in 1871 were new arrivals in the town, no doubt reflecting the attraction of the then current speculation in local property².

This chapter has revealed a very high degree of movement both into and within Ramsgate during the mid-Victorian period. It is the purpose of the following chapter to examine whether this large scale re-arrangement of the population resulted in any discernible spatial patterns.

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1. Ogle (1889), 215, 231. This paper considerably predates Hill (1925), which according to Grigg (1977), 50, was the first paper to draw attention to the trend. Both Ravenstein and Ogle addressed the same session of the Statistical Society in 1889, which may account for Ravenstein's omission of a detailed discussion of age-specific migration in his own paper.
 2. See above pp 81-2

TABLE V.25 House moves of household heads owning ten or more properties in the town

<u>Type of move</u>	<u>1851-53</u>		<u>1869-71</u>	
	%	Index	%	Index
No move	94.1	126	82.1	106
To higher rated property	0.0	-	3.6	113
To lower rated property	0.0	-	3.6	240
Moving out (1851-3) or Moving in (1869-71)	5.9	35	10.7	61

100•Expected

'Direction posts are placed upon Ramsgate sands and constables stationed to prevent persons bathing openly from approaching the bathing machines or offending against the decency of those who use them.'

R.E. HUNTER

'A short account of the Isle of Thanet, being chiefly intended as a Directory for the Company resorting to Ramsgate, Margate and Broadstairs'.

Ramsgate, 1822, p 22

THE RECENT questioning by Ward of the extent to which in general terms Victorian cities were, or were not, truly modern is likely to stimulate research for some time¹. There can be little doubt, however, that with respect to residential segregation the Victorian city was remarkably unlike our own. Despite Dyos' assertion that Victorian respectability was largely a matter of the right address², and despite the fact that most early Victorian cities displayed great extremes of wealth and destitution, recent research in both Britain and North America has revealed relatively weak levels of residential differentiation³, except at the micro-scale⁴. Thus in York in 1851 there were few homogeneous areas, either socially or economically, beyond the level of the street or court⁵, and the same appears to have been true of Huddersfield⁶. Early nineteenth-century New England towns and cities showed neither 'distinct class segregated neighbourhoods', nor 'working class ghettos'⁷. In Hamilton, Ontario, at mid-century 'people of all degrees of wealth lived in close proximity to each other'⁸; and even in the much larger Philadelphia 'most areas of the new

1. Ward (1975)

2. Dyos (1966), 23 and 189. Dyos may have been thinking of late Victorian patterns of course

3. Ward (1975), 137

4. Ibid, 138

5. Armstrong (1973), 25-6

6. Dennis (1976^A), 113

7. Thernstrom (1964), 37

8. Katz (1972), 409; (1975 A), 23

big city were a jumble of occupations, classes, shops, houses, immigrants and native Americans'¹.

Two principal reasons seem to have been responsible for this lack of residential segregation. Firstly, the Victorians were relatively immobile socially by the standards of the twentieth-century. Pahl has pointed out that as social mobility increases, so place of residence becomes increasingly important as a means of buying and establishing a position in society². It therefore follows that in a society with a low level of mobility one would not expect residential segregation to be an important priority. In short if high status groups did not feel themselves threatened they would not need to protect themselves in exclusive neighbourhoods. As Ward has put it:

'In those sectors of the economy or in those regions where industrialisation had only limited effects, older social distinctions based upon ascription or local tradition may have persisted so that the interspersal of people of different status recorded not their common interests but rather the residential patterns of a society on which status did not need the reinforcement of an exclusive location.'

Secondly, the relatively underdeveloped state of the nineteenth-century property market⁴ may have been a contributory factor. For, according to Johnston, segregation operates principally through the property market:

'The usual way is via the property market. Upper-class groups set prices for land and houses in their neighbourhoods which are beyond the incomes of all other groups lower in the class structure, and this is repeated down through all the occupational hierarchy. People who can afford to

1. Warner (1968), 8, 9, 56. This quotation suggests that social segregation was not even a big city phenomenon at the time, countering the views in Lawton and Pooley (1973), 25-6.

2. Pahl (1970), 41

3. Ward (1975), 147

4. Thompson (1957)

live in lower status districts prefer not to, because it would not be socially acceptable; such attitudes operate throughout the class structure, so that, for example, there are differences between the respectable and non respectable working-class areas'.¹

If these two reasons do indeed provide a satisfactory explanation for the lack of residential segregation in the nineteenth-century, it also follows that one would expect to find that segregation became more pronounced as the century progressed. Thompson has shown that the later nineteenth-century saw a distinct freeing of the property market from its various legal and economic constraints². At the same time there was almost certainly an increase in social mobility, associated with industrialisation and the growing tertiary sector of the economy, and embodied in the Victorian concepts of 'hard work', 'self-help' and 'progress'. That inequalities in Victorian society were not immutable was an established tenet, and there was a definite feeling that status and life-chances were not simply and inevitably ascribed at birth. Consider, for example, this extract of a speech made in Parliament by Lord Palmerston in 1850:

'We have shown the example of a nation in which every class of society accepts with cheerfulness the lot which providence has assigned to it; while at the same time each individual of each class is constantly trying to raise himself in the social scale - not by injustice and wrong, not by violence and illegality - but by persevering good conduct, and by the steady and energetic exertion of the moral and intellectual faculties with which his Creator has endowed him.'³

Although scepticism has been expressed that inequalities were removable as early as 1850, and that it was likely that the Commons was

1. Johnston (1971), 44-5

2. Thompson (1957)

3. Hansard, 25th June 1850, 443-4

being told what it wanted to hear, rather than the truth of the matter¹, there can be little doubt that the sentiments of the speech became increasingly apposite as the century proceeded. Increased social mobility would in turn have tended to necessitate that 'reinforcement' of social status by the right address, of which Ward has written², a reinforcement made possible, moreover, by the freeing of the property market.

A study of segregational patterns over time is thus particularly fitting. The question as to whether segregation did in fact become any more or less pronounced during the nineteenth-century has indeed been recently identified as a major research frontier in urban geography³. Moreover the segregational patterns of a Victorian seaside resort are themselves of interest, in the light of Perkin's assertion that the class-consciousness of the Victorians was nowhere more evident than in their pleasure resorts⁴. The remainder of this chapter is thus concerned with analysing the residential patterns in Ramsgate in the mid-Victorian period, together with an assessment of how these patterns changed.

Conventional evidence

Conventional historical evidence of segregation in Ramsgate is fragmentary, and is to be found almost exclusively in Richardson's history of the town⁵. What evidence there is, however, is suggestive of a high degree of segregation.

Firstly, it appears that the fashionable Crescents on the East and

1. Best (1971), 255

2. Ward (1975), 147

3. Robson (1973), 29

4. Perkin (1974), 1

5. Richardson (1885). See also the quotation which heads the chapter.

West Cliffs were an exclusive enclave, even with respect to passers-by. Thus there was no public right of way in front of the houses, and posts were deliberately erected in Nelson Crescent to prevent the passage of "baker's and other's barrows" ¹. Tradesmen would therefore never have to darken the front windows of these properties.

Secondly, the front properties seem to have been segregated even from each other. This is evidenced by a remarkable dispute that developed between the inhabitants of Prospect Terrace and Nelson Crescent:

'after the laying out of the two properties for building, jealousies and continued disputes upon the matter arose, insomuch that the Nelson Crescent people at one time built a brick wall 10 to 12 feet high in order to obstruct the view of those in Prospect Terrace, in resentment and retaliation for some trespass or annoyance the Nelson Crescent people were supposed to have sustained. After many attempts, in vain, to push it down or pull it down, a gale of wind suddenly laid it low, when a compromise was effected by which a wall or partition, breast high, was erected, surmounted by dwarf iron spikes, a way being left at each end, interrupted by posts, for the passage of pedestrians. At the end towards the cliff there were three posts, the centre one being fitted with a hinge ² for any emergency.'

Finally, there is evidence of a certain amount of irritation felt by the local worthies and fashionable visitors for the town's ruff-raff. This crystallized itself in the form of complaints about the practice of street hawking. It would seem from contemporary accounts that articles were commonly thrust under the noses of visitors to Ramsgate in the hope that they would be purchased. Travellers to the developing world today will be familiar enough with the custom. It

1. Richardson (1885), 56-69 passim

2. Ibid., 56-7

was therefore with relief that the Ramsgate correspondent of The Times in 1836 noted that Princess Victoria had not been subjected to this particular indignity during her protracted stay¹. Feeling against hawking had obviously mounted during the 1830s, for in 1838 a clause was inserted into a Private Act of Parliament for lighting and paving the streets of Ramsgate which prohibited hawking. When in 1839 prosecutions under the Act were proceeded with against hawkers, a riot of such proportions ensued that it took a combined force of Coastguards, Revenue Cutter men and a troop of 10th Hussars from Canterbury to quell it². Thereafter there was no further prosecutions, a fact which Richardson himself bitterly lamented³.

In short, what historical evidence there is suggests that segregation most certainly did exist, and that those who lived in the fashionable areas wished to ignore as far as possible the rest of the town, a situation that was not untypical of the period, if Engels' picture of Manchester is accepted as a yardstick⁴.

Cartographic evidence

As has been explained in Chapter II⁵, individual properties in Ramsgate were identified at the time of both the 1851 and 1871 census on contemporary maps, and their grid references recorded alongside the other information on households. This in turn permitted the mapping of the spatial distribution of each of the other variables, and hence an analysis of patterns; disparities in the incidence of variables would then furnish evidence of segregation.

1. The Times, 14th January 1836

2. Richardson, (1885), 80-1

3. Loc. cit.

4. Engels (1844, reprinted 1962), 46-7

5. See above pp 47-56

The method adopted was to divide the built-up area into three hectare grid squares, and then to compute the percentage of households exhibiting certain characteristics in each. The three hectare grid square was of course an arbitrary unit, but it was selected after much experiment. With smaller grid squares, the number of households in each square was reduced, making observed variations a prey to random factors and decreasing the chances of making useful generalisations. With larger grid squares, variations became less obvious, and this was felt to be undesirable in view of the small-scale variations that have been observed in other Victorian towns, alluded to at the beginning of this chapter¹. The incidence of each variable per grid square was then recorded, and this figure was compared with the incidence of the variable in the town as a whole, indexed as 100. If, for example, households with three or more servants were being examined in 1851, and 5.0% of all Ramsgate households had three or more servants in 1851, a grid square with only 2.5% of its households having three or more servants would be indexed as 50, and so on. Partly no doubt as a result of random factors, grid squares with only a few households were prone to show extreme values, distorting the overall patterns. For this reason, any grid square with fewer than ten households was excluded from consideration². Figure II.2 summarises all the succeeding stages of a process which ultimately resulted in selected information being fed into the computer program SYMVU, the output of which is in the form of a three-dimension-

1. See above pp 248-9

2. The only exception to this rule was made for owner-occupied houses. These tended to be found in areas of low population density; excluding squares with a low population density would therefore have destroyed potentially valuable information. The plots of owner-occupancy were not accorded to same index treatment, and were scale instead directly in percent, in order to make them more readily identifiable.

al drawing of the distribution on micro-film. The machine was instructed to interpolate indices between zero and 999 for each plot; in other words it was told to map variations from total absence of a variable up to ten times the average incidence. In the few cases where there was an observed occurrence greater than ten times the average, the computer was instructed to treat the value as if it were the equivalent of 999. This ensured that significant minor variations were not overlooked in distributions with a very wide range of values. The net effect for such maps was to create high level plateau-like surfaces. Finally, each map was given the same vertical scale, to permit comparability, the only exceptions being where actual numbers were mapped rather than percentages.

The SYMVU program is expensive to operate. The amount of time required for each plot is inter alia dependent upon the complexity of the outline area, the number of data points and the value of each data point. The SYMVU plots shown in this chapter took on average twenty seconds of core processor time to compute, which is exceptional for a machine which effects transfer calls in milli-seconds. For this reason, preliminary digital maps of distributions were obtained and examined. Certain distributions showed little of interest. In particular, the distribution of persons on different stages of the life cycle failed to show any significant spatial pattern¹. This was not surprising in some respects; as was pointed out in Chapter IV, the life cycle tended to be an independent variable and persons in one

1. This negative finding is itself interesting, however, for workers on nineteenth-century Liverpool and Hull (Lawton and Pooley (1975 A); Tansey (1973)) have shown that life cycle did have a distinct spatial component. On the other hand life cycle in the smaller town of Chorley (Warnes 1973) did not. This suggests that distinct life cycle zones were a feature of large towns and cities only during the mid-Victorian period

class, for example, were no more likely to get married and have children than persons in another, at least to any marked extent¹. There was therefore little to be gained from mapping the life cycle. Only those distributions which it was thought aided an understanding of basic spatial patterns within the town were plotted by the SYMVU program, a practice to be strongly recommended to any future workers in this field. The results are shown in Figures VI.1 to VI.23².

Figures VI.1 and VI.2 are different from the other plots in that they relate to the land underlying Ramsgate, rather than to the distributions to be found upon it. They are not limited to the built-up area therefore, although the plots do not extend far beyond it. Data from Ordnance Survey bench marks was fed into the SYMVU program in order that conventional contours could be computed. Figures VI.1 and VI.2 are therefore relief maps of the site of Ramsgate, and, as such, are fundamental to an understanding of the succeeding maps.

Several features deserve particular mention:

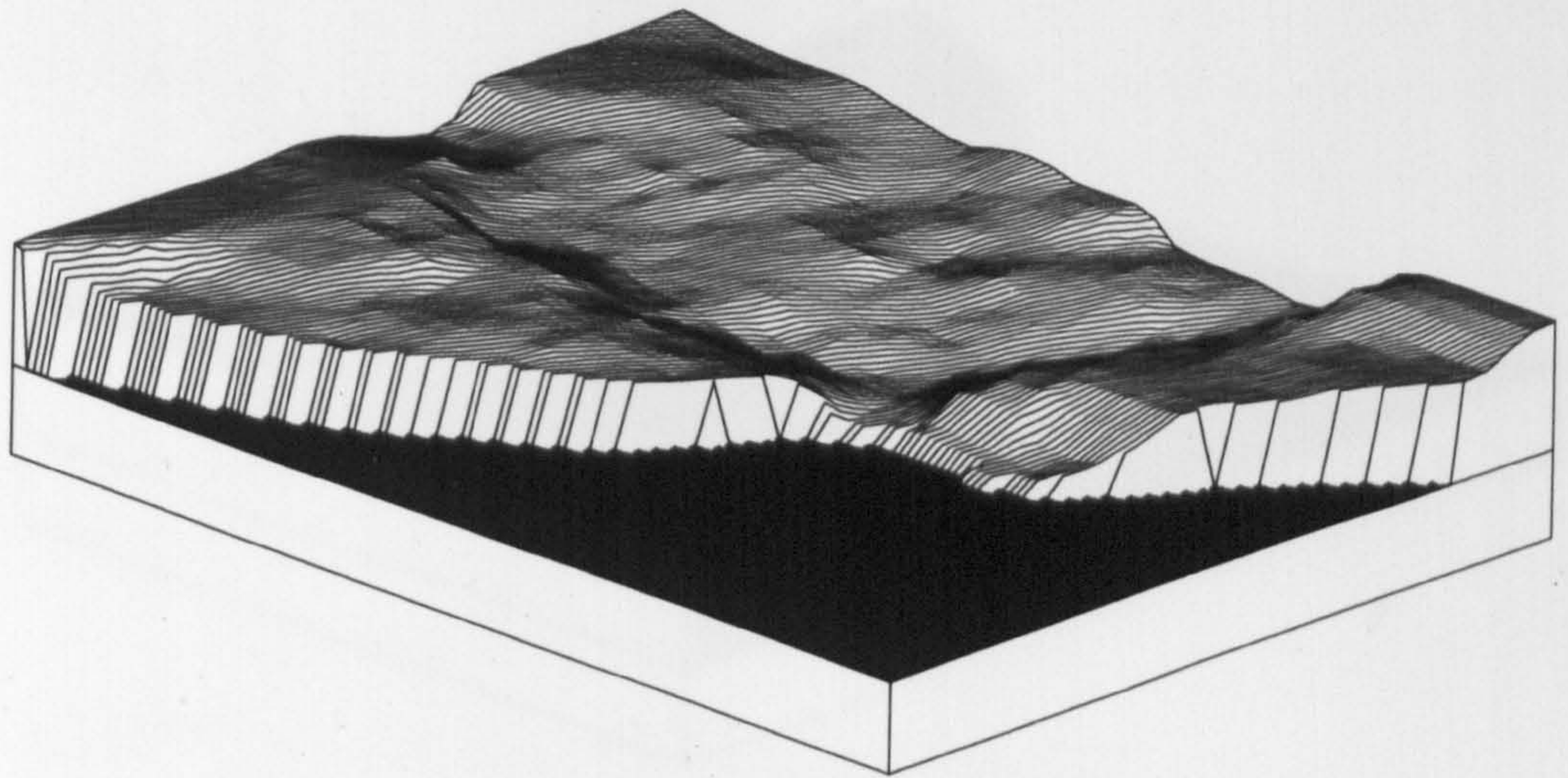
1. Ramsgate was indeed a '-gate', a gap or opening in the cliffs, as the second element of the place name suggests. The feature is particularly noticeable from the plot from the north-west. The gap was itself the original nucleus of the town.

2. The East and West Cliffs are clearly shown on all plots.

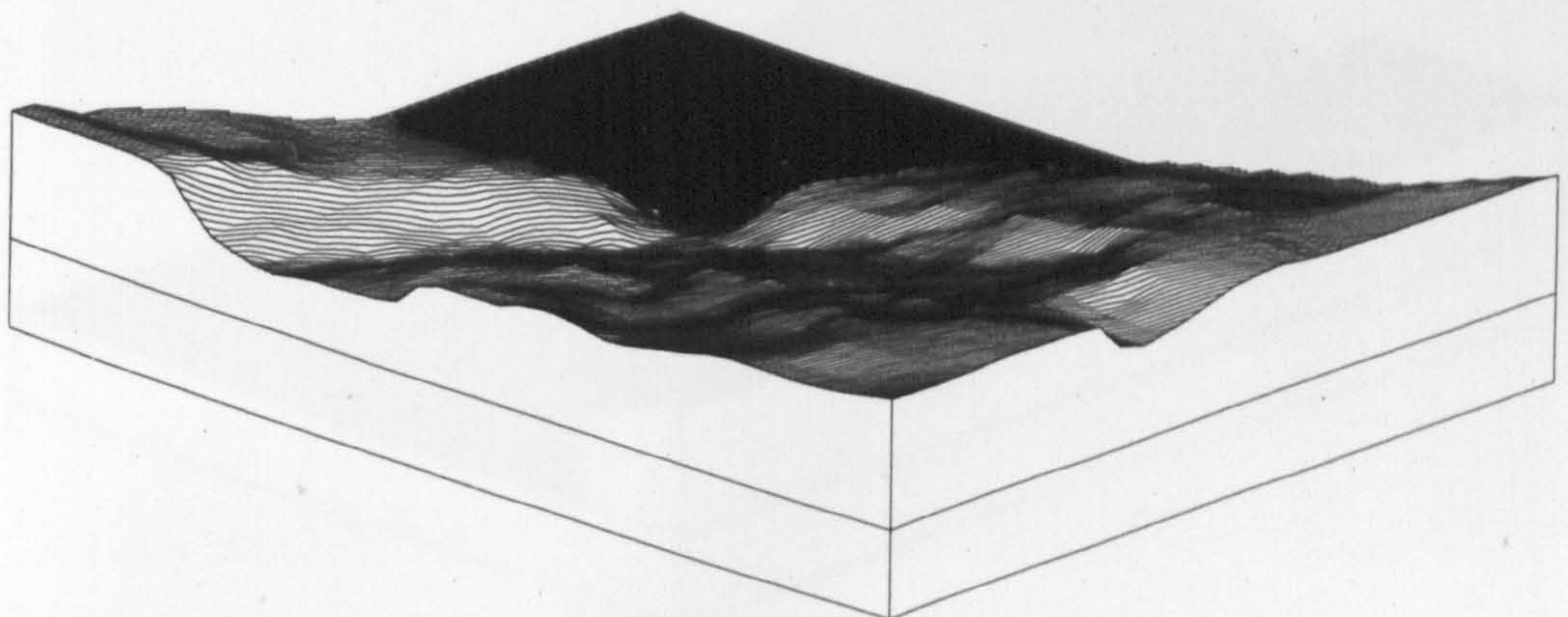
3. The dry valley system on the underlying chalk base rock, which has influenced the road system, is obvious. Queen Street roughly follows the dry valley that grades westwards from the 'gate', King Street the dry valley to the east. A subsidiary dry valley between

1. See above, Table IV.51

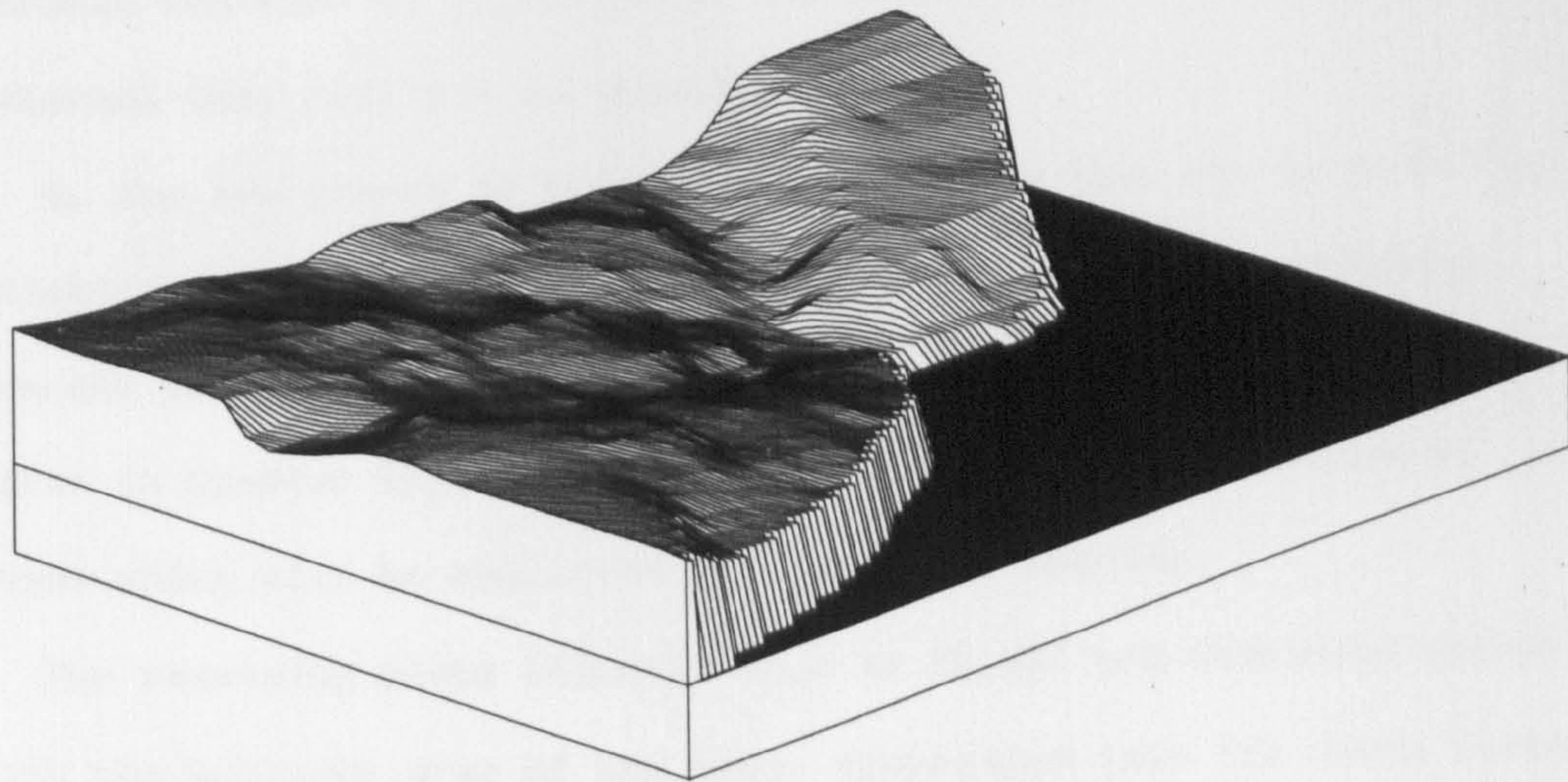
2. Plots involving the 100 index notation are identified as such by their individual captions.



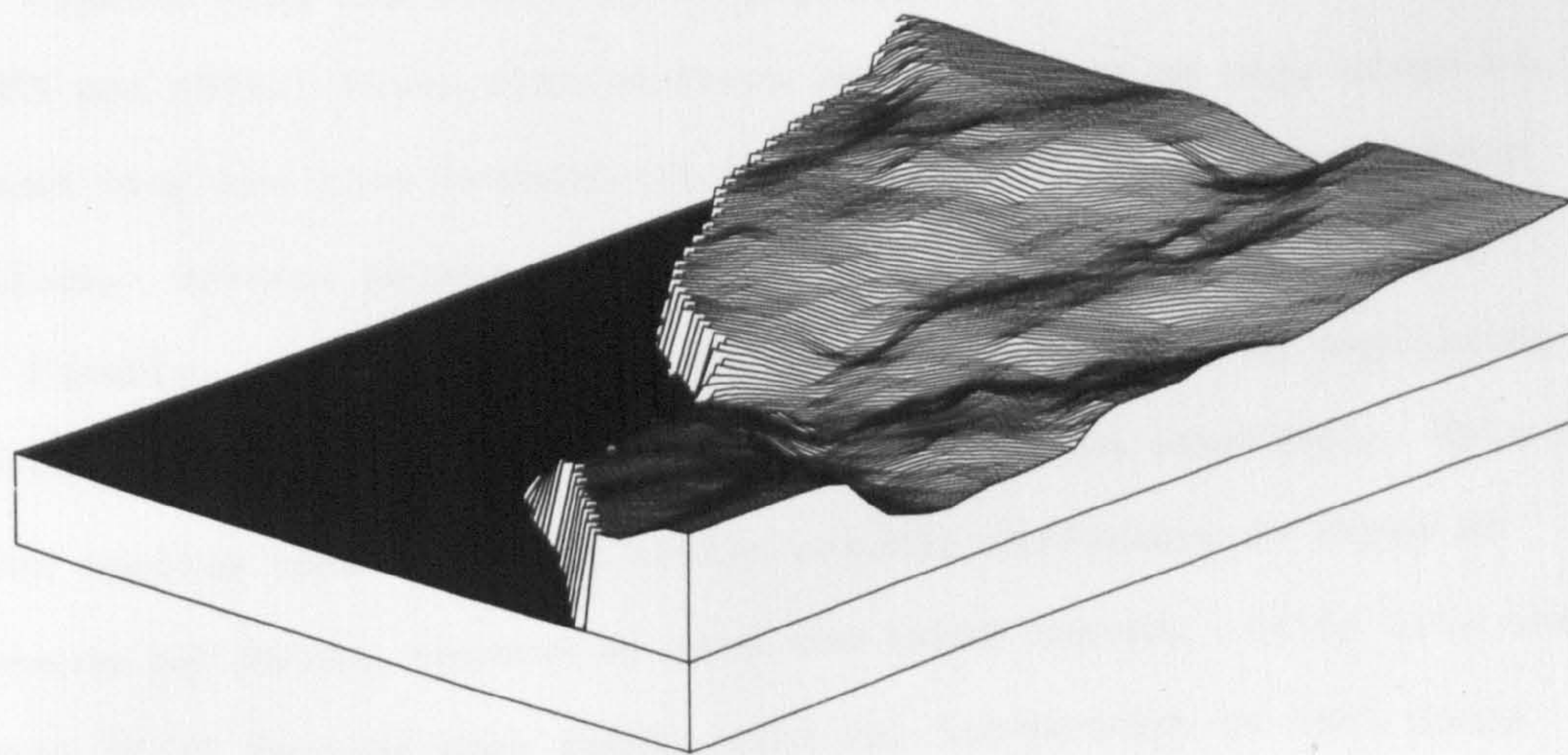
RAMSGATE FROM THE SOUTH-EAST DATA FROM ORDNANCE SURVEY BENCH MARKS



RAMSGATE FROM THE NORTH-WEST DATA FROM ORDNANCE SURVEY BENCH MARKS



RAMSGATE FROM THE SOUTH-WEST



RAMSGATE FROM THE NORTH-EAST

between these two to the north, noticeable on the plot from the north-east, is followed by the High Street. The position of other streets can also be pin-pointed, but since these are of purely local interest they will not be examined here.

4. The low ground in the north-east of the town can be seen immediately to the west of the East Cliff. It forms the depression nearest the viewer in the plot seen from the north-east. As suggested in Chapter III, this was the nucleus⁵ of a low status area¹, a theme which will be amplified and developed shortly.

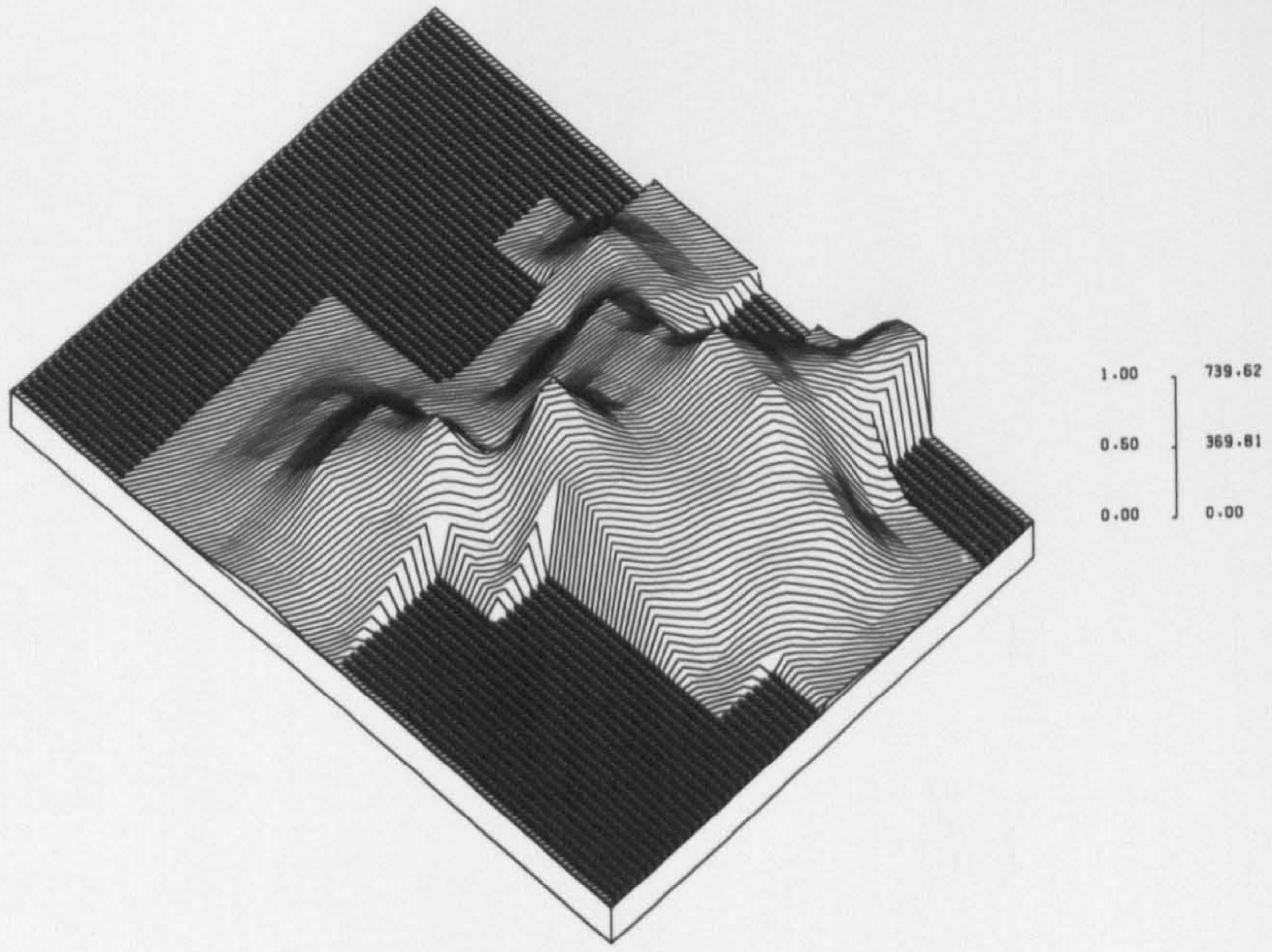
The remaining plots (Figures VI.3 to VI.23) are concerned purely with the built-up area of the town, formalised into its three hectare grid squares. The expansion of the town between 1851 and 1871 is obvious from a comparison of any pair of plots relating to the respective dates. Figures VI.3 to VI.23 differ from the plots so far considered only insofar as a variable other than height above sea level is being examined, and in that the perspective viewing angle of the plot is higher, permitting as it were a 'bird's-eye-view'.

Figures VI.3 and VI.4 compare population and housing density in 1851 and 1871. These distributions are presented at this stage because they are also fundamental to an understanding of those which follow. Several points emerge from a comparison of these plots.

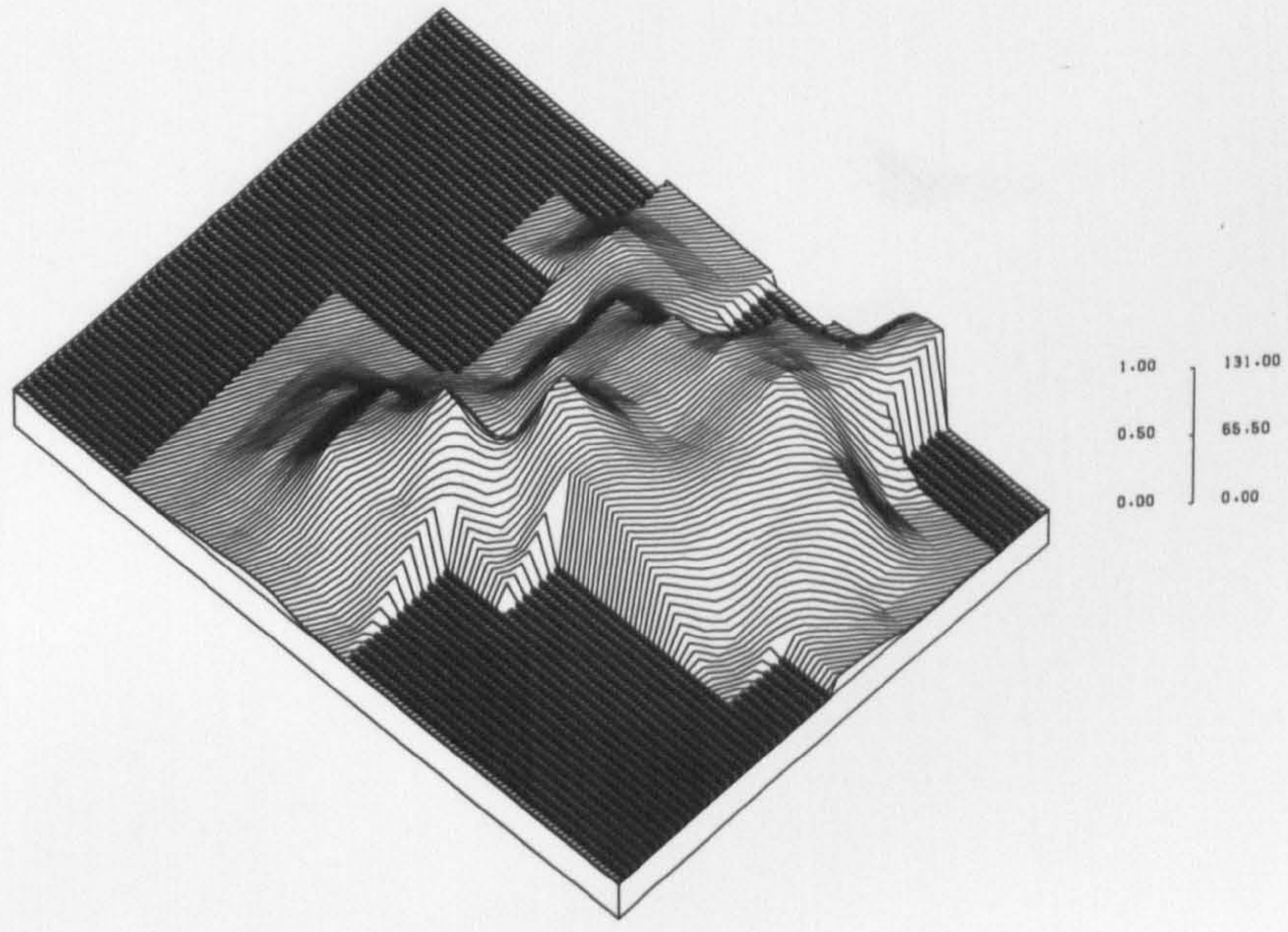
Firstly, so similar was the density of housing and of population at both dates that the distributions appear to be identical. This in turn implies that there was little overall difference in terms of persons per house, counter to what one would expect. It is true that Table IV.51 implies that family size was independent of both Class

1. See above p 79

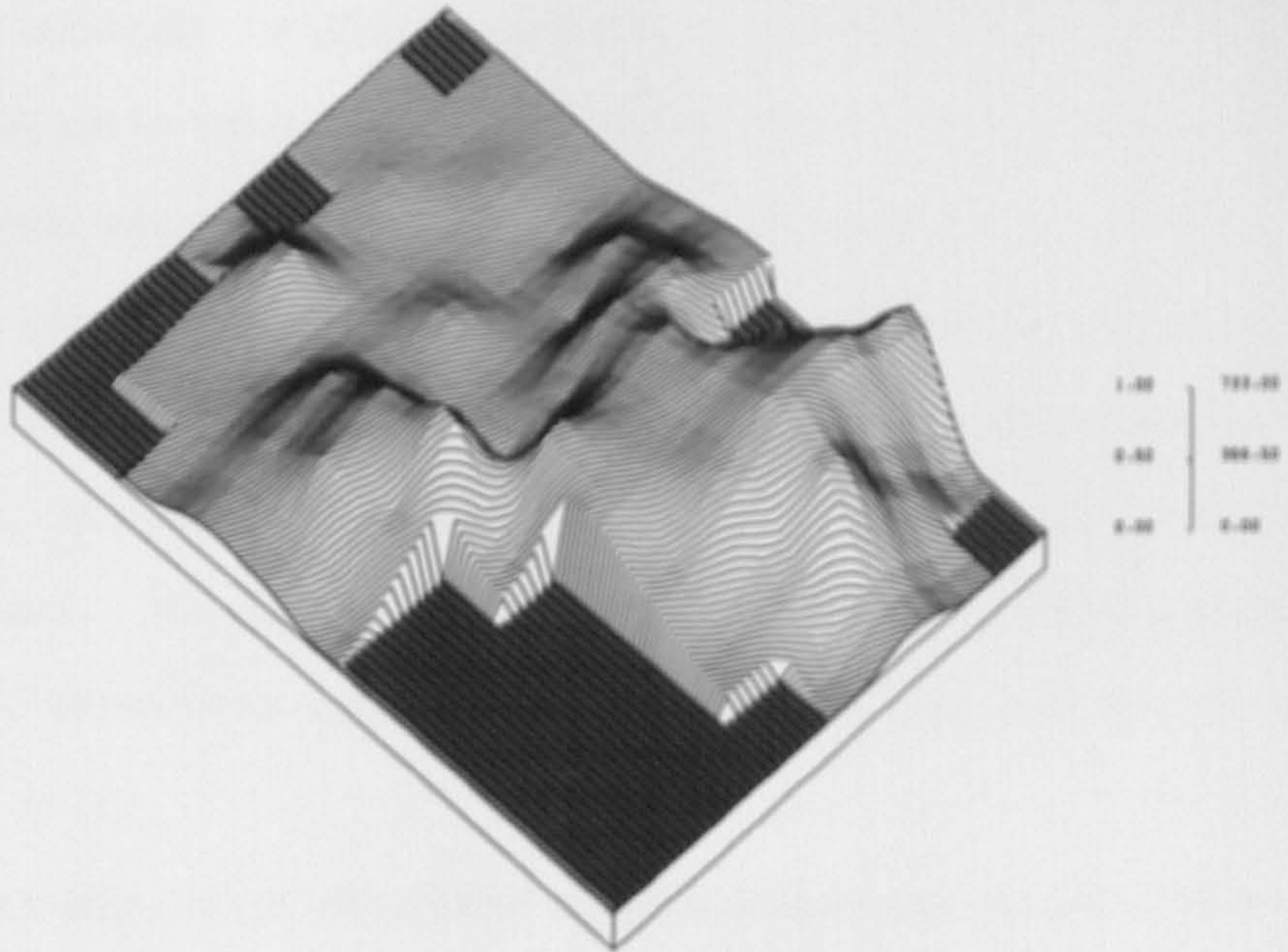
Figures VI.3 to VI.23 are all viewed
from the South-East



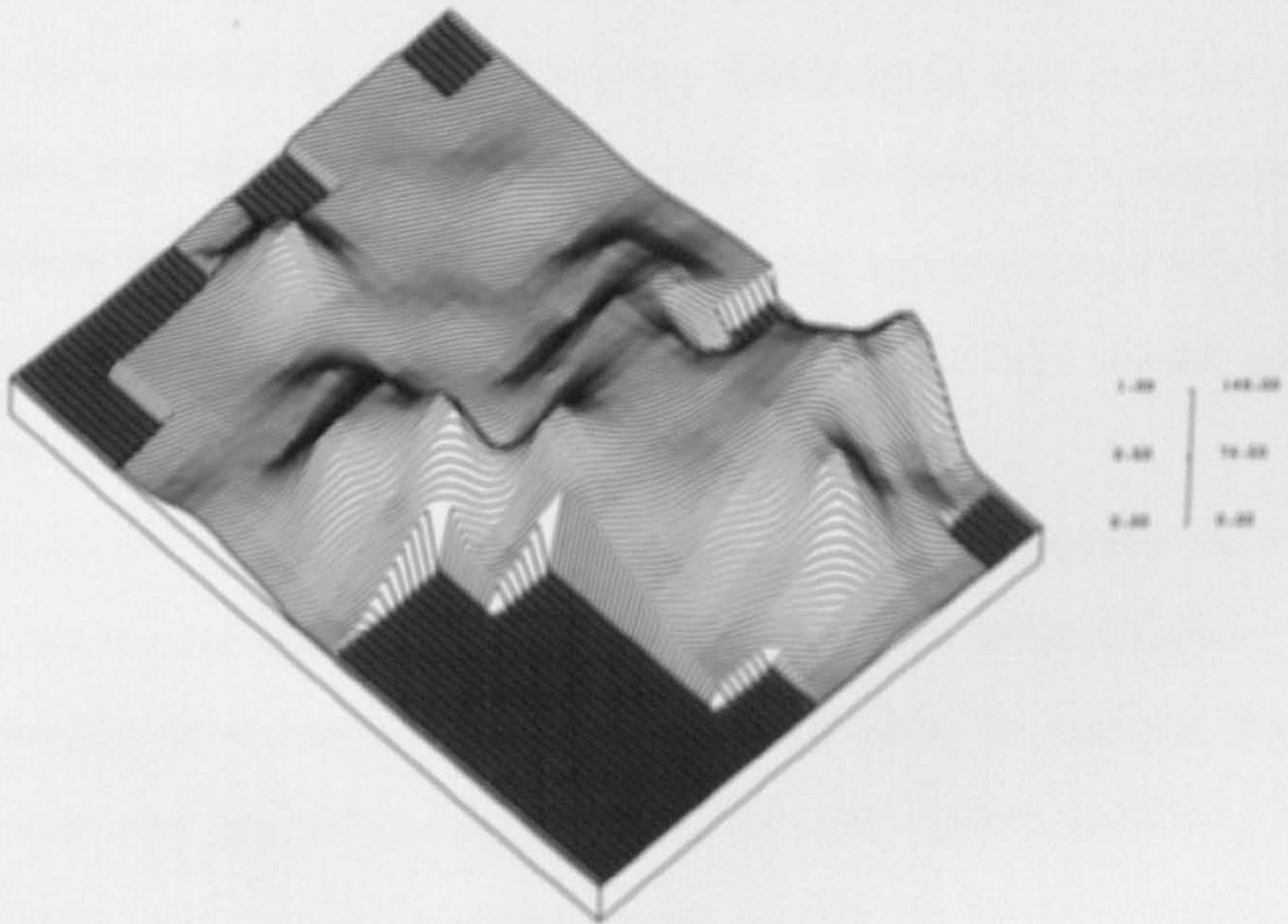
RAMSGATE 1851 POPULATION DENSITY
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 08/02/77



RAMSGATE 1851 HOUSING DENSITY
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 08/02/77



RAMSGATE 1871 POPULATION DENSITY
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 10/02/77



RAMSGATE 1871 HOUSING DENSITY
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 10/02/77

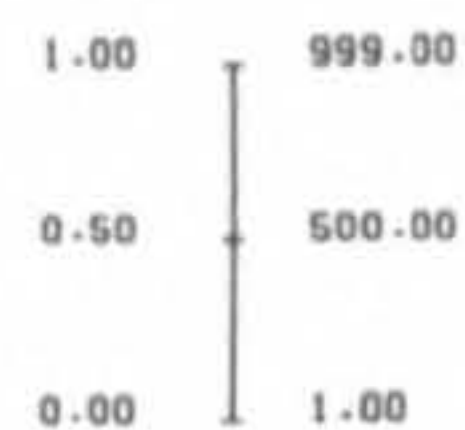
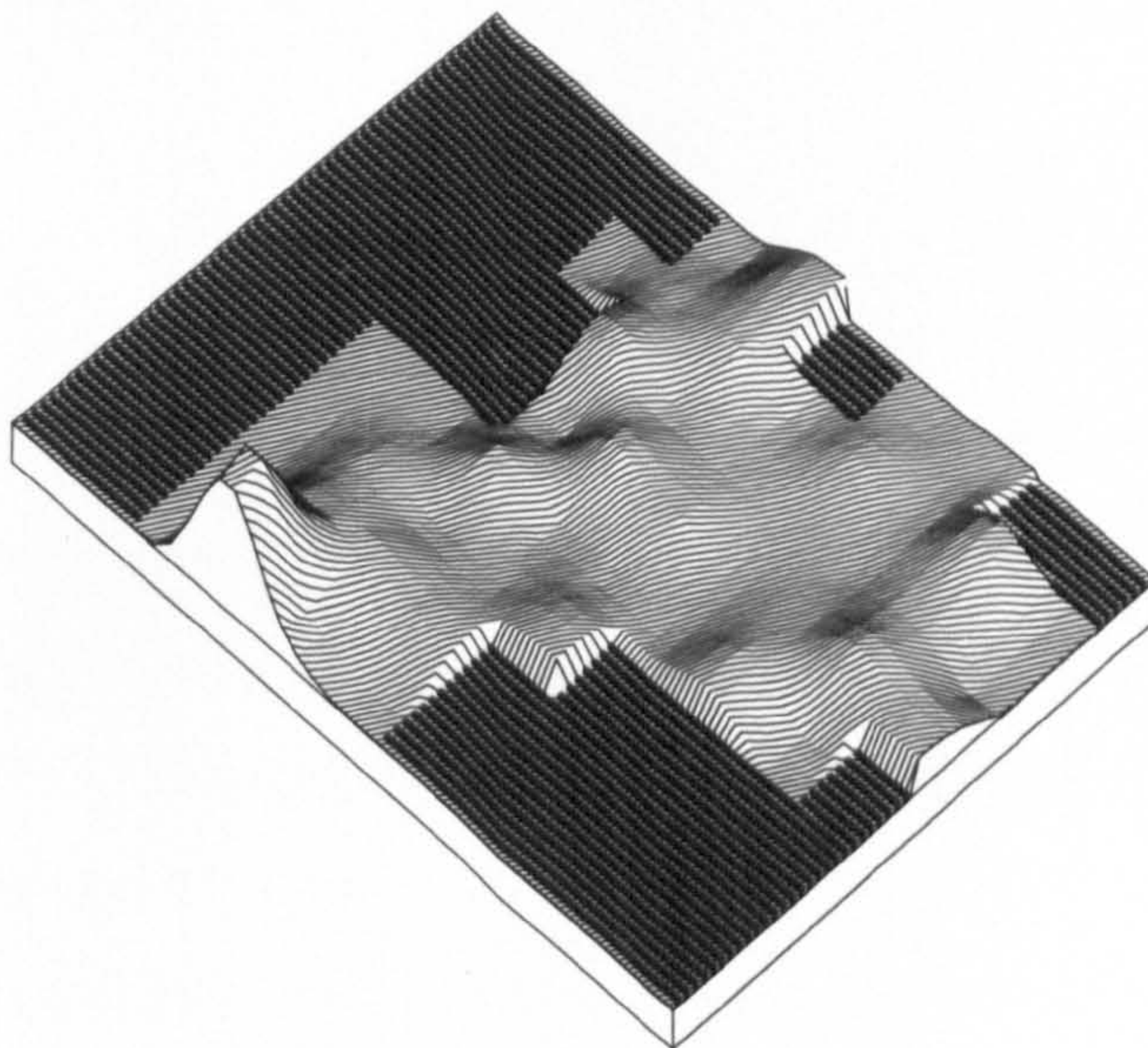
and rateable value; Tables IV.34 and IV.43, however, show that there was a distinct relationship between household size on the one hand, and rateable value and Class on the other. The explanation for this apparent anomaly lies in the scale at which the distributions are being considered. The three hectare grid squares were obviously of sufficient size to conceal variations in persons per house. In other words, internal variations within grid squares were removed by aggregation. The implication is interesting: in terms of persons per house, variations operated at the micro-scale, but not at levels above this.

Secondly, high densities of population and housing at both dates were found on the low ground around the harbour and along the King Street axis leading to the north-east. Low densities on the other hand were found along the cliff tops and towards the western rural-urban fringe.

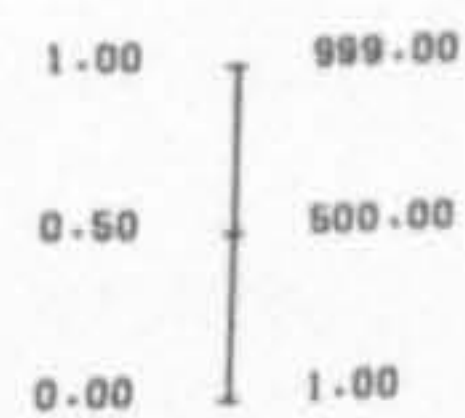
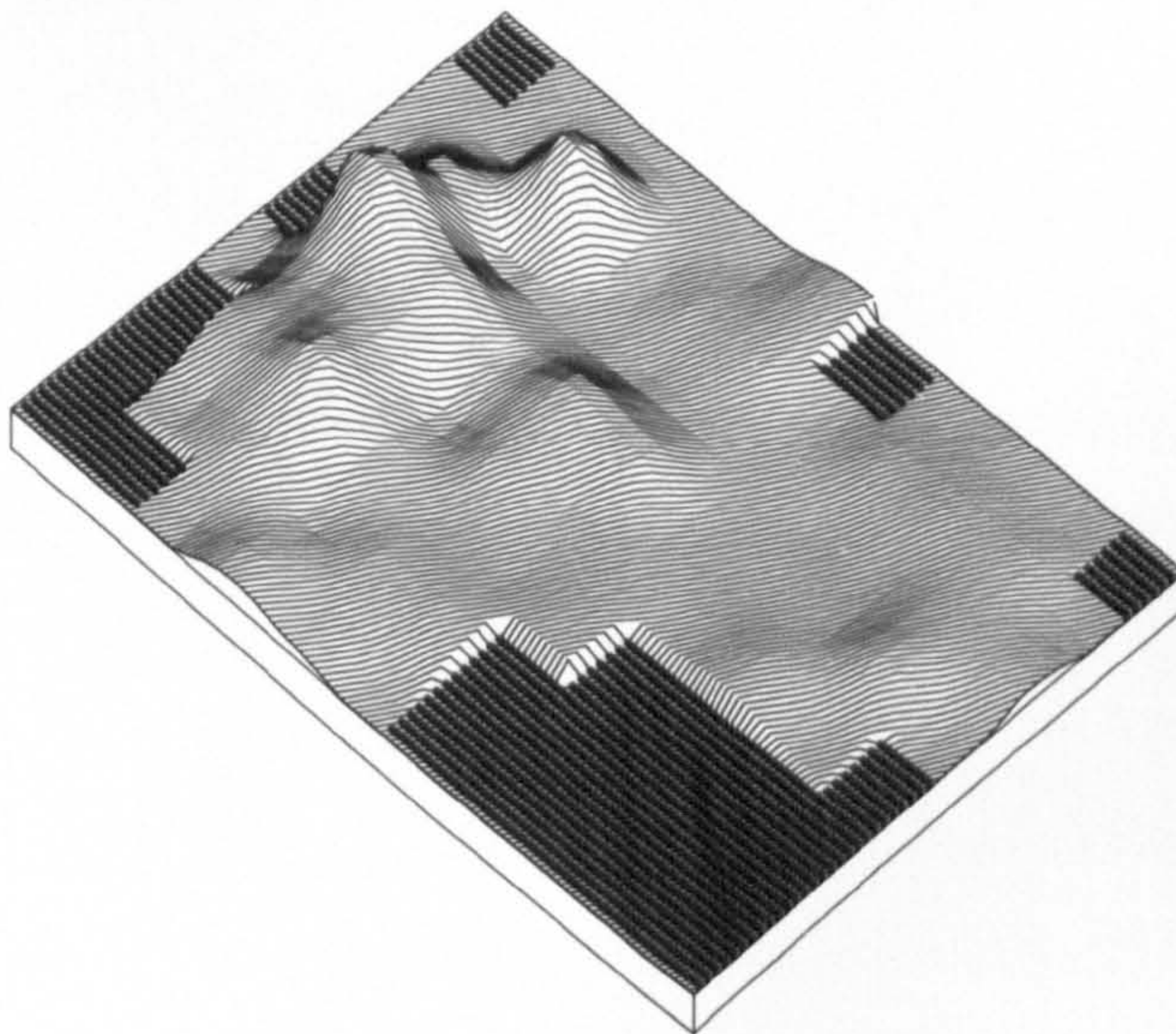
Finally, outward expansion of the town between 1851 and 1871 took place in general at a low density, indicating the sort of clientele for whom new houses were being built. It should be noticed, however, that some of the building at the western extremity of the town was at a higher density, showing that not all builders aimed at the same type of market¹.

Whilst on the subject of housing, it is instructive to compare the distribution of unoccupied houses in 1851 and 1871 (Figure VI.5). An interesting development is revealed. In 1851 it was the West Cliff which saw the largest concentration of unoccupied houses. These were large properties waiting to be rented in their entirety by fashionable summer visitors and their entourages. The 1871 census was

1. c.f. above p 81



RAMSGATE 1851: UNOCCUPIED HOUSES 100-AVERAGE=6.73-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75

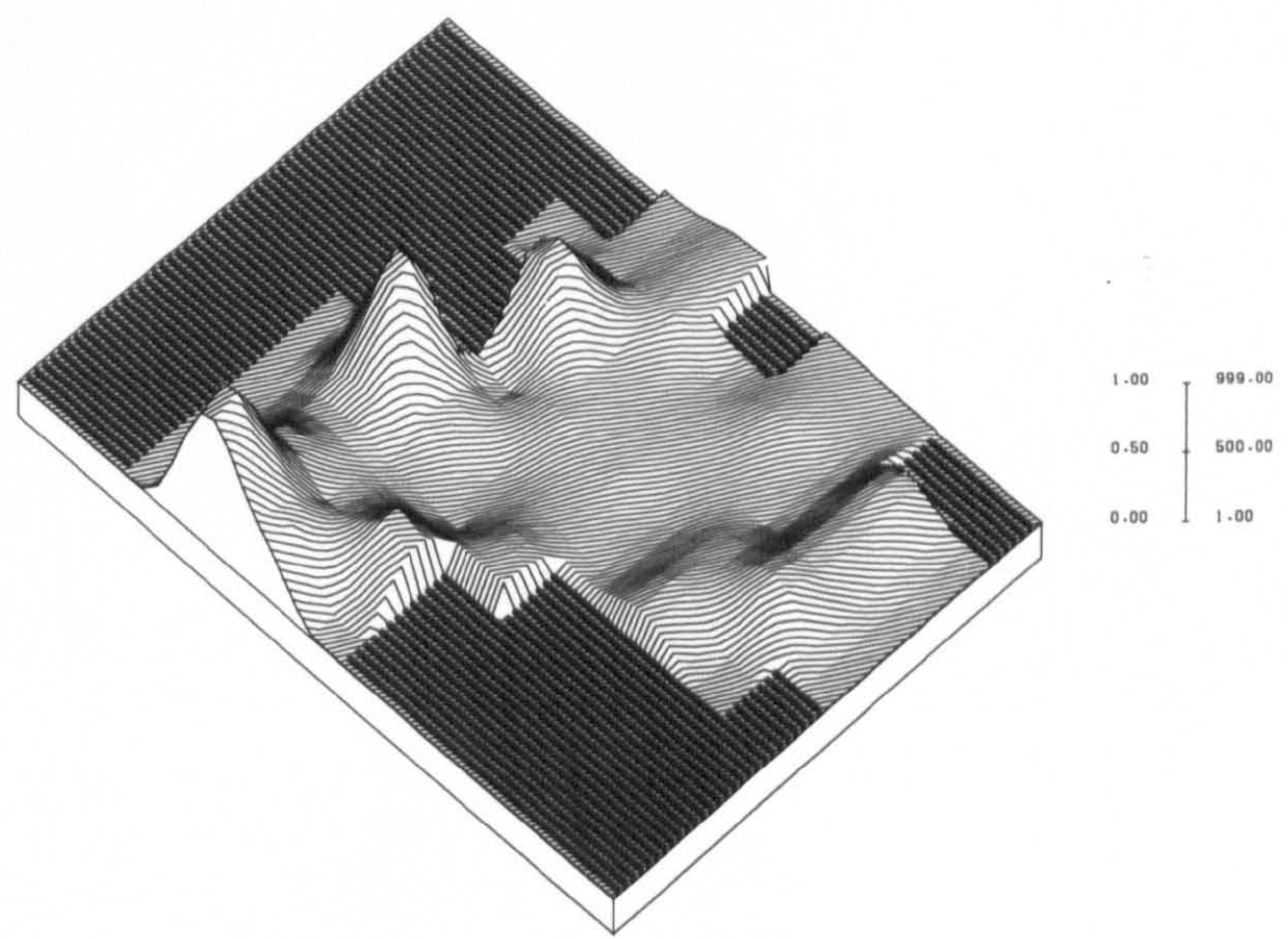


RAMSGATE 1871: UNOCCUPIED HOUSES 100-AVERAGE=7.93-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75

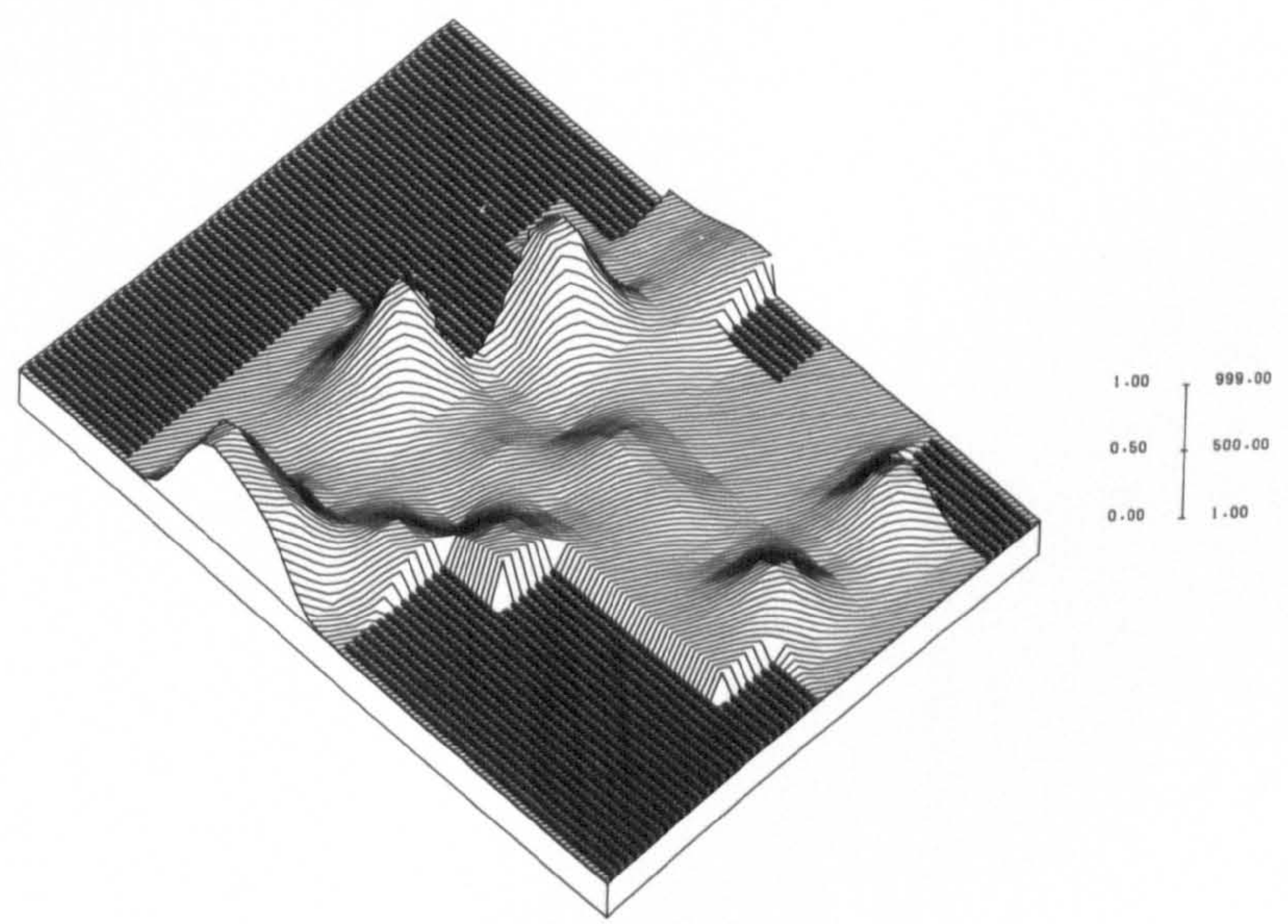
taken at almost exactly the same time of year as that of the 1851, yet the West Cliff showed nothing like the same vacancy rate. In other words, these large properties were no longer expecting a summer let. Instead, as Figure VI.21 subsequently shows, they had been taken over as lodging houses, a fact which in turn has possible implications for the leitmotif of a declining social tone. The largest concentration of unoccupied houses in 1871 was in those parts of the built-up area which were post-1851 additions. This forms clear evidence, if more is needed, that the building boom of the 1860s was indeed speculative¹.

It has been stated several times that the cliff tops were the most fashionable part of Ramsgate. Figures VI.6 and VI.7, which examine the distributions of male household heads in Class I and households with a large number of servants at each date, show that this assertion is fully justified. In 1851 the association between Class I and households with three or more servants was exceptionally close. As can be seen, it was the West Cliff and the western rural-urban fringe, with their low population densities, which accounted for the highest concentration of each variable. The lower lying north-eastern quarter of the town was avoided; the lack of view and the gas-works meant that this was a residual area left to lower status groups. It is interesting that the East Cliff seems to have been less favoured by the affluent in 1851 than was the West Cliff. By 1871, however, the East Cliff had made up ground at least in terms of servant-keeping, attributable to the completion of the Granville Hotel and other large properties during the 1860s. Thus whilst it can be said that the West Cliff was more attractive to professional elements, there was little

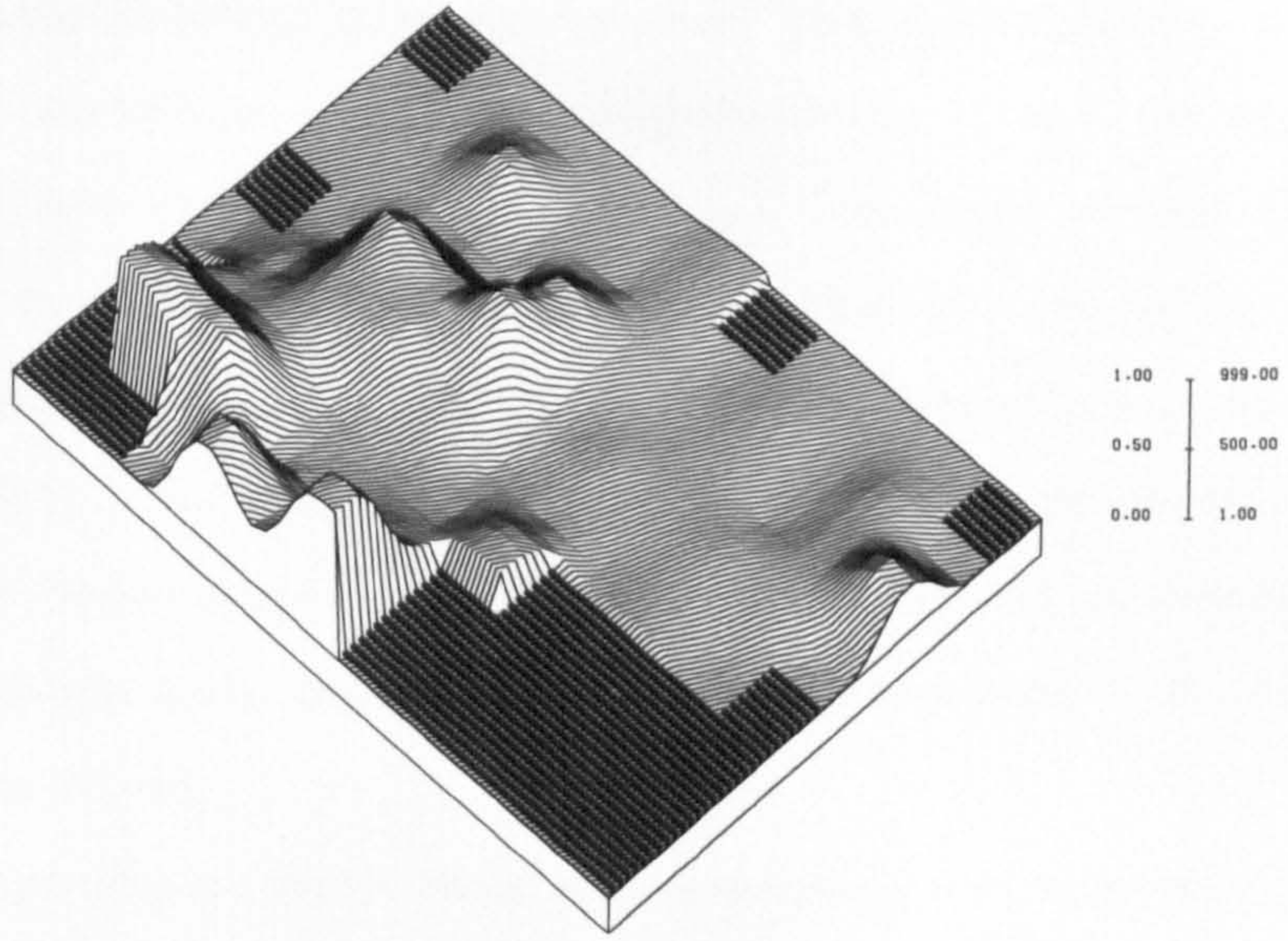
1. c.f. above pp 80-2



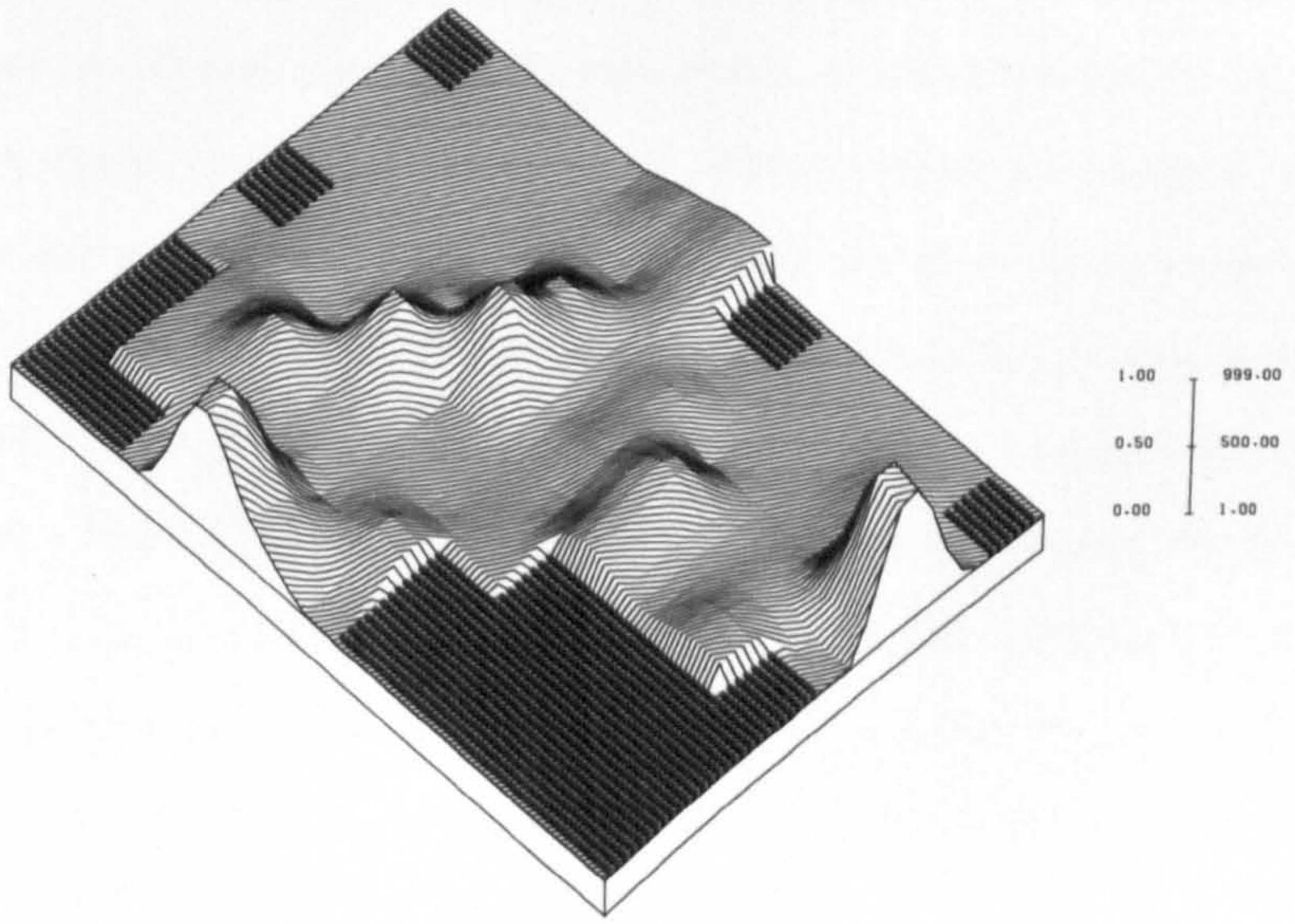
RAMSGATE 1851: R.G. CLASS 1 100=AVERAGE=8.0-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



RAMSGATE 1851: HOUSEHOLDS WITH THREE OR MORE SERVANTS 100=5.0-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



RAMSGATE 1871: R.G.CLASS 1 100=AVERAGE=7.1-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
*WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75



RAMSGATE 1871: HOUSEHOLDS WITH THREE OR MORE SERVANTS 100=4.0-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
*WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75

overall difference between the two cliffs in terms of servants. In general, however, it should be noted that the relationship between the distribution of male household heads in Class I and household heads with three or more servants was less close in 1871 than it had been in 1851. In particular the more distant parts of the West Cliff, although occupied by professional groups, tended not to have so many servants. The implication is of course that there tended to be gradation between persons in Class I¹, and it should be remembered that relatively fewer household in 1871 had large numbers of servants (Table IV.10).

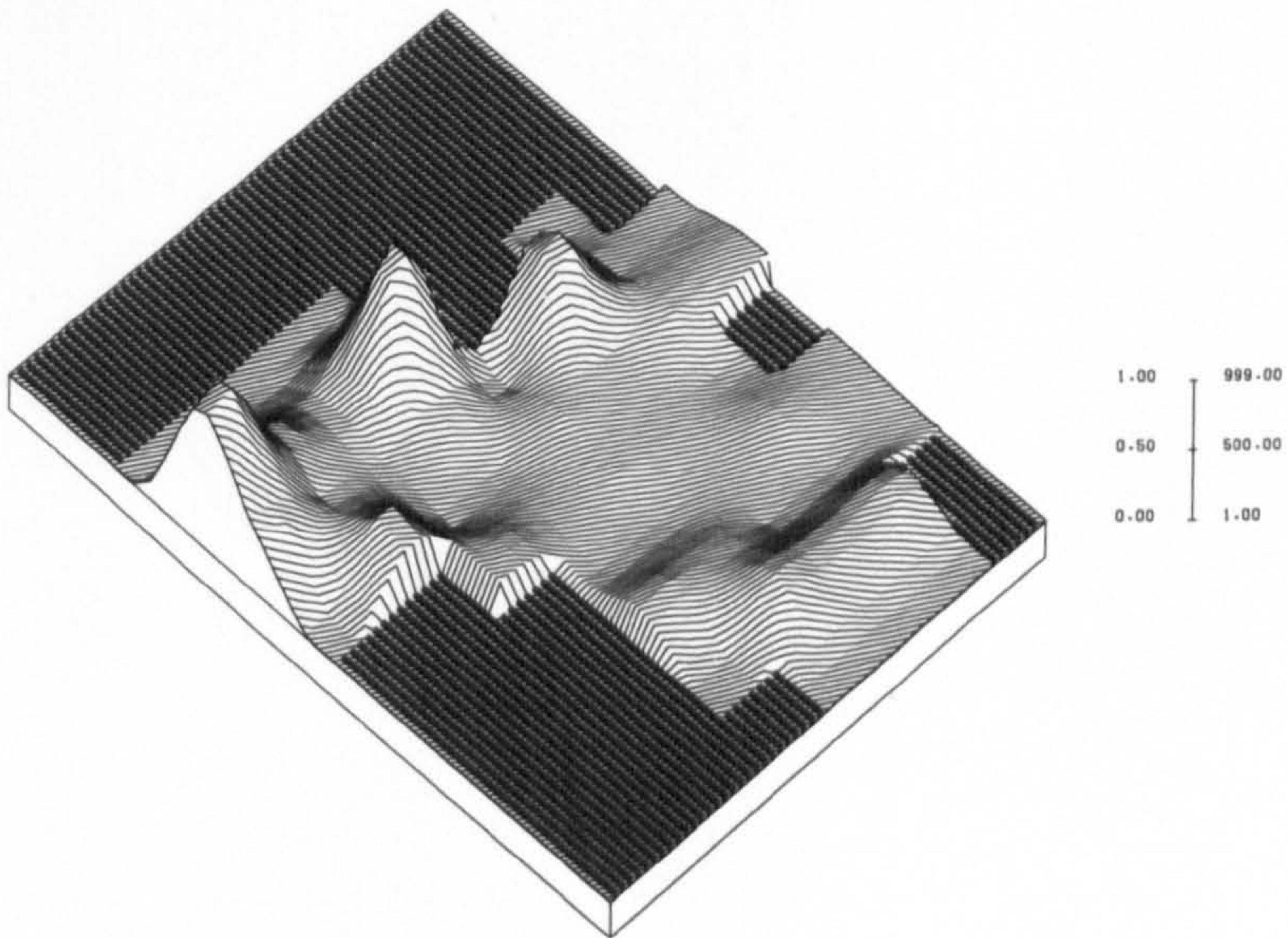
According to Table IV.49 owner-occupancy was disproportionately represented in households whose heads were in Class I. Figures VI.8 and VI.9 compare the corresponding spatial distributions². In 1851 the pattern displayed by each variable was very close, owner-occupancy being a feature of the West Cliff and the western rural-urban fringe with its low population density. By 1871 the spatial relationship was not so clear, confirming the trend evident in Table IV.49, although it was again true that in general both persons in Class I and owner-occupiers were found disproportionately in the western part of the town. It does therefore appear that the West Cliff was more fashionable than was the East Cliff, and it should be remembered that it was upon the West Cliff that it was rumoured that a Royal Palace was to be built³. It is also possible that the relative proximity of the East Cliff to the gas-works end of the town rendered it less desirable.

Owner-occupancy in 1871 also gives a modest fit with the area of

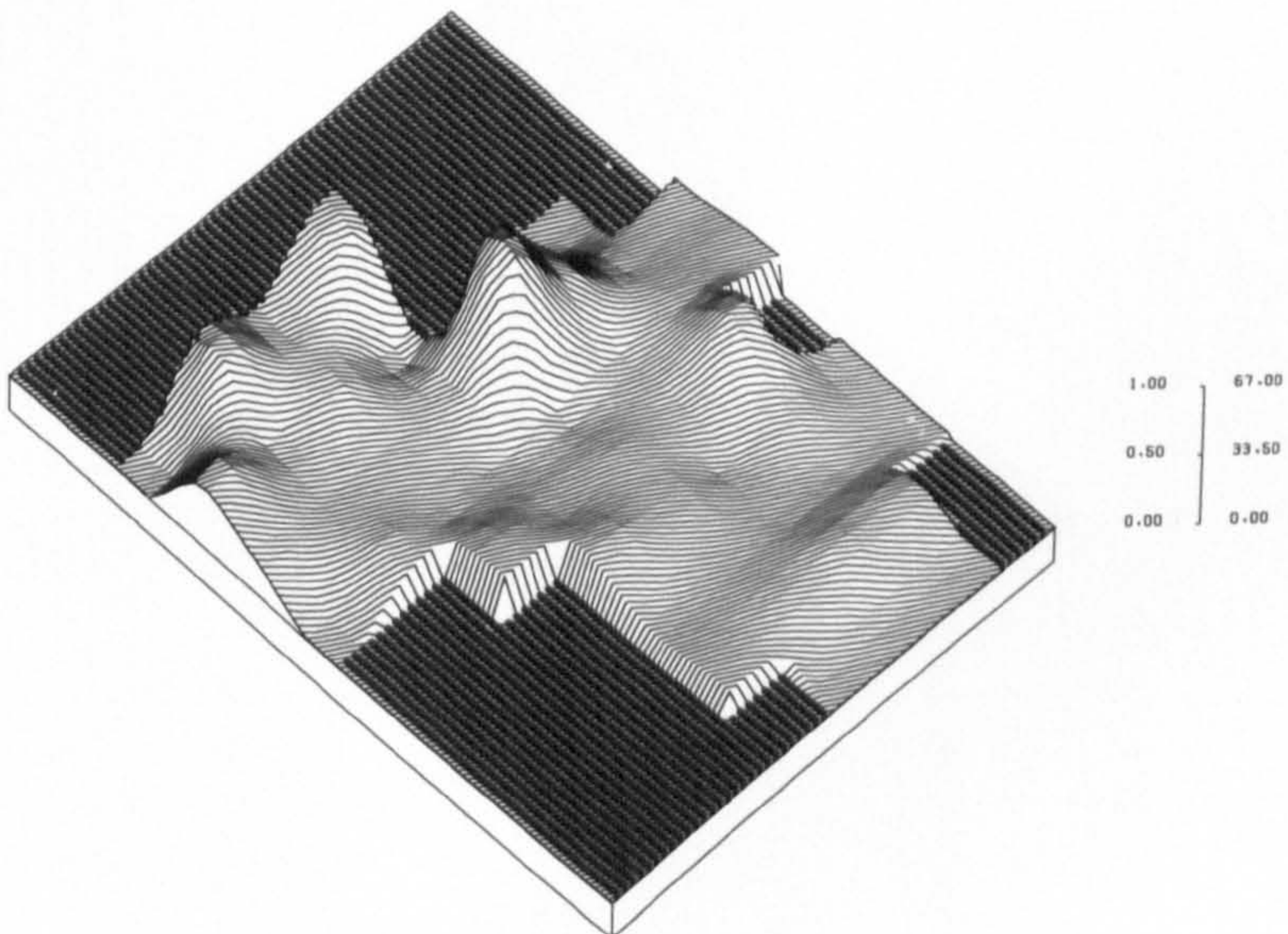
1. Katz was impressed with the efficacy of servants as indicators in Hamilton, Ontario; Katz (1975 A), 159

2. As explained above, the owner-occupancy plots deal with all grid squares, even those with a small number of household heads. This results in marked peaking towards the rural-urban fringe

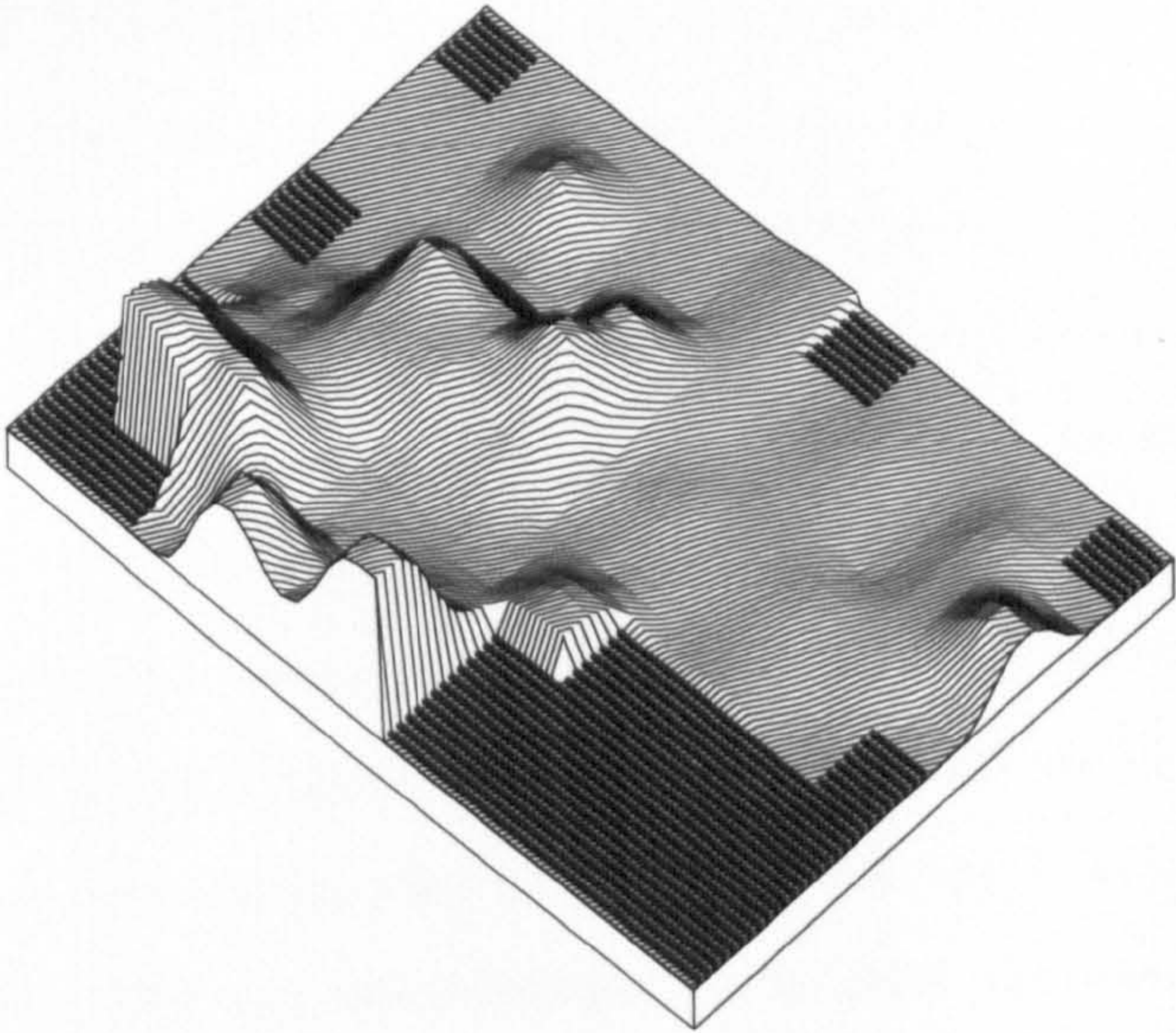
3. See above p 72



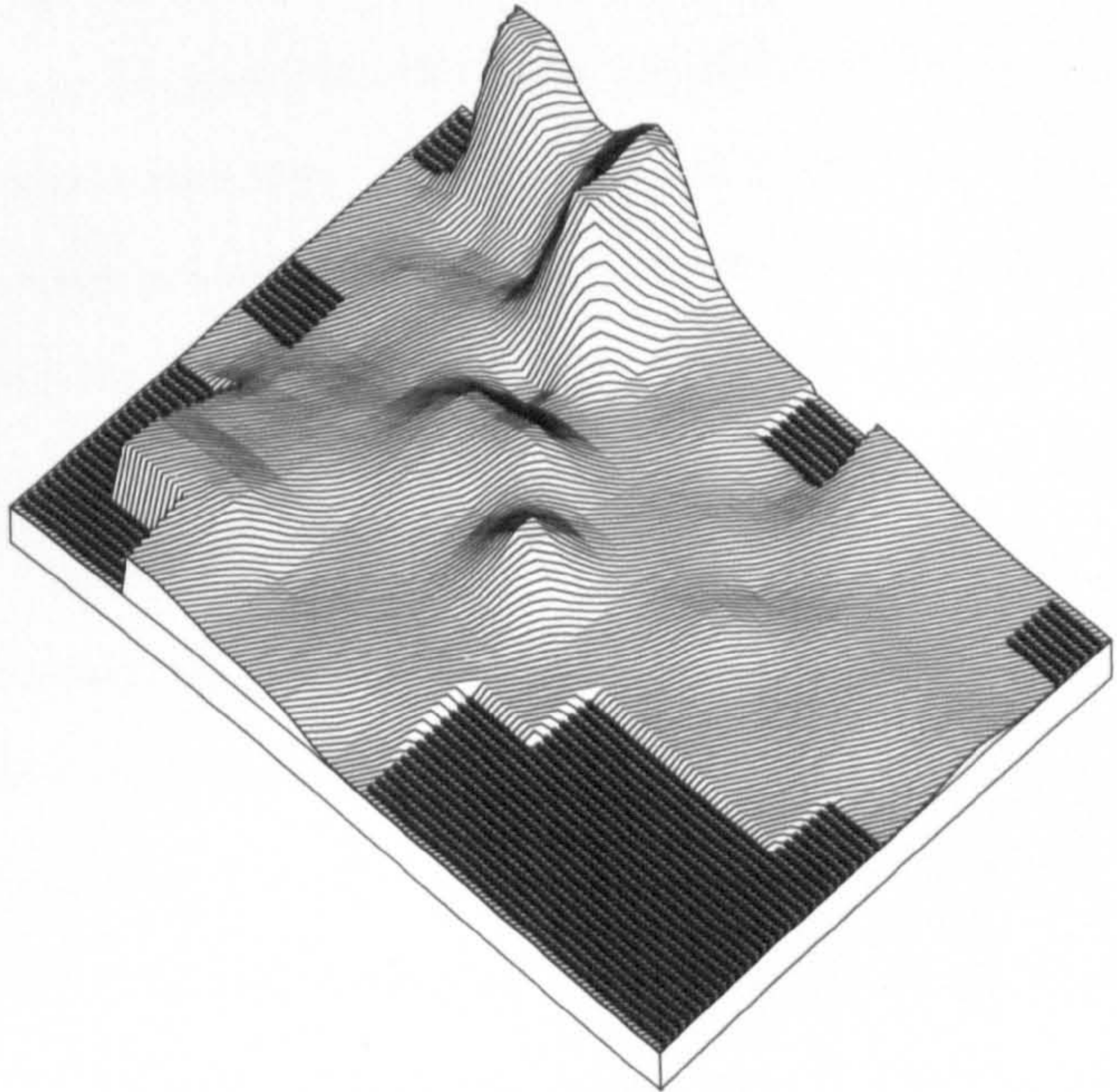
RAMSGATE 1851: R.G. CLASS 1 100-AVERAGE=8.0-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



RAMSGATE 1851 PERCENTAGE OF OWNER-OCCUPIED HOUSES
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 08/02/77



RAMSGATE 1871: R.G.CLASS 1 100=AVERAGE=7.1-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75



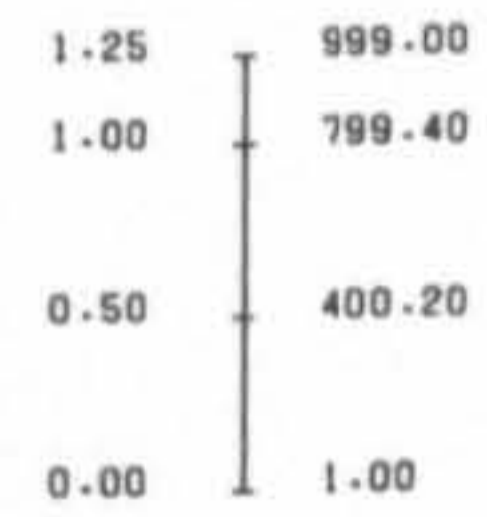
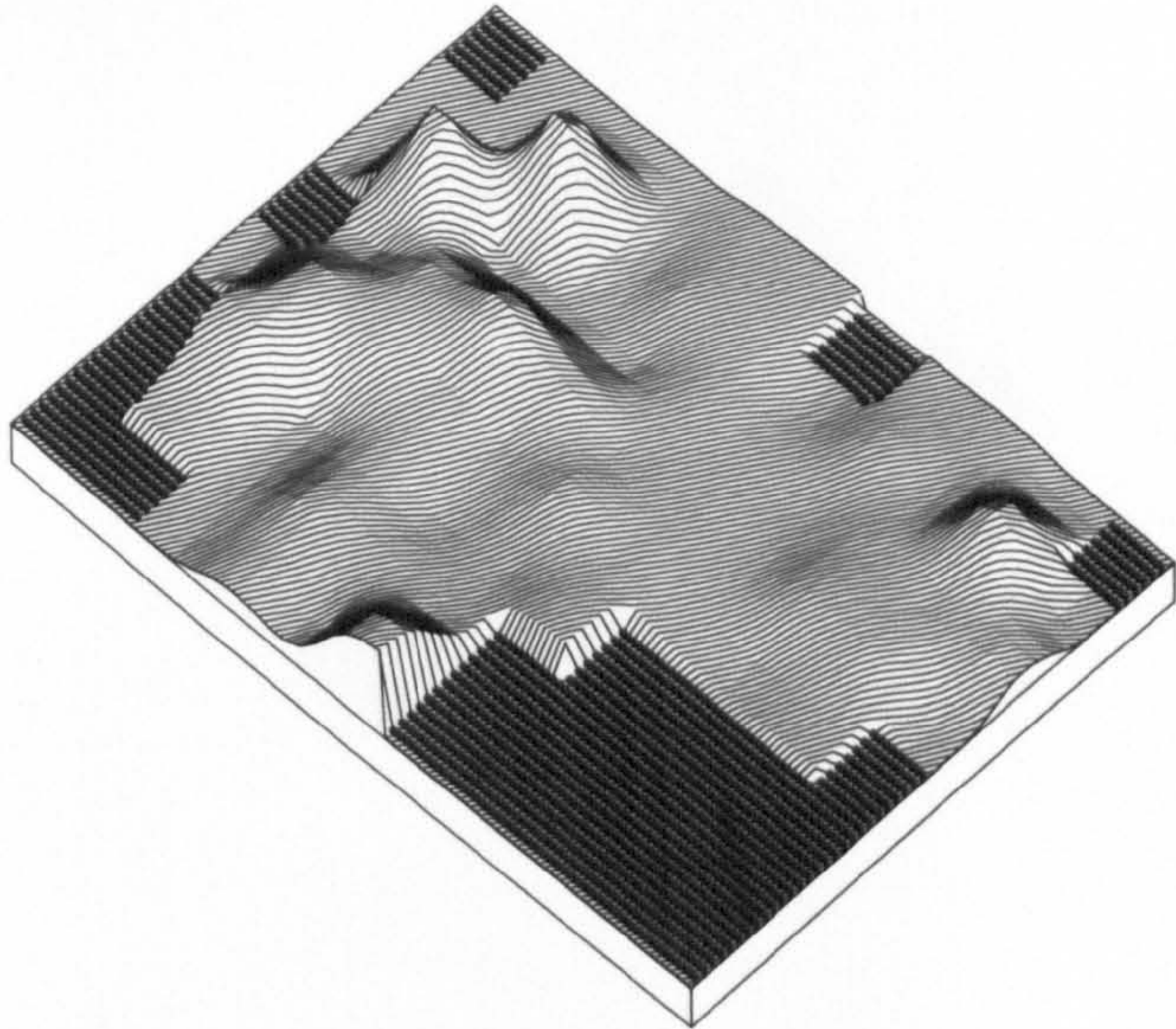
RAMSGATE 1871 PERCENTAGE OF HOUSES OWNER-OCCUPIED
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 10/02/77

the town which received new migrants between 1869 and 1871 (Figure VI.10). Although not all the areas which had a high degree of owner occupancy also had a large number of new arrivals, the converse is true: areas with new arrivals did have a fairly high degree of owner-occupancy. Owner-occupancy was not therefore confined to recent immigrants, but most of those arriving in the town did appear to be home purchasers in the low density areas to the west of the town centre. This is as one would expect from the known activities of the British Land Company which did much to finance the expansion of the town during the 1860s¹. One of the most central bumps of both new arrivals and owner-occupiers in fact corresponds with the Elms Estate, a British Land Company stronghold.

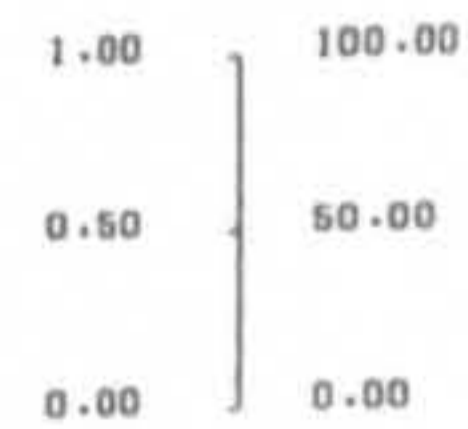
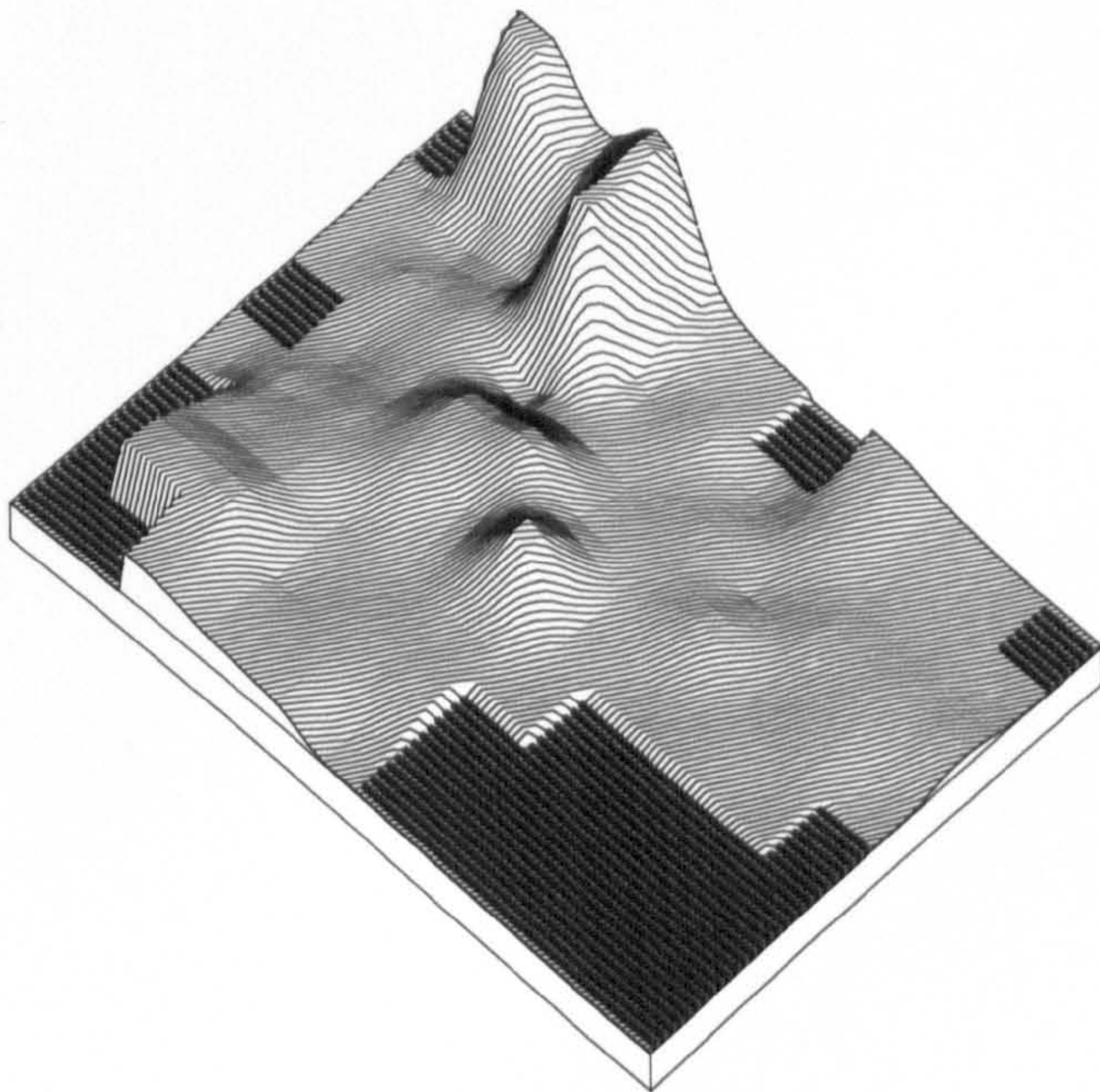
So far the distribution of the upper escholons of society has been considered. It is now time to examine the distribution of lower status groups (Figure VI.11). A point that is immediately obvious is that those in semi-skilled and manual occupations did not show a peaked distribution. The reason is that areas given over to these groups were seldom extensive. It was small courts and alleys that contained concentrations, those little dead-ends of which Dyos and Reeder have written², and which existed in most towns. The aggregation of data into grid squares therefore tended to dissolve, as it were, these concretions. Some generalisations can be made, however, about the distributions of those in Classes IV and V. The central retailing area was obviously the preserve of other groups, as was the sea-front. It was residual high density areas that were left to those of lower status. Two areas stand out in particular: an area up on the West Cliff, remote from any of the main streets, and round the

1. See above p 91

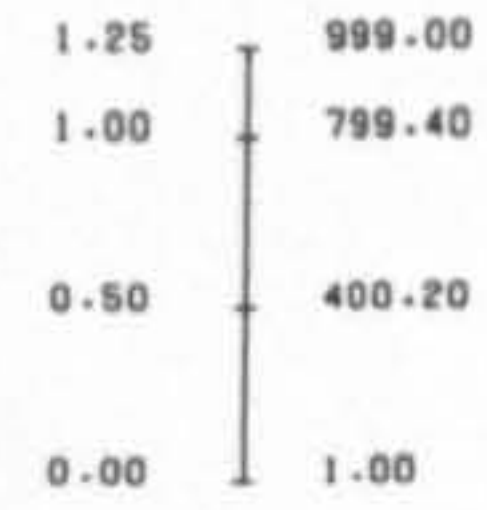
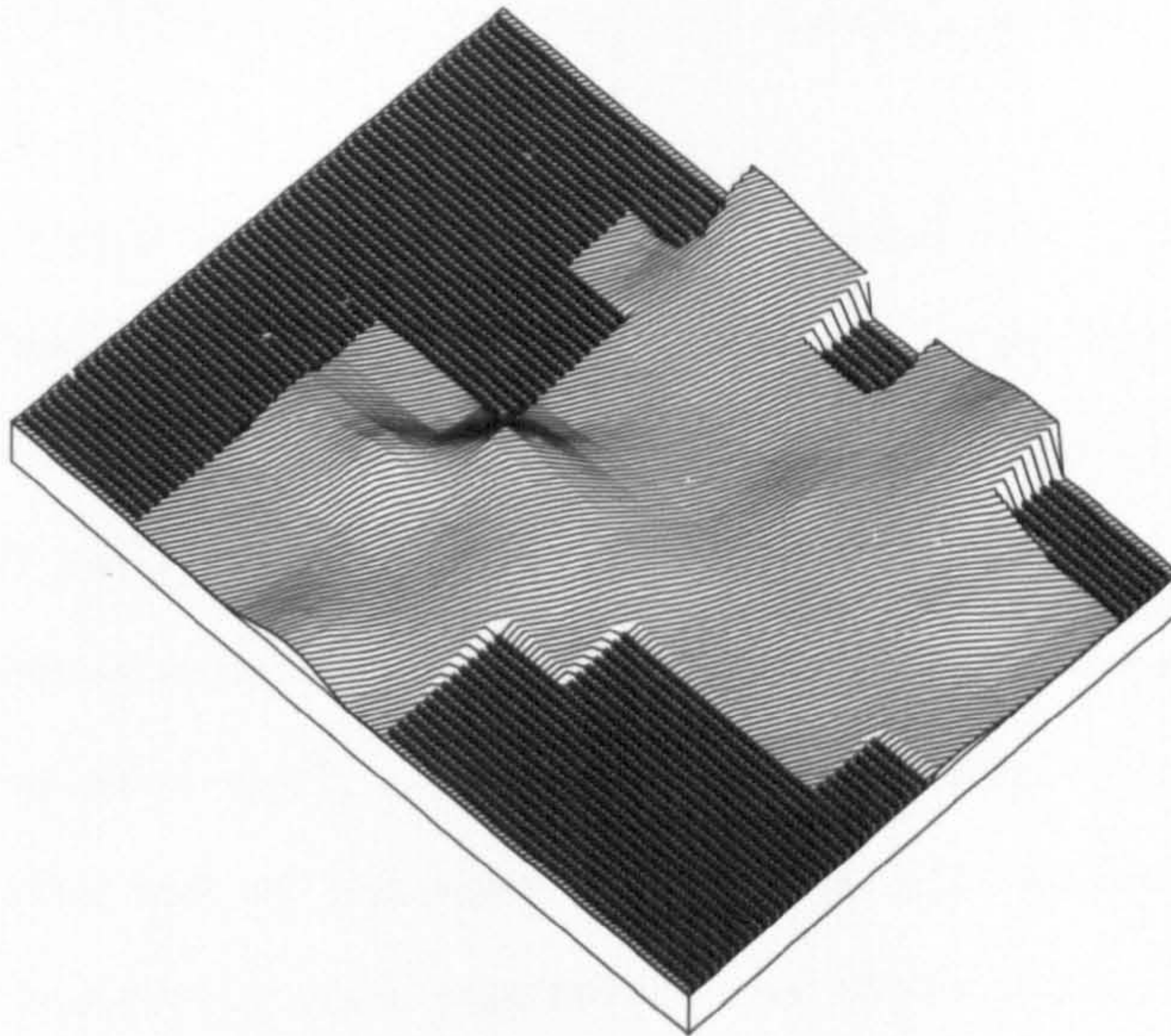
2. Dyos and Reeder (1973), 364



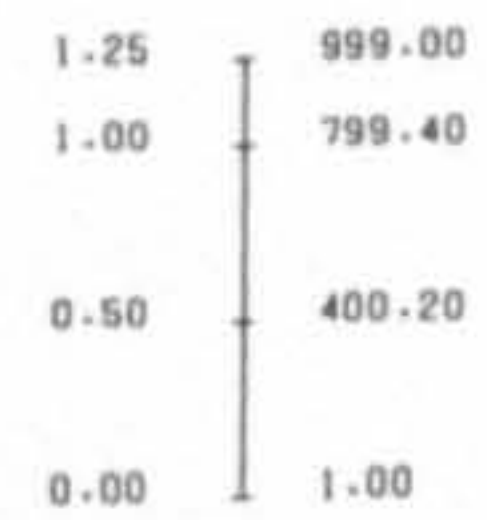
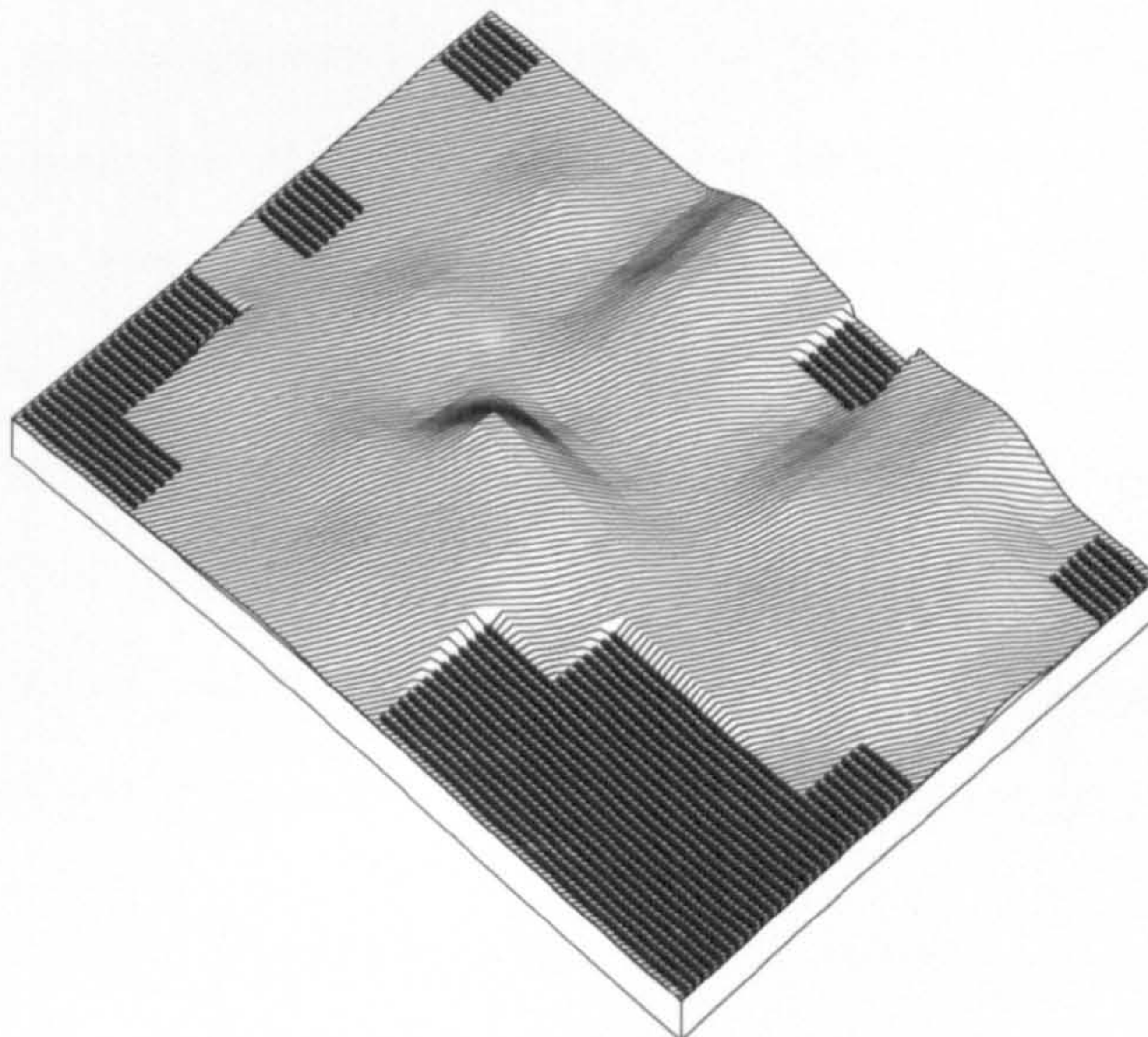
RAMSGATE 1871: NEW ARRIVALS 1869-1871 100=AVERAGE=17.4
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.50
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75



RAMSGATE 1871 PERCENTAGE OF HOUSES OWNER-OCCUPIED
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 10/02/77



RAMSGATE 1851: R.G. CLASSES 4 ^ 5 100=AVERAGE=21.3-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.50
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



RAMSGATE 1871: R.G. CLASSES 4 ^ 5 100=AVERAGE=24.3-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.50
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75

back of much more fashionable properties; and, naturally enough, the gas works, for a long time a nucleus of the town's labouring poor¹.

Although the distribution of householders leaving Ramsgate between 1851 and 1853 was again ^{ir}family general, what concentrations there were tended to coincide with areas which contained a ^erelatively large number of those in Classes IV and V (Figure VI.12). This confirms the suggestion made in Chapter V that mobility tended to be highest in low status areas², and accords with findings from North America³. The gas-works end of the town and the central enclave behind the West Cliff were both well represented as donor areas for out-migrants.

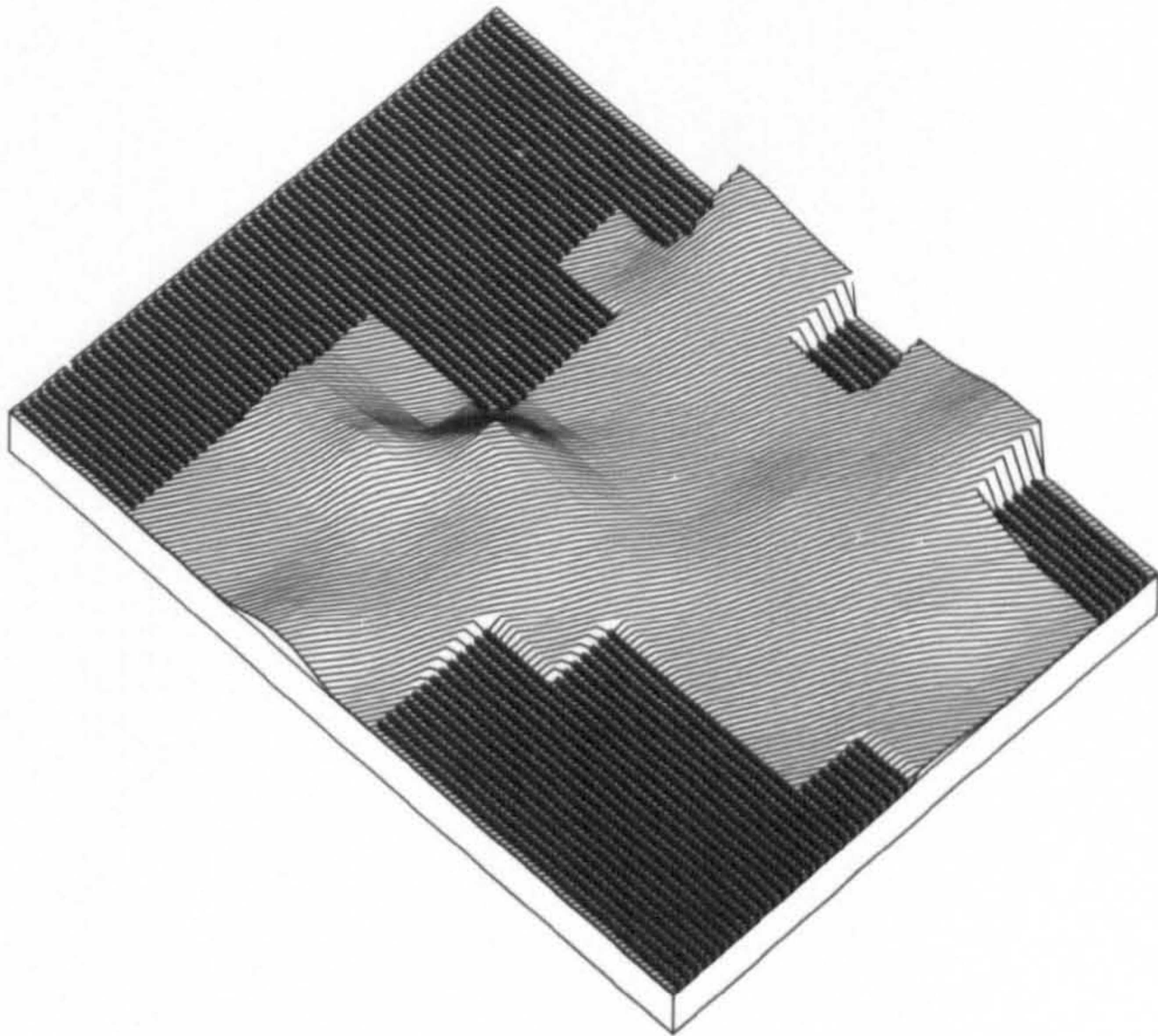
Figure VI.13 shows the distribution of households with lodgers. The 1851 pattern should be compared with that of Figure VI.11 showing the distribution of those in Classes IV and V. Lodging in 1851 was clearly an adjunct of low status. Yet it was shown in Chapter IV that at the household level there was only a random association between the incidence of lodgers and the Class of male household head⁴. The reason for this paradox is not difficult to see. Lodgers were found in 1851 in areas which had relatively high concentrations of persons in Classes IV and V, and hence in low status areas. Lodging house keepers, per se, do not belong to either Class IV or V, but to Class II. Hence at the individual level there would be no statistical association; at the grid square level there would be. This is therefore an instance where aggregation obviously aids an understanding of the society.

1. See above p 79

2. See above pp 233-4

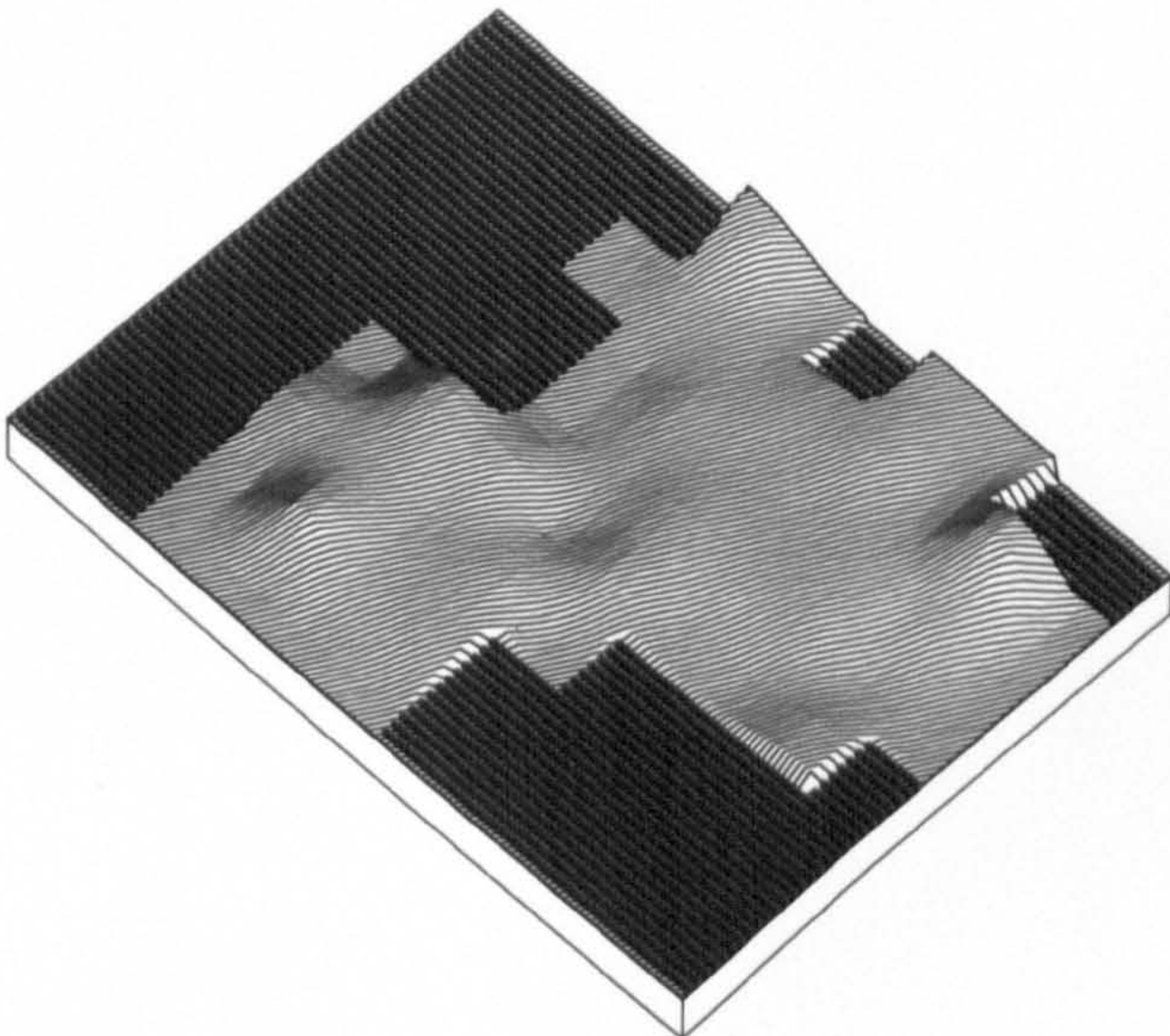
3. Knights (1971), 108

4. See above pp 146-9



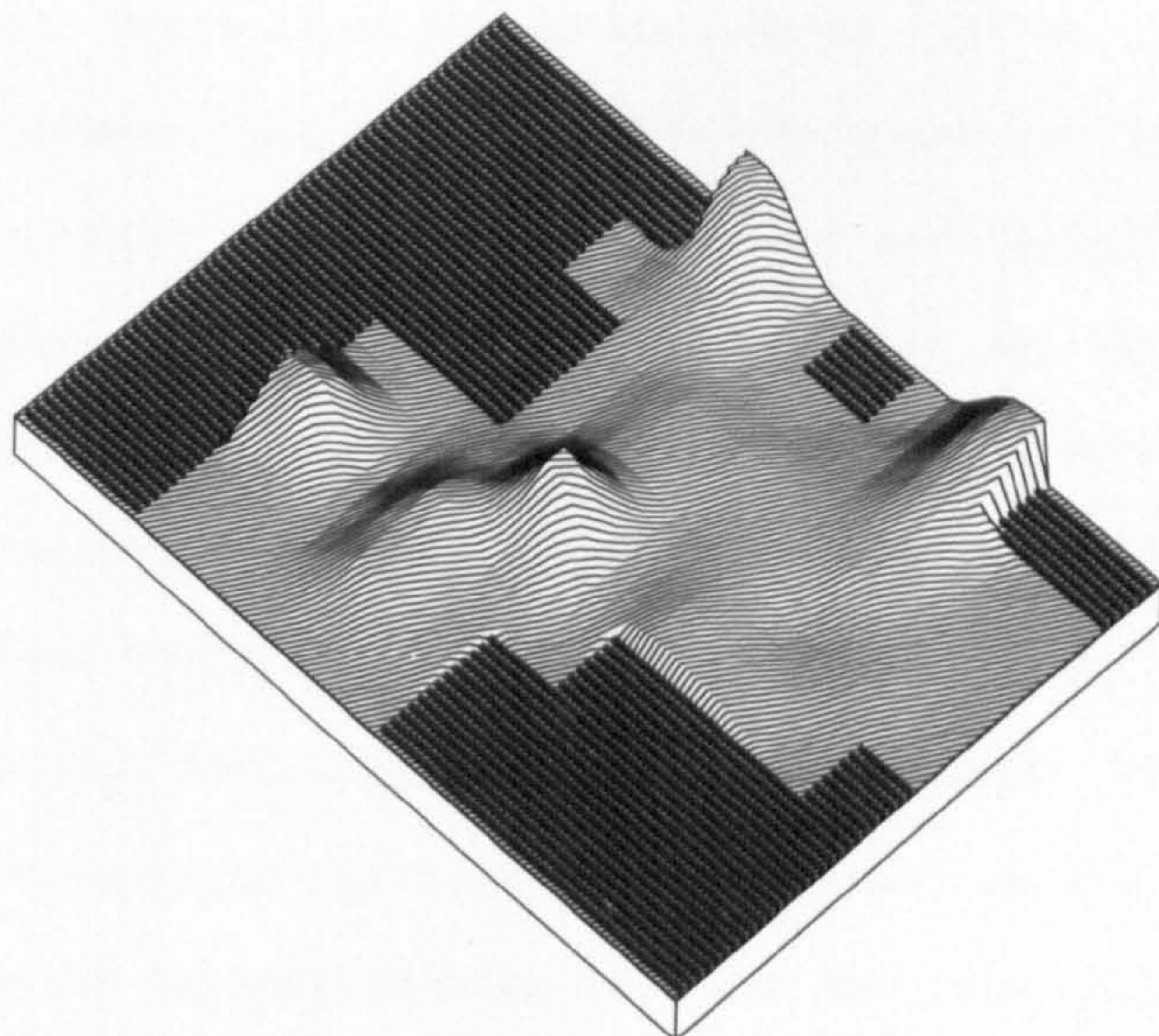
1.25 999.00
1.00 799.40
0.50 400.20
0.00 1.00

RAMSGATE 1851: R.G. CLASSES 4 & 5 100=AVERAGE=21.3-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.50
BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75

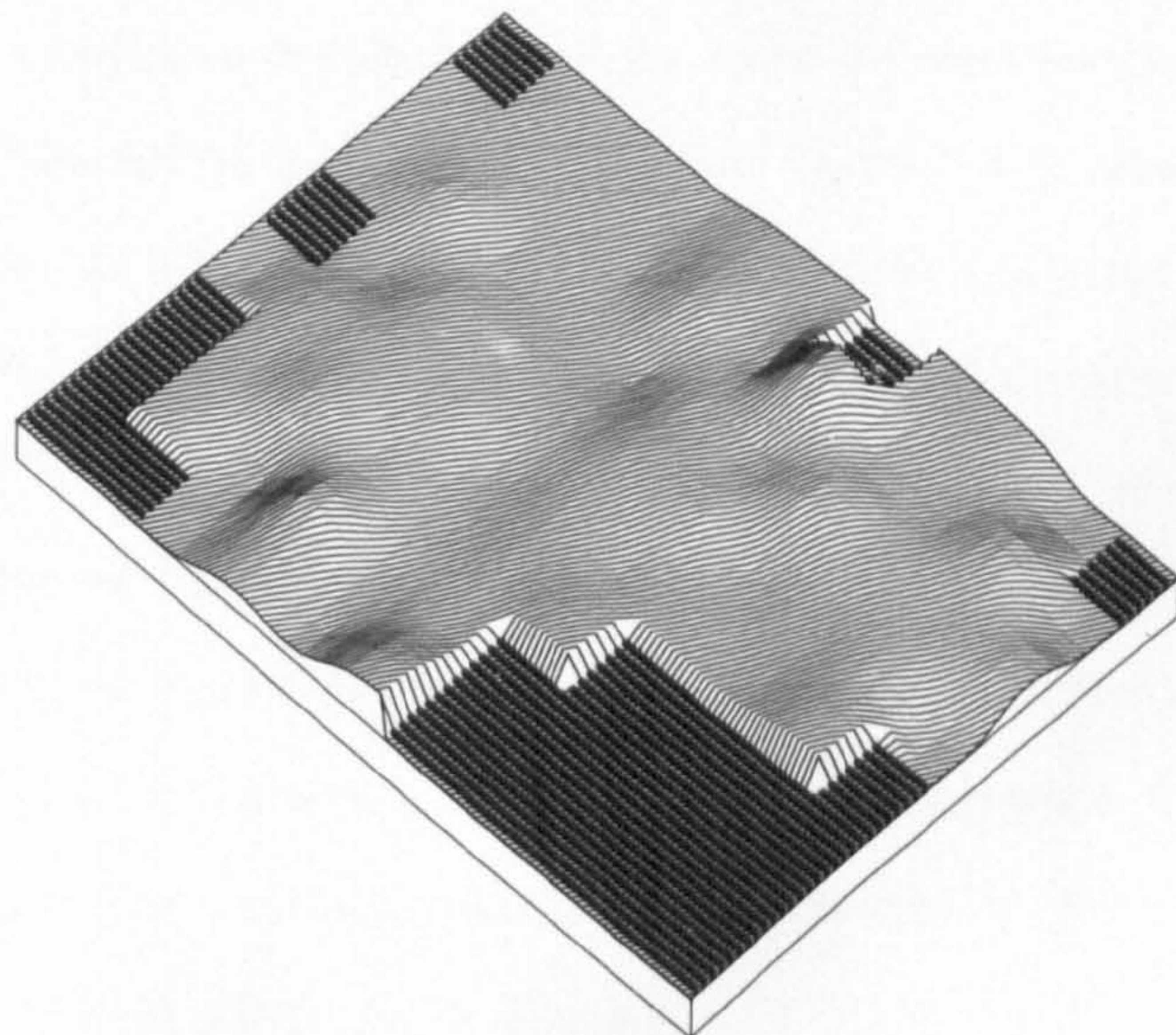


1.00 999.00
0.50 500.00
0.00 1.00

RAMSGATE 1851: HOUSEHOLD HEADS MOVING OUT OF TOWN 1851-1853 100=11.7-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



RAMSGATE 1851: HOUSEHOLDS WITH LODGERS 100-AVERAGE=4.0-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



RAMSGATE 1871: HOUSEHOLDS WITH LODGERS 100-AVERAGE=14.9-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.50
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75

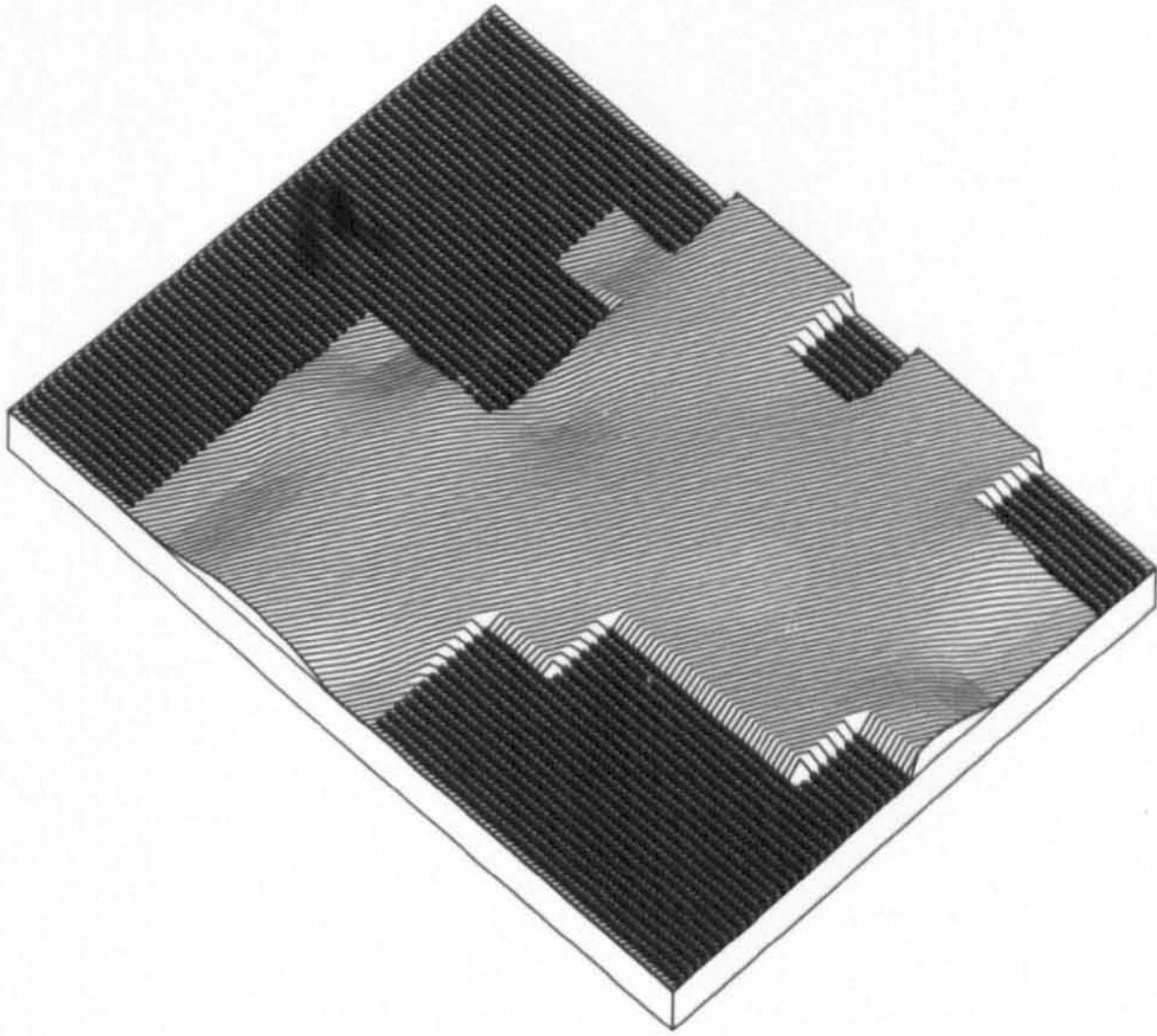
By 1871, the pattern of households with lodgers was much less clear. Table IV.14 has already shown that by 1871 lodging was much more common than it had been twenty years earlier, and Table IV.36 that lodging was not confined to any particular Class. Speculation for the reasons for this difference will not be reiterated here; the net result, however, was that by 1871 the spatial pattern of lodging was less well defined. Further, the concentration of lodgers on the West Cliff in 1871 was almost certainly the result of enumeration anomalies; with a different enumerator these 'lodgers' might well have been classed as visitors in these rather superior boarding houses.

It has already been stated that the life cycle showed little significant spatial variation over the town's built-up area. Life cycle was a complex variable, one of whose components was marital status. Even this element showed little spatial variation (Figures VI.14 and VI.15) however. When the distribution of married and widowed persons is compared a significant difference is apparent nevertheless. Widowed household heads tended to live in much more clustered patterns than did married persons. Indeed it was not uncommon to find instances in the enumerators' books where complete streets were dominated by elderly widows and spinsters¹. Such groups shared common interests, not only at a social level, but also no doubt from their dislike of the noise of young families.

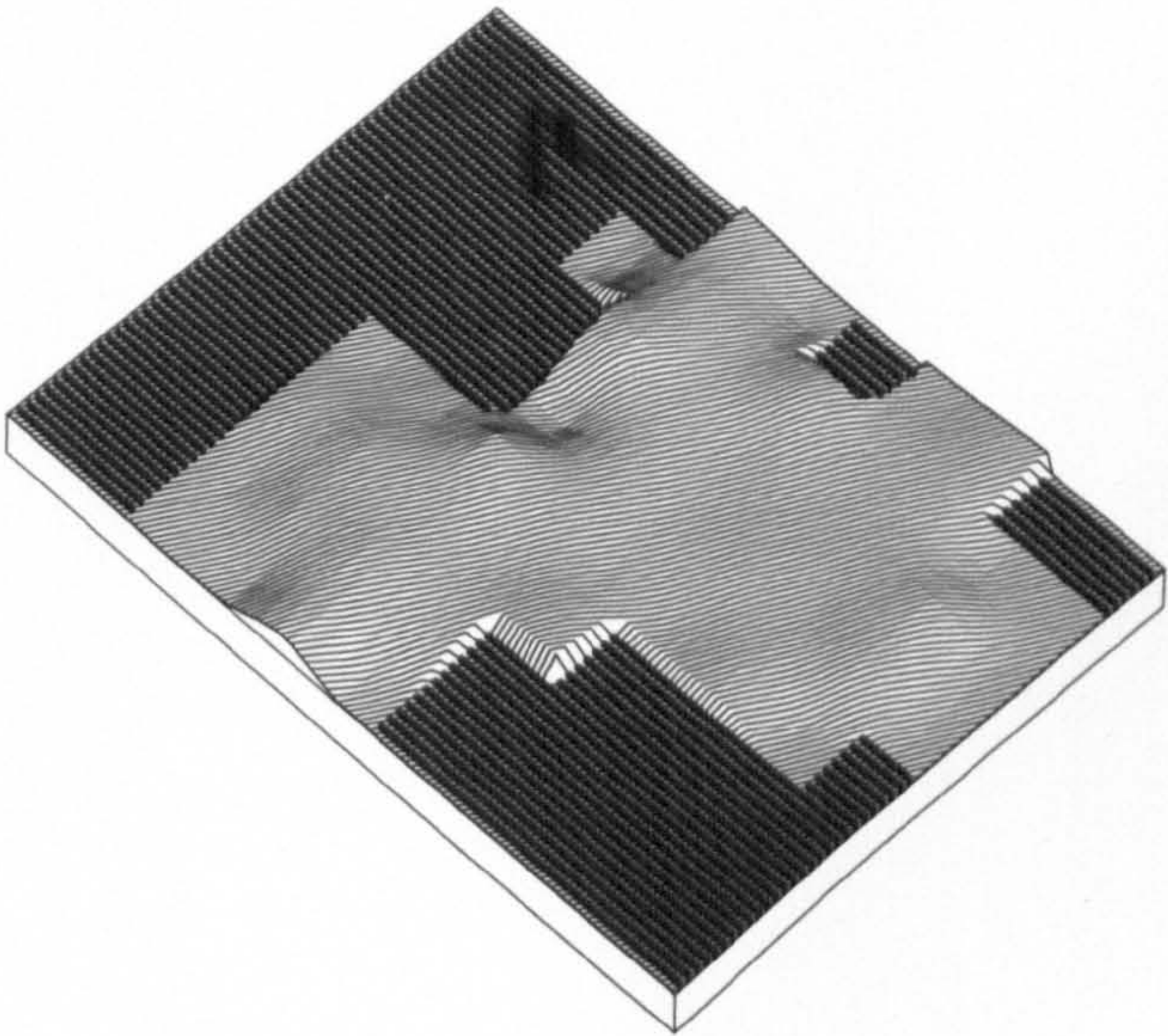
Figures VI.16 to VI.18 are concerned with the distribution of male heads born in different areas². Male household heads born in Ramsgate and St. Lawrence obviously displayed a very wide geographical distribution throughout the town (Figure VI.16) reinforcing the view

1. Guildford Lawn and Victoria Terrace are cases in point

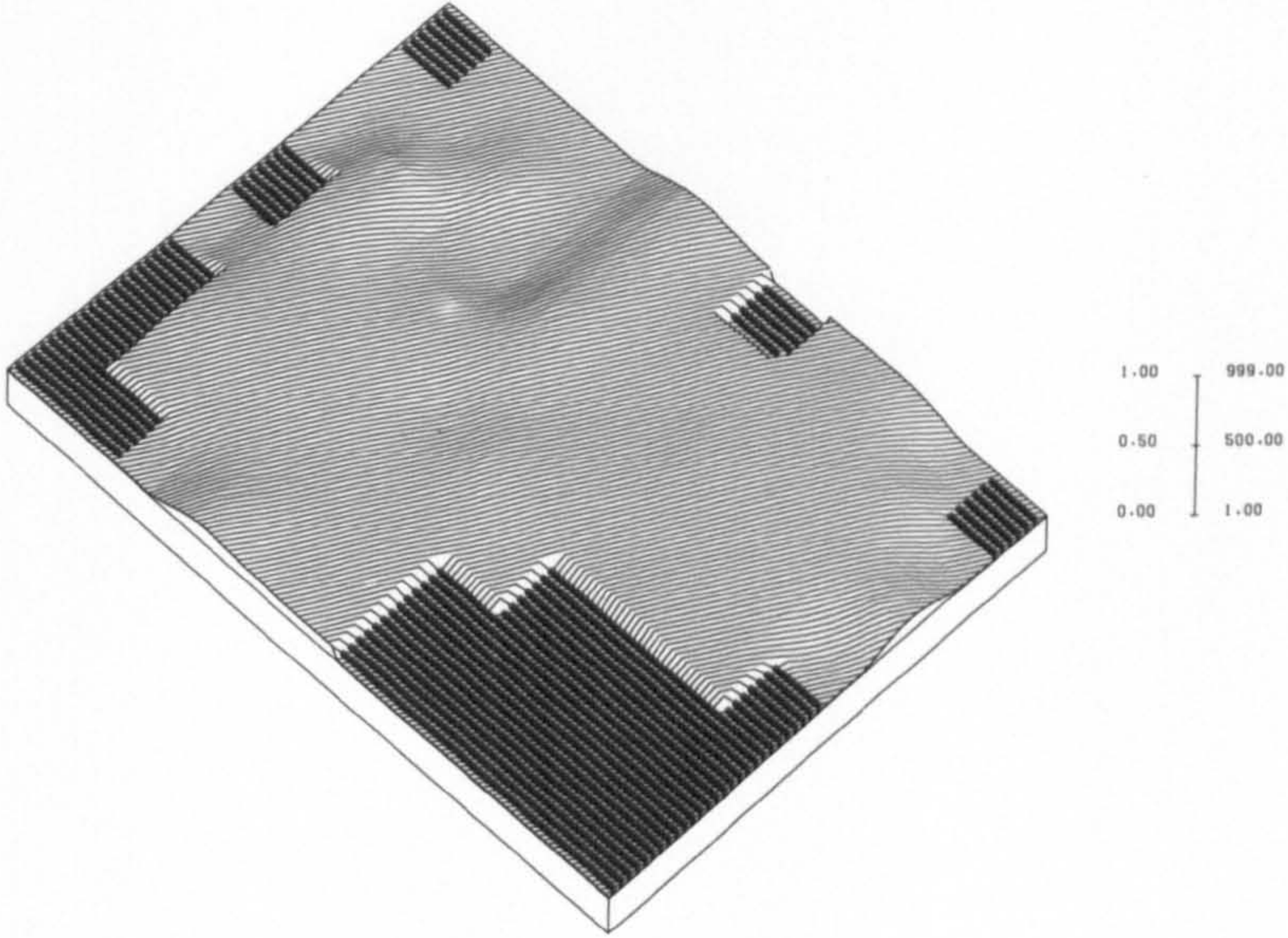
2. Whether migrants grouped into distinct parts of the city is a question raised by Best (1971), 16



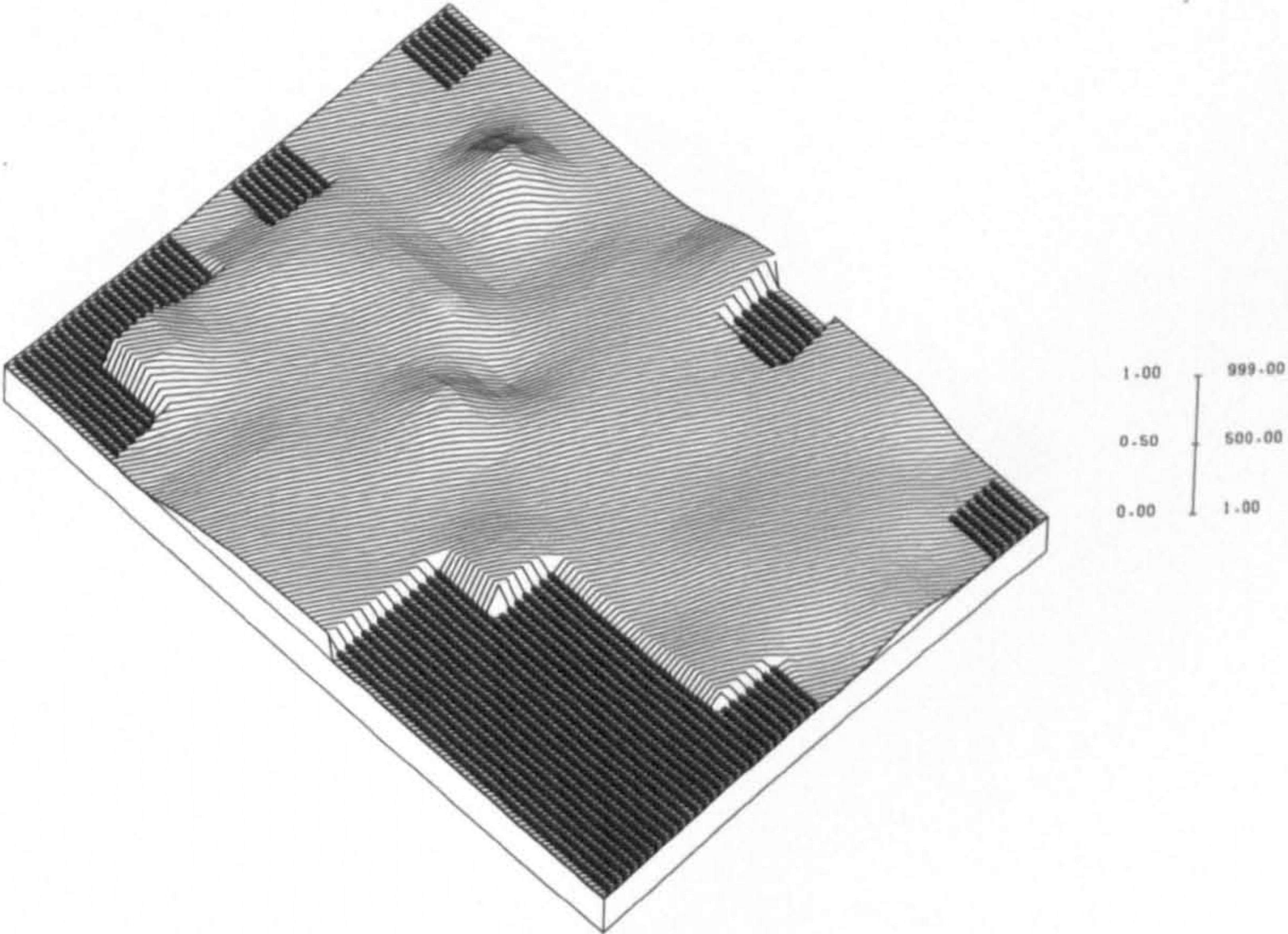
RAMSGATE 1851: HOUSEHOLD HEADS MARRIED 100-AVERAGE=71.1-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
*WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



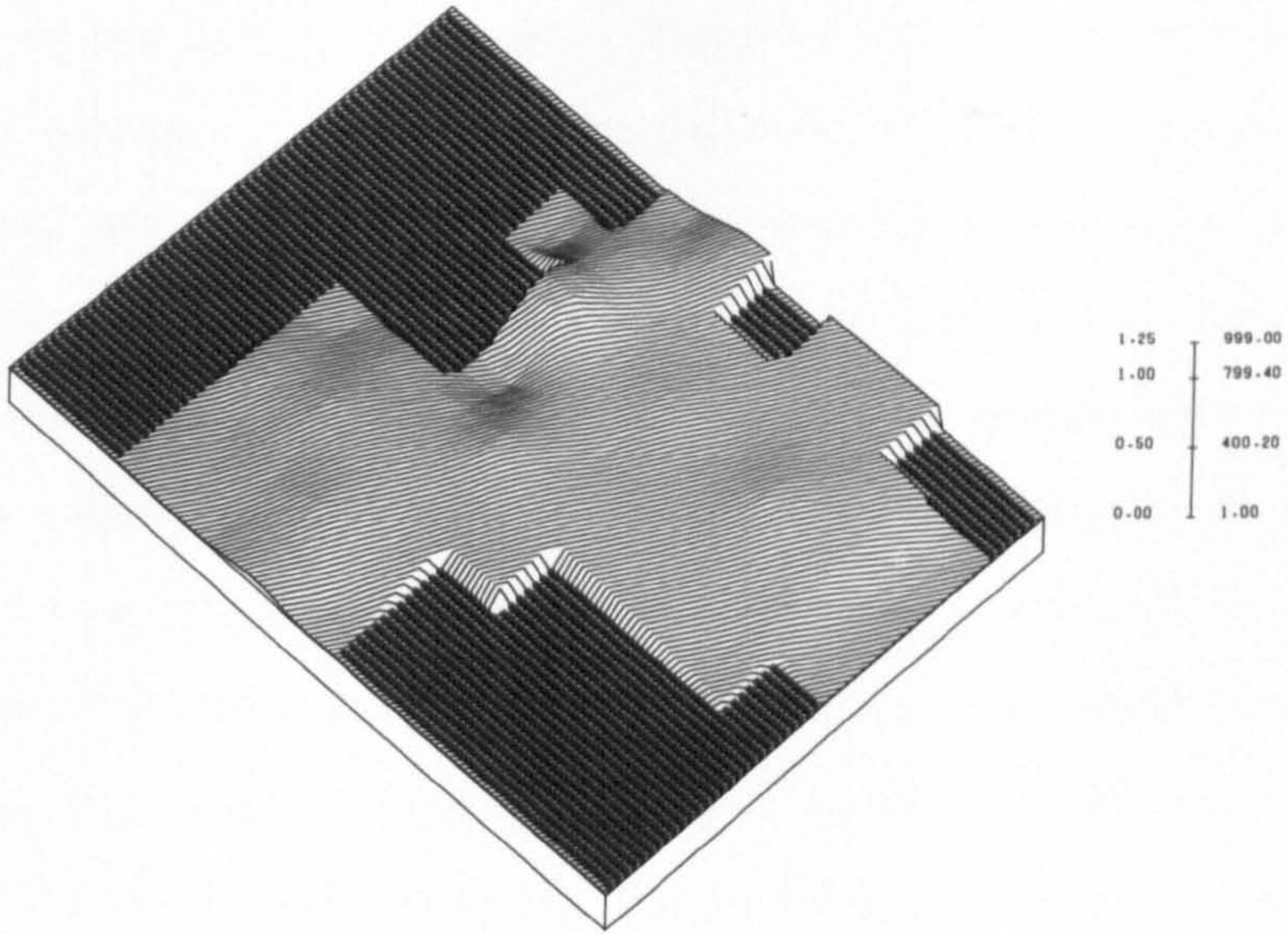
RAMSGATE 1851: HOUSEHOLD HEADS WIDOWED 100-AVERAGE=19.4-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
*WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



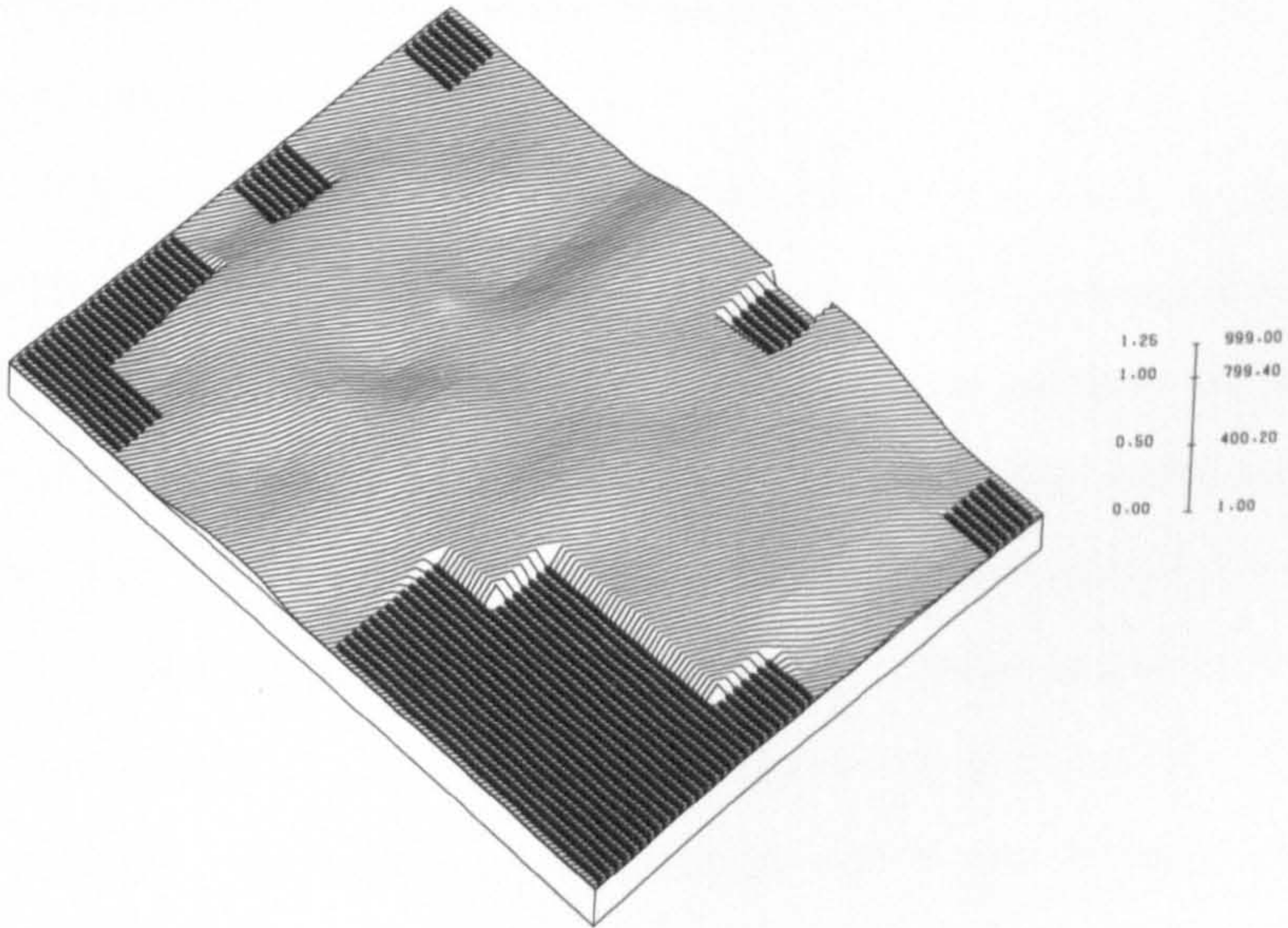
RAMSGATE 1871: MARRIED HOUSEHOLD HEADS 100=AVERAGE=72.8-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75



RAMSGATE 1871: WIDOWED HOUSEHOLD HEADS 100=AVERAGE=18.6-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75



RAMSGATE 1851: MALE HEADS BORN IN RAMSGATE OR ST. LAWRENCE 100=38.7-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
*WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.50
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75

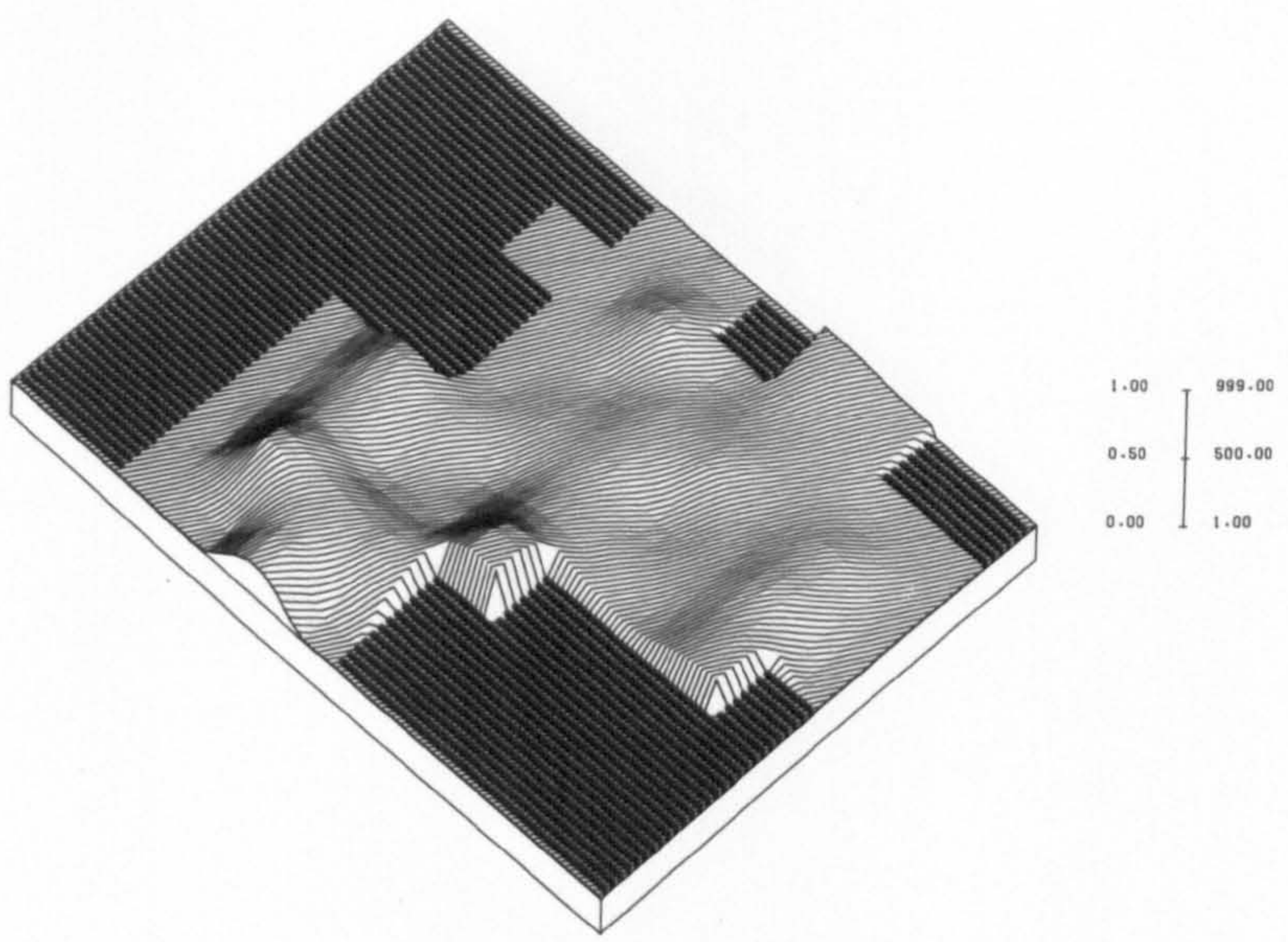


RAMSGATE 1871: MALE HEADS BORN IN RAMSGATE OR ST. LAWRENCE 100=38.2-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
*WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.50
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75

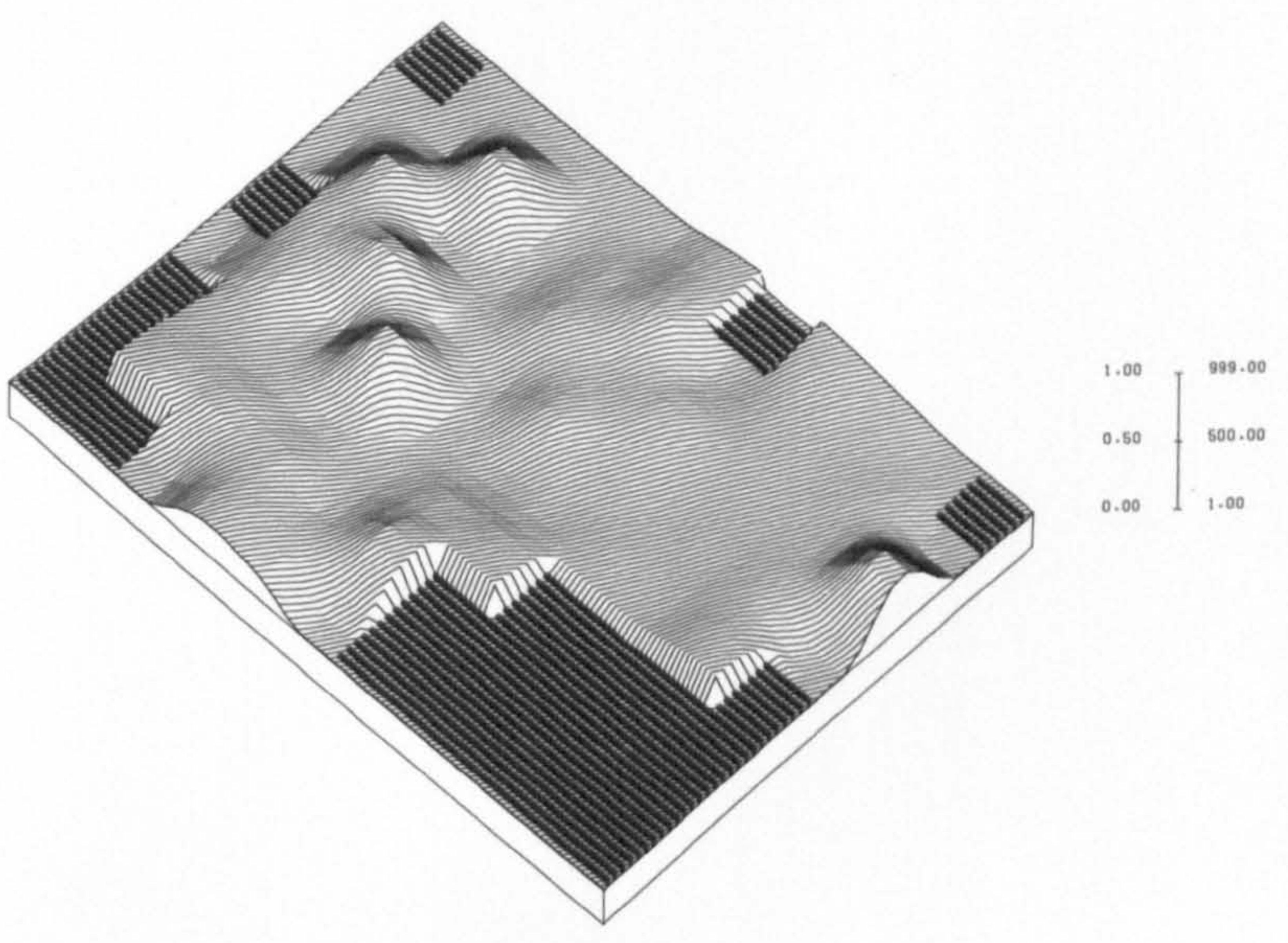
obtained from Table V.8 that the locally born might be found at any level of the social hierarchy. There was in general an avoidance of the sea-front and the western rural-urban fringe by this group, however, and a concentration in more densely populated areas, suggesting that the locally born failed in any way to dominate.

The distribution of the London born was in marked contrast to that of the locally born, almost to the extent of forming a reciprocal fit (Figure VI.17). In 1851 it was the western rural-urban fringe and the cliff tops which claimed the London born, speaking of relatively high status (c.f. Table V.8). In 1871 it was again on the East and West Cliffs where the London born were found in high concentrations, together with the newer areas of the town. Doubtless some of these London born would have been new arrivals to the town as a comparison with the upper portion of Figure VI.10 suggests. At all times it was areas with low population densities which tended to be selected by the London born (Figures VI.3 and VI.4), again suggesting high status.

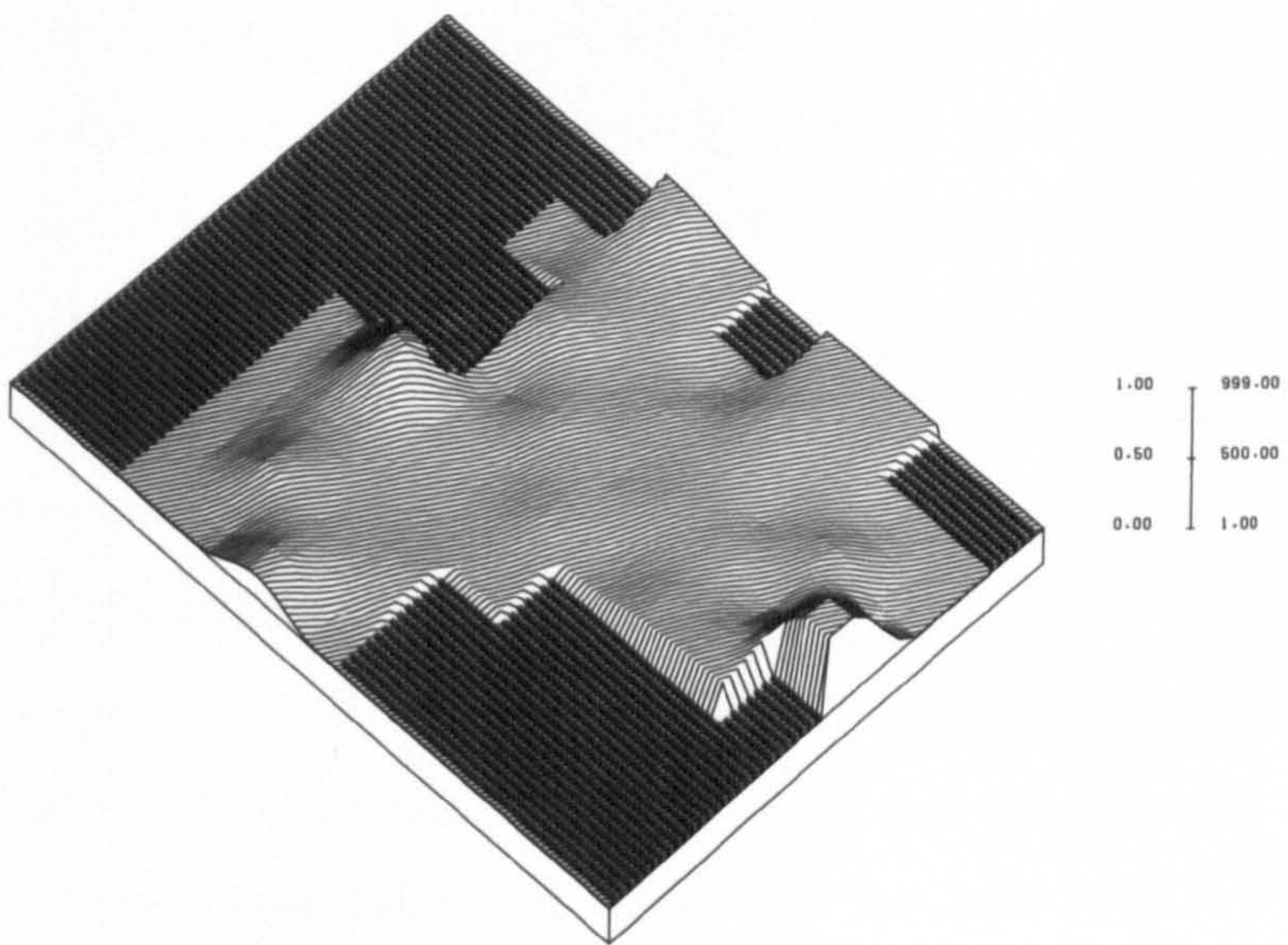
The distribution of those born outside either Kent or London was very similar to those of male heads born in the metropolis (Figure VI.18), and similar observations can therefore be made about them. One point of difference, however, was that in 1851 there was a relatively high concentration of those born outside either Kent or London in the south-east corner of the town. These householders were coastguards, all of whom came from relatively distant parts of the British Isles. By 1871 their cottages, which can be seen in the foreground of the Frontispiece, had been demolished to make way for Ramsgate's second railway station, constructed in 1863. This particular concentration is therefore absent from the 1871 plot.



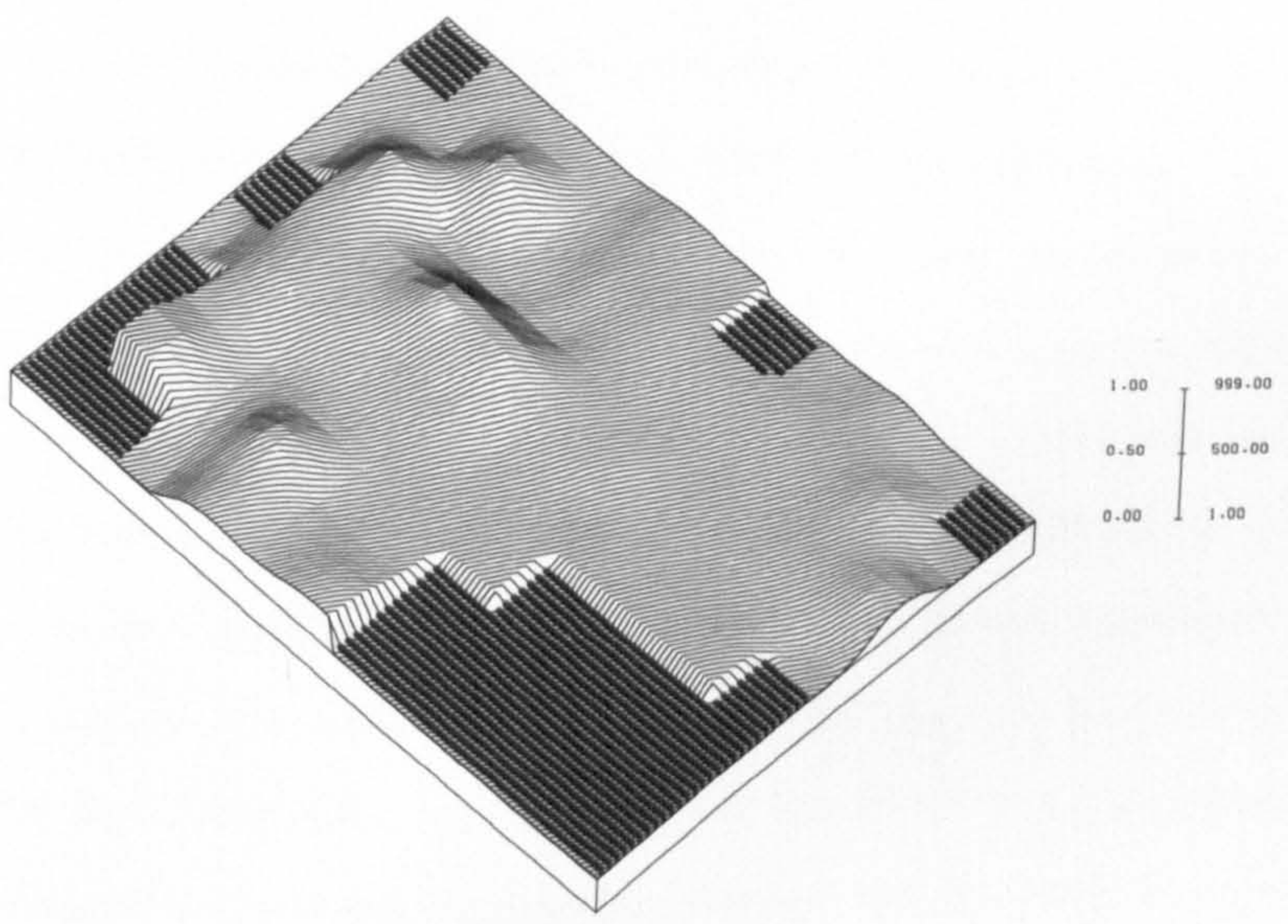
RAMSGATE 1851: MALE HEADS BORN IN LONDON 100=AVERAGE=6.7-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



RAMSGATE 1871: MALE HEADS BORN IN LONDON 100=AVERAGE=9.9-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75



RAMSGATE 1851: MALE HEADS BORN OUTSIDE EITHER KENT OR LONDON 100=19.2-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75

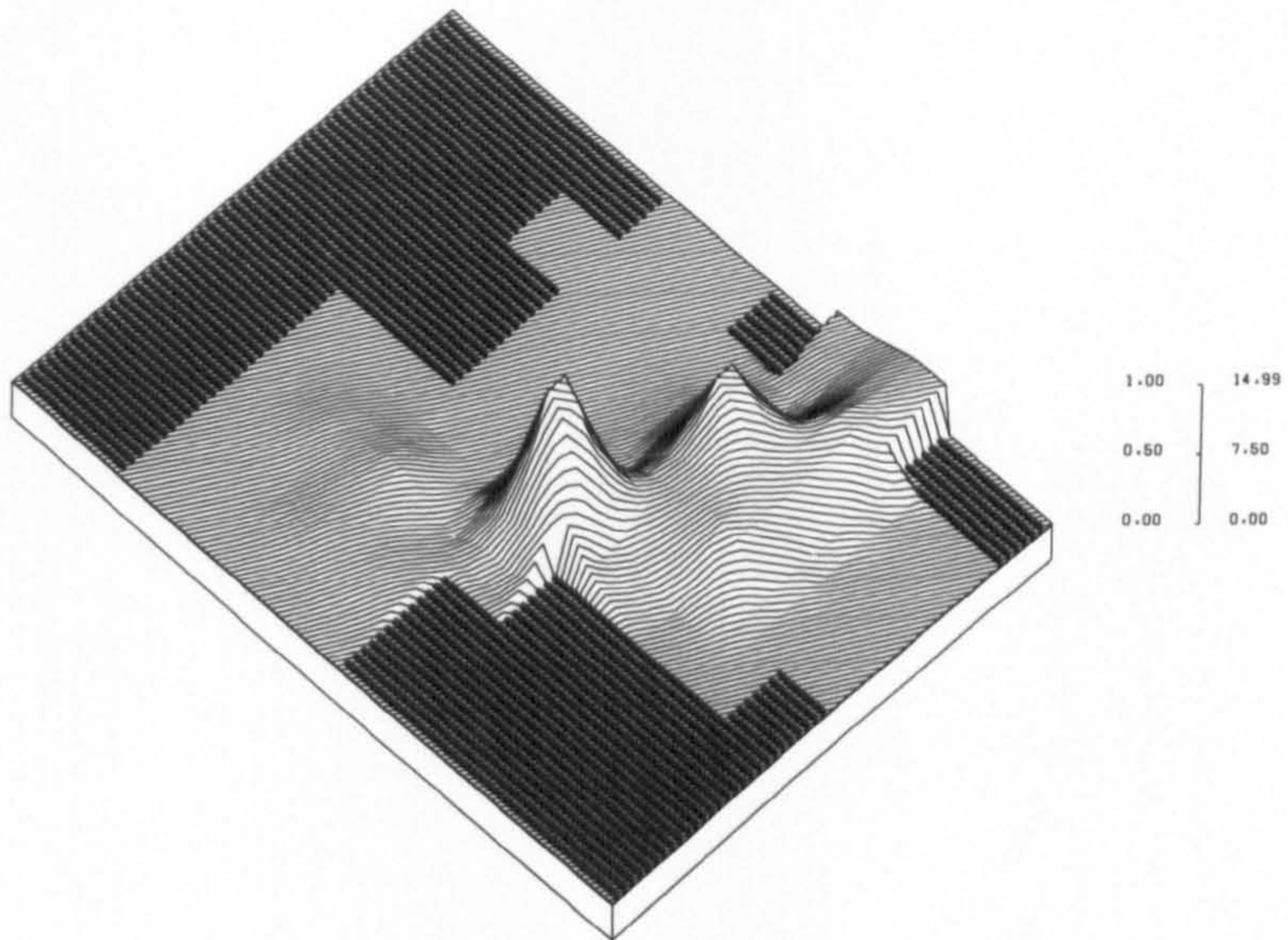


RAMSGATE 1871: MALE HEADS BORN OUTSIDE EITHER KENT OR LONDON 100=21.6-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75

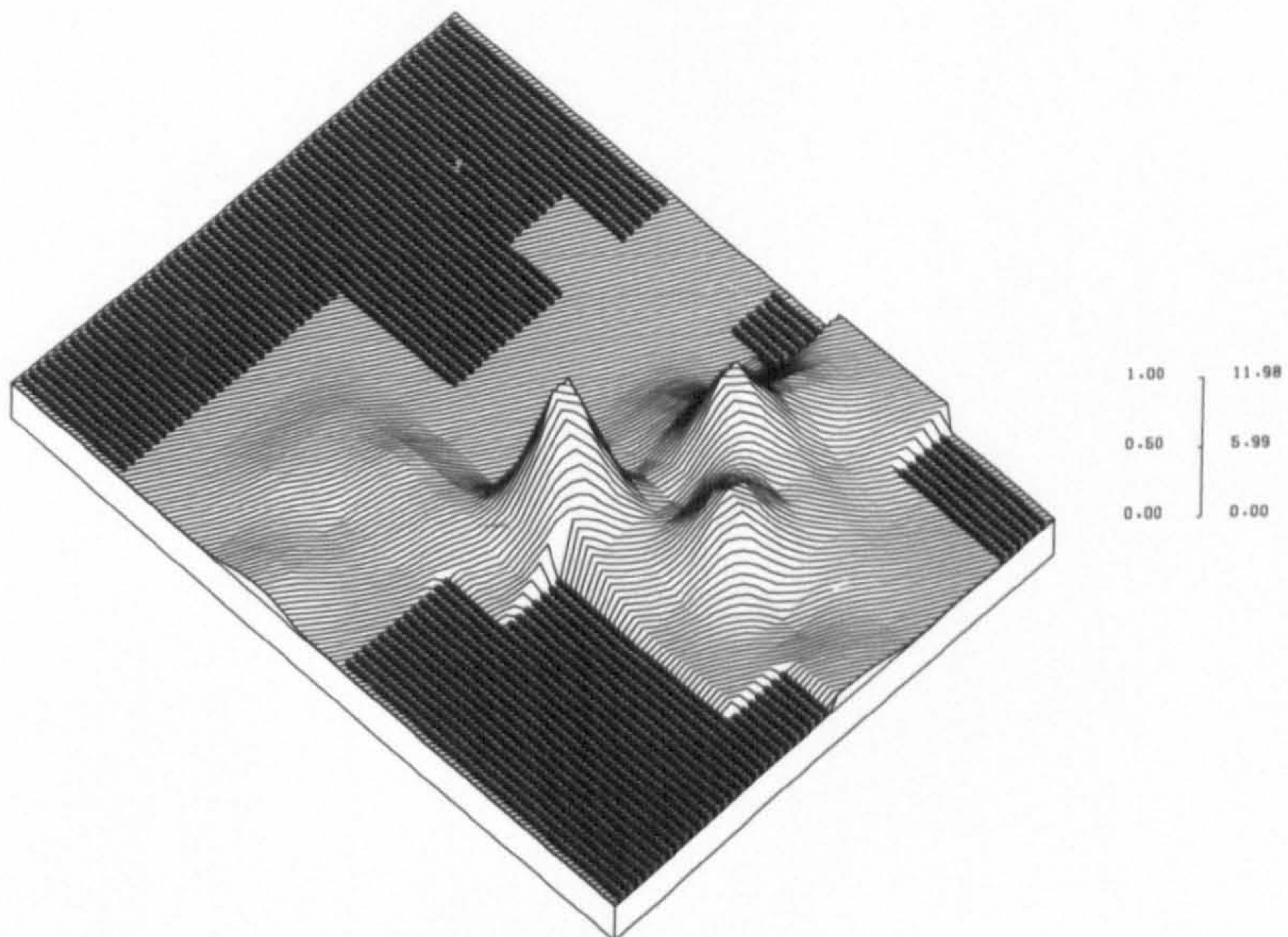
Repeated mention was made in Chapter V of Devon born fishermen. Devon born household heads were obviously something of a special case in Ramsgate. Figure VI.19 and VI.20 compare the distributions of Devon born heads with that of fishermen. In 1851 the spatial association of the two groups was very close. It is apparent that not all Devon born ^{were} fishermen and that not all fishermen were Devon born, but the distributions are almost coincident. It should also be noticed from the plots that fishermen did not tend to live so much by the water's edge, as might have been expected, as in the more densely populated parts of the town. Figure VI.20 points to an interesting change in the distribution of Devon born by 1871. Again there was a broad correspondence between the distribution of the two groups, but there was a distinct Devon born enclave on the West Cliff, in an area where there were no fishermen. Either a new type of migrant was beginning to arrive from Devon by 1871, or else Devon born fishermen were beginning to move into different occupations¹. In any event, by 1871 the distribution of the Devon born migrants began to resemble more closely the distribution of other distant in-migrants.

Finally, Figure VI.21 to VI.23 consider the distributions of certain female occupations. Female lodging-house keepers tended to cater more for the respectable visitor than for the itinerant manual worker. The distribution of female lodging-house keepers (Figure VI.21) is thus somewhat predictable. They were to be found on either cliff front, and in the area immediately behind it. It is obvious also that by 1871 the front was more completely given over to lodging-houses, replacing the practice of letting houses out to rent in their entirety for the summer season (Figure VI.5)

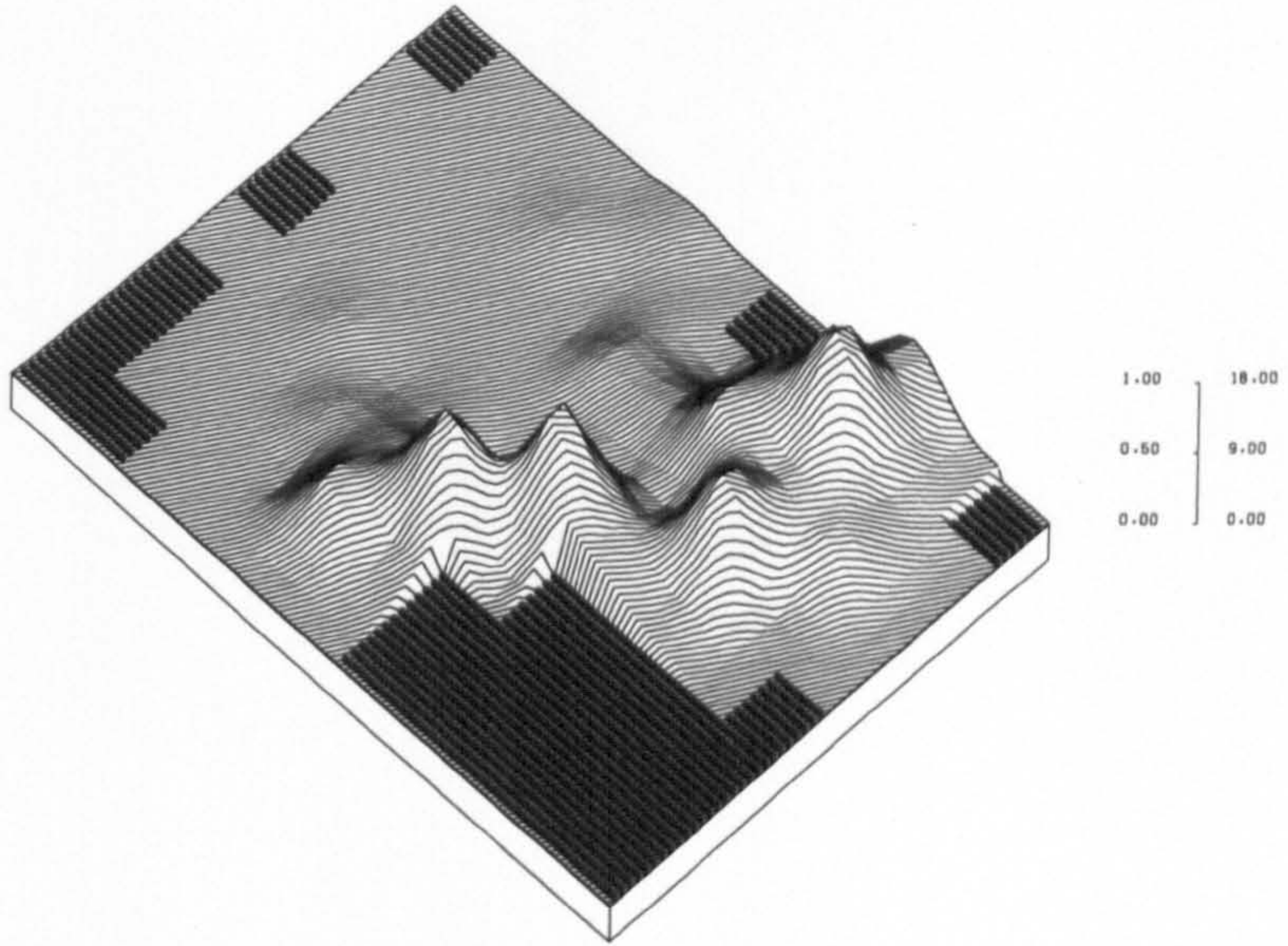
1. c.f. above p 209



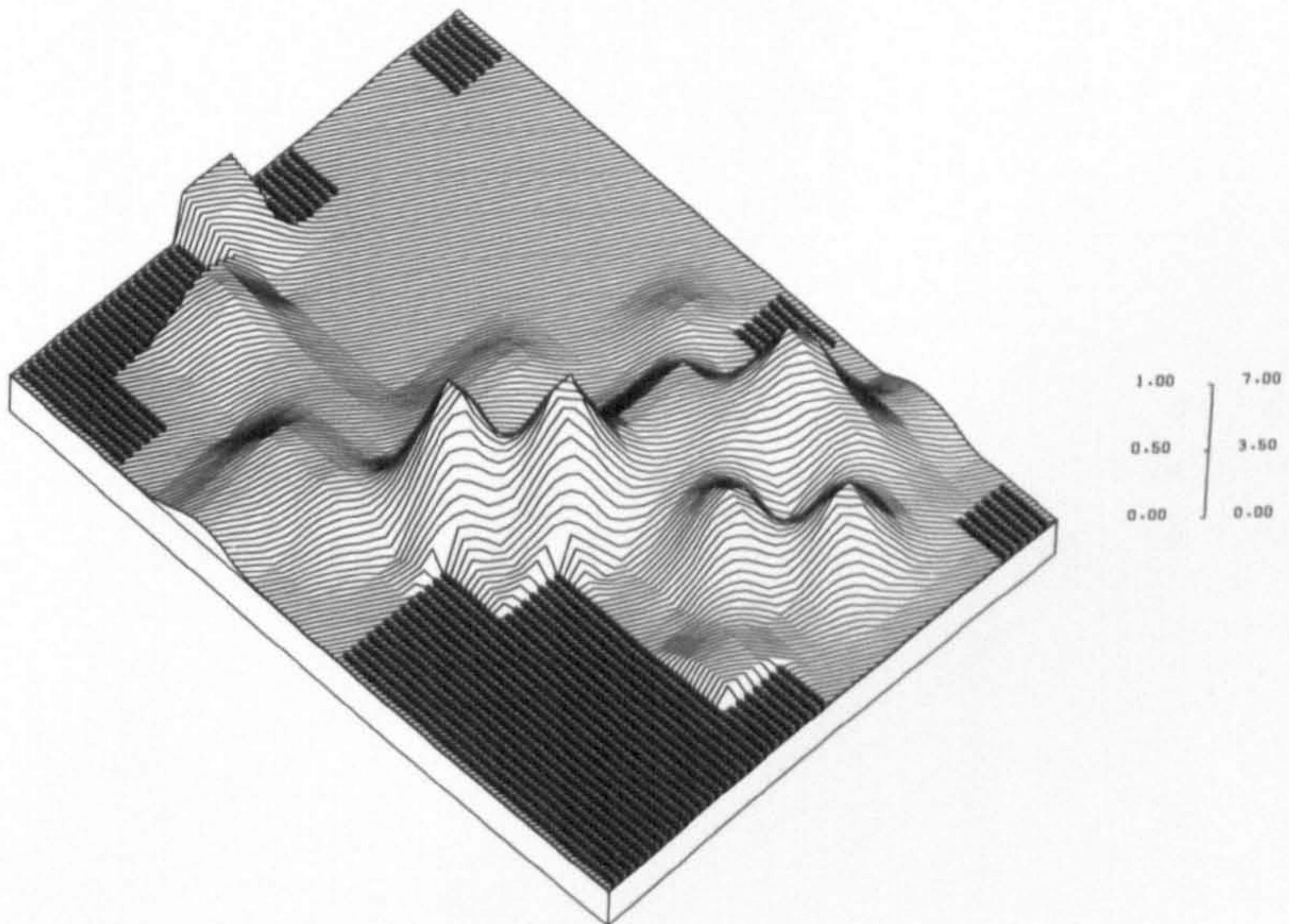
RAMSGATE 1851 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS EMPLOYED AS FISHERMEN
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
BEFORE FORESHORTENING 08/02/77



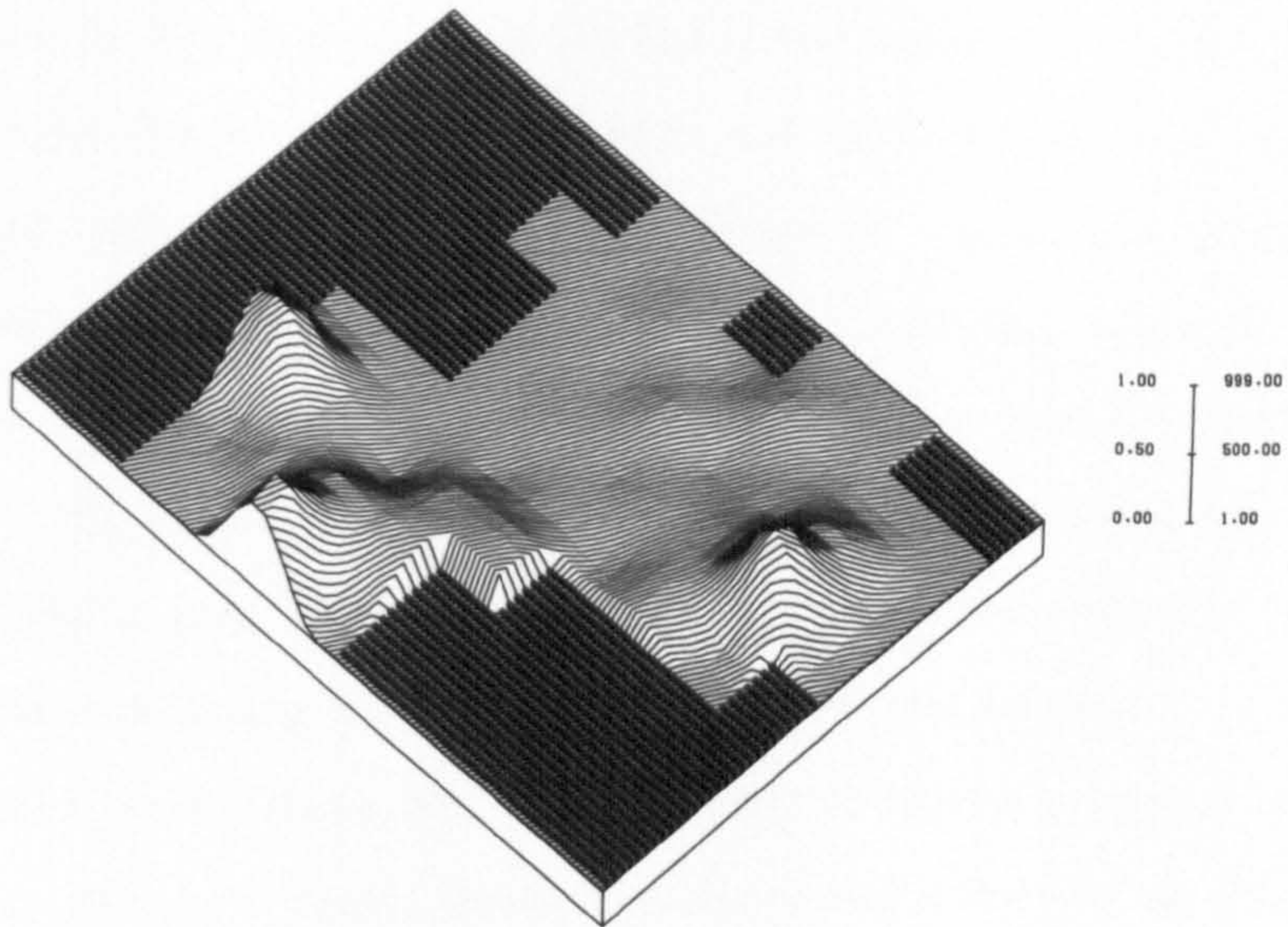
RAMSGATE 1851 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS BORN IN DEVON
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
BEFORE FORESHORTENING 08/02/77



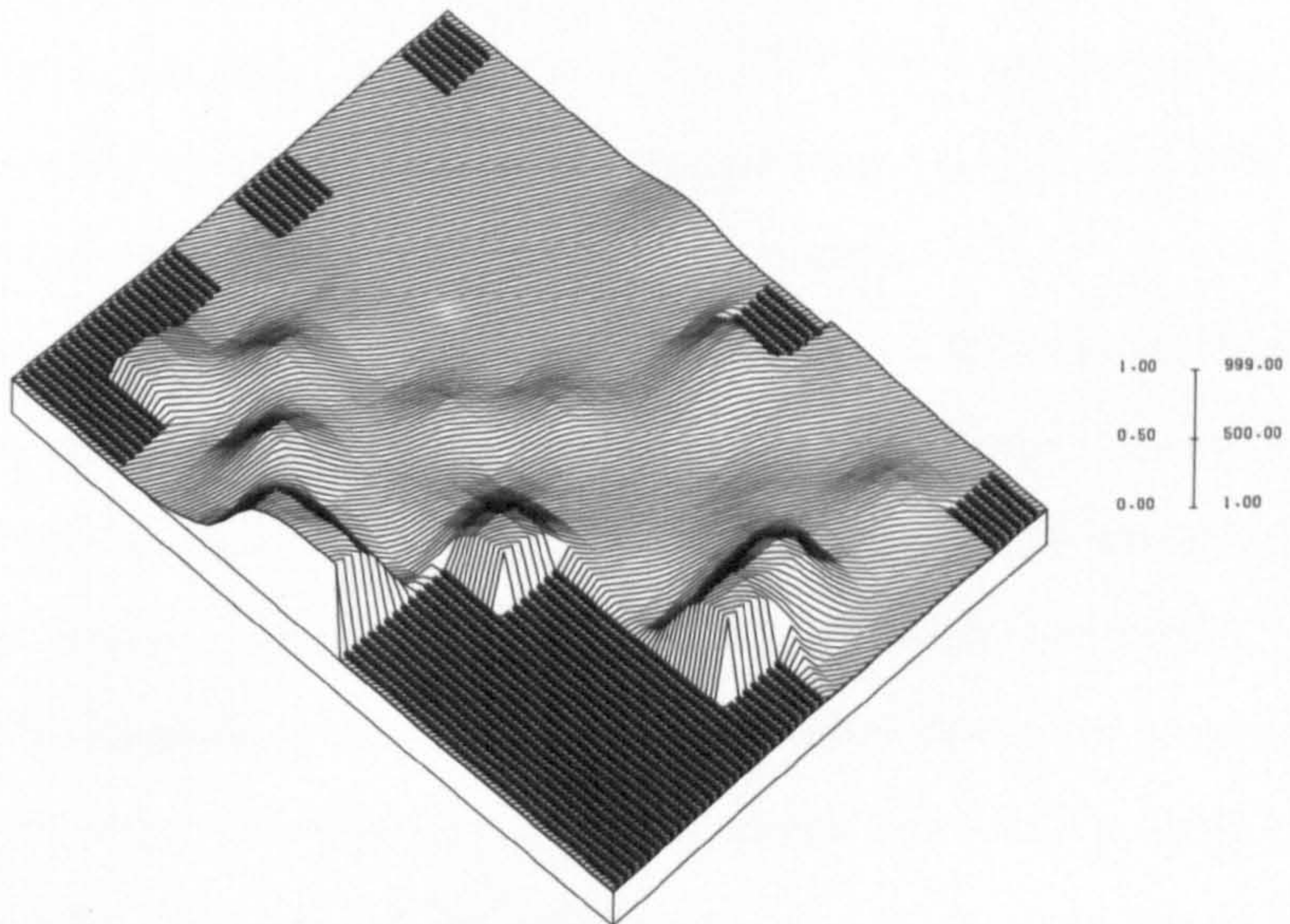
RAMSGATE 1871 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS EMPLOYED AS FISHERMEN
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 10/02/77



RAMSGATE 1871 MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS BORN IN DEVON
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
WIDTH = 6.00 HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 10/02/77



RAMSGATE 1851: FEMALE HEADS EMPLOYED AS LODGING HOUSE KEEPERS 100-5.2-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
*WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



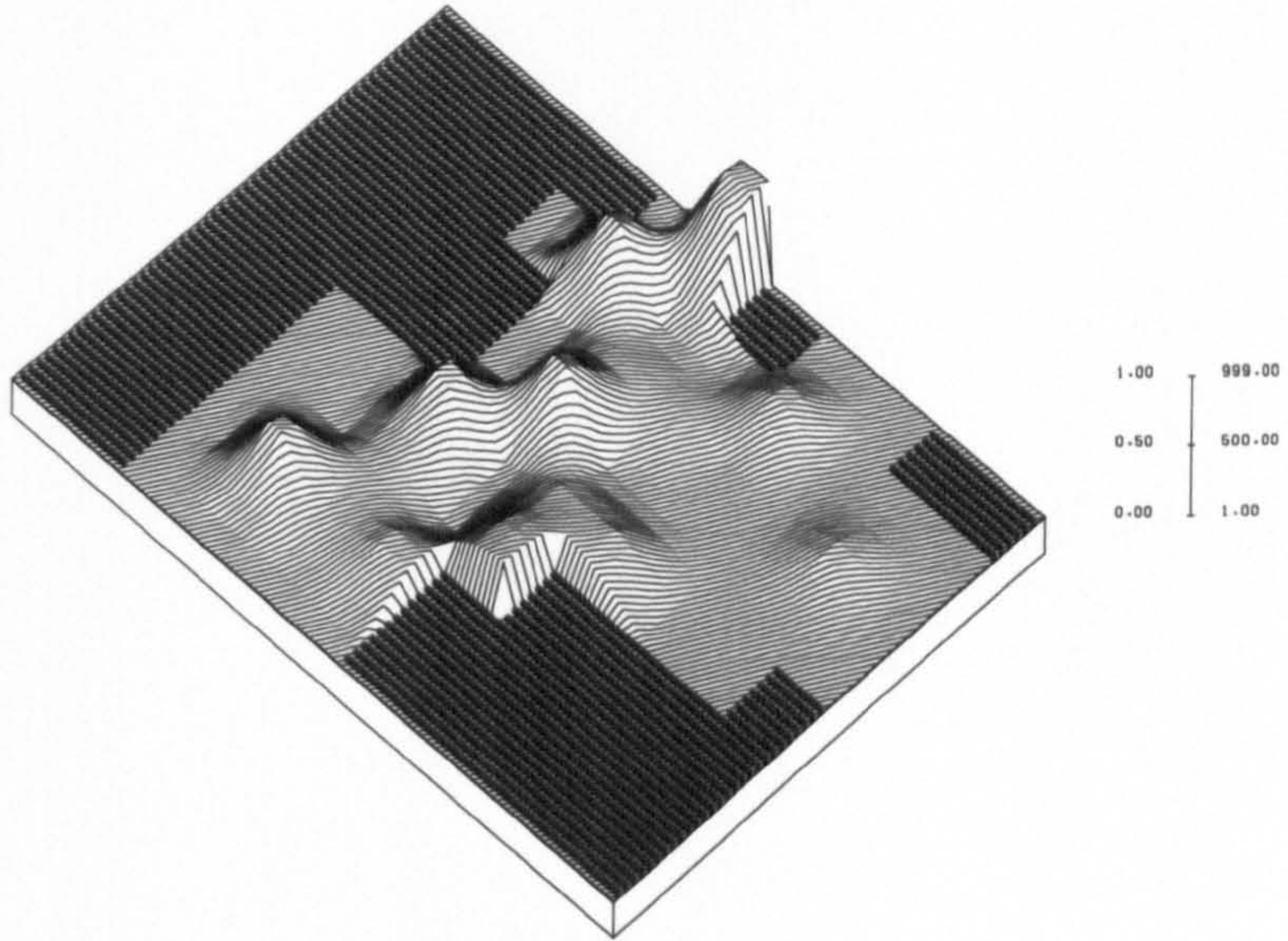
RAMSGATE 1871: FEMALE HEADS EMPLOYED AS LODGING HOUSE KEEPERS 100-6.6-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
*WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75

Education employed relatively few female heads or wives, but the changes in the distribution of the group between 1851 and 1871 is interesting (Figure VI.22). By 1871 the distribution was much more peripheral indicating both that as members of the middle class, female teachers tended to move out to the newer suburbs, and also that it was on the fringes of the town that new 'dame' schools had tended to open. The latter were in fact the only type of school to open during the period, judging from the enumerators' books, with the 'ragged' schools continuing to be located close to the centre.

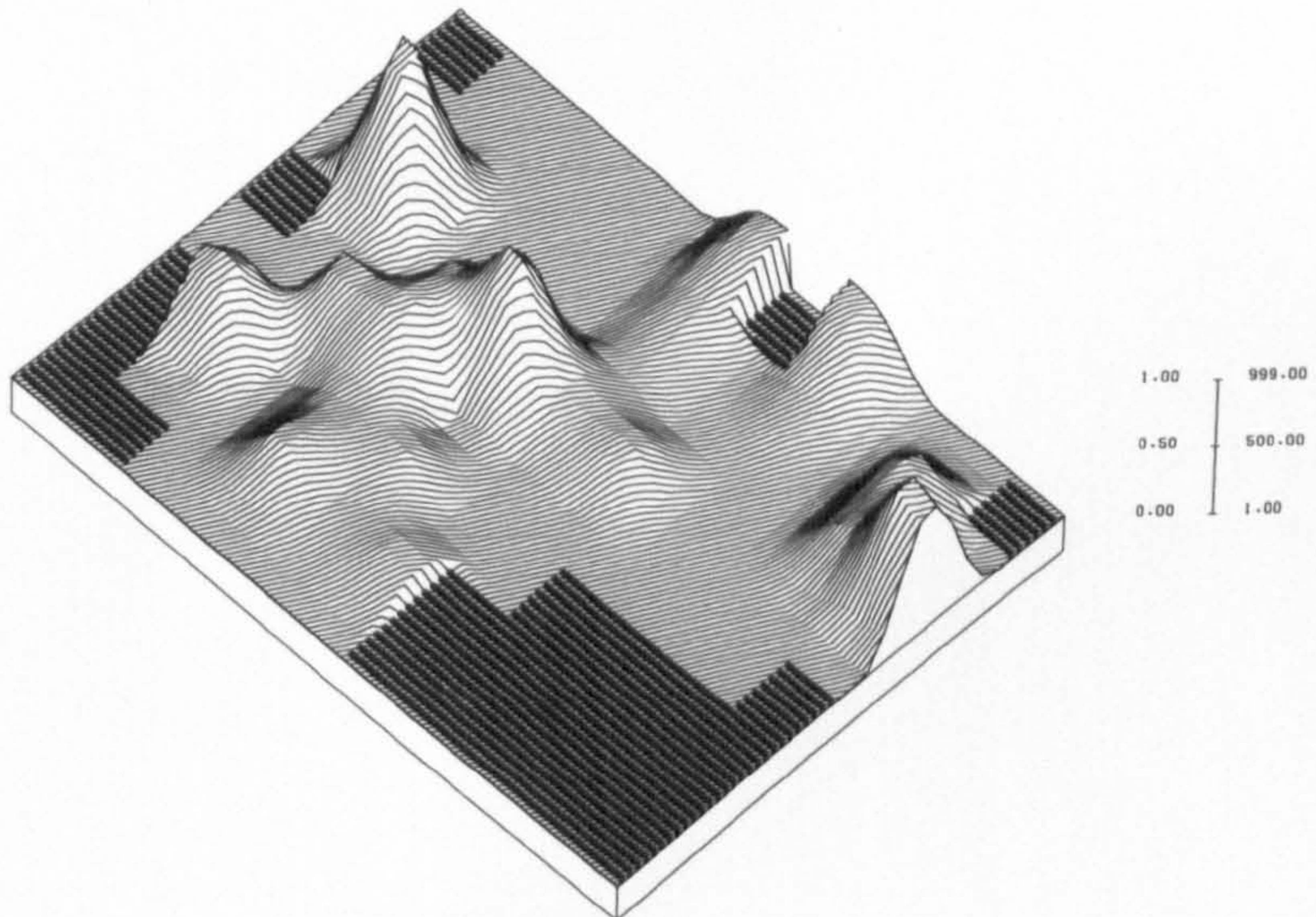
Figure VI.23 shows the distribution of female property owners, that is of those female heads and wives who returned an occupation as 'annuitant', 'fund-holder', 'independent' or 'property owner'. By 1871 their numbers had diminished relatively, and the plot indicates that they appeared as a group to be somewhat undecided in their distribution, no doubt reflecting the vagueness of the description itself. In general, however, the West Cliff and the western parts of the town were popular. In contrast, by 1871 the East Cliff was facing abandonment by the group, again suggesting that it did not have the same high status as that of the West Cliff.

Figures VI.1 to VI.23 are important to an understanding of the spatial patterns within the town, not least because the SYMVU plots show distributions clearly and in an aesthetically satisfying manner. Several overall conclusions can be drawn from these plots.

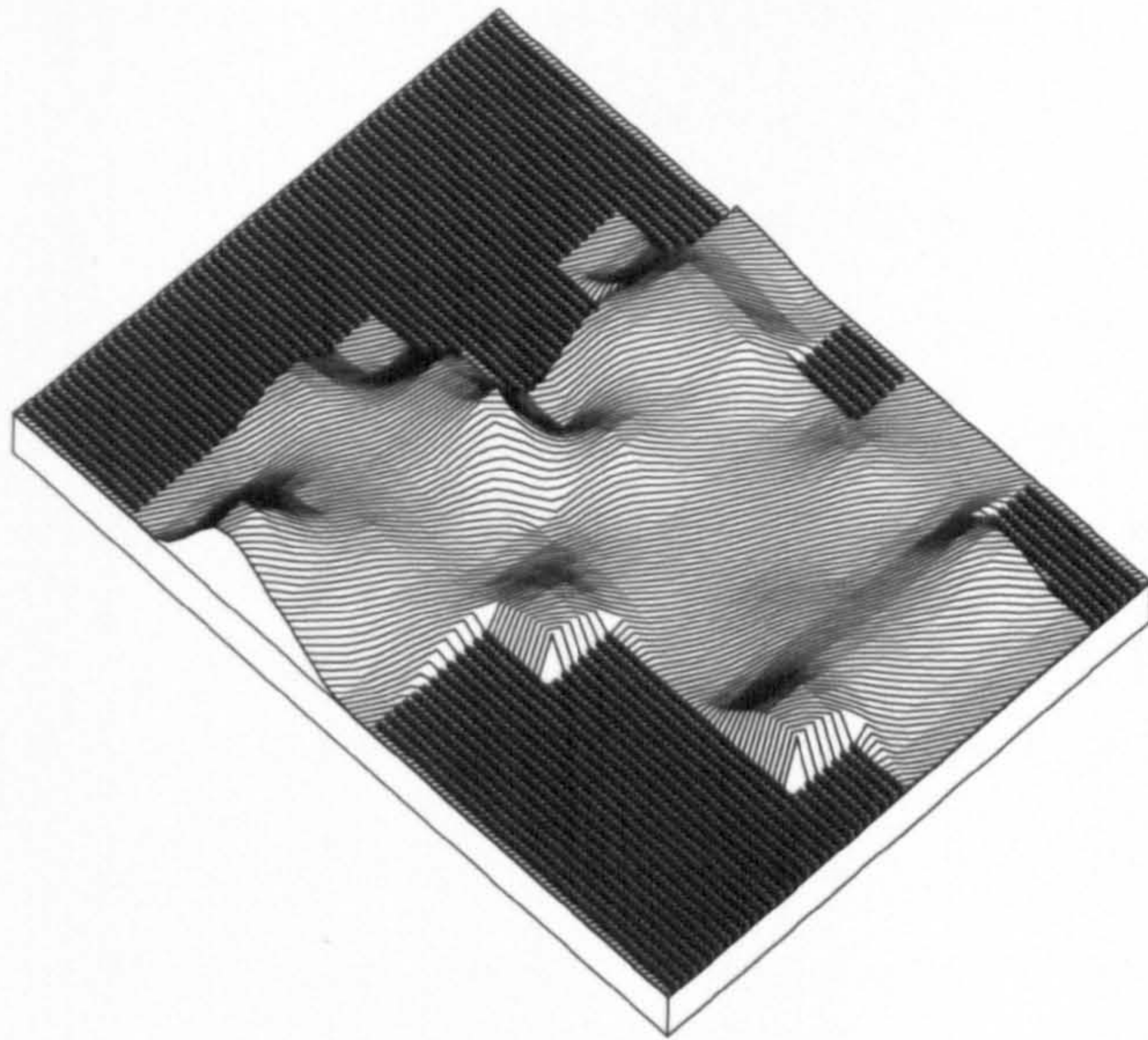
1. The degree of segregation in the town differed according to the variable under consideration. Thus there was little variation in marital status (Figures VI.14 and VI.15) or in the proportion of male household heads locally born (Figure VI.16) over the town's built-up



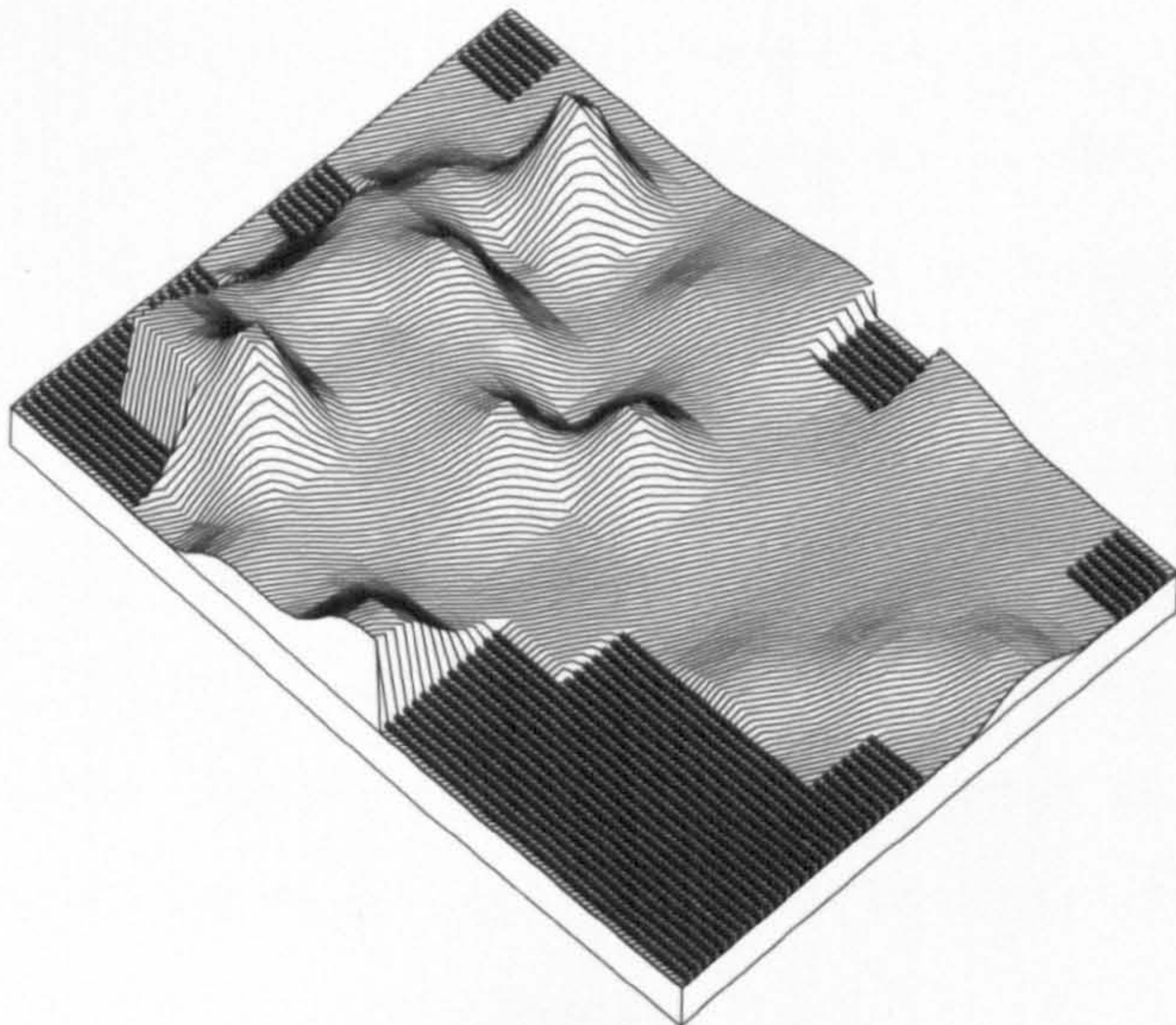
RAMSGATE 1851: FEMALE HEADS EMPLOYED IN EDUCATION 100=AVERAGE=0.9-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



RAMSGATE 1871: FEMALE HEADS EMPLOYED IN EDUCATION 100=AVERAGE=0.9-
 AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
 *WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
 * BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75



RAMSGATE 1851: FEMALE HEADS PROPERTY OWNING 100=7.3-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
*WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 05/12/75



RAMSGATE 1871: FEMALE HEADS PROPERTY OWNING 100=AVERAGE=5.4-
AZIMUTH = 315 ALTITUDE = 60
*WIDTH = 6.00 *HEIGHT = 2.00
* BEFORE FORESHORTENING 15/12/75

area. On the other hand, male household heads in Class I and households with three or more servants, for example, showed a much greater degree of localisation (Figures VI.6 and VI.7).

2. The social status of different parts of the town was obviously different. In particular, the West Cliff and the western rural-urban fringe, including the new additions to the town between 1851 and 1871, appear to have been fashionable. In contrast, the gas-works end of the town and certain backwaters had low status, demonstrated on many of the plots. Contrasts between supposedly similar areas also emerge: Figures VI.5, VI.6, VI.7, VI.8, VI.9, VI.21 and VI.23 when taken together, for example, suggest that the East Cliff did not have such a high status as its western counterpart.

3. The distributions tend to amplify points made in preceding chapters. Statistical relationships at the individual level had their spatial counterparts at the aggregate level.

4. The aggregation of data into grid squares both revealed and concealed relationships. Revealed were the relationships between the practice of lodging and low status areas in 1851 (Figure VI.13); the increased use of large front properties as lodging-houses as the period progressed (Figures VI.5 and VI.21); the connection between Classes IV and V and areas providing out-migrants between 1851 and 1853 (Figure VI.12); and the general connection between areas in which new arrivals to the town settled in the period 1869-1871, areas inhabited by persons born outside the county of Kent, and areas of owner-occupancy (Figures VI.10, VI.17 and VI.18). On the other hand, the grid concealed variations in persons per house (Figures VI.3 and VI.4) and in the small scale clustering of male household heads in Classes IV and V

(Figure VI.11).

5. A disadvantage of the SYMVU plots is that comparisons over time must be made visually. Whilst it is of course true that the human brain is a formidable computer, it cannot be pretended that it can make visual comparisons with mathematical accuracy.

These two final points in turn suggest that SYMVU displays should not be the only method adopted of examining pattern and segregation. It is non-visual methods that are now explored.

Statistical evidence (1)

The first way that spatial patterns in the town were analysed statistically was by computing correlation coefficients between chosen variables on a street basis (Table VI.1). Fifty variables were originally selected. Six of these related to the birthplaces of the children of household heads, however, and when after computation it was discovered that they added little to an understanding of basic patterns it was decided not to include them in the final table.

The method adopted was to calculate the percentage of households displaying certain characteristics in each street. Only those streets with more than ten households were selected. If less than ten households in a selected street were by definition unable to display the characteristic in question, however, it was also rejected. Thus if, for example, a street had twenty households in it, but twelve of these were headed by females, it would be automatically be rejected from calculations relating to male household heads. Each street was given equal weight in calculating correlation coefficients. It might, prima facie, seem questionable that a street with perhaps over a hundred household heads in it should be given the same weight as one

TABLE VI.1 Correlation coefficients: Ramsgate 1851 and 1871
(Kendall's Tau coefficients).

<u>Variable label</u>	<u>Variable description</u>
	Percentage in the street of:
RAM	Male household heads born in Ramsgate or St. Lawrence
THAN	Male household heads born in the Isle of Thanet (excluding the above category)
KENT	Male household heads born in Kent (excluding the two preceding categories)
LON	Male household heads born in London
ELSE	Male household heads born outside either Kent or London
HIGH	Male household heads in Classes I or II
SKILL	Male household heads in Class III
LOW	Male household heads in Classes IV or V
HRATE	Households living in accommodation rated in the two highest rate quintiles
MRATE	Households living in accommodation rated in the middle rate quintile
LRATE	Households living in accommodation rated in the two lowest rate quintiles
SERV	Households with at least one servant
LSERV	Households with either one or two servants
HSERV	Households with three or more servants
OO	Households of owner-occupier status
SHORT	Households with short duration leases
LEASE	Households of leasehold status
SUB	Households of sub-tenant status
YOUNG	Households headed by either married adults under the age of 25 with no children, or by single adults under 25
NO	Households with no children, wife aged 25 - 44
FIRST	Households with one child aged under 1 year, but with no other children
SMALL	Households with between one and four children (excluding the previous category)
LARGE	Households with more than four children
POST	Households with no children, wife or female head aged 45 or over

STAY	Households not moving house 1851-1853 (in the case of 1851 data) or between 1869 and 1871 (in the case of 1871 data)
LODG	Households with lodgers
VIS	Households with visitors
REL	Households with relatives
SHARE	Households sharing with other families
LSHARE	Households sharing with either one or two other families
HSHARE	Households sharing with three or more families
PRI	Male household heads in primary occupations
TRANS	Male household heads in occupations connected with transport
DEAL	Male household heads working in dealing
LAB	Male household heads employed as common labourers
PROF	Male household heads employed in the professions
PROP	Male household heads classified as belonging to the property owning class
CEMP	Households with co-resident employed children
SING	Single household heads
MAR	Married household heads
WID	Widowed household heads
FLOG	Female heads or wives employed as lodging-house keepers
FUN	Female heads or wives who recorded no gainful occupations against their names in the census
FPROP	Female heads or wives who were classified as property owners

Notes: for formula for calculating Kendall's Tau coefficient see Appendix F

Significance levels

1851 (with 76 streets): Coefficients in excess of ± 0.15 are significant at the 0.05 level

1871 (with 99 streets): Coefficients in excess of ± 0.13 are significant at the 0.05 level

TABLE VI.1

1851									
<u>With</u>	THAN	KENT	LON	ELSE	HIGH	SKILL	LOW	HRATE	MRATE
RAM	0.37	-0.46	0.30	0.22	0.28	-0.30	0.49	-0.26	0.04
THAN		-0.62	0.55	0.54	0.34	-0.39	0.55	-0.14	-0.05
KENT			-0.57	-0.66	-0.43	0.50	-0.45	0.06	0.05
LON				0.60	0.58	-0.60	0.36	0.06	-0.09
ELSE					0.55	-0.57	0.36	0.02	-0.04
HIGH						-0.69	0.07	0.28	0.01
SKILL							-0.39	-0.09	0.12
LOW								-0.43	-0.04
HRATE									-0.15

1871									
<u>With</u>	THAN	KENT	LON	ELSE	HIGH	SKILL	LOW	HRATE	MRATE
RAM	0.44	-0.45	0.22	0.15	0.13	-0.20	0.50	-0.22	0.06
THAN		-0.38	0.33	0.33	0.27	-0.30	0.44	-0.10	0.00
KENT			-0.57	-0.61	-0.48	0.44	-0.23	-0.12	-0.00
LON				0.56	0.58	-0.54	0.14	0.19	-0.07
ELSE					0.62	-0.51	0.09	0.24	-0.05
HIGH						-0.60	-0.05	0.42	0.05
SKILL							-0.36	-0.17	0.13
LOW								-0.43	0.01
HRATE									-0.14

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	LRATE	SERV	LSERV	HSERV	COO	SHORT	LEASE	SUB	YOUNG
RAM	0.28	-0.09	-0.10	0.02	0.07	0.23	-0.31	0.41	0.14
THAN	0.19	-0.05	-0.07	0.05	0.02	0.19	-0.21	0.37	0.09
KENT	-0.11	-0.08	-0.04	-0.21	-0.13	-0.26	0.30	-0.40	-0.18
LON	0.01	0.17	0.15	0.26	0.20	0.26	-0.18	0.25	0.19
ELSE	0.05	0.16	0.13	0.21	0.19	0.19	-0.22	0.31	0.17
HIGH	-0.21	0.44	0.42	0.36	0.40	0.24	-0.16	0.10	0.15
SKILL	0.02	-0.23	-0.21	-0.26	-0.27	-0.27	0.16	-0.16	-0.16
LOW	0.45	-0.32	-0.33	-0.17	-0.14	0.13	-0.22	0.48	0.11
HRATE	-0.76	0.61	0.61	0.41	0.39	0.18	0.05	-0.33	0.04

1871

<u>With</u>	LRATE	SERV	LSERV	HSERV	OO	SHORT	LEASE	SUB	YOUNG
RAM	0.28	-0.11	-0.12	-0.07	0.15	0.21	-0.19	0.16	0.13
THAN	0.22	-0.03	-0.04	0.07	0.09	0.25	-0.22	0.27	0.17
KENT	0.03	-0.22	-0.19	-0.26	-0.27	-0.05	0.13	-0.14	-0.13
LON	-0.06	0.26	0.23	0.39	0.30	0.07	-0.33	0.18	0.18
ELSE	-0.09	0.35	0.34	0.38	0.30	0.02	-0.09	0.22	0.19
HIGH	-0.31	0.44	0.43	0.47	0.41	-0.15	0.05	0.07	0.13
SKILL	0.01	-0.22	-0.19	-0.39	-0.25	-0.10	0.06	-0.21	-0.16
LOW	0.47	-0.36	-0.37	-0.20	-0.08	0.34	-0.30	0.28	0.12
HRATE	-0.66	0.69	0.68	0.48	0.34	-0.33	0.25	-0.20	0.16

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	NO	FIRST	SMALL	LARGE	POST	STAY	LODG	VIS	REL
RAM	0.14	0.05	0.29	0.05	-0.08	0.13	0.16	-0.01	-0.11
THAN	0.12	0.06	0.17	0.12	-0.05	0.16	0.12	-0.02	0.01
KENT	-0.01	-0.05	-0.13	-0.02	0.06	-0.14	-0.08	0.00	0.02
LON	0.05	0.10	0.09	0.10	-0.02	0.24	0.11	0.03	0.13
ELSE	0.02	0.12	0.12	0.10	-0.09	0.15	0.05	0.04	0.03
HIGH	0.04	0.10	0.04	0.11	0.01	0.35	0.06	0.12	0.19
SKILL	0.03	-0.11	-0.10	-0.14	0.05	-0.20	-0.09	0.01	-0.07
LOW	0.09	0.04	0.31	0.14	-0.16	-0.04	-0.13	-0.19	-0.21
HRATE	-0.09	-0.03	-0.33	-0.22	0.29	0.29	-0.16	0.19	0.20

1871

<u>With</u>	NO	FIRST	SMALL	LARGE	POST	STAY	LODG	VIS	REL
RAM	0.12	0.08	0.19	0.19	-0.17	0.13	0.13	-0.16	-0.01
THAN	0.19	0.16	0.16	0.22	-0.14	0.19	0.15	-0.00	-0.11
KENT	-0.08	-0.02	-0.00	-0.08	-0.01	-0.19	-0.02	-0.13	0.01
LON	0.10	0.08	-0.09	0.06	0.03	0.22	0.00	0.28	0.01
ELSE	0.11	0.05	-0.02	0.08	0.02	0.24	0.02	0.26	-0.03
HIGH	0.05	0.08	-0.11	0.07	0.07	0.34	-0.04	0.30	0.03
SKILL	-0.04	-0.05	0.06	-0.11	0.03	-0.16	0.10	-0.21	0.03
LOW	0.09	0.17	0.22	0.13	-0.24	0.00	0.12	-0.15	-0.08
HRATE	-0.06	-0.02	-0.29	-0.06	0.23	0.23	-0.07	0.38	0.23

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	SHARE	LSHARE	HSHARE	PRI	TRANS	DEAL	LAB	PROF	PROP
RAM	0.29	0.28	0.25	0.43	0.57	0.42	0.57	0.31	0.32
THAN	0.25	0.23	0.31	0.53	0.50	0.40	0.53	0.35	0.38
KENT	-0.25	-0.23	-0.21	-0.51	-0.43	-0.43	-0.44	-0.44	-0.52
LON	0.10	0.10	0.20	0.49	0.34	0.54	0.36	0.51	0.54
ELSE	0.19	0.18	0.19	0.50	0.32	0.47	0.34	0.54	0.66
HIGH	-0.09	-0.10	0.23	0.27	0.19	0.66	0.16	0.59	0.63
SKILL	-0.03	-0.02	-0.19	-0.40	-0.16	-0.59	-0.33	-0.47	-0.56
LOW	0.40	0.38	0.27	0.66	0.54	0.25	0.66	0.18	0.24
HRATE	-0.54	-0.54	-0.12	-0.28	-0.29	0.09	-0.35	0.00	0.07

1871

<u>With</u>	SHARE	LSHARE	HSHARE	PRI	TRANS	DEAL	LAB	PROF	PROP
RAM	0.16	0.15	0.07	0.44	0.53	0.28	0.51	0.22	0.23
THAN	0.24	0.23	0.13	0.36	0.38	0.33	0.51	0.26	0.31
KENT	-0.10	-0.10	0.04	-0.29	-0.35	-0.39	-0.31	-0.51	-0.57
LON	0.12	0.12	0.09	0.25	0.25	0.47	0.30	0.54	0.67
ELSE	0.14	0.13	0.08	0.28	0.15	0.50	0.21	0.58	0.66
HIGH	-0.03	-0.04	0.10	0.15	0.14	0.61	0.12	0.58	0.67
SKILL	-0.14	-0.14	-0.10	-0.43	-0.15	-0.48	-0.41	-0.50	-0.33
LOW	0.32	0.31	0.13	0.64	0.50	0.15	0.72	0.15	0.15
HRATE	-0.26	-0.25	-0.09	-0.26	-0.23	0.17	-0.30	0.23	0.23

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	CEMP	SING	MAR	WID	FLOG	FUN	FPROP
RAM	0.44	0.11	0.10	-0.12	-0.21	0.30	-0.24
THAN	0.43	0.09	0.07	-0.10	-0.12	0.09	-0.15
KENT	-0.40	-0.13	0.03	-0.00	-0.07	-0.15	0.08
LON	0.39	0.16	-0.01	-0.04	-0.03	0.16	-0.02
ELSE	0.37	0.08	-0.00	-0.01	-0.05	0.17	0.00
HIGH	0.33	0.18	-0.13	0.08	0.08	0.13	0.10
SKILL	-0.30	-0.12	0.08	-0.05	0.02	-0.14	0.01
LOW	0.40	0.01	0.17	-0.16	-0.19	0.20	-0.39
HRATE	-0.14	0.17	-0.33	0.24	0.34	-0.20	0.56

1871

<u>With</u>	CEMP	SING	MAR	WID	FLOG	FUN	FPROP
RAM	0.30	-0.03	0.13	-0.10	0.03	0.20	-0.17
THAN	0.49	0.08	0.01	-0.00	0.08	0.15	-0.11
KENT	-0.30	-0.13	0.09	-0.11	-0.14	0.01	-0.19
LON	0.35	0.18	-0.22	0.23	0.19	-0.08	0.22
ELSE	0.31	0.21	-0.13	0.10	0.16	0.00	0.26
HIGH	0.29	0.23	-0.17	0.12	0.18	0.02	0.29
SKILL	-0.33	-0.19	0.11	-0.06	-0.07	-0.10	-0.14
LOW	0.27	-0.10	0.19	-0.15	-0.10	0.28	-0.29
HRATE	0.02	0.35	-0.29	0.16	0.35	-0.20	0.44

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	LRATE	SERV	LSERV	HSERV	OO	SHORT	LEASE	SUB	YOUNG
MRATE	-0.14	-0.09	-0.05	-0.22	0.07	-0.18	0.03	0.00	-0.08
LRATE		-0.52	-0.55	-0.29	-0.36	-0.11	-0.09	0.35	-0.00
SERV			0.90	0.63	0.44	0.28	-0.08	-0.14	0.20
LSERV				0.49	-0.43	0.27	-0.06	-0.16	0.17
HSERV					0.37	0.26	-0.04	-0.07	0.24
OO						0.25	-0.31	0.03	0.07
SHORT							-0.44	0.21	0.07
LEASE								-0.58	-0.05
SUB									0.10

1871

<u>With</u>	LRATE	SERV	LSERV	HSERV	OO	SHORT	LEASE	SUB	YOUNG
MRATE	-0.26	-0.22	-0.00	-0.12	0.16	-0.37	0.42	-0.11	-0.17
LRATE		-0.53	-0.55	-0.31	-0.25	0.56	-0.51	0.30	-0.00
SERV			0.93	0.65	0.42	-0.25	0.18	-0.15	0.14
LSERV				0.54	0.40	-0.27	0.20	-0.17	0.12
HSERV					0.34	-0.12	0.04	-0.00	0.13
OO						-0.11	-0.01	-0.06	0.11
SHORT							-0.73	0.24	0.05
LEASE								-0.38	-0.10
SUB									0.06

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	NO	FIRST	SMALL	LARGE	POST	STAY	LODG	VIS	REL
MRATE	-0.03	-0.03	0.05	0.06	0.11	0.11	0.02	0.11	0.09
LRATE	0.08	0.09	0.30	0.19	-0.31	-0.26	0.19	-0.23	-0.21
SERV	-0.04	-0.01	-0.19	-0.10	0.14	0.37	0.02	0.34	0.31
LSERV	-0.04	0.01	-0.21	-0.13	0.20	0.36	-0.00	0.32	0.29
HSERV	-0.05	0.09	-0.07	-0.04	-0.02	0.32	0.08	0.30	0.25
OO	-0.09	0.03	-0.14	0.03	0.23	0.29	-0.01	0.23	0.18
SHORT	0.00	0.09	-0.04	-0.21	0.16	0.45	0.00	0.05	0.11
LEASE	0.06	0.00	-0.02	0.11	-0.12	-0.06	-0.05	-0.01	0.05
SUB	0.06	0.06	0.19	0.02	-0.05	0.06	0.22	-0.09	-0.15

1871

<u>With</u>	NO	FIRST	SMALL	LARGE	POST	STAY	LODG	VIS	REL
MRATE	-0.06	0.05	0.06	-0.05	0.08	0.28	0.10	0.01	0.24
LRATE	0.09	0.07	0.25	0.14	-0.22	-0.22	0.07	-0.34	-0.27
SERV	0.00	-0.06	-0.27	0.04	0.16	0.28	-0.02	0.43	0.27
LSERV	0.00	-0.04	-0.28	0.03	0.17	0.27	-0.03	0.42	0.25
HSERV	-0.01	-0.06	-0.24	0.06	0.10	0.30	-0.03	0.43	0.25
OO	-0.07	0.04	-0.10	0.04	0.12	0.37	0.12	0.20	0.21
SHORT	0.10	0.03	0.16	0.13	-0.15	-0.15	0.11	-0.15	-0.24
LEASE	-0.09	-0.01	-0.08	-0.12	0.10	0.11	-0.03	0.14	0.23
SUB	-0.07	0.22	0.12	0.05	-0.01	0.10	0.07	-0.01	-0.08

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	SHARE	LSHARE	HSHARE	PRI	TRANS	DEAL	LAB	PROF	PROP
MRATE	0.05	0.04	0.16	-0.00	0.05	-0.07	-0.06	0.03	-0.03
LRATE	0.55	0.54	0.11	0.35	0.32	0.02	0.43	-0.01	0.01
SERV	-0.31	-0.31	0.07	-0.16	-0.19	0.24	-0.24	0.17	0.20
LSERV	-0.33	-0.34	0.05	-0.18	-0.22	0.24	-0.24	0.16	0.16
HSERV	-0.18	-0.19	0.06	-0.02	-0.11	0.22	-0.11	0.23	0.27
OO	-0.22	-0.22	0.08	-0.02	0.00	0.26	-0.03	0.30	0.32
SHORT	-0.02	-0.04	0.23	0.08	0.17	0.25	0.27	0.14	0.30
LEASE	-0.31	-0.33	-0.27	-0.27	-0.22	-0.21	-0.28	-0.20	-0.30
SUB	0.67	0.62	0.31	0.50	0.37	0.22	0.42	0.19	0.29

1871

<u>With</u>	SHARE	LSHARE	HSHARE	PRI	TRANS	DEAL	LAB	PROF	PROP
MRATE	-0.13	-0.12	-0.07	0.04	0.14	-0.03	-0.14	0.09	0.05
LRATE	0.36	0.35	0.15	0.31	0.25	-0.03	0.45	-0.16	-0.13
SERV	-0.23	-0.23	-0.06	-0.14	-0.14	0.24	-0.21	0.32	0.33
LSERV	-0.24	-0.24	-0.06	-0.16	-0.16	0.22	-0.22	0.30	0.30
HSERV	-0.10	0.54	-0.00	-0.05	-0.09	0.32	-0.05	0.37	0.42
OO	-0.15	-0.14	-0.07	0.00	0.08	0.24	-0.02	0.40	0.36
SHORT	0.21	0.20	0.09	0.22	0.17	0.06	0.44	-0.06	-0.04
LEASE	-0.33	0.20	-0.15	-0.25	-0.10	-0.08	-0.40	-0.05	-0.07
SUB	0.76	0.73	0.22	0.30	0.16	0.15	0.32	0.10	0.19

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	CEMP	SING	MAR	WID	FLOG	FUN	FPROP
MRATE	0.10	-0.05	0.08	-0.05	0.19	0.01	-0.07
LRATE	0.15	-0.15	0.27	-0.20	-0.44	0.23	-0.53
SERV	-0.10	0.33	-0.40	0.29	0.29	-0.11	0.41
LSERV	-0.00	0.30	-0.38	0.28	0.32	-0.14	0.44
HSERV	-0.00	0.34	-0.30	0.20	0.09	0.00	0.22
OO	0.05	0.27	-0.32	0.25	0.23	-0.05	0.36
SHORT	0.10	0.16	-0.25	0.23	0.15	-0.10	0.09
LEASE	-0.15	-0.10	0.22	-0.22	0.01	0.01	-0.06
SUB	0.27	0.05	-0.02	0.04	-0.10	0.09	-0.20

1871

<u>With</u>	CEMP	SING	MAR	WID	FLOG	FUN	FPROP
MRATE	-0.03	-0.03	0.04	-0.01	0.07	0.05	0.03
LRATE	0.14	-0.18	0.19	-0.13	-0.32	0.19	-0.39
SERV	0.08	0.36	-0.32	0.22	0.35	-0.08	0.44
LSERV	0.07	0.36	-0.30	0.20	0.34	-0.12	0.46
HSERV	0.15	0.30	-0.31	0.30	0.29	0.01	0.31
OO	0.12	0.30	-0.30	0.23	0.25	-0.04	0.25
SHORT	0.24	0.04	-0.04	0.04	-0.13	0.06	-0.21
LEASE	-0.19	-0.08	0.07	-0.08	0.09	-0.05	0.13
SUB	0.20	0.03	-0.06	0.12	0.07	0.12	-0.06

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	NO	FIRST	SMALL	LARGE	POST	STAY	LODG	VIS	REL
YOUNG	0.02	0.11	-0.09	0.03	-0.17	0.06	0.06	0.11	0.01
NO		0.03	-0.06	0.02	-0.04	0.05	0.05	0.09	0.10
FIRST			0.01	0.12	-0.11	0.12	0.10	0.05	-0.01
SMALL				-0.01	-0.30	-0.03	0.21	-0.07	-0.12
LARGE					-0.20	-0.04	0.08	0.03	0.00
POST						0.10	-0.07	0.01	0.06
STAY							0.15	0.21	0.25
LODG								-0.03	0.22
VIS									0.22

1871

<u>With</u>	NO	FIRST	SMALL	LARGE	POST	STAY	LODG	VIS	REL
YOUNG	0.13	0.03	-0.07	-0.02	-0.16	0.04	-0.14	-0.02	0.02
NO		-0.06	0.03	-0.01	-0.26	-0.01	-0.06	-0.01	-0.12
FIRST			-0.00	-0.00	-0.02	0.12	0.11	0.10	-0.03
SMALL				-0.09	-0.36	-0.03	0.19	-0.15	-0.10
LARGE					-0.15	0.06	0.01	0.01	0.00
POST						0.12	-0.07	0.11	0.14
STAY							0.10	0.23	0.22
LODG								0.08	0.01
VIS									0.24

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	SHARE	LSHARE	HSHARE	PRI	TRANS	DEAL	LAB	PROF	PROP
YOUNG	0.08	0.09	0.03	0.16	0.05	0.12	0.08	0.16	0.12
NO	0.07	0.04	0.16	0.07	0.12	0.01	0.08	-0.04	-0.01
FIRST	0.08	0.08	0.07	0.12	0.02	0.11	0.03	-0.01	0.14
SMALL	0.18	0.17	0.13	0.21	0.25	0.13	0.29	0.06	0.05
LARGE	0.12	0.21	0.12	0.18	0.01	0.12	0.03	0.02	0.08
POST	-0.19	-0.18	-0.00	-0.07	-0.09	0.00	-0.05	0.05	0.00
STAY	-0.10	-0.12	0.22	0.11	0.12	0.29	0.06	0.24	0.24
LODG	0.26	0.23	0.29	0.20	0.01	0.07	0.16	-0.04	-0.07
VIS	-0.11	-0.15	0.25	-0.13	-0.14	-0.04	-0.14	0.14	0.05

1871

<u>With</u>	SHARE	LSHARE	HSHARE	PRI	TRANS	DEAL	LAB	PROF	PROP
YOUNG	0.04	0.04	0.01	0.14	0.12	0.16	0.13	0.18	0.12
NO	-0.01	-0.03	0.17	0.07	0.14	0.15	0.12	0.12	0.09
FIRST	0.22	0.21	0.17	0.07	0.20	0.16	0.22	0.07	0.07
SMALL	0.17	0.18	-0.01	0.14	0.21	0.08	0.23	-0.11	-0.07
LARGE	-0.01	-0.02	0.12	0.14	0.07	0.09	0.14	0.06	0.05
POST	-0.09	-0.09	-0.01	-0.17	-0.13	-0.09	-0.25	0.03	0.08
STAY	0.05	0.05	-0.01	0.06	0.15	0.23	0.01	0.38	0.30
LODG	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.06	0.12	0.01	0.09	0.04	0.08
VIS	-0.09	-0.08	-0.08	-0.02	-0.06	0.24	-0.03	0.28	0.30

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	CEMP	SING	MAR	WID	FLOG	FUN	FPROP
YOUNG	0.12	0.54	-0.20	-0.01	0.09	0.03	-0.05
NO	0.03	-0.01	0.09	-0.06	0.08	0.08	-0.16
FIRST	0.12	-0.07	0.12	-0.09	-0.12	0.11	-0.12
SMALL	0.15	-0.14	0.41	-0.37	-0.32	0.42	-0.40
LARGE	0.12	-0.04	0.21	-0.18	-0.19	0.19	-0.20
POST	-0.06	0.04	-0.21	0.22	0.26	-0.24	0.42
STAY	0.21	0.19	-0.14	0.10	0.21	-0.02	0.14
LODG	0.08	0.05	0.03	-0.01	-0.10	0.05	-0.16
VIS	-0.14	0.24	-0.11	0.00	0.09	-0.06	0.12

1871

<u>With</u>	CEMP	SING	MAR	WID	FLOG	FUN	FPROP
YOUNG	0.15	0.27	-0.10	-0.01	0.13	0.05	0.02
NO	-0.02	-0.01	0.15	-0.17	-0.12	0.15	-0.11
FIRST	0.08	-0.04	0.06	-0.03	-0.02	0.10	-0.08
SMALL	0.13	-0.30	0.35	-0.28	-0.16	0.25	-0.40
LARGE	0.15	-0.07	0.09	-0.05	0.02	0.16	-0.17
POST	-0.17	0.27	-0.34	-0.27	0.20	-0.32	0.37
STAY	0.16	0.17	-0.13	0.12	0.24	-0.01	0.14
LODG	0.13	-0.06	0.01	0.06	0.22	0.02	-0.11
VIS	0.09	0.23	-0.21	0.18	0.22	-0.07	0.33

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851

<u>With</u>	SHARE	LSHARE	HSHARE	PRI	TRANS	DEAL	LAB	PROF	PROP
REL	-0.13	-0.14	0.18	-0.09	-0.08	0.13	-0.14	0.12	0.05
SHARE		0.95	0.27	0.40	0.28	0.05	0.40	0.06	0.12
LSHARE			0.17	0.36	0.27	0.06	0.35	0.05	0.12
HSHARE				0.38	0.23	0.21	0.30	0.22	0.16
PRI					0.48	0.37	0.51	0.36	0.37
TRANS						0.33	0.56	0.32	0.38
DEAL							0.35	0.50	0.56
LAB								0.32	0.32
PROF									0.63

1871

<u>With</u>	SHARE	LSHARE	HSHARE	PRI	TRANS	DEAL	LAB	PROF	PROP
REL	-0.09	-0.07	-0.14	-0.04	0.02	0.02	-0.16	0.06	0.04
SHARE		0.96	0.21	0.32	0.13	0.09	0.32	0.06	0.12
LSHARE			0.11	0.32	0.15	0.06	0.32	0.06	0.12
HSHARE				0.12	0.07	0.22	0.16	-0.01	0.03
PRI					0.41	0.18	0.53	0.32	0.36
TRANS						0.31	0.44	0.24	0.27
DEAL							0.33	0.39	0.50
LAB								0.19	0.28
PROF									0.68

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851							
<u>With</u>	CEMP	SING	MAR	WID	FLOG	FUN	FPROP
REL	-0.03	0.10	-0.15	0.14	0.16	-0.15	0.15
SHARE	0.19	-0.09	0.16	-0.11	-0.15	0.17	-0.39
LSHARE	0.20	-0.08	0.15	-0.11	-0.14	0.17	-0.37
HSHARE	0.20	0.07	0.00	-0.02	0.01	0.10	-0.18
PRI	0.37	0.00	0.15	-0.14	-0.23	0.21	-0.22
TRANS	0.49	0.03	0.10	-0.09	-0.07	0.22	-0.29
DEAL	0.39	0.15	-0.06	0.02	-0.01	0.22	-0.01
LAB	0.35	0.02	0.12	-0.11	-0.19	0.20	-0.31
PROF	0.27	0.17	-0.11	0.07	0.06	0.10	0.07

1871							
<u>With</u>	CEMP	SING	MAR	WID	FLOG	FUN	FPROP
REL	-0.04	0.15	-0.15	0.12	0.27	-0.01	0.15
SHARE	0.18	-0.09	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.04	-0.13
LSHARE	0.18	-0.09	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.03	-0.12
HSHARE	0.11	0.03	-0.01	-0.01	0.06	0.09	-0.15
PRI	0.25	-0.03	0.11	-0.09	-0.00	0.24	-0.14
TRANS	0.22	-0.06	0.10	-0.03	-0.02	0.17	-0.17
DEAL	0.37	0.14	-0.06	0.03	0.11	0.13	0.05
LAB	0.41	-0.06	0.14	-0.08	-0.08	0.23	-0.23
PROF	0.21	0.21	-0.10	0.05	0.18	0.02	0.30

TABLE VI.1 (cont.)

1851							
<u>With</u>	CEMP	SING	MAR	WID	FLOG	FUN	FPROP
PROP	0.33	0.09	-0.10	0.13	0.02	0.17	0.11
CEMP		0.09	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.16	-0.13
SING			-0.45	0.16	0.22	-0.18	0.12
MAR				-0.72	-0.38	0.47	-0.35
WID					0.34	-0.42	0.32
FLOG						-0.35	0.23
FUN							-0.32

1871							
<u>With</u>	CEMP	SING	MAR	WID	FLOG	FUN	FPROP
PROP	0.31	0.23	-0.19	0.17	0.24	-0.08	0.34
CEMP		0.14	-0.09	0.06	0.14	0.02	-0.03
SING			-0.63	0.31	0.36	-0.26	0.37
MAR				-0.70	-0.40	0.43	-0.40
WID					0.35	-0.40	0.33
FLOG						-0.25	0.26
FUN							-0.39

with a dozen. The alternative was of course to multiply up each street by the number of householders, but this would have left one with an essentially individual analysis, already the subjects of Chapters IV and V. The object of the present analysis is therefore to compare the characteristics of streets per se, taken as aggregates of the households that they contained.

Kendall's Tau Coefficients were calculated¹. Since few of the variables, listed at the beginning of Table VI.1 showed a normal distribution, the slightly more powerful Pearson Product-Moment Coefficient was inappropriate. The alternative non-parametric coefficient, Spearman's, was also rejected. Although it tends to produce more extreme coefficients than Kendall's, and hence 'better' results, it is less meaningful when applied to data with a relatively large number of tied ranks², a characteristic of some of the variables considered. Thus although Kendall's coefficients tend to give values closer to zero than do Spearman's, it was decided to apply the former since they were more appropriate to the case in hand.

Table VI.1 is a matrix of the 1 892 correlation coefficients that were computed between each of the forty-four chosen variables. These coefficients were originally calculated to four places of decimals, but since they were not required for further computation, the final two places have not been quoted in the table, since they add but little to a general understanding. Space obviously does not permit the examination of each of these coefficients; nor would the law of diminishing returns justify such an exercise. Instead, what follows is an analysis of the basic essentials of the table.

1. For method of calculation, see Appendix F

2. Nie, Bent and Hull (1970), 153

Table VI.1 can be used as a powerful weapon in analysing the degree of segregation in Ramsgate. The argument is that some of the correlations at the street level, indicated in the table, were already known to have existed at the individual level. Thus persons in Classes I and II commonly had a large number of servants (Table IV.35). If streets with a large number of persons in Classes I and II also had a large number of servants, persons sharing these characteristics obviously tended to group together. Thus each correlation can be tested against what one would expect after a close reading of Chapters IV and V. If there were no surprising associations one can take it that persons of similar individual characteristics tended to live in the same streets as other persons with the same individual characteristics, and hence that segregation was in operation. Furthermore, by measuring the strength of these associations in 1851 and 1871 it is possible to decide whether segregation was becoming any more or less strong over the period.

Before this particular analysis is effected, however, it should be noted that some characteristics measured in Table VI.1 could not possibly have been shared by the same individual. For example, persons born in Ramsgate obviously could not also have been born elsewhere; nor could owner-occupiers also be leaseholders of their properties. These mutually exclusive correlations will now be examined to see if they suggest any spatial patterns.

As far as birthplaces of male household heads are concerned, all the correlation coefficients are significant. In other words, persons born in one area might be found in significant association with persons born in any other on a street basis. There was one exception

to this rule, however, and that is that the Kent born apparently tended to live in separate areas. This is a surprising finding, for the Kent born did not tend to form a distinct Class (Table V.8), occupy a distinct type of housing (Table V.9), nor were they especially numerous, forming somewhere between 20% and 25% of the male household heads (Table V.3). The segregation of the Kent born is thus difficult to explain in terms of other variables, and it may well be that persons from similar geographical areas did group together in the town¹. The importance of this finding is such that it demands further examination, and it is a theme that will be resumed later in the chapter.

It should be noted that persons born outside either Kent or London were the least likely to be living in the same streets as those born in Ramsgate or St. Lawrence. This reflects the finding from Table V.8 that the two groups tended to occupy opposite ends of the social spectrum. Table V.8 also shows that the Thanet born were even more likely to be members of Classes IV and V than were the Ramsgate born; yet they were closely associated with those born outside either Kent or London, themselves prone to be in Classes I or II. This therefore argues for a quite a low level of segregation in the town as a whole², although it is significant that this association grew less as the period progressed, arguing for increasing segregation over the period.

Tenancy variables showed little continuity over the period, and this was no doubt because of the increased practice of compounding, which would have affected the tenurial status of some properties. It can

1. Such patterns have been found elsewhere: c.f. Ogden & Winchester (1975)
2. c.f. above p 248

be generally concluded however that compounded areas showed little association with areas of conventional leasehold. This in turn speaks for a degree of segregation of the low status areas from the rest.

It has already been seen that the life cycle tended to operate as an independent variable at the individual level. The street correlation likewise showed very few significant relationships. The only notable correlation was the negative association of streets with a high percentage of those on the very last stage of the life cycle, i.e. families where all the children had left home, and streets with co-resident children. This tendency became more pronounced over the period and relates to the suggestion made earlier that the elderly wished to live in quieter surroundings than the presence of children in a street would allow.

Each occupational grouping showed significant associations with other occupational groups. In other words, at the street level there was no clustering of occupations, characteristic for example of the so-called pre-industrial city¹. It is prima facie surprising to find that those in primary occupations, for example, might live alongside those in the professions, until it is remembered that each occupation covered a wide range of types of job. Thus fishermen could have lived alongside labourers, whilst fishing smack owners could equally well have lived alongside architects or army officers.

Marital status appears to show more segregation at the street level. Married household heads tended not to be found in association with single or widowed heads. The explanation for this is purely mechanical, however. Married household heads accounted for some 70% to 75% of the total (Table IV.3). Streets with relatively large numbers

1. Sjoberg (1960), 101-3

of married household heads could not therefore have possibly accommodated large numbers of household heads of different marital status.

This leaves the mutual association of Class and rateable values to be considered. An inspection of the table shows that skilled persons were not found in streets inhabited by other Classes. This in turn suggests that skilled persons tended to inhabit houses which were adjusted to their needs, and that such a market existed in Victorian times is evidenced by the very phrase 'artisan housing'. Classes I and II and Classes IV and V showed a random association, however. In other words, some streets would have contained only one or the other, whilst other streets contained a mixture. This situation did not change over the period, and it suggests a degree of inter-mixing which would be highly unusual by today's standards. The finding also serves to corroborate work on other towns¹ at the time¹.

In contrast, however, rateable values showed a strong spatial dissociation. Streets with high rateable values did not also contain houses with low ones. The conclusion must be therefore that rateable values were a better discriminator of social areas than was Class in Ramsgate, emphasizing the point made in relation to Table IV.51.

Having dealt with the mutually exclusive data, the remainder of Table VI.1 will now be considered. If attention is confined to correlation coefficients in excess of ± 0.25 , several relatively fixed associations are apparent.

1. Ramsgate born tended to be found in association with persons in Classes IV and V, and with low rated property. This finding adds a new dimension to Table V.8, which shows that the Ramsgate born were over-represented in Class III. Class III they may have been, but they

1. See above pp 248-9

still tended to live in low status areas. By implication the better parts of the town were left to the in-migrant. Other correlations tended not to hold at a level of ± 0.25 over the period, however, and in general it appears that the locally born tended to become less segregated.

2. Thanet born tended to be in association with persons in Classes IV and V (c.f. Table V.8) and with shared properties. They showed few strong associations with other variables.

3. Kent born were strongly correlated with persons in skilled occupations, although Table V.8 shows that those from East Kent were not as likely to be in Class III as in other Classes. The streets in which they lived, however, argues that they were of higher overall status than the locally born.

4. London born were found in streets recording high levels of those in Classes I and II, (which accords well with Table V.8), and with three or more servants. By 1871 they had become associated with owner-occupancy and with visitors. Correlations between this group and other variables tended to strengthen over the period, indicating growing segregation.

5. Those born outside either Kent or London were again found in association with persons in Classes I and II, as suggested by Table V.8., and by 1871 with servant keeping, owner-occupancy and visitors. Also by 1871 they had become dissociated from workers in transport, and common labourers. Correlations between this group and other variables tended to strengthen over the period, again indicating growing segregation.

With regards to birthplaces it can be concluded that in general

the further the birthplace, the greater the association with high status variables, amplifying the conclusion suggested in Chapter V. Moreover this relationship, and hence segregation, tended to strengthen over time.

6. Persons in Classes I and II tended to be associated with the London born, persons born outside the county, with high rateable values, with servant keeping, with owner-occupancy and with a tendency not to move house. In terms of occupations, they were associated with all groups apart from those working in transport or common labourers; by 1871 they had become dissociated from those in primary occupations. This group was negatively correlated with persons living in the lowest rated accommodation. Correlations between this group and other variables tended to strengthen over the period, arguing for greater segregation.

7. Persons in Class III were not positively associated with any other group. They did not, however, tend to be found in areas of low rated property, areas with large numbers of servants, nor with owner-occupancy. Associations tended to weaken over the period, so that their segregation appears to have diminished.

8. Persons in Classes IV and V were found in association with those born in Ramsgate or Thanet, with low rated property, sub-tenancy, and shared accommodation. In terms of occupations, they were not found in association with those in the professions nor with the property owning class. They were dissociated from areas of high rated property, with servant keeping and with female property owners.

Examination of the Class structure at the street level thus fails to reveal any significantly new information. What is of interest, how-

ever is that those at the top of the social ladder appear to have become more segregated from the rest of the population over the period, whilst those in Class III and below appear to have become more inter-mixed.

9. Persons living in high rated property were associated with Classes I and II, servant keeping, owner-occupancy, female property owners and female lodging-house keepers. The latter correlation substantiates the point made earlier that lodging houses run by females tended to cater for the more fashionable visitor¹. After 1871 those living in high rated properties were found in greater association with visitors and single persons. As Armstrong has pointed out, single persons would only be likely to sustain single occupancy if they were wealthy², evidenced in this case by their accommodation. The groups as a whole were dissociated from persons in Classes IV and V, low rated property and shared accommodation. Few small families were found in this type of housing, indicating that housing may at least in part have been adjusted to family size needs. No obvious trend in the segregation of this group is discernible over the period.

10. Persons living in the middle quintile of rated accommodation failed to be associated with any particular variable.

11. Persons living in the lowest rated properties predictably were associated with sub-tenancy, house-sharing, small families, primary occupations, transport and labour. The locally born also tended to be found here. In contrast the group was dissociated from persons in Classes I and II, with high rated properties, servant keeping, owner-occupancy, female lodging-house keepers and female property owners.

After 1871 they tended not to have visitors or relatives. A general

1. c.g. above p 283

2. Armstrong, personal communication

decline in the correlation coefficients associated with this group indicates a decline in its social segregation however.

In general it can be seen that rateable values were a good indicator of social status. The correlation coefficients associated with housing do not add significantly to our knowledge of the groups however. The very slight change in the coefficients indicate that segregation levels associated with housing remained relatively constant over the period.

12. Servants tended to be found in streets recording what have come to be expected as high status indicators. Thus they were positively associated with persons in Classes I and II, with high rated property, with those born outside the county, with owner-occupancy, with a tendency for householders to remain at the same address, with households containing visitors or relatives, with female lodging-house keepers and with female property owners. After 1871 they also became associated with male household heads in the professions and property owning class. Servants were dissociated from persons in Classes IV and V and from low rated properties.

Again these associations cause no surprise, for they are all evident at the individual level. The fact that they were also found at the street level argues for segregation, however. The relationships tended to strengthen over the period, indicating increased segregation, an interesting finding, since servant keeping is for some observers one of the best indicators of social status available for the period¹.

13. Owner-occupancy was obviously a high status phenomenon, being associated at the street level with persons born outside the county, persons in Classes I and II, high rated property, servants, a tendency

1. Best (1971), 87; Katz (1975 A), 159

to stay at the same address, professional and propertied groups. Female lodging-house keepers were also associated with it. Owner-occupancy was negatively associated with low rated property. The relationships tended to strengthen over the period, arguing for the increased segregation of owner-occupiers.

14. The growth of compounding during the mid-Victorian period means that the other tenurial indicators are less reliable. Thus short-tenancy was associated consistently only with common labourers, whilst leasehold tenure was negatively correlated with primary occupations and labouring. Sub-tenancy and house ^{sh}aring, however, were consistently associated with ^{ha} Tenet born, low rateable values, persons in Classes IV and V, with primary occupations and labouring. Sub-tenancy became less strongly associated with these variables over the period, however, indicating a greater degree of intermixture.

15. Life cycle variables were again obstinate in their refusal to correlate with other variables. Childless couples, couples with a first child and couples with large families were not in fact associated with any other variable. Persons under the age of 25 were admittedly correlated with single persons, but this is hardly surprising. Small families tended to show rather more associations, namely with low rated property and with wives without occupation, presumably because they had children to bring up. On the other hand they were spatially dissociated from high rated properties, from widows and elderly couples without children. Elderly couples were found in the same areas as widows and female property owners.

It can therefore be concluded that the life cycle tended to be an independent variable even in the spatial sense. The only group which

appeared to become more segregated over the period were elderly couples without children. This one would in fact expect since many of the new arrivals in the suburbs to the west of the town were retired persons¹.

16. The tendency to remain at the same address over the period 1851-1853 or 1869-1871 was in general correlated with high status variables: persons in Classes I and II and with servants^{at} and owner-occupiers. In the latter period it was also associated with professional and propertied persons. This confirms the impression gained from an inspection of Tables V.22 and V.23. The group as a whole tended to become more segregated over the period, since correlation coefficients linking them to other variables tended to strengthen.

17. Lodgers were not strongly associated with any other variables at either date, in spite of Figure VI.13. The finding is interesting because it serves to illustrate the point that lodging was not confined to any one status group². Visitors in 1851 were similarly associated with only one variable, servants; by 1871 however, visitors seem to have been found in high status areas, being associated with those born outside Kent, persons in Classes I and II, with high rated property, professional and propertied groups, amplifying the findings of Table IV.45. Visitors came to be more strongly segregated by 1871 therefore. Relatives on the other hand showed almost no association with other variables, the only one being servants.

18. Occupations tended to show little correlation with other variables. As already mentioned, the reason for this was that occupational groupings tended to cover a wide range of jobs³. The relation-

1. See above p 91
2. See above p 146
3. See above p 134

ships that did exist were to be expected. Thus persons in primary occupations were associated with low rated accommodation and commonly shared it; the same was generally true of those in transport, most of who would have been boatmen. Those in de^{a/}wing in contrast were associated with Classes I and II. Common labourers were predictably associated with low rated property, with others in Classes IV and V and with either short-stay tenancy or with shared accommodation. Professional and propertied groups on the other hand were associated with Classes I and II, with high rated property and with owner-occupancy. After 1871 they were also associated with servants.

There are therefore no surprises in the spatial association of the occupational groups. One point that should be noted, however, is that the correlations between professional and propertied groups and other variables tended to strengthen over the period, arguing for greater segregation on their part. Associations of other groups tended to weaken.

19. The employment of children appears to have been so widespread on a street basis that it is very difficult to associate the practice with any particular group. Some correlation coefficients were significant, but they tended to be equally strong at each level of the social spectrum. As with the life cycle therefore, the employment of children does not appear to have been a useful territorial indicator.

20. Marital status related to relatively few other variables. Single persons and widows were associated with the keeping of servants, no doubt in lieu of a spouse, and with owner-occupancy, arguing for relatively high status¹. Married persons were negatively associated with high rated properties, servants and owner-occupancy as a rider.

1. c.f. above p 316

The correlation between single persons and other variables tended to strengthen over the period, whilst there was little change in the associations of the other groups.

21. The female occupations recorded were again predictable in their associations. Female lodging-house keepers were found in high rated areas, and kept servants. They were also associated with widows. Females without gainful occupations tended to be married and have children, an unremarkable finding. Female property owners on the other hand were associated with the high status variables of high rateable values, servants and owner-occupancy. Many lived in association with widows.

It will be apparent from the above that there were few associations at the street level which were unexpected from a consideration of the individual level, (although they form a useful complement). This argues the case for a strong degree of segregation in the town, since clearly people with similar characteristics tended to be found in the same streets. As far as trends in segregation over the period are concerned, it has been pointed out that in some cases associations tended to strengthen whilst in others it tended to weaken. It is useful to consider these two groups. Variables which strengthened their associations were streets with persons born in London and outside Kent; those in Classes I and II; those keeping servants; those who were owner-occupiers; those remaining at the same address during each of the two year periods; those in professional and propertied occupations; and those of single marital status. Variables which weakened their associations with other variables over the period were streets with those born in Ramsgate or St. Lawrence; those in Classes

IV and V; those living in low rated property; those on leasehold tenure, especially if of short duration; those living in shared accommodation; those in primary occupations, in transport or in dealing; those married; and those with non-working wives. It is not difficult to see that the first list contains essentially high status variables whilst the latter contains the opposite. In other words, it appears that segregation of the more fashionable areas of the town from the rest strengthened over the period. This would of course increase overall segregation. However once the fashionable areas are discounted, segregation in the rest of the town became less noticeable. This in turn suggests a certain degree of social mobility at the bottom of the social ladder, which in turn may have been the very cause of the desire for increased residential segregation at the top of it. It is interesting, however, that the segregation of common labourers neither increased nor decreased over the period. Was it perhaps that the poorest of the poor were excluded from the social mobility equation ?

Statistical evidence (ii)

Whilst the correlation of variables at the street level (Table VI.1) has afforded valuable insights into the existence of segregation in the town, there is another statistical test which can be applied to analyse it. This is the segregation index¹, regarded by some as the most effective measure available². The principle of the segregation index is to compare the incidence of a variable per unit area with the incidence of the parent population. If the two distributions were the same, segregation did not exist. The index is more properly a measure of the percentage of households who would have to move from

1. Timms (1965), 242. See Appendix F for method of calculation

2. Peach (1975), 14

their present location if there were to be no segregation. Thus the higher the index the greater the percentage of households who would have to move, and hence the greater the degree of segregation. A factor is added into the equation to correct for imbalances in numbers in different groups; this means for example that even if there were more persons born in one area than in another it is still possible to compare their level of segregation from the rest of the population.

The areal unit adopted in the case in hand was again the street. Comparison was thereby facilitated between the conclusions drawn from Table VI.1 and the segregation indices themselves. Table VI.2 shows the segregation indices for selected variables in 1851 and 1871. Virtually all the segregation indices were high, indicating that a large percentage of household heads would have had to move if segregation were to be nullified. It should be noted, however, that the absolute value of the segregation index depends upon the unit of analysis. If very small units are used, the segregation index will approach 100%; at the other extreme no segregation will be revealed if only one overall unit is used. To illustrate this point more fully, Table VI.3 examines the absolute numbers of male household heads from different birthplaces living in different streets at the time of the 1851 and 1871 censuses. The figures show that clustering did not take place at a very startling level by any means, despite the relatively high indices shown in Table VI.2. The streets whose names occur most frequently in the table - High Street, King Street and Hardres Street - were the longest, so that for purely random reasons one would expect them to contain several household heads from the same areas. What is striking is that once these long streets have been deleted there were

TABLE VI.2 Segregation indices

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Segregation index 1851</u>	<u>Segregation index 1871</u>	-	+
<u>Birthplaces: male heads</u>				
Ramsgate	20.67	26.13		5.46
St. Lawrence	42.28	43.50		1.22
Broadstairs	80.56	77.05	3.51	
St. Peter's	59.25	71.65		12.40
Margate	44.17	44.42		0.25
Birchington	77.97	85.18		7.21
Minster	66.81	73.08		6.27
Ash	68.33	76.09		7.76
Sandwich	37.49	64.16		26.67
Deal	50.18	60.10		9.92
Canterbury	40.76	51.29		10.53
Dover	74.23	66.97	7.26	
Folkestone	79.39	82.31		2.92
Eastry RD	66.20	58.56	7.64	
Bridge RD	57.67	71.34		13.67
Blean RD	70.85	79.28		8.45
Faversham RD	68.43	73.05		4.62
Medway	63.93	81.25		17.32
London (unspec.)	58.29	55.41	2.88	
Middlesex East	67.37	68.38		1.01
Middlesex Central	81.12	77.05	4.07	
Middlesex West	69.18	84.89		15.71
Middlesex North	76.32	66.45	9.87	
Met. Surrey	75.43	72.74	2.69	
Sussex	68.38	70.83		2.45
Middlesex (rem.)	83.60	82.31	1.29	
Essex	71.32	59.46	11.86	
Suffolk	77.81	74.84	2.97	
Devon	63.86	61.45	2.41	
Somerset	67.57	67.09	0.48	
Yorkshire	72.83	77.02		4.19
Ireland	70.73	68.96	1.77	

TABLE VI.2 (cont.)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Segregation index 1851</u>	<u>Segregation index 1871</u>	-	+
<u>Occupation: male heads</u>				
Farming	69.72	66.57	3.51	
Fishing	59.77	54.51	5.26	
Building	32.26	33.74		1.48
Shipbuilding	58.39	55.88	2.51	
Iron and steel	72.03	71.98	0.05	
Wood	80.44	85.44		5.00
Furniture	65.13	66.97		1.84
Dress	30.50	38.22		7.72
Baking	45.85	47.77		1.92
Docks	64.72	61.09	3.63	
Ocean navigation	40.38	45.94		5.56
Roads	66.04	59.34	6.70	
Dress retailing	86.15	77.73	8.42	
Food retailing	48.59	44.42	4.17	
Wines, spirits, hotels	58.12	57.94	0.18	
General dealers	78.77	70.62	8.15	
Labour	55.87	60.21		4.34
Central admin.	72.59	66.56	6.03	
Navy	83.93	71.71	12.22	
Education	74.68	72.76	1.93	
Religion	82.35	79.18	3.17	
Indoor domestic	69.44	88.86		19.42
Outdoor domestic	88.50	***** 1		
Other service	59.25	54.10	5.15	
Property owning	61.42	65.66		4.24
<u>Ages: male heads</u>				
Under 25	39.18	46.62		7.44
25 - 34	22.09	27.02		4.93
35- 44	17.26	22.35		5.09
45 - 59	20.32	20.38		0.06
60 and over	28.85	27.65	1.69	

TABLE VI.2 (cont.)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Segregation index 1851</u>	<u>Segregation index 1871</u>	<u>±</u>	<u>±</u>
<u>Life cycle stage (see Appendix E)</u>				
1	23.69	29.48		5.79
2	32.47	29.52	2.95	
3	53.98	61.68		7.70
4	18.77	20.76		1.99
5	27.27	30.88		3.61
6	19.70	25.95		6.25
<u>Class: male heads (five Classes)</u>				
I	61.53	63.91		1.52
II	45.21	44.70	0.51	
III	26.45	29.96		3.51
IV	39.16	41.82		2.66
V	50.38	56.43		6.05
<u>Class: male heads (three Classes)</u>				
I and II	48.75	53.84		5.09
III	26.45	29.96		3.51
IV and V	41.56	46.01		4.45

Note: *****¹ indicates that there were less than ten items present

TABLE VI.3

Clustering of migrants in Ramsgate,
1851 and 1871

<u>Birthplace of male head</u>	<u>Street</u>	1851 N	<u>Street</u>	1871 N
St. Lawrence	Portland Court	5	High Street	5
	Effingham Place	4	Effingham Place	4
	Queen Street	4	George Place	3
	King Street	4	Waterloo Place	3
	High Street	3	Plains of Waterloo	3
	Hardres Street	3	Hibernia Place	3
	Garden Row	3	King Street	3
	Addington Street	3		
Broadstairs			Harbour Place	3
St. Peter's	Hardres Street	5	Hardres Street	3
	Plains of Waterloo	4		
	High Street	3		
Margate	King Street	8	King Street	7
	High Street	5	High Street	4
	Staffordshire Place	3	Portland Place	4
	York Street	3	Hertford Place	4
	Garden Row	3		
Minster	High Street	3		
Ash			High Street	3
			Belle Vue Hill	3
Sandwich	High Street	6	King Street	3
	King Street	4	Queen Street	3
	Hertford Place	4		
	Frederick Street	3		
	Addington Street	3		
Deal	King Street	5	Paradise	4
	York Street	3	Queen Street	3
	Albion Hill	3	King Street	3
	St. James Place	3	Belle Vue Hill	3
Canterbury	High Street	5	High Street	9
	King Street	4	Hardres Street	5
			King Street	4
Dover	Queen Street	4	High Street	6
			King Street	4
Folkestone	Addington Street	3	Addington Street	4
Eastry RD	High Street	4	High Street	6
			Regent Place	3
			Townley Street	3
Blean RD	High Street	3		

TABLE VI.3 (cont.)

<u>Birthplace of male head</u>	<u>Street</u>	1851 N	<u>Street</u>	1871 N
Faversham RD	King Street	3	King Street	6
			West Cliff Road	3
London (unspecified)	Queen Street King Street High Street	4 4 3	High Street	3
			Wellington Crescent	3
			Augusta Terrace	3
			Portland Court	3
			Paragon	3
			West Cliff Road	3
Middlesex East	High Street	4	High Street	3
Middlesex Central			High Street	3
Middlesex West			High Street	3
Middlesex North			High Street	4
			West Cliff Road	3
Surrey (met.)			Harbour Street	3
Sussex	King Street Queen Street	4 3		
Middlesex (rem.)	High Street	3		
Essex			King Street	3
Suffolk	Spencer Square	3	High Street	3
Somerset	High Street	4		
Devon	Leopold Place	7	Leopold Place	4
	York Street	5	Hardres Street	4
	Camden Square	4	Princes Street	3
	Staffordshire Place	3	Liverpool Lawn	3
	Frederick Street	3		
Ireland	Hardres Street	4	King Street	3

few significant clusterings; further, what clusterings that there were tended to be ephemeral, although this is not surprising in view of the high turnover rates indicated in the previous chapter¹. Thus the reason for the high level of the segregation indices in Table VI.2 is because relatively small units, the streets, were used in the analysis. Whatever the absolute levels, however, because the same units of analysis were used in both 1851 and 1871, a comparison between segregation levels over the period is possible. Several points emerge.

1. Segregation indices for birthplaces were calculated with respect to male household heads born in places supplying more than ten male household heads to the town. It is clear that male household heads born in Kent tended to become more spatially segregated from the rest of the population over the period, whilst those born outside the county tended to become less so. In detail, male household heads from fifteen Kent birthplaces showed an increase in segregation, whilst only three Kent birthplaces showed a decrease; on the other hand, four birthplaces outside the county showed increased segregation as against ten which showed a decrease. Two reasons for this can be suggested. Firstly, as Figures VI.17 and VI.18 have shown, the new additions to Ramsgate were disproportionately settled by those born outside the county; by implication, those born in Kent tended to remain confined to the 1851 built-up area. At the same time, the cliff tops were still inhabited by the longer distance migrants in 1871. In other words this latter group, with its increased size (Table V.3), had extended its territory by 1871, and had hence become spatially less segregated, whilst the Kent born had not, and had hence become relative-

1. Leopold Place continued as a nucleus of the Devon born; most of these were fishermen, and the street, close to the water's edge, had many advantages

ly more segregated. Secondly, it has been pointed out that high status areas are often the first part of a city to become desegregated with respect to birthplaces in today's Third World¹. This is because location within a high status area is determined not so much by the need to live close to those from the same part of the country as by the economic factors of the supply of and demand for certain housing types. Such a process may well have accompanied the development of Ramsgate.

2. Male household heads in different occupational groupings tended to become less segregated. Fifteen occupations showed a decrease in segregation, whilst nine increased. A probable reason for the desegregation of occupations would be increased separation of workplace from residence as the period progressed². Increased segregation would automatically result if persons in certain occupations maintained their existing locations in the expanding town.

3. Ages of male household heads and the life cycle showed a marked increase in segregation over the period. In spite of all that has been said about the independence of the life cycle, in terms of segregation indices there was a measurable re-grouping going on in the town during the period. A significant element in this re-grouping, however, was the development of the western part of the town for elderly couples³.

4. Perhaps the most significant finding from Table VI.2 is that relating to the segregation of different Classes; indeed the term 'segregation' is often taken to refer to this type of segregation. There was a noticeable increase in Class segregation over the period.

1) e.g. Tivari (1972) on Nairobi

2. c.f. Warnes (1970)

3. See above p 91

Class II was alone in showing a decrease in segregation, no doubt caused by an increased tendency for shop-keepers to live away from their shops. If a three-Class division is adopted, however, this tendency is absorbed to reveal overall increases¹. The reason for this increase is revealed by the independent results of the correlation analysis. Overall segregation was increased by the tendency of the high status groups to seek more exclusive locations.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown by a variety of ways that segregation was a powerful force in shaping the spatial patterns of mid-Victorian Ramsgate. It has also been shown that it is important to use several different methods to analyse segregation, since the results from each analysis can be used to throw light on the others. Finally the chapter has confirmed the hypothesis that segregation became more evident as the period progressed², although the mechanism by which this was achieved was by no means simple. What seems to have happened in Class terms was that Classes I and II became more segregated from the rest of the population, whilst there was a greater degree of intermixture at the other end of the social spectrum. The former process was sufficient to increase overall segregation levels. One group of people remained equally segregated from the rest of the population over the period however; these were the manual labourers, who stayed confined to their courts and alleys.

1. It should be noticed that the segregation indices were highest at either end of the social spectrum. This has been found to be true of most towns: see Johnston (1971), 43-4; Robson (1975), 23; Timms (1975), 4

2. See above pp 250-1

'You cannot step into the same river twice; for fresh waters are ever flowing in upon you.'

HERACLITUS ¹

PASCAL once observed that in writing a book the last thing that one discovers is what to put first². That this thesis forms such an early chapter in the enormous book that will ultimately come to be written about the mid-Victorian urban experience is therefore unfortunate. However if the luxury of being able to claim at this juncture that Ramsgate was a microcosm of mid-Victorian society, or that it was in some ways typical of towns at the period, is to be denied, the potential compensation that this piece of research may with luck prove to be a signpost to other workers in the field remains. What are the most obvious inscriptions upon this signpost ?

Firstly, the linking together of rate books and census enumerators' books, and the identification of properties, successfully releases a very considerable body of information on a town, which throws light not only upon its general socio-economic structure, but also upon residential mobility and spatial patterns. Even with the advantages of hindsight, no changes would be made in the methods employed in this thesis, except in one purely technical respect, that certain improvements could have been effected in punched card format³.

1. From the Fragments of the Pre-Socratics, quoted in Bertrand Russell: History of Western Philosophy (1946, 1961 ed.). London. p 63

2. Pensées, 1, 19

3. Two mistakes were made here. Firstly Anderson's misleading advice was followed that double, triple or even quadruple punching of card columns is quite acceptable (1972 A), 419, note 25. It is not. Cards which are not single punched cannot be read on IBM card readers. The result was that all double punched cards had to be re-punched, a considerable waste of time. Secondly, when the card format for servants, lodgers and visitors was designed it was not realised that the computer would be unable to print out infor-

Secondly, it has been shown conclusively that there was a remarkable degree of stability in the socio-economic structure of Ramsgate over the mid-Victorian period, not only with respect to single variables, but even with respect to associations between variables. There were some minor changes, but they were so minor that they hardly justify inclusion in a general summary. In a way this is reassuring, for the mid-Victorian period is not generally regarded as having been one of great economic or social change¹. Industrialisation would have been the main cause of any local changes in socio-economic structure, and this did not affect Ramsgate, except indirectly.

Thirdly, it follows from the previous point that there was little change in social tone in Ramsgate over the period. The type of summer visitor may have changed of course, but on this subject the census and rate books furnish very few clues. Those that there are suggest that continuity of social tone was the keynote amongst the resident population.

Fourthly, in spite of the stability in the socio-economic structure, and in spite of the stability of social tone, one aspect of the

note 3, p 332 (cont.) mation on all servants, lodgers and visitors at once. Instead the computer was only able to consider all first servants, then all second servants and so on. Thus if combined information were required on all servants eight different runs were required, and the resultant output had to be amalgamated manually. In retrospect it would have been preferable to have used one card per servant/lodger/visitor, a card which could also have contained more information on the household head. The extra card punching required would not have been excessive, since the information on heads of households with more than one servants, lodger or visitor could have been duplicated automatically on the IBM 029 Key punch

1. Trevelyan (1964), 169-71; Burn (1964)

the town's composition changed very quickly over the period, and that was its population. Turnover rates were enormous by present-day standards, and the evidence suggests that the poorer the district the higher the turnover. The data is unfortunately not good enough for one to be able to say whether turnover increased or decreased over the period; what is certain however is that by 1871 the town was populated by people born in a wider geographical area than in 1851, although the general currents of in-migration were similar.

Fifthly, a high turnover of population might have been expected to facilitate a rationalisation of housing provision, with groups selecting housing not only according to income and status, but also according to their stage on the life cycle. The housing market was simply not adjusted to providing this service however. Builders constantly aimed at the top of the market, resulting in high vacancy rates in more exclusive districts and excessive overcrowding in some of the poorer ones. Housing was adjusted almost solely to income and status, the life cycle of a household showing virtually no association with housing at all. This finding coincides well with other recent research on both sides of the Atlantic which has suggested that it was only at the end of the nineteenth-century that towns began to adjust to life cycle requirements¹. It is also interesting, however, that even in contemporary Exeter the life cycle has been shown to play a subordinate role to economic factors in terms of housing provision².

Sixthly, the very fact that economic factors were dominant in shaping residential patterns meant that the rateable value of a householders accommodation was a very good socio-economic indicator, even

1. Goheen (1970), 10, 220; Williams (1977)

2. Morgan (1976)

to the exclusion of Class. This in turn throws light on the theoretical debate as to which single variable is the best overall indicator of status¹. The evidence from Ramsgate has shown conclusively that rateable values were superior, and the reason for this may well have been because of the way that the housing market operated in the nineteenth-century. Rateable values will only be a good indicator of status, however, in a society which chooses to spend marginal increments in disposable income on marginal improvements in housing quality. This was obviously true of Ramsgate, but whether this was the case today is questionable, although there is some evidence to support it.² Ironically the 100 year confidentiality rule does not permit the exploration of the question in detail for contemporary towns.

Finally, in spite of the very high population turnover, overall spatial patterns remained remarkably constant over the period, especially with respect to those variables which related to socio-economic status. The town was highly segregated at the street scale, and there was a slight increase in segregation over the period. Classes I and II retrenched themselves into more exclusive locations. By 1871 there was slightly less of that intermingling in the residential pattern of different Classes than there had been twenty years earlier³.

There is one question, however, which this thesis has not yet resolved, because it is one which falls across the chapter divisions. Given that the overall socio-economic composition of the town was relatively unchanging, but given also that the population was constantly changing, did individual streets retain their socio-economic

1. See above p 11

2. On Chicago see Reid (1962); on Oxford see Collison (1949). See also Robson (1971), 104-5

3. The growing polarisation of the class structure during the Victorian period is implicit in much contemporary writing. Dickens' later novels contain many more snobs than his earlier ones.

character ? In other words, did socio-economic continuity operate only at the aggregate (town) level, or did it also extend down to the street level ? In order to investigate this question, the seventy-one streets which contained ten or more households in both 1851 and 1871 were examined, and correlation coefficients were calculated between the same variables as those used in Table VI.1. A high positive correlation coefficient would indicate that streets maintained their same relative share of a particular variable over time, and hence that in this respect their character had been maintained. The results are shown in Table VII.1

It is clear that streets maintained their character in some respects far more than in others over the period. All the correlation coefficients were positive, however, which means that there were no characteristics which were found in one set of streets at one date but which were found in a completely different set at the other. Furthermore, 35 out of the 44 coefficients were significant at the 0.05 level, so that only 20% of the associations could be attributed to chance.

The variables which showed the highest coefficients were those relating to housing. The variations that did occur in rateable values over the period were the product of either the deterioration or improvement of individual properties, or else of the effect of new house building on class intervals of different rate quintiles.

Servant keeping was also a relatively static phenomenon, and it should again be noted that servants are usually taken as being excellent indicators of status¹. Also relatively static on a street basis were owner-occupiers, birthplaces outside Kent and a tendency

1. Best (1971), 87; Katz (1975 A), 159

TABLE VII.1 Kendall's Tau Correlation Coefficients
between pairs of variables 1851-1871

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Coefficient</u>
<u>Percentage in a street of:</u>	
Dwelling units in $\frac{w}{L}$ lowest rate quintiles	0.7135
Dwelling units in two highest rate quintiles	0.6959
Households with three or more servants	0.6166
Female household heads or wives who were property owners	0.5935
Households with one or two servants	0.5776
Households with servants	0.5680
Female household heads or wives with no occupation	0.4640
Dwelling units in the middle rate quintile	0.4552
Male household heads in Classes I and II	0.4475
Owner-occupiers	0.4053
Male household heads in Classes IV and V	0.4025
Male household heads in the professions	0.3862
Female household heads or wives who were lodging-house keepers	0.3604
Male household heads born in London	0.3595
Household heads not moving house (1851-1853) or 1869-1871	0.3558
Male household heads who were property owners	0.3493
Single household heads	0.3471
Household heads with employed children	0.3266
Male household heads employed in dealing	0.3144
Male household heads employed as common labourers	0.3075
Male household heads born outside either Kent or London	0.3066
Male household heads employed in primary occupations	0.3018
Male household heads born in Thanet	0.2796
Households sharing accommodation with other families	0.2788
Households sharing accommodation with one or two other families	0.2768

All coefficients significant at the 0.001 level

TABLE VII.1 (cont.)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Coefficient</u>
<u>Percentage in a street of:</u>	
Male household heads in Class III	<u>0.2750</u> 0.001 level
Male household heads employed in transport	0.2602
Households with visitors	0.2367
Married household heads	0.2132
Male household heads born in Ramsgate or St. Lawrence	<u>0.2114</u> 0.01 level
Married couples with 1 - 4 children	0.2035
Sub-tenants	0.2013
Leaseholders	0.1888
Male household heads born in Kent	0.1819
Households with relatives	<u>0.1695</u> 0.05 level
Households sharing accommodation with three or more families	0.1378
Households with 5 or more children	0.1309
Married couples with no children, wife under 25, or unmarried adults under 25	0.0994
Married couples with their first child, under one year old	0.0707
Married couples with no children, wife 25-44	0.0385
Married couples with no children, wife 45 +	0.0372
Widowed household heads	0.0335
Short-stay tenants	0.0248
Households with lodgers	0.0189

not to move house frequently.

In the light of the findings in Chapter VI it is not particularly surprising that streets registering a high percentage of either those in Classes I and II or Classes IV and V continued to do so over the period. The coefficients relating to Class were higher than those relating to occupation, no doubt because the latter might well cover a wide range of jobs. Professional persons and property owners tended to be found in similar streets, at both dates. Dealing was also found in similar streets, and indeed it would have been surprising if this were not so; manual labourers were also fairly static as a group, faced by the formidable economic and social constraints which prevented their movement to other areas. Some streets also maintained a tradition of housing fishermen.

At the other end of the scale there were some variables which showed next to no continuity on a street basis. Two of these, lodging and short-term tenancy, were respectively the results of probable variations in enumeration definitions, and the growth of compounding over the period; in other words they may be explained by reference to data disparities. The remainder of the variables at the bottom of the table, however, are without exception those relating to the life cycle. Streets having a high percentage of those on one stage of the life cycle at one date might or might not house them at the other; the association was random. This then furnishes yet further proof that not only was the life cycle independent of other variables in a statistical sense, but it was also independent in a spatial sense.

We are now in a position to be able to take an overall view of Ramsgate during the mid-Victorian period. We have seen that the socio-

economic structure of the town was relatively stable. We have seen that the inhabitants of the town were almost continually changing. We have seen that the character of the streets in some respects reflected continuity whilst in others they reflected^{le} change. The most effective way in which these dichotomies can be resolved is by using Heraclitus' river as an analogy. Heraclitus observed that one can never step into the same river twice because new waters are continually flowing in upon one. So with Ramsgate, new people were continually flowing in and out, whilst the more permanent residents were continually spiralling in the eddies of the existing housing stock. Yet some features of a river are relatively constant: its direction of flow, its gradient and above all its general appearance. So with Ramsgate, its overall structure was constant, the gradient of its economic life was not noticeably altered by the earth movements of industrialisation, nor was it swamped by the floodwaters of a great migration movement. The bed of a river is continually shifting and changing in places, however; so too were Ramsgate's streets, some patterns on the river bed being preserved, others undergoing a transformation, as a result of the flow. When one reaches Heraclitus' river one knows that it is the same river; when one examines it closely one realises that it is changing; so too with mid-Victorian Ramsgate, the whole being involved in a subtle interplay with each of its parts. In the river and in the town the dichotomy of constant form and changing substance is resolved.

This thesis has been able to examine but one small part of the total mid-Victorian urban experience. What of the way ahead and of other potentially fruitful avenues of research? Several possibilities sug-

gest themselves.

Firstly, there is an obvious need to study other towns in similar ways. So far the only comparable studies that have been effected have been those on York and Hamilton, Ontario. It is only by increasing the number of such studies that general trends during the period can be established, against which the experience of individual towns can be matched. In particular mobility and segregational patterns demand further study. This thesis has pointed to the major factors affecting mobility rates in Ramsgate, but it is important to discover whether these applied elsewhere. Likewise it has been shown that segregation increased marginally over the mid-Victorian period. But how general was this? Did any towns show exceptionally marked changes in their segregational patterns at particular stages of their development? If so, why? And did such changes occur later in small towns as opposed to large ones? Also, have small towns ever shown marked segregational patterns with respect to the life cycle, or is this purely a city phenomenon?

Secondly, as this century progresses, studies over longer time periods will be made possible as a result of the release of the census enumerators' books for 1881 and 1891. This is likely to spell a quickening of interest in this aspect of urban history, for major changes were supposedly taking place in towns at the end of the nineteenth-century¹. Whilst the subtlety of the changes during the mid-Victorian period are likely to continue to appeal to some, the potentially more dramatic changes between say 1851 and 1891 are likely to claim the attention of the majority. These longer period studies could obviously include consideration of mobility and the life cycle.

1. Goheen (1970), 10, 220. Williams (1977).

Thirdly, there is an obvious interest in examining characteristics over a wider geographical area. In terms of migration for example, census enumerators' books could be examined for selected rural parishes, and persons from those parishes could be traced in neighbouring towns at the time of the succeeding census, making possible a comparison between those who moved and those who stayed behind. Pairs of towns could also be selected to see whether there was any difference between those from town 'x' who had moved to town 'y' and those from town 'y' who had moved to town 'x'. A wider geographical area would also make it possible to examine migrational patterns by looking at the relationships between the birthplaces of the youngest child in a family born outside the area and its age, a task which the relatively small number of cases in Ramsgate rendered impossible.

Finally there are a number of other sources available for the nineteenth-century, which for one reason or another are still waiting to be either tapped or linked to other records. Tithe awards, wills, birth, marriage and death certificates might all be linked to both rate books and census enumerators' books, and would no doubt reveal a whole host of fresh patterns and processes which would be of interest to both historical geographer and urban historian alike.

A P P E N D I C E S
A N D
B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Rateable value

The rateable value of the house was divided by the number of households occupying it. The figure was recorded to the nearest pound and given its full numerical value on the coding forms.

Number of properties owned in the town

The figure was given its full numerical value.

Total rateable value of properties owned in the town

The figure was recorded to the nearest pound and given its full numerical value.

Tenure

The method of determining tenure has been described in the text (Table II.3 ff.). Tenure was coded as follows:

1. Owner-occupier
2. Short-tenancy
3. Leaseholder
4. Sub-tenant
8. Non-determinable
9. House unoccupied

Migration tendency

House moves during the study periods 1851-1853 and 1869-1871 were coded as follows:

1. Move to more highly rated property
2. Move to lower rated property
3. No move
4. Death of head
5. Non-determinable: head absent on census night
9. Non-determinable: a short term or sub-tenant

Owner

The fifty owners with the most property at each date were indexed by the numbers one to fifty. Households living in property owned by these people had the appropriate number recorded against their name.

HOUSEHOLD HEADSPersons per household

This was the total number of persons in the household on census night, a household being indicated by the use of a dividing line, a new census schedule number or by the use of the word 'head' in the enumerator's book. In cases of conflict, the advice of Anderson was adopted¹. The number was recorded as a full numerical value.

Persons per family

'Family' here was confined to the household head, spouse and children. The number was recorded as a full numerical value.

Marital status of household head

Divorcees were not acknowledged in the census. A three-fold division was adopted therefore:

1. Married
2. Single
3. Widowed

Age of household head (male)

The age was recorded as a full numerical value.

Birthplace of household head (male)

The rationale of the 100 point classification is explained on page 47. In each case the definitions applied were those of the Registrar General at the date concerned. There were in fact some minor alterations in the boundaries of districts (particularly in London) and parishes between 1851 and 1871, but these are unlikely to significantly affect the results of any calculations:

00 Not known	13 Chislet
01 Ramsgate	14 Stourmouth
02 St. Lawrence (not 01)	15 Ash
03 Broadstairs	16 Sandwich
04 St. Peter's, Thanet (not 03)	17 Deal
05 Margate	18 Herne Bay
06 Birchington	19 Canterbury
07 Manston & Stonar	20 Dover
08 Minster-in-Thanet	21 Whitstable
09 Acol	22 Folkestone
10 Monkton	23 Hythe
11 St. Nicholas at Wade	24 Ashford
12 Sarre	

25	Maidstone	64	Oxfordshire
26	Eastry District (not 14-17)	65	Northamptonshire
27	Bridge District	66	Huntingdonshire
28	Blean District (not 18-21)	67	Bedfordshire
29	Dover District (not 20-4)	68	Cambridgeshire
30	Elham District (not 22-3)	69	Essex
31	East Ashford District	70	Suffolk
32	Faversham District	71	Norfolk
33	Sheppey District	72	Wiltshire
34	Milton District	73	Dorset
35	Hollingbourn District	74	Devon
36	West Ashford District (not 24)	75	Cornwall
37	Romney Marsh District	76	Somerset
38	Tenterden District	77	Gloucestershire
39	Cranbrook District	78	Herefordshire
40	Maidstone District (not 25)	79	Shropshire
41	Medway District	80	Staffordshire
42	Hoo District	81	Worcestershire
43	North Aylesford District	82	Warwickshire
44	Gravesend District	83	Leicestershire & Rutland
45	Malling District	84	Lincolnshire
46	Tonbridge District	85	Nottinghamshire
47	Sevenoaks District	86	Derbyshire
48	Dartford District	87	Cheshire
49	Bromley District	88	Lancashire
50	Metropolitan Kent	89	Yorkshire
51	London (unspecified)	90	Durham
52	Middlesex East District	91	Northumberland
53	Middlesex Central District	92	Cumbria
54	Middlesex West District	93	Wales
55	Middlesex North District	94	Scotland
56	Metropolitan Surrey	95	Ireland
57	Surrey (not 56)	96	Islands in the British Seas
58	Sussex	97	British overseas territories
59	Hampshire	98	British subjects born in foreign parts
60	Berkshire	99	Foreign
61	Middlesex (not 52-5)		
62	Hertfordshire		
63	Buckinghamshire		

Thanet (not 01 or 02) was defined as areas 03 to 12

East Kent (not Thanet) was defined as areas 13 to 24, 26 to 33 and 37

West Kent was defined as area 25, plus areas 34 to 36 and 38 to 49

London was defined as areas 50 to 56

Occupation of household head (male)

As explained on page 46 the following classification is a numerical adaptation of the Armstrong-Booth scheme. The letters and figures in

* brackets after each occupation show the equivalent occupation on that scheme¹.

01 Farming (AG1)	42 Unspecified manufacturing (MF32)
02 Land service (AG2)	43 Warehouses & docks (T1)
03 Animal breeding (AG3)	44 Ocean navigation (T2)
04 Fishing (AG4)	45 Inland navigation (T3)
05 Mining (M1)	46 Railways (T4)
06 Quarrying (M2)	47 Roads (T5)
07 Brickmaking (M3)	48 Coal dealing (D1)
08 Salt & Waterworks (M4)	49 Raw material dealing (D2)
09 Building management (B1)	50 Clothing materials dealing (D3)
10 Building operatives (B2)	51 Dress retailing (D4)
11 Roadmaking (B3)	52 Food retailing (D5)
12 Machinery (MF1)	53 Tobacco retailing (D6)
13 Tools (MF2)	54 Wines, spirits, hotels (D7)
14 Shipbuilding (MF3)	55 Lodging-houses (D8)
15 Iron & steel working (MF4)	56 Furniture dealing (D9)
16 Copper, tin & lead working (MF5)	57 Stationary dealing (D10)
17 Gold & silver working (MF6)	58 Household utensils (D11)
18 Earthenware (MF7)	59 General dealing (D12)
19 Coal and gas (MF8)	60 Unspecified dealing (D13)
20 Chemical (MF9)	60 Unspecified dealing (D13)
21 Furs & leather (MF10)	61 Banking & insurance (IS1)
22 Glue & tallow (MF11)	62 Labour (IS2)
23 Hair (MF12)	63 Central administration (PP1)
24 Wood (MF13)	64 Local administration (PP2)
25 Furniture making (MF14)	65 Sanitary service (PP3)
26 Carriage and harness (MF15)	66 Army (PP4)
27 Paper (MF16)	67 Royal Navy (PP5)
28 Heavy cloth (MF17)	68 Police & prison service (PP6)
29 Woollens (MF18)	69 Law (PP7)
30 Cotton & silk (MF19)	70 Medicine (PP8)
31 Flax & hemp (MF20)	71 Painting (PP9)
32 Lace (MF21)	72 Music (PP10)
33 Dyeing (MF22)	73 Literature (PP11)
34 Dress (MF23)	74 Science (PP12)
35 Sundries (MF24)	75 Education (PP13)
36 Food preparation (MF26)	76 Religion (PP14)
37 Baking (MF27)	77 Indoor domestic service (DS1)
38 Drink preparation (MF28)	78 Outdoor domestic service (DS2)
39 Smoking (MF29)	79 Other service (DS3)
40 Instruments (MF30)	80 Property owning (PO)
41 Printing (MF31)	81 Unemployed
	00 No occupation stated

Class of household head (male)

This was given a numerical code according to the Registrar General's scheme:

1. Class I	Professional
2. Class II	Intermediate
3. Class III	Skilled
4. Class IV	Semi-skilled

1. Armstrong (1972), 284-310

5. Class V Manual
6. Class X Residual

Age of household head (female) or wife

Coded as for male household head

Birthplace of household head (female) or wife

Coded as for male household head

Occupation of household head (female) or wife

Coded as for male household head

Class of household head (female) or wife

Coded as for male household head

Children

The number of co-resident children was accorded its full numerical value

Number of children employed

Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of children born in Ramsgate or St. Lawrence

Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of children born in Thanet

Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of children born in East Kent

Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of children born in West Kent

Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of children born in London

Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of children born outside either Kent or London

Recorded as a full numerical value

Age of the youngest child born outside Ramsgate or St. Lawrence

Recorded as a full numerical value

Birthplace of the youngest child born outside Ramsgate or St. Lawrence

Coded as for male household head

Number of children under 1 year old

Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of children aged 1 to 9

Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of children aged 10 to 14

Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of male children aged 15 to 19
Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of female children aged 15 to 19
Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of male children aged 20 or over
Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of female children aged 20 or over
Recorded as a full numerical value

Occupation of eldest employed child
Coded as for male household head

Class of eldest employed child
Coded as for male household head

Occupation of second eldest employed child
Coded as for male household head

Class of second eldest employed child
Coded as for male household head

Age of eldest co-resident child
Recorded as a full numerical value

Age of eldest non-employed child
Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of servants
Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of lodgers
Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of visitors
Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of co-residing relatives
Recorded as a full numerical value

Number of families with whom sharing
Recorded as a full numerical value. A family was defined as a married couple, or at least one parent with one or more children

Number of non-family groups with whom sharing
Recorded as a full numerical value. A non-family group was defined as a residual from the preceeding category

SERVANTS

Information on the ages, marital status and birthplaces of domestic servants was coded according to the scheme for household heads. Sex was coded as: 1. Male; 2. Female. A more detailed classification was devised for the occupations of servants:

1. Companion
2. Butler
3. Housekeeper
4. Governess
5. Cook
6. Kitchen Maid
7. Parlour Maid
8. House Maid
9. Ladies Maid
10. Nurse
11. Footman
12. Groom
13. Coachman
14. Gardener
15. General Servant
16. Trade Assistant
17. Journeyman
18. Apprentice
19. Errand Boy
20. Clerk

LODGERS AND VISITORS

Information on the ages, birthplaces and occupations of visitors and lodgers was coded according to the scheme for household heads. Sex was coded as for domestic servants. Marital status was coded in a more detailed way, however, in order to include information as to whether or not the individual was accompanied by kin:

1. Married, unaccompanied by kin
2. Single, unaccompanied by kin
3. Widowed, unaccompanied by kin
4. Married, accompanied by kin
5. Single, accompanied by kin
6. Widowed, accompanied by kin

The properties in the town in 1851 and 1871 were identified on the large scale plans of 1849 and 1872 respectively. The 1849^{map} was photo-reduced and then a transparent grid with an arbitrary origin was fitted over it. Cartesian co-ordinates were then calculated for each of the 1851 properties based upon this origin. Households sharing with other households were assigned the same co-ordinates; otherwise each household was given a unique co-ordinate. The map of 1872 was drawn to a different scale to that of 1849. In order to assign the same co-ordinates to the same house at each date a transparent grid was again fitted to the later map, but with new grid lines drawn in that corresponded with the grid lines already used for the 1851 properties. The transformed co-ordinates were then simply read off the second transparent grid and recorded against each household. The match achieved between the two sets of co-ordinates was remarkably consistent, and it can be safely said that in very few cases was the difference more than the equivalent of one or two metres on the ground.

For some types of computer mapping, Polar rather than Cartesian co-ordinates are required. This sort of transformation was carried out by the computer when the need arose however.

HOUSEHOLD HEADS

<u>Columns</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Variable label</u>	
1 - 4	SERIAL	Serial number of household	
5 - 10	GRID	Grid co-ordinates of house	
11 - 13	RATES	Rateable value of dwelling unit	
14 - 15	NOPROPS	Number of properties owned in Ramsgate	
16 - 19	RVPROPS	Rateable value of properties owned in Ramsgate	
	20	TENURE	Tenure
	21	MIGTEND	Migration tendency
22 - 23	PHHOLD	Persons per household	
24 - 25	PFAM	Persons per family	
	26	HMSTAT	Marital status of household head
27 - 28	HAGE	Age of male household head	
29 - 30	BMHEAD	Birthplace of male head	
31 - 32	OMHEAD	Occupation of male head	
	33	CMHEAD	R.G. Class of male head
34 - 35	FAGE	Age of female head or wife	
36 - 37	BFHEAD	Birthplace of female head or wife	
38 - 39	OFHEAD	Occupation of female head or wife	
	40	CFHEAD	R.G. Class of female head or wife
	41	CHILD	Number of children
	42	EMPCHILD	Number of children employed
	43	RAMCHILD	Number of children born in Ramsgate or St. Lawrence
	44	THACHILD	Number of children born in Thanet
	45	EKCHILD	Number of children born in East Kent
	46	WKCHILD	Number of children born in West Kent
	47	LONCHILD	Number of children born in London
	48	OTHCHILD	Number of children born outside wither Kent or London
49 - 50	AGEYCEXR	Age of the youngest child born outside Ramsgate	
51 - 52	BYCEXR	Birthplace of the youngest child born outside Ramsgate	
	53	CUNDER1	Number of children under 1 year old
	54	C1TO9	Number of children aged 1 to 9
	55	C10TO14	Number of children aged 10 to 14
	56	MC15TO19	Number of male children aged 15 to 19
	57	FC15TO19	Number of female children aged 15 to 19
	58	MCOVER20	Number of male children aged 20 or over
	59	FCOVER20	Number of female children aged 20 or over
60 - 61	OCCHILD	Occupation of eldest employed child	
	62	CCHILD	R.G. Class of eldest employed child
63 - 64	OC2CH	Occupation of second eldest employed child	
	65	C2CH	R.G. Class of second eldest employed child
66 - 67	AGEELCH	Age of eldest co-resident child	
68 - 69	AGENOCH	Age of eldest non-employed child	
70 - 71	NOSERV	Number of servants	
72 - 73	NOLODG	Number of lodgers	
74 - 75	NOVIS	Number of visitors	
	76	NOCORR	Number of co-residing relatives
	77	NOFAMS	Number of families with whom sharing
	78	NONOFAMS	Number of non-family groups with whom sharing
79 - 80	OWNER	Name of owner	

SERVANTS

<u>Columns</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Variable label</u>
1 - 4	SERIAL	Serial number of household
5 - 10	GRID	Grid co-ordinates of house
11 - 13	RATES	Rateable value of dwelling unit
14	SEX1SERV	Sex of 1st servant
15	MAR1SERV	Marital status of 1st servant
16 - 17	OCC1SERV	Occupation of 1st servant
18 - 19	AGE1SERV	Age of 1st servant
20 - 21	BP1SERV	Birthplace of 1st servant
22	SEX2SERV	Sex of 2nd servant
23	MAR2SERV	Marital status of 2nd servant
24 - 25	OCC2SERV	Occupation of 2nd servant
26 - 27	AGE2SERV	Age of 2nd servant
28 - 29	BP2SERV	Birthplace of second servant
30 - 37		Repeat of information on third servant
38 - 45		Repeat of information on fourth servant
46 - 53		Repeat of information on fifth servant
54 - 61		Repeat of information on sixth servant
62 - 69		Repeat of information on seventh servant
70 - 77		Repeat of information on eighth servant

LODGERS AND VISITORS

<u>Columns</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Variable label</u>
1 - 4	SERIAL	Serial number of household
5 - 10	GRID	Grid co-ordinates of house
11 - 13	RATES	Rateable value of dwelling unit
14	SEX1LOG/SEX1VIS	Sex of 1st lodger/visitor
15	MAR1LOG/MAR1VIS	Marital status of 1st lodger/visitor
16 - 17	AGE1LOG/AGE1VIS	Age of 1st lodger/visitor
18 - 19	BP1LOG/BP1VIS	Birthplace of 1st lodger/visitor
20 - 21	OCC1LOG/OCC1VIS	Occupation of 1st lodger/visitor
22	C1LOG/C1VIS	R.G. Class of 1st lodger/visitor
23 - 31		Repeat of information on 2nd lodger/visitor
32 - 40		Repeat of information on 3rd lodger/visitor
41 - 49		Repeat of information on 4th lodger/visitor
50 - 58		Repeat of information on 5th lodger/visitor
59 - 67		Repeat of information on 6th lodger/visitor
68 - 76		Repeat of information on 7th lodger/visitor

Logged rateable value

Since raw rateable values showed a highly positively skewed frequency distribution they were logged in order that they could be given further statistical treatment.

Percentages of the total number of children

Number of children employed, born in various geographical areas and in various age-ranges were all calculated as a percentage of the total number of children born to the union.

Street

Households were classified by street in order to enable socio-economic comparisons to be made at street level. Each household had been given a serial number, and the household serial numbers corresponding to the various streets were known. The computer was then instructed to regroup serial numbers according to the streets. Only those streets with ten or more households were considered however.

Grid square

Households were distributed essentially irregularly. They were reclassified by grid square in order to allow indices to be calculated, and later mapped, on a regular basis. The co-ordinates of the grid square outlines were supplied to the computer, which was then instructed to reclassify households according to the grid square in which their own co-ordinates fell. Various sizes of grid square were tried, and the size finally adopted was felt to combine the maximum of detail with the need to be able to make generalisations.

Life cycle

It is well established that households have different housing needs at different stages of the life cycle. In order to examine this relationship, and the co-variations of life cycle with other variables, a complex new variable was created:

1. A married couple with wife aged ~~under~~ 25 or under with no children, or single persons aged 25 or under
2. Married couples with no children, wife aged 25 - 44
3. Married couples with one child only, aged under 1 year. (This category was extended to cover twins)
4. Married couples with between one and four children, excluding the previous category
5. Married couples with more than four children
6. Households with no children, wife or female head aged 45 or upwards.

Chi squared

The chi squared test is designed as a measure of the probability that any given interrelationship between two variables is the product of chance. The value of chi squared obtained is then measured for significance. A significance of say 0.05 would mean that there was a probability of 0.05 that the relationship was one of chance, or, in other words, 5 chances in 100. Generally in the course of this thesis a chi squared significance of more than 0.0001 was rejected, i.e. statistical associations were only accepted if there was a 99.99% probability that the relationship was not one of chance. The formula used in the computation of chi squared is

$$\chi^2 = \sum_i \frac{(f_o^i - f_e^i)^2}{f_e^i}$$

with $(r - 1)(c - 1)$ degrees of freedom, where f_o^i equals the observed frequency of each cell, f_e^i the expected frequency, c equals the number of columns in the table, and r equals the number of rows in the table. The expected frequency f_e^i is calculated as

$$f_e^i = \frac{c_i \times r_i}{N}$$

where c_i is the frequency of the respective column marginal, r_i is the frequency of respective row marginal, and N is the total number of valid cases.

Coefficient of variability

Standard deviation (q.v.) is expressed as a real number. For comparison of the degree of scatter of different distributions it is useful to express the standard deviation in relation to the mean (q.v.).

The coefficient of variability is calculated as

$$\frac{s}{\bar{X}} \times 100$$

where s equals the standard deviation, and \bar{X} equals the mean

Cramer's V

Cramer's V examines the frequency with which a diagonal relationship is found in a table and then discounts the occurrence of non-diagonal relationships. Its value ranges from 0 to 1, depending upon the strength of the relationship. Its formula is

$$V = \frac{\sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{N}}}{\sqrt{\text{Min}(r-1, c-1)}}$$

Kendall's Tau coefficient

(This) begins by computing a statistic called S. Given that the rankings of one variable are placed in their natural order (i.e. arranged in their ranks in order from 1 to N), S is computed by comparing the number of pairs of rankings of a second variable which are also arranged in their correct or natural order when they are sorted according to the natural order of the rankings of the first variable. S is then computed by beginning with the observation ranked 1 on the first variable and counting the number of ranks on the second variable which are greater than the rank of that case on the second variable. Once this has been done, the number of ranks below this observation which are smaller than its rank on the second variable are subtracted from the first quantity. When this procedure is repeated for all ranks, the sum of these remainders is equal to the statistic S. The computed or actual value of S is then divided by the maximum possible S which could have been obtained with that number of rankings had the two rankings been in total agreement. This number can be expressed as $\frac{1}{2}N(N-1)$ where N is the number of observations or cases. The general value for tau is then

$$\text{Tau} = \frac{S}{\frac{1}{2}N(N-1)}$$

When the correction for tied ranks is introduced the formula becomes

$$\frac{S}{\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}N(N-1) - T_x} \sqrt{\frac{1}{2}N(N-1) - T_y}}$$

where $T_x = \frac{1}{2} \sum (t-1)$, where t is the number of tied observations in

each group of ties on the X variable, and where T_y is the same quantity for the Y variable. The significance of tau is determined by comparing tau to a normal distribution (q.v.) with a standard deviation (q.v.) equal to

$$\left(\frac{4N + 10}{9N(N - 1)} \right)^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

Source: Nie, Bent and Hull (1970), 154

Kendall's Tau C

Kendall's Tau B and Kendall's Tau C coefficients are designed for use with tables. The former is specifically designed for use with symmetrical tables, that is, tables where the number of columns equals the number of rows. Whilst some of the tables in the thesis are in fact symmetrical, Kendall's Tau C was adopted as a blanket measure, since it can be used for both symmetrical and asymmetrical tables, thereby permitting comparability. The formula is

$$\text{Tau C} = \frac{2m(p - q)}{n^2(m - 1)}$$

where m = the number of rows or the number of column in the table, whichever is smaller

p = all pairs in which the order on one variable is the same as the order on the other

q = all pairs in which the order on one variable is different from the order on the other

n = the number of valid cases

Kurtosis

Kurtosis is a measure of the degree of 'peakedness' of a frequency distribution. The kurtosis of a normal distribution is three. A figure in excess of three indicates that the distribution is more peaked than in the case of a normal distribution (q.v.). The formula used in the computation of kurtosis is

$$\text{Kurtosis} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N \frac{(x_i - \bar{x})^4}{n}}{N}$$

- 3

N

Lambda symmetric

The lambda symmetric coefficient is used when there is no explicit hypothesis as to which of a pair of variables is independent of the other. Its formula is

$$\text{Lamda} = \frac{\sum_k \text{max}.f_{.k} + \sum_j \text{max}.f_{j.} - \text{max}.f_{.k} - \text{max}.f_{j.}}{2N - \text{max}.f_{.k} - \text{max}.f_{j.}}$$

where $\sum_k \text{max}.f_{.k}$ is the sum of the maximum values of the cell frequencies in each column and $\text{max}.f_{.k}$ is the maximum value of the row totals; $\text{max}.f_{j.}$ is the maximum column total and $\sum_j \text{max}.f_{j.}$ is the sum of the maximum values of the cell frequencies in each row.

Mean

The mean is defined as the sum of a series divided by the number of cases

Median

The median is the middle term of a series. The cases are arranged in order and the median is the score of the middle case. When there are an odd number of cases, the median is defined as the middle value. When there are an even number of cases, the median is defined as the mean of the two middle values

Mode

The mode is the most commonly occurring value in a series, and is determined by inspection

Normal distribution

A normal frequency distribution occurs when the mean, mode and median are identical

Segregation index

The segregation index is defined as

$$I_s = \frac{I_D}{1 - \frac{\sum x_{ai}}{\sum x_{ni}}}$$

where I_D is the dissimilarity index, $\sum x_{ai}$ represents the total number

in the sub group and $\sum x_{ni}$ represents the total population. I_D is given by

$$I_D = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^k |x_i - y_i|$$

with x_i representing the percentage of the 'x' population in the i th areal sub-unit, y_i representing the percentage of the 'y' population in the i th sub-unit, and the summation being over all the k sub-units making up the given universe.

(Source: Timms (1965), 241-2)

Skew distribution

A skewed frequency distribution is a non-normal distribution. If the mean is greater than the median the distribution is positively skewed. If the mean is smaller than the median the distribution is negatively skewed

Standard deviation

Standard deviation is a measure of the degree of scatter of values about the mean. It is defined as the square root of the arithmetic mean of the squared deviations from the mean, and is given by the formula

$$s = \left[\sum_{i=1}^N \frac{(x_i - \bar{x})^2}{N} \right]^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

where \bar{x} = the arithmetic mean

x_i = the value of each case

N = the total number of valid cases

Transformation

A transformation is performed on data in order to convert a positively or negatively skewed distribution into a normal one. This has the advantage that a normal frequency distribution is amenable to further statistical treatment.

100-Expected

For an explanation of this notation see note 3 page 144

The two remarkable photographs of Ramsgate sands which form the Frontispiece and Plate I of this thesis were contact printed from an extensive collection of early photographic plates held by Ramsgate Public Library. The date at which the plates were taken can be established with some confidence.

Between 1840 and 1850 either Fox Talbot's or Daguerre's methods were used to make photographs¹. Of the two, circumstantial evidence would suggest that the latter was used to make these particular plates, for a Daguerreotype artist was recorded in the Ramsgate enumerators' books of 1871. Close inspection of the plates however shows that neither method could have been used. Both their size (10 inches x 8 inches) and their superficial details show that they were made using yet another process, the wet plate collodion process, developed by Scott Archer in 1851. In this process a glass plate was first coated with iodized collodion, and then, immediately before exposure, was immersed in a silver nitrate solution to effect sensitization. It was then placed in the camera and exposed whilst still damp. Langland records that this gave a negative of such fine qualities that even a hundred years later it was not to be surpassed. The process gives the earliest date, 1851, at which the photographs could have been taken².

The details shown in the photograph reveal the latest date at which they could have been taken. There is no railway station to be seen in the foreground, neither are there any preparations for its construction. The railway in question was opened in 1863, necessitating the demolition of the coastguard cottages shown in the photograph. This fixes the latest date at which the plates could have been taken.

Finally, these two plates were used to manufacture postcards of Ramsgate in the Edwardian period, entitled 'Ramsgate 50 years ago'³.

The photographs would therefore seem to date from the mid to late 1850s.

1. Langlands (1947), 144

2. Op. cit., 144-5

3. I am grateful to Mr. Charles Busson, Chief Librarian, Ramsgate Public Library, for this piece of information.

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