MIGRATION AND THE RURAL LABOUR MARKET: KENT 1841-71

by

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A thesis submitted to the University of Kent at Canterbury for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Economic and Social History in the Faculty of Social Sciences.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the course of my research so many people - archivists, librarians, computer programmers, card punchers, and historians - have helped me that space precludes my acknowledging them all individually. Their assistance and kindness will long be remembered. However, I must make special mention of certain persons whose contributions were vital to the success of this project. I would first like to thank those descendants of Kentish emigrants who made available to me their personal family histories, and those who so generously housed me when I travelled to Australia and New Zealand to pursue my research. I am also indebted to Alison Prentice, formerly of the University of London Computer Centre, for her interest in my project and the assistance she gave in compiling the complex Match Programme. I would also like to acknowledge the role of Michael Katz, (formerly of York University, Canada), who showed me new approaches to the study of history; it was during discussions held with him that the ideas for this thesis first emerged. Furthermore I must express my gratitude to my Supervisor, Professor Alan Armstrong of Kent University, who has nursed this project from its inception and given me every help and encouragement along what was at times a rather bumpy road. Finally, my thanks to my mother-in-law, Kathleen Kibble, who shared the task of typing this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The movement of rural labour and the workings of the rural labour market have all too often been neglected by social historians for the study of the effect of industrialisation on urban society. This thesis aims to not only expand our knowledge of the social history of Kent but also shed light on issues affecting a wider rural society and specifically the migration of rural labour. It is comprised of seven Chapters. The first examines the literature pertaining to demography and rural society. It studies ideas regarding the relationship between economic and demographic change from Malthus to the present day, and traces the evolution of writing on population movement from that of an administrative nature to the more personal approach adopted by Erickson. The Chapter also considers contrasting interpretations of the changes occurring in rural society and in the position of the agricultural labourer. The second Chapter describes the wide variety of sources used, sets out the methodology of the thesis, and points to the fusion which has been attempted between 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' history. In Chapter 3, the circumstances of the labour force in Kent, a county selected both because of its reputation as a pauperised agricultural area and because of the paucity of its nineteenth century historiography, are analysed. There was a clear coincidence of demographic and economic boundaries, areas most reliant on agriculture exhibiting low population densities and growth rates, and higher losses of population by migration and a greater outlay on poor relief. However, a sharply focussed case study is one of the most effective ways of examining the relationship between the rural economy and population movements, especially bearing in mind that in nineteenth century rural areas, a great deal of migration took place over relatively short distances. Chapter 4 explores the economic and environmental pressures in the parish of Brenchley, pointing to the continuing polarisation of the rural social structure

and the adverse circumstances of the agricultural labour force, and also explains why Brenchley was selected. Chapter 5 addresses the relationship between the economic and environmental pressures in Brenchley and the movement of the workforce, as established by census linkage. We argue that an examination of the economic circumstances both at the migrants' place of origin and at their destination is vital to an understanding of population movement, and that the movement is shaped more by occupational characteristics, than by geographical boundaries. In Chapter 6 we extend this analysis to the Kentish-born labour force as a whole, tracing its movement in the other counties of England and Wales and overseas. We further explore the correspondence between the needs of sending and receiving areas, and suggest that the study of the movement of labour should incorporate its local, national and international dimensions, rather than be limited by national boundaries. Finally in Chapter 7 we complement the quantitative approach, common to many studies of population movement, with the reflections of the emigrants themselves. While making no claims for the representativeness of the letter writers, this Chapter on personal perspectives nevertheless balances a study of population movement based on the census and on other official sources.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

AHR	- Agricultural History Review
CLECs	- Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners
CO	- Colonial Office
CUP	- Cambridge University Press
EHR	- Economic History Review
HMSO	- Her Majesty's Stationery Office
HO	- Home Office
HOH	- Head of Household
JRAS	- Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society
JRSS	- Journal of the Royal Statistical Society
KAO	- Kent Archives Office
MH	- Ministry of Health
PLAA	- Poor Law Amendment Act
PLCs	- Poor Law Commissioners
PP	- Parliamentary Papers
PRO	- Public Record Office
PS	- Population Studies
RD(s)	- Registration District(s)
RGARs	- Registrar General's Annual Reports
RKP	- Routledge and Kegan Paul
SPSS	- Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
USA	- United States of America

1. In this thesis the term 'migration' will often be used synonymously with 'movement'. Exceptions to this occur when we refer to 'internal migration' or when we indicate that the term 'migration' refers to movement within national boundaries. Similarly 'international migration' and 'emigration' will be used to denote movement outside national boundaries.

2. In the nineteenth century documentation 'Tonbridge' and 'Tunbridge' are used interchangeably. For the sake of uniformity and to avoid confusion the form adopted in this thesis is 'Tunbridge'.

3. In the footnotes and Bibliography, unless otherwise stated, the place of publication is London. This also applies to Penguins, Pelicans and Peregrines published in Harmondsworth, Middlesex.

4. When numerous works by one author have been used, in order to avoid confusion, any reference to a work removed from the original citation will be referred to by the date of publication, for example, Hunt, E.H. 1973.

5. When an author has published more than one work in a year and a particular reference is removed from the original citation, the reference given is, for example, Erickson, C.J. Invisible Immigrants, op. cit.

6. Authors who have published numerous collections of articles, such as Wrigley, E.A. only have their name and year of publication given when an article from one of their collections is cited, for example, Anderson, M. 'Standard tabulation procedures for the census enumerators' books 1851 to 1891,' in Wrigley, E.A. (ed), 1972, 134-145.

7. With reference to Parliamentary Papers the page number cited refers to the pagination in the volume and not to the page number of an individual Report.

INTRODUCTION

The major theme underlying this thesis is the relationship between economic and demographic change, or more specifically, the effect of economic factors on the mobility of the rural workforce. According to the latest computations available, the population of England (excluding Monmouth) rose by 190% between 1751 and 1851,[1] and set in train a vigorous debate on the connections between mortality, nuptiality, fertility and economic change. To this day this debate has never been considered settled. Much of this debate was, and still is, conducted in the light of Malthus's seminal Essay on the Principle of Population, as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society. With Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers, in 1798. This Essay concentrated particularly on the evils arising from an inexorable trend for population always to run ahead of the resources available to support it. Contemporaries of various shades of opinion, including those who agreed with Malthus and those who did not accept the theoretical underpinning of his work were, however, alive to the threat posed to living standards by burgeoning population growth. Consequently, after 1815, they were increasingly ready to talk in terms of the development of a 'surplus population', especially within the rural southern counties. Such a threat, many thought, would be allayed, and economic growth promoted more effectively, by promoting migration from areas where population could be said to be in surplus, to those where the contrary condition applied, and where it was capable of easy absorption. The major exponents of theories of emigration and colonisation were Wilmot Horton (1784-1841) and his antagonist Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862). Charles Buller, an exponent of Wakefield's beliefs, summarised the fundamental doctrine

1 Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield, R.S. (eds), The Population History of England 1541-1871. A Reconstruction. Edward Arnold, 1981, pp.577 & 588.

espoused by both men in an address to the Commons in 1843:

> "When I ask you to colonize, what do I ask you to do but to employ the superfluity of one part of our country to repair the deficiency of the other; to cultivate the desert by applying to it the means that lie idle here: to convey the plough to the field, the workman to his work, the hungry to his food."[2]

Both before and throughout the period studied in this thesis there was a substantial drift from the countryside to the towns. In the three periods 1751-1781, 1781-1801, and 1801-1831, "agricultural" areas sustained an ever increasing loss by net migration; "mixed" areas were constant losers though the size of their loss decreased in the years 1781-1801, while "industrial and commerical" regions experienced a steady increase in their gain of population as a result of net migration.[3] These rural workers made a noteworthy contribution to the growth of towns in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even after the towns ceased to depend so much on this influx for their growth in the second half of the eighteenth century, and sustained their growth principally by natural increase, the inflow continued. Indeed, this movement was positively encouraged by authorities concerned with the presence of a rural 'surplus population', particularly in the south-eastern counties. For example, the Poor Law Commissioners (hereafter PLCs) home migration scheme (October 1835 to May 1837) enabled almost five thousand persons[4] to move to the northern manufacturing districts. It was estimated by the PLCs that in the period 1821-31, Lancashire, for example, experienced an in-migration of nearly seventeen

2 Buller's speech in Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, lxviii, 1843, col.503.

3 Deane, P. & Cole, W.A. British Economic Growth, 1688-1959. 1962, CUP, Cambridge, 1978 edition, pp.108-109.

4 Redford, A. Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850. 1926, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1976 edition, pp.108-110.

thousand persons annually, "...and there had been a progressive increase in the annual influx since the census records began."[5]

Workers engaged in agriculture declined from about 35% of the employed population in 1801 to 21% in 1851,[6] although agriculture was still the largest single employer in mid-century. Thereafter the decline persisted. For example, between 1851 and 1871 the number of agricultural workers fell by 22%.[7] Most of the loss was experienced in the south as the centre of population shifted to the northern industrial areas. Consequently just as the cry in the early nineteenth century was of 'rural overpopulation' and 'rural surplus population', after the mid-century there were signs of a growing concern with 'rural depopulation'.[8] The exodus from the countryside continued throughout the period studied, and in the 1880s and 1890s, though this time the southern towns took a larger share of the rural outflow than the northern centres. Saville, writing in the 1950s, concluded that "Rural depopulation has occurred in the past century and a half, and will continue in the future, because of declining employment opportunities in the countryside."[9]

5 ibid., p.110.

6 Webb, R.K. Modern England. 1969, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1973 edition, p.235.

7 Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G.E. The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880. 1966, B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1978 edition, p.187.

8 For a study of the rural exodus from c1841 see Cairncross, A.K. Home and Foreign Investment, 1870-1913. RKP, 1957; and Erickson, C.J. 'Who were the English and Scots immigrants to the United States in the late nineteenth century?' in Glass, D.V. & Revelle, R. (eds), 1972, 347-381.

9 Saville, J. op. cit., p.7.

There was also movement overseas. The most popular destinations for rural and urban emigrants (the latter formed a substantial proportion of the exodus as a whole), was British North America and the United States (especially in the 1830s - hereafter USA), Australia and New Zealand (primarily in the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s). Contrary to the wishes of the British Government, the United States, a country outside the Empire, absorbed the majority of the emigrants during the period studied. The return of 'Emigration from the United Kingdom for the Years 1815-1863 (first six months)', shows the emigrants' destinations:

Table x.i. Volume of traffic to various destinations, 1815-63 (first 6 months).

Destination	Numbers
North American Colonies	1,234,506
United States	3,238,579
Australia & New Zealand	802,152
all other places	105,599
total	5,380,836

source: PP.1863.XXXVIII, p.21.

The popularity of the USA is hardly surprising for not only was its economy more developed than that of Australasia, the journey was also cheaper and involved less hardship.[10] Though it was powerless to prevent independent movement, the British Government eventually refused to assist any migration outside the colonies. Two Government bodies played an important role in emigration - the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners (hereafter CLECs), who started their operations in 1840, and the PLCs,

10 For example, the journey times varied as follows:
Liverpool to New York - 5 weeks,
Liverpool to Quebec - a little more than 5 weeks,
Sydney - 4 months,
Cape - 10 weeks.

who commenced their emigration scheme in 1834. The CLECs focused their attention on Australia, assisting 339,338 persons in the period 1847-69.[11] Meanwhile the PLCs concentrated mainly on Canada and assisted (to all destinations), a total of 14,000 persons in 1835-46. This represented an annual average of 1,400 persons or 7.8% of the total annual emigration from England, with Kent, Somerset and Sussex supplying the largest numbers. In the years 1864-65 only 35 were aided, the numbers increasing temporarily after 1871 in which year 893 Poor Law emigrants departed.[12]

However, the PLCs and the CLECs were not the only bodies involved in organising emigration from England and from Kent in particular. Colonising efforts had been going on in Canada, Australia and New Zealand for some time in the hands of the numerous land companies. For example, the Australian Agricultural Association, the Van Diemen's Land Company, the New Zealand Association, (later to become the New Zealand Company), the Canterbury and Otago Associations and the British American Land Company had all been in operation during an earlier period. The principle upon which these companies operated was the purchasing of land from the British Government (or natives - though this was officially frowned upon), which they then proceeded to sell and settle. The Government recompensed such efforts by grants of land. Some persons travelling under the auspices of, for example, the New Zealand Company, paid their own passages, while others were granted free passages; this was the only way that a pool of labour could be supplied for the purchasers of land. While the Companies were granted charters by the British Government and were supposedly acting in its

11 Johnson, S.C. A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1919. 1913, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1966 edition, p.26.

12 ibid., pp.89-90.

interests, relationships were not always cordial.[13] In the 1850s there was progress towards colonial self-government, and legislatures were set up with virtual political independence and control of land revenue (which provided money for immigration).[14] In this study we will be tracing Kentish emigration through the records of the New Zealand Company (1839-50), and the Governments of Canterbury (1857-70), and Nelson (1849-77) Provinces. With reference to Australia, Kentish folk will be identified in Wakefield's South Australian project, and the colonies of Victoria (1839-71), and New South Wales (1837-38).

As a general rule, records pertaining to independent emigrants are held overseas and generally only give the country and not the county of birth, and so a statement of the numbers of independent Kentish travellers is unavailable. Listings of assisted emigrants on the other hand supply this crucial information and thus the nature of the source material obliges us to study emigration from Kent as represented by assisted emigrants. The only exception to this is the comparatively minute collection of letters, diaries and journals which include details of persons paying their own passage.

In view of the considerable contemporary concern with the working of the rural labour market, as evidenced in the preoccupations of nineteenth-century social theorists and the aforementioned schemes, it is surprising that, on the whole, modern social historians have veered away from studying the agricultural worker. There has been a marked preference for the study of the human cost of industrialisation

13 See, for example, PRO, CO.325.43, Relationship with the New Zealand Company, 1840-45 , this consists of letters, reports and newspaper cuttings on the subject; Marais, J.S. The Colonization of New Zealand. Humphrey Milford, 1927; PRO, CO.208.291-5, Scrapbook of the New Zealand Company, newspaper cuttings for the period 1839-58 on the subject of the Company's colonisation and emigration scheme.

14 In New Zealand these controlled immigration until 1871 when the Central Government took over the task of settlement for the whole country.

as exemplified in the work of dozens of economic and social historians and especially in the famous 'standard of living' controversy.[15] Similarly when the interaction of demographic and economic factors has been examined the focus has often been on an urban context as in Anderson's

15 To name but a few, firstly, the 'pessimists': Engels, F. The Condition of the Working Class in England. 1844, 1892 first English edition; Marx, K. Capital. 1867, 1887 first English edition; Toynbee, A. Lectures on the Industrial Revolution in England. 1884, David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1969 edition; Webb, S. Labour in the Longest Reign. The Fabian Society, 1897, Fabian Tract no. 75; Hammond, J.L. & B. The Rise of Modern Industry. Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1925, along with their trilogy on the Village, Town, and Skilled Labourer, Longmans, Green, 1911, 1917 and 1919 respectively; Hobsbawm, E.J. 'The British Standard of Living, 1790-1850,' EHR, 2nd ser. X, no.1 (1957), 46-68; Thompson, E.P. The Making of the English Working Class. 1963, Pelican, 1968 edition.
The 'optimists': McCulloch, J.R. The Principles of Political Economy. Longman & Co, 1825; Tooke, T. & Newmarch, W. A History of Prices. 6 vols, P.S. King & Son Ltd, 1838-57; Giffen, R. 'The Progress of the Working Class in the Last Half Century,' 1884, in Economic Inquiries and Studies. Bell, 1 (1904), 382-423; Clapham. J.H. An Economic History of Modern Britain. 3 vols, CUP, Cambridge, vol.1, 1926; Ashton, T.S. 'The Standard of Life of Workers in England 1790-1830,' Journal of Economic History Supplement, IX (1949), 19-38; Hartwell, R.M. 'The Rising Standard of Living in England 1800-1850,' EHR, 2nd ser. XIII, no.3 (1961), 397-416 and 'The Standard of Living during the Industrial Revolution,' EHR, 2nd ser. XVI, no.1 (1963), 135-146. For a summary of the debate see Hobsbawm, E.J. & Hartwell, R.M. 'The Standard of Living during the Industrial Revolution: A Discussion,' EHR, 2nd ser. XVI, no.1 (1963), 119-134.

Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire (1971).[16]

When the subject of the rural labour market and the migration of rural labour has been approached it has tended to fall within clearly defined disciplinary boundaries. There are 'agricultural' historians such as Jones[17] and Collins[18] who concentrate on such factors as technological development in agriculture and their effect on the position of the agricultural worker. On the other hand economists such as Thomas[19] and Cairncross[20] interpret population movement in relation to economic factors such as the international flow of capital investment. Then there are the more 'socially' orientated historians such as Charlotte Erickson[21] who study the emigrants' own viewpoint and place them in a wider social context. Not only do we have these disciplinary boundaries within history which result in historians being labelled as 'agrarian', 'demographic' or 'economic' for example, the study of the labour market

16 Anderson, M. Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire. CUP, Cambridge, 1971; indeed Anderson admits to a need for economic/demographic research based on rural areas, p.170; Drake, M. Ashford 1840-1870: A Socio-Demographic Study, unpublished Final Report, Centre for Research in the Social Sciences in the University of Kent at Canterbury, 1970; Armstrong, W.A. Stability and Change in an English County Town: a Social Study of York, 1801-51. CUP, Cambridge, 1974; Lawton, R. 'The Population of Liverpool in the mid-nineteenth century,' Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, CVII (1955), 89-120; Anderson, M. 'Urban migration in nineteenth century Lancashire,' Annales de Démographie Historique , (1971), 13-26; Clark, P. 'The migrant in Kentish towns, 1580-1640,' in Clark, P. & Slack, P. (eds), Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700. RKP, 1972, 117-163.

17 Jones, E.L. The Development of English Agriculture, 1815-1873. 1968, Macmillan, 1976 edition.

18 Collins, E.J.T. 'Harvest Technology and Labour Supply in Britain 1790-1870,' EHR, 2nd ser. XXII, no.3 (1969), 453-473, and Collins, E.J.T. 'Migrant Labour in British Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century,' EHR, 2nd ser. XXIX, no.1 (1976), 38-59.

19 Thomas, B. Migration and Economic Growth. 1954, CUP, Cambridge, 1973 edition.

20 Cairncross, A.K. op. cit.

21 Erickson, C.J. Invisible Immigrants. University of Miami Press, Florida, 1972.

and population movement is further fragmented by both subject matter and methodology. Historians usually select one subject, such as internal migration,[22] international migration,[23] out-migration,[24] or in-migration.[25] Moreover they are further divided by their methodology and so categorised as either 'qualitative' or 'quantitative' historians. So we are presented with such contrasting work as the emotionally-charged study of the agricultural labourer conducted by the Hammonds[26] which uses 'traditional' sources such as Parliamentary reports, contemporary journals, and the sophisticated empirical, quantitative work of Lindert and Williamson[27] which utilises statistical sources such as the census, house rents, and death rates.

In this thesis an attempt has been made to traverse disciplinary boundaries, drawing on approaches habitually used by demographers, economists, agricultural and social historians. Furthermore the division of the study of population movement into discrete subject categories such as 'internal' migration and 'international' migration has not been followed. Finally, both qualitative and quantitative methods have been used. The belief behind this approach is that only by abandoning these distinctions can we present as complete and informative study as possible given the restrictions imposed upon us by the sources. It is argued for example, that without studying conditions in areas both sending and receiving migrants we cannot

22 Clark, P. op. cit.

23 Johnston, H.J.M. British Emigration Policy 1815-1830. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972.

24 Johnson, S.C. op. cit.

25 Jackson, J.A. The Irish in Britain. RKP, 1963.

26 Hammond, J.L. & B. 1911.

27 Lindert, R.H. & Williamson, J.G. 'English Workers' Living Standards During the Industrial Revolution: A New Look,' EHR, 2nd ser. XXXVI, no.1 (1983), 1-25.

properly understand the movement of labour. Similarly, if we adopt the tactic of studying internal or international migration in isolation we are granting special importance to geographical boundaries and it will be argued in the course of this thesis that occupation differentials are far more crucial elements in explaining population movement. It must also be said that the methodology of the thesis proceeds on the basis that it is feasible and advantageous to use both qualitative and quantitative methods within one study. In an attempt to prevent the thesis reading like a statistical textbook, wherever possible, personal material has been incorporated alongside the quantitative data produced by complex computer programming as exemplified by the linkage programme.

Finally, it is necessary to explain why Kent was selected for this study, why we undertook a case study of one parish, and why the parish chosen was Brenchley. A number of factors contributed to the selection of Kent. First of all, comparatively little is known of the impact of industrial and agrarian capitalism on the rural workforce in the nineteenth century in this county. Although a number of studies have touched on aspects of Kent's rural social history,[28] sometimes using the technique of oral history,[29] there is no comprehensive treatment showing

28 For example, Baker, C. 'Hop Picking in the Weald before the First World War - Preliminary Findings of a Study in Oral History,' Cantium, 6, no.4 (1974), 91-95, also her M.Phil. thesis at the University of Kent, 1979, entitled Hop Picking in Kent, 1840-1940; Huzel, J. The Old Poor Law, Population and Agrarian Protest in early Nineteenth Century Kent. University of Kent Ph.D, 1975; Everitt, A. Pattern of Rural Dissent in the Nineteenth Century. Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1972; the most pertinent work is that of Hobsbawm, E.J. and Rudé, G. Captain Swing. 1969, Penguin, 1973 edition.

29 Baker, C. M.Phil, op. cit.; Winstanley, M. Life in Kent at the Turn of the Century. Dawson, Folkestone, 1978, and his 'Voices from the Past: Rural Kent at the Close of an Era,' in Mingay, G. (ed), 1981, vol.1, 626-638.

the impact of industrial and agrarian capitalism. Secondly, a southern county such as Kent was especially interesting because of its isolation from northern manufacturing centres. Anderson, for example,[30] studied rural migration in an industrial, northern context. However, Kent bordered on London; indeed part of the county was within 'London', and the pull of this city on the Kentish workforce was of interest. Thirdly, Kent was an agricultural county often referred to as pauperised and suffering from the problem of 'surplus' labour. T.L. Hodges reported to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Emigration, that:

> "...there is in almost every parish, and has for several years past been, a considerably larger number of people than the agricultural demands require... the parishes are in considerable distress..."[31]

This third consideration influenced the choice of Brenchley as a detailed case study. Just as Kent was chosen for the importance of agriculture to its economy and its reputation as a southern, poor, rural, county, so too the parish selected should have the majority of its population engaged in agricultural pursuits, be far removed from any centres of industry, and be generally identified as impoverished. Accordingly the search focussed upon the Weald, the area with the highest expenditure on poor relief and a predominantly agricultural region within Kent.

30 Anderson, M. 'Urban migration...' op. cit.

31 April 27, 1826. PP.1826-27.V.

CHAPTER 1. Areas of Debate.

No doubt it is possible to discuss the relationship between migration and advances and contractions in economic opportunities in highly generalized, abstract terms. However, although it may be something of a truism to say so, historians are concerned with specific historical situations. They need to locate their studies in the context of time, place and circumstance, and in due course attention will be paid to the characteristics of mid-nineteenth century Kent. There is another sense in which 'context' is equally important; that which has been formed by prior debate and discussions. In this Chapter an attempt will be made to set out the main areas of debate and discussion (both contemporary and modern) to which this study might hope to make a contribution.

COMPETING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE LINKS BETWEEN POPULATION GROWTH AND THE ECONOMY: MALTHUS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the debate over the causes of pauperism, food shortages and unemployment provided the framework within which the relationship between economic and demographic change came to be discussed. Some contemporaries suggested that the distress amongst the labouring class was due to their surplus numbers, although there was never any unanimity of agreement on the matter. In fact, the actual numerical increase of the population was a matter of speculation until the taking of the first census in 1801. In the 1780s, Dr. Richard Price and the Rev. John Howlett were engaged in a dispute regarding the growth of the population of England and Wales. The former claimed that the populace had declined by a quarter since the Glorious Revolution of 1688.[1] The latter, holding the opposite view maintained that the

1 The earliest reliable estimate of the number of people in England and Wales is Gregory King's. He calculated the population of England and Wales to be 5.5 million in 1695. See Glass, D.V. 'Gregory King's Estimate of the Population of England and Wales, 1695,' in Glass, D.V. and Eversley, D.E.C.(eds), 1965, 183-220, especially p.203.

population had been steadily increasing during this period. Howlett's view was supported by William Wales, who in 1781 published An Inquiry into the Present State of the Population in England and Wales, wherein he estimated that the population of England and Wales had risen to between 7 and 8 million people.

At this time such an increase in numbers was not regarded as cause for concern; for military reasons[2] it was desirable that the nation appear as numerous as possible. Indeed the possibility that a census would prove this not to be the case was advanced as an argument against such an enumeration of the population. Moreover, William Godwin in his Political Justice[3] of 1793 expressed a belief in the ability of the earth to support all its inhabitants for centuries to come, and in the innate perfectability of humanity. According to his theory, the advance of civilisation would bring about a perfect society whereby there would be no population growth:

> "(Since) one tendency of a cultivated and virtuous mind is to diminish our eagerness for the gratification of the senses...The men therefore whom we are supposing to exist, when the earth shall refuse itself to a more extended population, will probably cease to propagate. The whole will be a people of men, and not children. Generation will not succeed generation, nor truth have, in a certain degree, to recommence her career every thirty years."[4]

The Count Condorcet in 1794, likewise professing a belief in human goodness and in progress towards perfection,[5] anticipated a world where there would be no misery or vice, but

2 Namely the hostilities with the French and Americans.

3 Godwin, W. Enquiry concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on Modern Morals and Happiness. 1793, Penguin, 1976 edition.

4 ibid., p.776.

5 Condorcet, Count. Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind. 1795, cited in Petersen, W. Malthus, Heinemann, 1979.

happiness and equality for all. According to Petersen, Condorcet believed that "in this rational age to come, everyone would recognize his obligation to those not yet born and to the general well-being both of his own society and of all humanity",[6] and not be tied "to the puerile idea of filling the earth with useless and unhappy beings."[7]

Yet in 1798 optimistic expressions were questioned in an anonymous pamphlet entitled An Essay on the Principle of Population, as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society. With Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers. The pamphlet's author, addressing himself to the issue of poverty, doubted the premise advanced by Godwin and Condorcet that population and resources were inherently balanced. For him the cause of poverty was the tendency of the population to increase faster than the means of subsistence. The author, soon revealed to be Malthus, based his argument on two premises:

> "First, That food is necessary to the existence of man.
>
> Secondly, That the passion between the sexes is necessary and will remain nearly in its present state.
>
> These two laws... appear to have been fixed laws of our nature, and... we have no right to conclude that they will ever cease to be what they now are...
>
> Assuming then, my postulata as granted, I say that the power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man.
>
> Population, when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio. Subsistence increases only in an arithmetical ratio. A slight acquaintance with numbers will show the immensity of the first power in comparison of the second.
>
> By that law of our nature which makes food necessary to the life of man, the effects of these two unequal powers must be kept equal.

6 ibid., p.42

7 ibid., p.42

> This implies a strong and constantly operating check on population from the difficulty of subsistence. This difficulty must fall some where and must necessarily be severely felt by a large portion of mankind."[8]

In marked contrast to the earlier writers, Malthus painted a bleak picture in which population had an inherent tendency to increase beyond the greatest possible increase of food. This surge of population growth was periodically curtailed by subsistence crises, or "positive checks", exemplified by famine and disease. For Malthus, these "checks" pruned the population to a figure that the resources could once again support. Yet in an endless cycle the resultant increased standard of living, brought another rise in the population until it too was halted by the next crisis.

In 1803 Malthus's Second Essay (to which he gave his name) was published. In it he expanded both his theory and the illustrative data and gave greater emphasis to the notion of "preventive checks" whereby the "positive checks" imposed by nature could be preempted by human action. Malthus accordingly proposed that fertility could be controlled by abstinence from marriage, either temporarily or permanently. This abstinence he defined in his summary as the exercise of "moral restraint".[9] While unmarried, the populace were to behave in a strictly moral manner with regard to sex. Other "preventive checks", such as "the sort of intercourse which renders some of the women of large towns unprolific; a general corruption of morals with regard to the sex, which has a similar effect; unnatural passions and improper acts to prevent the consequences of irregular connections"[10] were deemed to be vice, and not

8 Malthus, T.R. An Essay on the Principle of Population, as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society. With Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and Other Writers, (known as the First Essay). 1798, cited in Flew, A.(ed), An Essay on the Principle of Population. Pelican, 1970, 70-71.

9 Malthus, T.R. The full title of the original work is A Summary View of the Principle of Population. 1830, in Flew, A.(ed), ibid., p.250.

10 that is, prostitution, homosexuality, adultery, and contraception, ibid., p.250.

acceptable forms of action. However, he was not optimistic that his proposal of "moral restraint" would be accepted by the lower classes for whom it was advocated. Unfortunately restraint on marriage could not be legislated by the government but had to be left to the prudence of each individual. His hope lay in the beneficial influence good government, the security of property, and education would have in "creating habits of prudence"[11] amongst those who lacked them. With these "preventive checks" Malthus may have thought that he was offering a viable alternative to the "positive checks". However, those who were deemed by Malthus to be the most prolific breeders, the "lower orders" of society, if they knew of him, would not have seen the checks in that light and Malthus was regarded by many of his fellow social theorists as an enemy of the poor.[12]

On its face, Malthus's depiction of the relationship between population growth and the means of subsistence, or to put it more broadly, between demographic and economic change, appears to be inconsistent. He suggested on the one hand that the behaviour of population was biologically determined and unrelated to resources, in that the former grew until it outstripped the latter, and on the other hand that population grew as a result of material betterment, in that the growth which occurred after a subsistence crisis brought improved conditions for its survivors. According to this presentation population growth appears both unresponsive and responsive to economic change. This apparent inconsistency merits closer examination. In Malthus's analysis, economic circumstances affected mortality since subsistence crises pruned the population. The relationship between fertility and living standards was less clear. Increased food supply, according to Malthus, stimulated early marriage and procreation. Yet in his discussion of the operation of "positive checks", marriage and child-bearing habits were at the mercy of passion. Only the higher orders

11 ibid., p.251.

12 see pp.36-39 of this Chapter.

in 'civilised countries' were regarded as an exception to that position, resorting to "preventive checks" in order to regulate their fertility.[13]

In 1801 the first census was compiled by Rickman. Having accomplished that task, he sought to discover whether or not the population of England and Wales had grown or declined during the previous century and to this end compiled totals for the numbers of births, marriages, and burials for every tenth year from 1700 to 1780, and then for every year up to 1800. When compared to the 1801 census results, these figures, despite their shortcomings, revealed that the population had been virtually stagnant for the first half of the eighteenth century, and had started to grow rapidly after 1750. Further censuses, at ten-year intervals, would reveal that the trend accelerated, taking the aggregate population of England and Wales to 18 million in 1851.

There is little doubt that Malthus's discussion of population growth set the terms of the national debate regarding population and the economy. But, despite Rickman's confirmation that the population of England and Wales was indeed growing rapidly, not all those who examined the connection between population growth and economic change accepted his assertion that the tendency of population growth to outstrip resources was an inevitable one. Arthur Young [14] and the Reverend

13 The working class's improvident behaviour was, according to Malthus, encouraged by existing social arrangements, notably the Old Poor Law. For his observations on the Poor Law see, for example, A Letter to Samuel Whitbread, Esq. MP, On his Proposed Bill for the Amendment of the Poor Laws. 1807, reprinted in Glass, D.V.(ed), Introduction to Malthus. Watts & Co, 1953, 185-205. Whitbread, in an effort to forestall the abolition of the Poor Law incorporated many of Malthus's suggestions in his Bill: national free education, modification of the law of settlement, equalization of rates of various parishes.

14 Young, A. The Question of Scarcity Plainly Stated, And Remedies Considered. W.J. & J. Richardson, 1800.

Alexander Irvine of Ranoch[15] both proposed that any shortage of food could be remedied by an increase in its production, which in turn could be brought about by the cultivation of waste lands. William Hazlitt argued in a similar vein, declaring that the means of subsistence could increase as fast as population - there was no law in nature preventing this. Therefore any lack in equilibrium between population and the economy must be ascribed to "the will of man",[16] and this "will" was the force keeping down the population.

Boner[17] believes that the advocates of increased food supply did not do themselves justice:

> "...they might have claimed convincingly that by increasing the food supply, while limiting each man to an equal share of it, the gap between the numbers and the subsistence of the poor might be partly or even wholly closed up, depending on the amount of the increase of food; and the sacrifice required of the prudent members of society would not only be kept from increasing, but would be less than that involved in aiding the poor while the food supply remained static."[18]

Although Malthus had initially (1798) considered the increase of food supply as a short-term remedy to the misery caused by 'overpopulation', he had, by 1803, unequivocally rejected the notion that such a 'remedy' could be effective on the grounds that any improvement in living-standards would stimulate the birth rate and precipitate yet another crisis. Furthermore

15 Irvine, A. An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, with Observations on the means to be Employed for Preventing It. Longman & Rees, 1802.

16 Hazlitt, W. A Reply to the Essay on Population by the Rev. T.R. Malthus. In a Series of Letters. To Which are Added Extracts from the Essay; with Notes. Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807, p.38.

17 Boner, H.A. Hungry Generations. King's Crown Press, New York, 1955.

18 ibid., P.37.

there was little point in ameliorating the living conditions of the poor; after all, the "law of nature" dictated that population growth would ultimately surpass food supply.

Malthus had aimed his original essay at Godwin, and the two men corresponded after its publication. In 1801 Godwin published Thoughts Occasioned by the Perusal of Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon: Being a Reply to the Attacks of Dr. Parr, Mr. Mackintosh, the Author of an Essay on Population, and Others. In this work he proclaimed an "unfeigned approbation and respect" for his adversary. That having been said, he stood his ground, reaffirming his belief in human progress,[19] and refuting the necessity of misery and vice in regulating human numbers. Misery was attributable to imperfect institutions, and the unequal distribution of national income, not to a cruel, natural law. Indeed, Godwin warned his contemporaries that they should be concerned more with population decline than with growth:

> "...the progressive power of increase in the numbers of mankind, will never outrun the progressive power of improvement which human intellect is enabled to develop in the means of subsistence."[20]

Dr. Samuel Parr had, like Godwin, espoused the 'New Philosophy'. But incidents in France frightened many liberals and former supporters of the French Revolution, who consequently modified their views. Dr. Parr was one such convert to Malthusianism. In his annual Spital Sermon at Christ Church at Easter in 1800 he admitted "...unequivocally the fundamental principle of the writer (Malthus), that by those general laws of nature, which

19 he had agreed to drop the word, if not the concept of perfectability.

20 Godwin, W. Of Population. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1820, p.626. By 1820 Godwin had had a stroke, his health was poor and this work had a very limited impact.

constitute all experience, and therefore should regulate all our enquiries, population, under certain circumstances, will increase in a geometrical proportion, and the produce of the earth in an arithmetical only."[21]

Francis Place in his Illustrations and Proofs of the Principle of Population (1822) supported Malthus in so far as he suggested that not even a benevolent and efficient government could prevent that measure of poverty attributable to an excessive increase of population. Believing population to be capable of growing to an undesirable level, but believing too that it was unreasonable to expect people to refrain from marriage or sexual intercourse, Place advocated contraception to combat excess population increase.

Nevertheless the belief in humanity's ultimate goodness was persistent. Nassau Senior, a critic of Malthus, rejected the vision of a world of inescapable misery and poverty. He perceived a desire towards self-improvement, which would for instance induce postponed marriage. Accordingly as civilisation advanced so the pressure of population upon the means of subsistence would decrease. In Senior's analysis, then, the presence of a surplus population was not linked with any "law of nature", but with social arrangements, namely bad government:

> "....a population increasing more rapidly than the means of subsistence is, generally speaking, a symptom of misgovernment indicating deeper-seated evils, of which it is only one of the results."[22]

It followed that under good government, there was no tendency for the population to increase faster than food.[23]

21 Johnstone, J.M.D. The Works of Samuel Parr, L.L.D. Prebendary of St. Paul's, of Hatton, etc., with Memoirs of His Life and Writings, and a Selection of His Correspondence. 8 vols, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1828, vol.II, p.593.

22 Senior, N.W. Tracts, including Two Lectures on Population, Saunders & Otley, 1829, 1-90. Second Lecture, p.52.

23 "What I deny is, that, under wise institutions, there is any tendency to this state of things. I believe the tendency to be just the reverse." ibid., p.36.

W. T. Thornton in his work Over-Population and Its Remedy (1846) argued that it was not over-population which was the cause of poverty, but the reverse. Poverty bred over-population, a condition whereby "the inhabitants (of a country), although able-bodied and capable of labour, are permanently unable to earn a sufficiency of the necessaries of life."[24] Thornton reasoned that people were rendered reckless by privation and consequently bred beyond the means of comfortable subsistence. The roots of this privation or poverty were located in the movement from the country to the towns (which ensured privation in the latter), the shrinkage of the rural labour market as a result of the conversion from arable to pasture, enclosures which ousted the peasantry from their cottages, the Poor Law which prevented the natural operation of the law of supply and demand, and the ending of the boarding-in system. While Malthus saw education as the chief means of changing the behaviour of the labouring classes, Thornton suggested that the raising of living standards would end the misery promoting over-population.

Thus Malthus and his contemporaries explored the relationship between the economy and demographic change. Malthus's own presentation was not always entirely clear: population growth was sometimes depicted as responsive, sometimes unresponsive to living standards. Essentially, he regarded governmental action as being ineffective on anything other than a short-term basis. Other commentators, however, believed that population level responded to social arrangements, a surplus being a product of 'uncivilised' society, bad government, or of privation. But, regardless of any inconsistencies within Malthus's work and of the speculative nature of much of the debate, Malthusian notions of population growth were highly influential during the nineteenth century. Just how influential will become clearer in the following section. It should be noted that our major concern

24 Thornton, W.T. Over-Population and Its Remedy, Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1846, p.1. See also Spengler, J.J. (ed), Population Problems in the Victorian Age. 2 vols, Gregg International Publishers Ltd, Farnborough, 1973, vol.1.

with Malthus's thesis is with his assertion of the ultimate independence of demographic from economic factors. In recent times, some commentators have taken a more benign view of Malthus. Patricia James has argued that he was obsessed "...by the thought of too many children and too little food", and his concern for their welfare prompted his diatribe against 'excessive' population growth.[25] Petersen has also attacked the portrayal of Malthus as a political reactionary, unconcerned with the well-being of the poor. He has described Malthus as "...an honest and beneficient reformer, committed throughout his life to the goal that he shared with every liberal of his day - the betterment of society and of all the people in it."[26]

EMIGRATION AS A REMEDY FOR SURPLUS POPULATION

Malthus put forward his "positive" and "preventive checks" as the means by which the population could be, and was, harmonized at a level compatible with the means of subsistence. To what extent did he assign emigration any role in this process? He acknowledged that people may wish to move as a result of want, and should not be prevented from doing so. However he did not accept that emigration was a long-term solution to the problem of population growth. Any improvement gained by emigration would inevitably be counter-balanced by the stimulus better conditions would give to early marriage and procreation:

> "Whatever temporary and partial relief... may be derived from emigration by particular countries in the actual state of things, it is quite obvious, that, considering the subject generally and largely, emigration may be fairly said not in any degree to touch the difficulty."[27]

25 James, P. Population. Malthus, His Life and Times. RKP, 1979, p.64.

26 Petersen, W. op.cit. p.239

27 Malthus, T.R. Summary, in Flew, A. (ed), op.cit., pp.241-42.

In 1827 he was called before the House of Commons Select Committee on Emigration from the U.K. The summary of his evidence reiterated the belief noted above that emigration should be permitted:

> "...Mr. Malthus admits that if it can be shown that the expense of removing... (redundant) labourers by Emigration is less than that of maintaining them at home, no doubt can exist as to the expediency of so removing them; and this, independent of any question of repayment..."[28]

Nevertheless no benefit would accrue from such action unless the vacuum created by the exodus could be preserved. The only way this could be achieved would be by the pulling down of emigrants' houses or the with-holding of relief to those born after a certain time. Ultimately, although making the link between surplus population, economic pressure, and emigration, he did not pursue the subject in any depth, being more concerned with advancing "moral restraint" as a cure for the problem which he had identified.

Place also saw the movement of population as a futile remedy:

> "Emigration, or any other thing which removes the surplus population, would no doubt benefit those who remained; and if they did not increase again too fast they would continue well off; but there are two very serious objections to Emigration which have never been removed: (1) that emigration be carried on to a sufficient extent; (2) (that) if it could, the capital expended on the emigration would prevent the employment of people here. This is really the way in which the Political Economists have expressed themselves on the subject of emigration."[29]

28 PP. 1826-27.V, pp.260-261.

29 Place, F. Illustrations and Proof of the Principle of Population (1822), Appendix containing letter to George Rogers, 15 January 1832, in Norman E. Himes edition, G.Allen & Unwin, 1930, p.323.

The focus of Thornton's work was, like that of Malthus, on population growth rather than population movement, and together with Malthus he held the view that the redistribution of population would not solve the problem of overpopulation. According to Thornton, emigration would only help if undertaken on a gigantic scale, but he warned that over-stocking of the colonies through emigration would only produce return migration.

Though far less influential in their time than the works of Malthus and of the aforementioned writers, the investigation by Marx and Engels of the issue which lies at the heart of this thesis, namely, the relationship between economic organisation and population movement, should not be overlooked. Marx's explanation of the origins of what he termed the 'surplus' population stands opposed to that proferred by Malthus:

> "...it is capitalistic accumulation itself that constantly produces, and produces in direct ratio of its own energy and extent, a relatively redundant population of labourers, that is, a population of greater extent than suffices for the average needs of the self-expansion of capital, and therefore a surplus population."[30]

Thus, for Marx, it was not the "law of nature" or indeed poverty which produced a surplus of hands, but the capitalist system itself. The movement of population was directly related to this. He believed that during periods of stagnation and crisis when the impulse to emigrate was at its height were also those when more surplus capital was sent abroad. Conversely emigration declined as the emigration of surplus capital declined. Thus a part of the "floating surplus-population" emigrated, "following in fact capital that has emigrated", or more specifically, surplus capital.[31] In other words, the movement out

30 Marx, K. Capital. 3 vols, 1887 first English edition (originally published in German in 1867). Vol.1, Lawrence & Wishart, 1977 edition, p.590.

31 ibid., p.600. Modern studies attest to the importance of this link, whilst not, of course, viewing the flow of foreign investment as 'surplus' capital. See, for example, Cairncross, A.K. op.cit.; Thomas, B. op.cit.; Hall, A.R. The Export of Capital from Britain 1870-1914. Methuen, 1968.

of and into a particular country was an integral feature of the capitalist system. Ironically, Marx shared with Malthus the view that emigration was no solution to Britain's problems of poverty and unemployment. Engels echoed Marx's views when he wrote that the only remedy to the situation was the termination of "...this degradation of humanity by doing away with private property, competition and conflicting interests."[32]

The view that emigration was a paltry and inadequate solution to the nation's problems was forcefully challenged by Wilmot Horton[33] and Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Both men saw in emigration and colonisation, the permanent remedies for England's poverty and for her 'excess' population.

Initially Horton considered the idea of home colonisation, that is, the reclamation and cultivation of waste land upon which labourers could settle. However, he eventually decided that the movement of labour overseas would be a more appropriate long-term solution to unemployment and poverty:

> "I consider it (colonisation) as the best and cheapest mode of disposing of that superfluous labouring population from the general labour market, which I contend to be the main remedy for the distressed condition of the labouring classes of the United Kingdom, inasmuch as it is that superfluous labour which is not wanted by any party as a means of production, which deteriorates the condition of the whole labouring classes collectively."[34]

32 Engels, F. Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy. 1844, cited in Meek, R. (ed), Marx and Engels on the Population Bomb. 1953, Ramparts Press, Inc, Berkeley, 1971 edition, p.62.

33 who corresponded with Malthus on the subject. See James, P. op.cit., pp.388-398.

34 Horton, W. Causes and Remedies of Pauperism, first series, 1829, pp.22-3, quoted in Ghosh, R.N. 'The Colonisation Controversy: R.J.Wilmot-Horton and the Classical Economists,' Economica, 31 (1964), p.389.

The aim of his scheme was to remove paupers from the mother country, the money for the removal being obtained by borrowing on the security of the poor-rate. It made more sense to Horton to undertake this expenditure than to spend money maintaining paupers at home. Furthermore he argued that such a redistribution of labour, in addition to helping the home country by relieving poverty, would also strengthen the colonies. In short his scheme would supply "...the wants of one country" with the "...superfluities of the other."[35] However governments during this period, adhering to laissez-faire principles, were unwilling to interfere in the labour market and consequently Horton's plan was never pursued on a large scale.

Wakefield's scheme rested on very different principles. In 1830 he formed the National Colonisation Society which proposed the following: the sale of colonial lands for the purpose of financing emigration (not the financing of emigration by parishes as Horton proposed); the emigration of selected persons (not pauper families as Horton advocated); and the building up of a colonial population of economic and strategic benefit to the mother country. Wakefield was interested in the effect that systematic colonisation would have both on the mother country, and on the colonies. Accordingly a balance had to be achieved in the latter between land, capital and labour. Capitalists had to be prevented from acquiring (by grant), more land than they could develop. Furthermore labourers' purchase of their own lands, had to be delayed. Too fast a transition from labourer to subsistence farmer would leave capitalists with insufficient labour with which to work their land. The termination of land grants, the regulation of the price of land, and the careful selection of emigrants, were regarded as the means by which this balance could be achieved. Wakefield was comparatively successful in transforming his ideas into actual policy. The Colonial Office implemented many of his proposals, and South Australia became the first colony to be settled according to Wakefieldian principles.[36]

35 Horton's speech in Parliament, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, New Series, 16, Feb.15, 1827, col.480. quoted in Ghosh R.N. ibid., p.390.

36 For a discussion of the practical application of Horton and Wakefield's plans see Chapter 6.

Horton and Wakefield assigned population a somewhat independent role: population was not capable on its own of responding to conditions in the mother country, nor of adjusting to the needs of the colonies. The population level could best be reduced by population movement and such movement had to be organised by the authorities. Only deliberate efforts would bring about a balanced distribution of labour.

MODERN INTERPRETATIONS OF POPULATION GROWTH IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH/NINETEENTH CENTURIES

The Malthusian concern with poverty and overpopulation set the framework for the discussions concerning population in the late eighteenth/nineteenth centuries. The modern debate is set within the framework of the origins of industrialisation, and how population growth related to this. The general consensus is that population was stagnant till 1750, when its growth accelerated reaching peak rates in 1811-31 after which it began to moderate slightly. The origins of this population growth have frequently been investigated, the following being the major lines of inquiry: to what extent was the growth due to decreased mortality (through improved living standards or medical innovations), or increased fertility (through a drop in age at marriage, increased marital and extra-marital fertility), or (in the case of urban or industrial, areas), by in-migration? The vast range of the literature concerned with population and industrialisation prohibits a comprehensive review, and it is not within the scope of this thesis to evaluate the relative importance of a rising birth rate or falling death rate as contributors to population growth. We shall focus on that part of the literature which pertains most closely to the questions being explored in this thesis.

In his article 'Population, Economy and Society', Eversley argued that we cannot solve the problem of causality by confining ourselves to the links between population and industrialisation: "There can be no general rule as to whether population

produced industrialisation, or industrialisation called forth extra population."[37] He continued:

> "...apart from the autonomous variables of climate, we find that diseases do not always run their courses according to prevailing standards or employment opportunities. Harvests and sickness fluctuate, but not always together. Marriage and fertility respond to changes in the levels of real wages, but the relationship is sometimes direct and sometimes inverse."[38]

Nevertheless, in the context of this thesis, the crucial feature of Eversley's argument concerns the relationship between the demand for labour and population growth. Eversley noted that it has traditionally been assumed that the demand for labour stimulated population growth by encouraging falling age at marriage and higher marital fertility. Rejecting this assumption, he argued that the relationship is in fact more complex, as it takes ten to fifteen years from the time of the supposed original stimulus to produce the required addition to the labour force. If high wages and assured prospects led to increased marriages and additional children, the bottlenecks created by labour shortages would restrict production or demand long before additional workers arrived. "...unless of course it were by migration."[39] The implication of this for our study is that if labour demands cannot be met immediately by natural increase, the movement of population may well be capable of producing such a response. Was migration (and indeed emigration) encouraged therefore by the demand for labour in areas where the local population could not meet the demand? Did this migration in turn stimulate production and thus create a further demand for labour? As Eversley himself pointed out, these questions can only satisfactorily be answered by research at a very local

37 Eversley, D.E.C. 'Population, Economy and Society,' in Glass, D.V. & Eversley, D.E.C. (eds), Population in History. Edward Arnold, 1965, p.66.

38 ibid., p.67. Likewise Chambers, J.D. Population, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial England. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1967, Utterstrom, G. 'Two Essays in Population in Eighteenth Century Scandinavia,' in Glass, D.V.& Eversley, D.E.C. (eds), 1965, 523-548, who argue for the independent role of disease.

39 Eversley, D.E.C. ibid., p.64.

level.

Deane and Cole in their study of British economic and population growth,[40] investigated the relative importance of rising birth rate, and declining death rate as causes of British population growth. By examining population statistics on a county by county basis, they found that industrial and commercial counties grew more than their agricultural counterparts and that there was a corresponding shift in the centre of gravity of the population from the south to the north. It is interesting from the point of view of this study to note that Kent was classified as a commercial-industrial county which first gained population by migration (1701-81) and then by natural increase (1781-1831), a net loss by migration occurring in 1801-31. On a national level Deane and Cole tended to regard migration as having played a comparatively minor role in the early development of the main industrial areas. According to them the key mechanism in British population growth was natural increase as a result of rising fertility, and this natural increase was stimulated by industrial expansion, not by urban conditions. Population growth in the rural areas, on the other hand, was attributable by Deane and Cole to the declining death rate, largely unrelated to economic factors "...it seems probable that the decline in mortality in eighteenth century England was in the main due to factors independent of the process of economic growth."[41]

Eversley, Deane and Cole addressed the general issue of population behaviour and economic development. Other writers have examined more detailed aspects of this relationship. For example Levine,[42] tracing the effect of early capitalism on family formation, has argued that the economic organisation of a particular village (Shepshed, Leics) had a readily identifiable impact on household size, structure, age at marriage, family size, illegitimacy and bridal pregnancy. Shorter [43] has argued that industrial capitalism brought about the modern

40 Deane, P. & Cole, W.A. op.cit.

41 ibid., p.134.

42 Levine, D. Family Formation in the Age of Nascent Capitalism. Academic Press, 1977.

43 Shorter, E. The Making of the Modern Family. 1975, Collins, 1976 edition.

family, and also, by changing women's work, caused soaring illegitimacy rates and bridal pregnancies. Those historians concerned with changes in mortality, such as McKeown, Brown and Record,[44] have argued that a rising standard of living followed by improved hygienic conditions lowered the death rate, while Razzell[45] has suggested that inoculation and vaccination were responsible. Finally the Cambridge Group for the Study of Population have proposed that, in the long term, what governed English population growth rates were changes in fertility which in turn were regulated by the age and incidence of marriage. Marriage itself was connected to a complex set of biological, social and economic processes. Any changes in economic circumstances, such as real-wages, were reflected in changes in the marriage rate and age at marriage and consequently fertility.[46] Short-term factors causing fluctuations in the marriage rate were good and bad seasons but as Wrigley and Schofield write "...more fundamental alterations in nuptiality gradually became established when underlying economic circumstances changed. As each generation grew up

44 McKeown, T. Brown, R. Record, R. 'Reasons for the Decline of Mortality in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century,' PS,16, pt.2 (1962), 94-122.

45 Razzell, P. 'Population Change in the Nineteenth Century. A Re-Appraisal,' EHR, 2nd ser. XVIII, no.2 (1965), 312-32.

46 Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield, R.S. (eds), op.cit.
See also Wrigley, E.A. 'The Growth of Population in Eighteenth-Century England: A Conundrum Resolved,' Past and Present, 98 (1983), 121-150.
In this article Wrigley argues in a similar vein that fertility accounted for the acceleration in population growth in the eighteenth century. This fertility was due not to an increase in marital fertility but to earlier and more universal marriage. Marriage in turn was affected not by chance but by economic trends such as those of prices and wages. He concludes his article by reiterating his disbelief in the role of accident in demography by writing that the nineteenth century was the "...start of a period when for the first time in history poverty for the mass of mankind became not a necessary part of the lot of man but a preventable evil." p.150.

and crossed the threshold into adult life the marriage conventions of society, reflecting its underlying economic condition, acted like a filter. At times young men and women were allowed to pass relatively freely into the married state, but at other times the mesh tightened, ponding back the flow so that many had long to wait before they passed through, while others spilled round, moving forward into middle life single and excluded from marriage."[47] Such fundamental alterations in economic circumstances were not always easy to distinguish from "random annual fluctuations"[48] in real wages and thus it took some time for a response to occur to long-term economic changes. The authors are able to construct a sequence of turning points in real wages, nuptiality and fertility. The realisation that changes in real wages had occurred gradually permeated secular nuptiality trends in an interval of about 25 years; the effect of changed nuptiality on fertility was identifiable after an average of 10-15 years; while the overall interval between real wage and fertility change was approximately 40 years. However on the basis of "ex post facto knowledge"[49] they conclude that in reality the interval between a 'perceived' change in real wages and a change in secular nuptiality must "...have been considerably shorter than...25 years."[50]

The importance of such studies for this thesis are fourfold. First of all they set the general framework within which demographic and economic change have been discussed, namely, that of population growth and industrialisation. Secondly, they show how from this broad debate regarding the role of population in industrial growth have emerged studies of very specific aspects of this relationship, such as the effect of living standards on mortality. Thirdly, all these authors, no matter what their interests, illustrate the sensitivity of population

47 Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield, R.S. (eds), ibid., p.435.
48 ibid., p.434.
49 ibid., p.434.
50 ibid., p.434.

to economic developments, reveal the complexity of tracing causality, and warn against the adoption of a crude economic determinist stance. Unlike the work of the above scholars our concern with migration in this thesis is not with its contribution to population growth per se, but rather with the relationship of the movement of labour to the workings of the rural economy. We now turn to an examination of the literature pertaining most closely to this issue and to the particular questions identified in the Introduction.

SEASONAL MIGRATION

The role of seasonal migration in agricultural work is explored by E. Collins in his article 'Migrant Labour in British Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century.'[51] The seasonal movement of agricultural labour is examined against a background of:

> "...the geographical uneveness of economic progress and of population growth, and in agriculture itself, the expansion of tillage, and the trend towards more labour-intensive crops and farming systems, (which) created new points of surplus and deficiency."[52]

He viewed seasonal migration as a product of factors such as the imperfect distribution of labour demand, poverty and unemployment. The different timings and sequences of tasks between hill and vale, light and heavy land, north and south, and between different farming systems meant that seasonal migration was necessary if labourers were to avoid unemployment and maximise their income. This seasonal migration was especially important to Kent, whose orchards and hop gardens were staffed at harvest time by workers coming from as far as Birmingham and the Black Country, and of course London. These workers were rarely agricultural labourers thrown out of work in their home parishes, but very often industrial workers seeking a temporary alternative to factory work.

51 Collins, E.J.T. 'Migrant Labour in British Agriculture,' EHR, 2nd ser. XXIX, no.1 (1976), 38-59.

52 ibid., p.38.

Collins's observations demonstrate that the nature of the labour market necessitated the migration of agricultural labour. Consequently Kentish or any other villages may have experienced a substantial temporary out-migration and a temporary in-migration at different times of the year. Fortunately the census was not compiled at harvest time and so this source (crucial for the calculation of transiency levels) neither under-estimates persistency nor over-estimates transiency. Such would have been the case had the population been enumerated at harvest time.

The natural tendency of the working class to move with the seasons in search of work was further explored by Raphael Samuel in his article 'Comers and Goers'.[53] He described how it was not only those in agricultural pursuits who moved, but also a wider variety of occupational groups, such as 'muggers', 'potters', the Irish, gypsies, travelling showmen, and chimney sweeps. All of these groups showed a marked knowledge of employment opportunities in various parts of the country: London enamellers and fur pullers left London in the summer for more tolerable country work; agricultural labourers left their villages to work in the breweries during the maltings season (this ended in May at which time the labourers returned from the towns to their villages for the summer); laundresses and ironers who were thrown out of work in the summer (as a result of the middle class going off on holiday), left the town for the country where they picked fruit and hops. Samuel noted that just as there was an exodus from the towns to the country in the summer, so too the reverse movement occurred in the winter when a variety of jobs were available in the towns. At Christmas, for example, many worked in the Post Office. He further observed that even when no work was found, public kitchens, Night Refuges and Asylums were regarded as more attractive resting places than the rural workhouses.

The importance of Samuel's work lies first of all in his

53 Samuel, R. 'Comers and Goers' in Dyos, H.J. & Wolff, M. (eds), The Victorian City, 2 vols, RKP, 1973, vol.1, 123-160.

clear identification of the insecurity of working people and of their need periodically to change both occupation and location in order to eke out a living. Secondly, his observation of the workers' awareness of economic opportunities elsewhere, and their movement in response to these opportunities, suggests that the movement of these occupational groups can only be understood with reference to the labour market as a whole. For example, if we are to explain the migration of laundresses, the fact that they could not find work in towns in the summer months is only one part of the picture. A balanced explanation compels an investigation of conditions in the labour market at the migrants' destination. In the context of the laundresses' migration therefore, our understanding of their behaviour is considerably advanced by our knowledge of the fact that there was a shortage of harvest labour in the country, and that they moved in part to satisfy this shortage.

An additional perspective on the awareness shared by workers of work available outside their home parish emerges during the course of Hobsbawm's examination of the 'tramping system'.[54] This system, prevalent among organised, and generally apprenticed workers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was one in which unions assisted workers to migrate in search of work and was utilised as a form of unemployment relief. In effect, the system consisted of an organised internal migration, directed so as to enable workers to escape the lack of employment in their place of origin, and to avail themselves of greater opportunities elsewhere in England.[55] Indeed, Hobsbawm noted that this type of movement was by no means a novelty, and cited the view, widespread in the nineteenth century, that "no man knows his own ability or what he is worth until he has worked in more towns than one."[56] Certain town trades actually

54 Hobsbawm, E.J. 'The Tramping Artisan,' in Hobsbawm, E.J. Labouring Men, Studies in the History of Labour. 1964, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976 edition, 34-63.

55 and indeed Britain - though the 'tramps' were restricted to places where the union/society had a branch.

56 Hobsbawm, E.J. op.cit., p.37.

depended on this migrant artisan labour. Nevertheless, by the 1830s and 1840s the system was declining under the stresses of modern capitalism and of the trade cycle. The unions soon realised that the problems of under- and un-employment were deeply rooted in the economy, and that sending men on the tramp was no long-term solution. Hobsbawm wrote that the adoption of "static out-of-work pay displayed the recognition that the capitalist economy was not something to be sidestepped."[57] For the artisan at least, a temporary change of location no longer offered a reward.

Hobsbawm's work demonstrates that trades unions as a whole and not only individual workers, were aware of the need to re-distribute labour to alleviate distress in some areas and to satisfy the labour requirements of others. Of particular interest to this study is Hobsbawm's recognition of the difficulties encountered by artisans, as opposed to labourers, and how they, like labourers, used migration to alleviate their employment problems.

The work of Collins, Samuel and Hobsbawm has revealed how artisans, agricultural and other labourers experienced unemployment and underemployment, their awareness of work in 'foreign' places, and how they moved in response to these perceived opportunities, albeit temporarily. However, as was pointed out above, a study which focused on villages at a time when they were experiencing either a temporary influx of labour would misconstrue, for example, the occupational characteristics of the workforce, and any subsequent correlation with persistency problems (as revealed by the census) would be erroneous. Therefore a study such as this must concentrate on the more permanent population and on more long-term population movement. The literature pertaining to this will now be examined in the next two sections.[58]

57 ibid., p.49.

58 Theoretical considerations aside, the source material for the study of seasonal migration is pertinent to movement on the county level, and not for a microscopic unit such as the parish or village.

STUDIES OF THE PATTERN OF INTERNAL MIGRATION

In 1885 and 1889 the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society published the work of Ravenstein on 'The Laws of Migration'.[59] He summarised his findings on population movement in seven "laws":

> " 1. ...the great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance, and that there takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population which produces 'currents of migration' setting in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants...
> 2. ...The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth, flock to it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts... Migrants enumerated in a certain centre of absorption will consequently grow less with the distance proportionately to the native population which furnishes them....
> 3. The process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption...
> 4. Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current.
> 5. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry.
> 6. The natives of towns are less migratory that those of the rural parts of the country.
> 7. Females are more migratory than males."[60]

Ravenstein's work has many implications for this study. For example, our interest lies in the relationship between internal migration and international migration, which have been traditionally treated for convenience as separable topics. It will be argued that they are in fact two aspects of fundamentally the same flow of labour, and both need to be studied if a rounded picture of the movement of population is to be obtained.

59 Ravenstein, E.G. 'The Laws of Migration,' JRSS, XLVIII, pt.2 (1885), 167-235 and LII, pt.2 (1889), 241-305.

60 ibid., 1885, pp.198-199.

Ravenstein,[61] through his description of the "currents of migration", suggested how waves of internal movement could in fact spill overseas, as, for example, when English urban workers sought better opportunities there. Furthermore his analysis again suggests that the migration of workers is closely connected to economic circumstances in both the sending and receiving areas.

A process of concentration similar to that described by Ravenstein was also detected by Redford in his study of labour migration in England. Examining the textile, cotton and iron industries, Redford found that migrant workers in these industries were drawn from near-by areas. Large urban centres drew labour from their hinterlands, and the subsequent gaps left by the migrants were filled by persons from lower income areas. Similarly the urban centres themselves provided migrants for other urban centres. Internal migration could therefore accurately be characterised as a short-distance, wave-like movement. Searching for explanations for these movements, Redford noted that changes in rural population level were often linked to changes in agricultural methods and tenure, and more specifically to the following: enclosures, allotments, agricultural improvement, the enlargement or consolidation of farms and the conversion of land from tillage to pasture. Of these, enclosures, allotments and agricultural improvement were associated by Redford with population growth, though he was careful to emphasise the danger of generalising about the effects of these factors. For example, enclosure was likely to cause depopulation if the enclosed land was used for pasture, but not if it was used for corn-growing. Likewise the enclosure of waste land could not be linked with rural depopulation: "Such extensive enclosures of hitherto uncultivated and uninhabited country must have tended to cause local increases of population..."[62] Furthermore, while the consolidation of farms and the conversion from tillage to pasture (usually carried out

61 who in fact studied both internal and international migration. The latter was the focus of his 'Second Paper' which appeared in 1889.

62 Redford, A. op.cit., p.73.

together) were habitually blamed for out-migration, Redford observed that the effect was 'place-specific'. Thus, in Berkshire the consolidation of small farms was said to have caused depopulation while in Glamorganshire the reverse effect was reported.

Acting in conjunction with these 'push' factors was the 'pull' exerted by industrial work with its comparatively higher wages. Such wages increased with proximity to the industrial centres, therefore encouraging a gravitation of persons in this direction. Inter-urban migration occurred when, for example, displaced Scottish, Irish or Nottinghamshire cotton spinners migrated to Lancashire. It must be stated that Redford found this movement to constitute an insignificant proportion of the volume of migration into Lancashire, for whereas some displaced industrial workers moved great distances in search of their traditional work, the majority entered other industrial occupations moving to towns nearby. Considerations of distance appeared to outweigh their interest in continuing their trade.

Up to this point Redford's work bears many similarities to that of Ravenstein, with similar implications for our study. However, while we could only infer a relationship between internal and international migration from the latter's work, Redford went further and supposed a close tie between the two. He wrote:

> "The springs of the great streams of international migration may often be discovered in the many trickles of local movement, which are insignificant when studied singly but important in their cumulative effect."[63]

According to this analysis, internal and international migration were seen as complementary aspects of the same general movement of population. The movement of the Scottish and Irish into England is held up by Redford as an example of this: the Irish and Scots migrated within their own countries to areas of higher

63 ibid., p.4.

income and better employment opportunities, but this movement spilled over national boundaries as a result of England's attractions. Much of this movement was seasonal in nature, stimulated, for example, by a lack of labour for the English harvest. However Redford added that this seasonal migration:

> "...may crystallise into permanent emigration or degenerate into more casual vagrancy; while even trans-atlantic emigration is often seasonal or periodic in character."[64]

Redford's study of the flows of population towards towns argued that there was a process of local concentration whereby towns and villages near large urban centres acted as concentration points for migrants. These migrants replaced populations from such towns and villages who were themselves moving to the large urban centres. More recently, Anderson[65] has studied this process of "two-step" migration with greater precision dividing it into four types:

> " 1a. A person born in a country area migrates first some distance from his home to another community nearer to the manufacturing districts, and later moves to a large manufacturing town.
>
> 1b. A person born in a country area migrates first to a nearby small town, or a village with a more 'developed' economy, and later moves on to a large manufacturing town.
>
> 2a. People from country areas migrate to communities nearer to the manufacturing districts, and replace the indigenous population who are migrating to large manufacturing towns.
>
> 2b. People from country areas migrate to small towns or more 'developed' villages, where they replace the indigenous population who are migrating to large manufacturing towns."[66]

64 ibid., p.4. For a discussion of seasonal migration see the section commencing on p.51 of this Chapter.

65 Anderson, M. 'Urban migration in nineteenth-century Lancashire: some insights into two competing hypotheses,' Annales de Démographie Historique, (1971) 13-26.

66 ibid., p.19.

On the basis of his Preston data Anderson confirmed Ravenstein and Redford's finding that most migration was of a short-distance nature. Furthermore he found that most persons living in Preston had lived elsewhere than their place of birth, indicating a high degree of population turnover. While there was a tendency for persons to drift into communities where skills more relevant to urban life could be learned, many migrated directly from farming areas to the towns. All migrants were being pulled by the nearest manufacturing town in Lancashire, and in this case, were equally drawn from farming and urban communities. Finally deliberate two-step movement by the same (1a and 1b) or different (2a and 2b) individuals accounted for a small proportion of the total movement. Those coming from a longer distance were most likely to undertake a series of moves from less to more 'advanced' communities, though they represented a small percentage of the total movers. On the other hand two-step migration on the part of different people did occur but "..not on a large enough scale to have made possible both migration to the towns on the scale that was occurring, and the gradual increase in population in the sending communities. Migration on the scale that was occurring also required some steady natural increase of the rural population."[67]

Both Ravenstein and Redford dealt with a wide set of questions relating to migration and the labour market. Other researchers, such as Anderson, have concentrated on one aspect of the subject, such as the validity of the 'two-step' migration model, the seasonal flows of labour, the interaction between economic circumstances in sending and receiving areas, or the characteristics of long- and short-distance movers.

The work of Saville on rural depopulation[68] also focuses on the flow of population from village to town. Examining the growth of towns in the nineteenth century, Saville, like Ravenstein and Redford, discovered that the continuous inflow of

67 ibid., p.26.

68 Saville, J. op.cit.

population from rural areas, and the immigration into England and Wales of the Scottish and Irish, accounted for a sizeable proportion of the increase of urban populations. He found that a considerable proportion of the population of rural areas passed their peak sometime between 1821-51. While the agricultural labour force as a whole peaked in 1851, nevertheless many rural areas started upon their almost continuous decline in terms of population in the period 1821-51, this decline reaching a peak in the 1870s and 80s. He attributed the decline to:

> "The absence of serious obstacles to internal movement, the important part which the railway played in breaking down rural isolation and the ever buoyant although fluctuating demand for labour from the expanding industries and coalfields of England and Wales, as well as the attractions of emigration..."[69]

The ending of rural isolation was especially significant in that it meant that the village ceased to be a self-contained social and economic unit. The advent of the national market and of cheaper factory produce, reinforced by the exodus of the rural population which had diminished the market for local manufactures, had led to a decline in rural industries. This decline, imposing further constraints on rural employment, in turn prompted further out-migration. The decline of rural industries, capitalist farming's three-tiered social structure of landlords, tenant farmers, and landless labourers, the impact of enclosures, and the conversion of arable land to pasture, all contributed to "...declining employment opportunities in the countryside.."[70] which for Saville represented the major cause of rural depopulation. Lack of employment in the countryside was compared to greater opportunities in the towns:

> "Real wages might not be higher, housing was very often worse, but in the towns the hours of work were usually fewer, the opportunities for economic improvement were present in some measure, and

69 ibid., p.11.

70 ibid., p.7.

> the social and political pressures.... were absent. The towns had their own forms of oppression for the working people, but there was nothing quite equal to the deadweight of custom and tradition in the countryside."[71]

Saville's examination of the migration of rural populations illustrates how employment decayed in rural areas and how this factor, coupled with the availability of work in urban areas, stimulated migration. Like Ravenstein and Redford he observed the workforce to be responsive to a combination of 'push' and 'pull' factors at the migrants' place of origin and destination respectively.

The above studies of internal migration all relate to the period of the Industrial Revolution, or in the case of Saville, the period 1850-1950. How far had industrialisation changed the characteristic features of internal migration, and to what extent were they singly carried over from pre-industrial times? The work of P. Clark on the migration in Kentish towns[72] is of interest because of the relationship he draws between employment opportunities and internal migration. Furthermore its interest is enhanced on account of it being a study located specifically in Kent. His principal assertion was that migrants moved either in order to gain employment, or to maximise their earnings. Differentiating between long-distance and short-distance migration, he suggested that short-distance movement was associated with prosperous occupational groups, and long-distance movement with more disadvantaged groups. In his terms, short-distance movement was likely to be "betterment migration", long-distance movement to be "subsistence migration". Clark also noted that while short-distance movement tended to be inter-urban in nature, long-distance movement was overwhelmingly rural to urban.

Clark's work was reviewed and questioned by J. Patten in 'Rural-Urban Migration in Pre-Industrial England'.[73] Patten suggested that Clark's conclusions are questionable

71 ibid., p.20.

72 Clark, P. op.cit.

73 Patten, J. 'Rural-Urban Migration in Pre-Industrial England.' Oxford University Research Papers, School of Geography, no.6, 1973.

on various grounds. Firstly, they may be applicable to many of the smaller towns of England, "...it may be potentially dangerous to argue from them to generalizations about rural-urban migration in pre-industrial England as a whole."[74] Secondly, he queried the evidence used by Clark to support his conclusion on subsistence migration; his use of occupational groupings was misleading since a broad term as "clothing trades" gave no indication of the individual's economic well-being, and Clark failed to indicate precisely which trades he considered to be prosperous. Patten's research revealed that a city like London received many 'subsistence' migrants from short distances, and 'betterment' migrants from long distances. For example migrants made up a large percentage of London's apprentice labour force and these had travelled long distances. In keeping with Clark's model they were indeed from predominantly farming communities but apprentices were not, according to Patten, 'subsistence' but 'betterment' migrants. Finally in his criticism of Clark, Patten questions the former's proposition that 'subsistence migration' was largely a sixteenth centry phenomenon. Though somewhat reminiscent of Ravenstein and Redford's "currents of migration", Clark and Patten's studies have the virtue of seeking to analyse population movement in terms of economic or occupational groups, and set an example we should attempt to follow in this thesis. It need hardly be added that Clark's correlation of low status groups and long distance movement may not be correct for the nineteenth century.

The work of Collins, Samuel and Hobsbawm concerned the seasonal or temporary flows of labour, while the studies by Clark, Patten, Ravenstein, Redford, Saville and Anderson focused on flows of an apparently more permanent nature. All of the above work testifies to the importance of the relationship between the labour needs of areas sending and receiving labour, and to the necessity of studying the process of population movement from origin to destination in order to fully understand the working of the labour market. However, a feature common to

74 ibid., p.9.

the work of the above authors is that their investigations were confined to the very local or national labour market, and dealt exclusively with internal migration. Traditionally studies of the movement of labour over national boundaries have been one-sided: research has concentrated either on the sending or the receiving end of the flow. So far, few authors have broken with this pattern to study the movement of labour within the framework of the British colonial labour market,[75] respecting economic and not national boundaries. Similarly, in practice, internal and international migration have been studied as two virtually distinct phenomena, and yet the significance of economic boundaries necessitates the abandonment of such a distinction. To complement the above discussion we therefore now turn to those studies which focus upon the international movement of labour.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Studies of international migration tend to fall into three categories (i) primarily administrative (ii) economic (iii) social.

(i) Administrative Studies

The work of Johnston, H.J.M. British Emigration Policy 1815-1830 reviews governmental attitudes towards state assisted emigration. It describes how in the immediate post-war period policy decisions were made against the background of the debate between the supporters of Malthus who talked in terms of a "redundant population", and those who feared a depletion of population through emigration. Assistance was first granted in 1815 and in 1818-19 to emigrants proceeding to British North America. The schemes were prompted by the wish to redirect

75 It may be argued that the concentration on the British colonial labour market to the exclusion of the United States, causes us to omit a very important aspect of the labour market. It is undeniable that British labour was drawn to the United States, but it is unfortunately impossible to trace Kentish or Brenchley folk to the USA; immigrant lists only note the country of origin. Without information on the county or parish of origin we cannot establish the flow of labour from Kent or Brenchley and therefore an evaluation of this aspect of the labour market is impossible.

emigration from the now hostile USA, and the expenditure was justified not in terms of its value to the mother country but by reference to its benefit to the colonies. The schemes, in those terms, were a failure as many of those who disembarked in the British Colonies, disappeared over the border to the USA.

Johnston wrote that by 1819 the idea that emigration could alleviate the severe distress at home, had taken root. Consequently assistance was granted to indigent people to move to Upper Canada and the Cape of Good Hope (between 1819 and 1821 a total of 6,200 persons). The hope was that by removing the 'dangerous classes' social disorder would be averted. The emigration of paupers was advocated even more strongly by Wilmot Horton (parliamentary under-secretary in the Colonial Office from 1821 to 1828) when he entered the debate over state-aided emigration. Johnston outlined the essence of Horton's proposal: parishes should raise money for emigration, land should be made readily available to these paupers, and the new settlements should be created at government expense. Horton believed that for every single government-assisted emigrant three would follow independently and that therefore the government expenditure was well invested. Furthermore, he emphasised the beneficial impact that this emigration would have on the mother country in providing immediate relief to overpopulation and reducing pauperism. Johnston's sympathy with Horton is evident, and his study is far more than a presentation of cabinet policy. He sought to vindicate Horton, whose approach had been attacked by the pro-Wakefieldians. Johnston acknowledged that Horton's plans were received sceptically and that they were ultimately ineffective: only 200 emigrants were sent to Canada and the Cape in 1823, 2,000 to Canada in 1825, and in 1827 his efforts to assist the emigration of Glaswegian weavers bore no fruit at all. Nevertheless Johnston argued that Horton's limited success was to a large extent attributable to circumstances beyond his control:

> "(there)...was no precedent for the extensive use of public funds to correct social problems and liberal thought preached retrenchment rather than the reverse... he advanced his plans in an age in which governments and

> parliaments were incapable of responding to the great problem of poverty with anything but paltry and ineffective measures. Even if he were right, one of his contemporaries observed, 'it is enough that the public are not ripe to act.'"[76]

S.C.Johnson in his work on emigration to North America[77] also considered government policy regarding assisted emigration though over a much longer period. His value in this aspect lies primarily in his painstaking account of the passage of legislation in this period. For example, in the case of Ireland, he found that the famine prompted extreme action on the part of the government. Legislation in the 1830s and 1840s had empowered Poor Law Guardians to levy an emigration rate. The government had also legislated to aid landlords who were willing to help their tenants to emigrate. In 1849 an Amending Act to the Poor Relief Act of 1847 went even further. Firstly it enabled Guardians to use money for emigration from any rate - and not just one specifically levied for that purpose. Secondly, the Irish were to be given aid even if they were moving to destinations outside the Queen's Dominions.

Unlike the Irish, English citizens were only to be assisted to emigrate within the Dominions. Provision was made for poor law authorities to despatch their parishioners by the Poor Law Acts of 1834, 1847, 1849 and 1882. (A more detailed consideration of the relevant legislative provisions will follow in Chapter 5). Furthermore during the nineteenth century, the government's role was extended to cover private emigration schemes, such as those of the Salvation Army and Dr. Barnardo's. Indeed, the emigration of children was regarded by the Government as a viable alternative to institutionalising them, and as a remedy to juvenile crime. Societies promoting the emigration of juveniles principally relied on charity appeals to the public, but some also received substantial funds from the Boards of Guardians.

However, Johnson's book is wider in its scope, and aside

76 Johnston, H.J.M. op.cit., p.162.

77 Johnson, S.C. op.cit.

from matters of policy, the course of British emigration and its causes were studied. In his analysis, unemployment and congestion, themselves the product of nineteenth century population growth, were the principal causes of emigration. A number of other contributory factors were also involved: climatic change, the agricultural depression of the 1830s, the price of bread, low wage levels, enclosure and the amalgamation of farm land, poor law taxation, the industrial depression of 1836 and industrial disturbances. According to Johnson, such a wide range of factors naturally affected a variety of people and this accounted for the heterogeneity of the emigrants. And yet, despite that heterogeneity, he regarded the emigrants as all sharing one common characteristic: they came from the lower stratum of society.

Having identified the emigrants and why they came to be such, Johnson examined the effect of emigration on the home country and of immigration on North America. With respect to the former, his major concern was in terms of emigration being a drain of good labour and constituting the export of money. However, emigration did bring substantial benefits: it relieved the expenditure connected with education, national insurance, old-age pensions and unemployment. He went on to examine the lives of emigrants in their new homeland, the impact of their arrival on American wages, living standards, on the social fabric of the Continent, and finally on the immigrant her/himself. On balance, he took the view that immigrants made a substantial contribution to the development of their new homeland by providing much-needed labour and by adding to the population. The immigrants themselves also benefitted from immigration in that they gained greater comfort and prosperity. Johnson particularly had in mind the Irish, many more of whom would have suffered from disease or death during the famine had they not moved to North America.

O. MacDonagh's work, A Pattern of Government Growth: The Passenger Acts and their Enforcement 1800-60 (1961), clearly has a more specific theme, and it is set within the general

context of Victorian administration. The thrust of MacDonagh's argument is that in the early decades of the nineteenth century, adherence to laissez-faire principles ensured that the Passenger Acts were unenforceable and therefore ineffective. There being no body of officials charged with the overseeing of the Acts, they could be and were violated with impunity. MacDonagh pointed out that the problem was common to much early nineteenth-century legislation. The climbing boys act (1788), the regulation of child labour in the cotton mills (1802), and the employment of coalwhippers at the port of London (1807), all suffered from the lack of a central agency and a body of inspectors or commissioners to oversee their application.

However in 1828 this situation changed. Of itself the Passenger Act of that year was unexceptional. It regulated the numbers that a particular vessel could carry, the amount of water and breadstuffs that needed to be carried, and prescribed that there should be a minimum height of 5½ ft. between-decks. It is with regard to the administration of the Acts that the year was a milestone, for 1828 saw the appointment of A. C. Buchanan as agent-general for Canada. This was the first step towards the formation of an executive corps with a specific interest in both enforcing and improving passenger legislation. The pace of state-interference quickened. In 1840 the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission was created, after which "...the mechanics of government and the body of law were... such that the new type of direct social regulation could proceed with reasonable efficiency in this field."[78] It came to be accepted as commonplace that the government would investigate, legislate, and enforce their rulings. "In all these last developments towards autonomy and delegation, towards fluidity and experimentation, towards fully professional and scientific government, the shape of the present state may be discerned.

78 MacDonagh, O. A Pattern of Government Growth 1800-60: The Passenger Acts and their Enforcement. MacGibbon & Kee, 1961, p.343.

Essentially, it is our own society which is foreshadowed."[79]

Studies of emigration policy thus reveal how the British Government approached the issue of emigration. Complementing the studies of policy are those of modern economists who sought to relate the flows of migration to economic development.

(ii) Economic Studies

At the heart of the work of Brinley Thomas[80] is the question of the relationship between emigration and the development of the Atlantic economy in the period 1840-1970. He regarded the movement of population and capital from one country to another as an expression of growth in the international economy, and advocated reference to economic, not national, frontiers to understand this growth:

> "By looking upon the international movements of labour, capital and commodities as if they were interregional, we shall gain a better insight into the nature and implications of economic growth; it will also have the advantage of making us see the course of Empire Settlement in its proper perspective."[81]

For Thomas then, Britain and the United States could most usefully be viewed as constituting one economic unit - the Atlantic economy. Thomas argued that there was a direct relationship between capital exports from Britain and emigration to the United States in the nineteenth century. His explanation stated that when there was an increase in capital exports from Britain, and a corresponding slump in capital formation at home, this was accompanied by a peak in emigration. Thomas further suggested that in these periods of high emigration and capital exports, migration was substantially reduced. Peaks in internal migration were linked to upsurges in home investment via increased home employment.

79 ibid., p.346.

80 Thomas, B. op.cit.

81 ibid., p.30.

Consequently, according to Thomas's analysis, internal migration was inversely related to international migration. In the course of his argument Thomas assumed a direct relationship between emigration and social immobility in Britain: a highly stratified British society drove many of its workers to the United States. In turn, this immigration worked towards the establishment of a stratified society in the United States, as the native born sought higher status, leaving labouring jobs to the foreign born. A similar stratification occurred amongst the foreign born themselves, skilled labour from Britain being complemented by the flow of unskilled labour from Southern and Eastern Europe. Thomas's work examined numerous other themes, and yet from the viewpoint of this study, what is of greatest interest in his work is the manner in which he related nineteenth century international migration both to internal migration and to economic developments in Britain, and furthermore his treatment of Britain and the United States as a single economic unit.

Another work dealing with the movement of labour and factors of production is that of Cairncross.[82] What is of special interest to us in his work is his study of internal migration in Victorian Britain and his examination of the relationship between the migration of capital and labour overseas. If we firstly consider internal migration, Cairncross identified the trends for towns, coalfields and the rural residues. In the period 1840-70, (his work deals with a wider period), he traced an inflow of Irish to the towns and an unbroken drift from the countryside to the towns both in the north and south. This drift produced substantial losses by net migration in the rural areas, especially in the south, so that the overall growth of population in the Southern Rural Residue was less than for England's Rural Residue as a whole. In his view, the cause of this drift from the countryside was not related to agricultural prosperity and depression: "... the crescendo between the thirties and the seventies coincided, not with the

82 Cairncross, A.K. op.cit.

worst years of agricultural depression, but with the so-called 'Golden Age of English Farming.' A second period of agricultural prosperity after 1900 coincided with a spectacular falling-off in rural depopulation."[83] The movement out of the countryside was attributed to railway building which provided alternative work for the rural workforce, the mobility it facilitated and the fact that they brought urban enterprise into competition with the rural. Railway building coincided with another factor making for rural out-migration: changes in agriculture such as the conversion of arable to pasture and mechanisation. After 1890 the outflow subsided due to the fall in rural fertility which was a result of the departure of potential parents from the countryside; the suburbanization of the countryside; and the exhaustion of work suitable for transfer to the towns.

With regard to emigration, Cairncross again found substantial variation between north and south. In the north the pattern was one of steadily increasing emigration up to 1890 with a temporary check in the 1870s, while in the south there was a rise in emigration up to 1880 with a temporary check in the 1860s. Like Thomas, Cairncross established a relationship between the emigration of labour from Britain and the investment of capital overseas. Using the building trades as an example he found that periods of active emigration were also periods of heavy investment overseas/heavy borrowing by foreign countries; the export of people and capital rose and fell together. When the exodus of British people overseas occurred the resultant check to population growth at home reduced home capital needs. Generally speaking the 1870s and 90s saw comparatively little emigration and not much foreign investment; in the 1880s and after 1905 both took place on a very large scale.

(iii) Primarily Social and Individual Studies.

In recent years several attempts have been made to go beyond the scope of administrative studies and "growth"-centred aggregative economic studies, to investiage in more depth the

83 ibid., p.75.

processes of social selection of emigrants and their adaptation. This approach is especially well illustrated by the work of Charlotte Erickson and Rollo Arnold.

In her early, largely institutional study of 'The Encouragement of Emigration by British Trade Unions, 1850-1900',[84] Erickson explored the emigration of British labour to the USA from the perspective of the trade union movement, and the way in which trade unionists looked upon emigration as representing a practical solution to depression and unemployment. In a manner reminiscent of Malthus, they reasoned that the fewer the people, the more there would be for those left behind. Accordingly 'surplus labour' should be removed. However, not all trade unions believed that emigration was an effective solution to the conditions of work and wages in Britain. For example, the Cotton Spinners' Executive feared that the exodus of their workers would not raise standards permanently in the mother country. Indeed many trade union leaders were concerned that the transfer of skilled British workers to the USA amounted to Britain supplying skilled labour to a foreign competitor, a process which might undermine Britain's competitiveness. Furthermore, they took the view that if, for example, the cotton operatives were to continue in their customary occupations there would be no increase in the general wage fund. Erickson writes that trade union leaders believed that: "To derive lasting benefit from emigration... they must remove workmen from their jobs and place them on farms in British colonies."[85] Unfortunately it was often the prospect of following their established calling that attracted workers to the USA. In addition, the journey took a mere two weeks in comparison to the months it took to reach Australia or New Zealand. Consequently, the workers often resisted their leaders' encouragement to emigrate to one of the British colonies.

84 Erickson, C.J. 'The Encouragement of Emigration by British Trade Unions, 1850-1900; PS, 3.pt.3, (1949), 248-273.

85 ibid., p.252.

However, the flow of labour to the USA was ultimately dictated not by conditions in England, but rather by the American labour market. If we again take the cotton operatives as an example "...although depression and poverty gave (them) ... the 'emigration fever', it was the acute need for labour in the United States which provided the means for their emigration."[86] Although their Union had an emigration fund, it was often the case that in times of depression in Britain when the urgency to emigrate was greatest, the Union was least able to assist their workers. Without the financial assistance of New England textile manufacturers and recruiting agencies potential emigrants were unable to emigrate.[87] This is reinforced by the fact that when depression hit the American iron trade in the 1870s, the iron workers who had previously emigrated there, returned to England. When trade revived in 1878 the Union of English and Scottish Iron Founders again turned their eyes to America. Erickson's study reiterates the value of acknowledging both 'push' and 'pull' factors. The emigration organised by British trade unionists was clearly affected by conditions both in the 'home' and in the 'foreign' labour market. Only by tracing these workers in the sending and receiving areas can we understand the fluctuations in their movement.

The theme of British emigration to the United States is also the subject of 'Who were the English and Scots emigrants to the United States in the late nineteenth century?'[88] In

86 ibid., p.258.

87 The relative importance of the 'pull' factors vis a vis the 'push' is also discussed in Jerome, H. Migration and the Business Cycle. National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, 1926. He states that emigration from the British Isles correlated more closely with the course of employment in the USA than with unemployment in the British Isles. For a contrasting view see Clements, R.V. 'Trade Unions and Emigration, 1840-80,' PS, 9, pt.2 (1955), 167-180. Clements's emphasis is on the role of 'push' factors in stimulating emigration.

88 Erickson, C.J. 'Who were the English and Scots emigrants to the United States in the late nineteenth century,' in Glass, D.V. & Revelle, R. (eds), 1972, 347-381.

this article Erickson adopted a novel approach to the study of emigration by her use of passenger lists. The article investigates the argument that emigration was more important in the first half than in the second half of the nineteenth century, and that emigration declined with maturing industrialisation. Proponents of this argument state that after 1850 the growth of towns at home and the expansion of industrial employment absorbed migration from the countryside and decreased the need for rural workers to emigrate.[89] Erickson's contention was that in fact "...emigration was more important in the last half of the century than it had been in the first half."[90] The passenger lists reveal that in the late 1880s the United States attracted urban workers, many of whom had only recently arrived from the countryside. Skilled workers from modern manufacturing industries formed an insignificant minority of these emigrants, most of whom were "marginal urban workers", miners, and men from the building trades. Erickson argued that these emigrants were 'pulled' to the USA by the "rapid industrial advance" and by the "building boom", and simultaneously 'pushed' from England and Scotland by a lull in the building trade there. Substantial emigration was therefore not eliminated in a mature industrial economy, contrary to the suppositions of many earlier writers, for even at this stage the towns were unable to absorb all rural migrants.

An exception to the traditional approach of studying emigrants either in their sending or receiving areas (but not both) is Erickson's Invisible Immigrants (1972), in which she traced immigrants from Britain to the United States, focusing on their processes of social selection and adaptation as revealed by the

89 Erickson cites as examples the work of Snow, E.C. in Ferenzi, I & Willcox, W. (eds), Internal Migrations. 2 vols, National Bureau of Economic Research Inc, New York, 1932. Vol.2, pp.251-252. Also Davie, M.R. World Migration. Macmillan & Co, New York, 1949, pp.58-59, and Johnston, S.C. op.cit.

90 Erickson, C.J. op.cit., p.349.

letters[91] they wrote 'home'. In her study immigrants were grouped according to the occupations they entered in the USA: agricultural, industrial, or professional/commercial/clerical. She found that immigrants who entered agricultural occupations were predominantly motivated by economic ambition, and/or a desire to escape from "...unwanted social relations arising out of economic dependence".[92] Those who entered industrial callings displayed similar economic motives, albeit of a more positive nature, being "...more accurately expressed as a hope of economic improvement, rather than a flight from impoverishment."[93] However, there were also those whose emigration had social and political overtones, illustrated below by the words of William Winterbottom, a carpenter who emigrated in 1840:

> "...tax from the cradle to the grave Even if you lived in a pig stye you must pay for light so old Edmund Sung in is songs, and as for Bright & Cobden did they ever do one thing to better the sons of toil no never it all the Love of gain & Self reduced man to the level of a machine when they had built there Big Factories...."[94]

In contrast, those entering the professions appeared free of economic pressures, emigrating to achieve status, or to escape personal, and family problems.

With regard to the relationship between the labour market in Britain and in the USA, it is interesting to note that those entering agricultural occupations were not necessarily agricultural labourers or even farmers, but were also craftsmen, domestic workers, professional and commercial persons. The importance of this aspect of Erickson's work is that it is

91 For a collection of documents describing the causes and organisation of emigration, the emigrants' journey and arrival see Erickson, C.J. (ed), Emigration from Europe, 1815-1914. Black, 1976.

92 Erickson, C.J. Invisible Immigrants, op.cit., p.27.

93 ibid., p.237.

94 ibid., p.234.

only because she traced groups of immigrants from Britain to the United States and investigated their lives in both countries, that such information is available. And only upon the basis of such information can we undertake a rounded analysis of the flow of labour.

In the context of this thesis, a further aspect of Erickson's work, namely her study of the "networks of distribution", requires attention. She discovered how letters from friends and relatives were an important enticement to prospective immigrants, and influenced their ultimate place of settlement. To take the example of those letter writers who were immigrants in agriculture, she suggested emigrant recruiting agencies, from state governments to railway and steamship companies and land organisations were less influential than the immigrants' families in influencing their precise place of settlement. For not only was the family a source of news relating to wages and land prices, it also provided the support these family groups needed on arrival in the United States.

One of Erickson's principal concerns was with the social and economic adjustment of immigrants. She found that those in agriculture generally came to obtain land for their families, and tended to settle in family groups, seeking little contact with Americans. Those in agriculture from a middle class background were especially aware of social class differences, and wishing to preserve them, consequently resisted the equalising tendencies of American society. Immigrants in industrial occupations on the other hand, were mainly single young men who tramped for a few years after their arrival in the United States, and accordingly welcomed the atmosphere of social equality. Yet, like those in agriculture, they were dependant on their British contacts for help, for example, in finding lodgings and tended to have little contact with Americans. In marked contrast to the behaviour of the above groups, those in professional/commercial/clerical occupations spurned any

contact with the emigrant network, and settled in areas where there were few immigrants. As their departure from England was a result of personal or family crises, it is hardly surprising that they sought help from outside the immigrant community.

One particular value of basing the study of immigrant adaptation upon their personal letters is that these record the immigrants' own perceptions of the labour market they had left and that in which they settled - not Governmental or other 'authoritative' interpretations of their perceptions. The letters show just how they responded to the fulfilment or otherwise of the opportunities they had anticipated, and show too the difficulties, both economic and personal, associated with the relocation of people in other lands. The compilation of such an original study is far from easy, since the collection of such letters is difficult, and their use not free of methodological problems. But, constituting as they do a permanent record of the immigrants' own perceptions of their problems, their motives for emigration, and of their lives in a new country, the letters (and the study revolving around them) provide a crucial counter-balance to those studies which reduce immigrants to statistics and depict them as an undifferentiated mass at the mercy of market forces.

We must acknowledge at this point that earlier collections of letters do exist. However they were not presented in the context of an academic study of process of social selection and adaptation. Indeed, they were selected and used by contemporaries for propaganda purposes and their representation is questionable to say the least. One early collection is that of the Rev. Surtees relating to the Parish of Banham in Norfolk: Emigrants Letters, from Settlers in Canada and South Autralia, collected in the Parish of Banham, Norfolk; with a Preface addressed to Labourers by the Rev. Scott F. Surtees, Rector of Banham. (1852).[95] He collected the letters "quite at random" in the hope that having read about the better living available overseas many of his parishioners would be encouraged to leave

95 Surtees, S.F. Emigrants Letters, from Settlers in Canada and South Australia, collected in the Parish of Banham, Norfolk; with a Preface addressed to Labourers by the Rev. Scott F. Surtees, Rector of Banham. Jarrold & Sons. 1852.

and thus relieve his parish of its excess workforce. As would be expected, the letters, exclusively from contented emigrants, describe the comparatively cheap provisions, high wages, and the prospect of independence in the colonies. Emigrant Read wrote from South Australia:

> "This is the country for the agricultural labourer, especially if he has a large family. Men with sons grown up are soon men of independence. Wages are high..."[96]

James Tite, writing from Lower Canada, underlined the importance these emigrants attached to independence:

> "...I have a farm of my own, pretty well stocked; I can work when I like and play when I have a mind to; I can take my gun and go a shooting, as well as any of the farmer's sons; and we can go a fishing when we please, and when we are hunting we don't have no need to be afraid of the gamekeeper."[97]

Although these letters were compiled with a particular interest in mind and therefore do not reflect the experiences of a cross-section of the emigrant community, nevertheless Surtees's letter writers are reminiscent of those discovered by Erickson. Many of her American immigrants sought not only to gain better living standards, but also to escape the subordinate position they occupied in English society.

The approach adopted by R. Arnold in The Farthest Promised Land, is reminiscent of the work of Erickson.[98] Arnold studied the movement of assisted labour from its origin in England to its destination in New Zealand and analysed how the two labour markets related to one another. More specifically, he was concerned to weigh the impact of English rural immigration on community formation in New Zealand, and "...to examine emigration as an aspect of English agrarian history."[99]

96 ibid., p.7.
97 ibid., pp.8-9.

98 Erickson, C.J. Invisible Immigrants , op.cit.

99 Arnold, R. The Farthest Promised Land. Victoria University Press with Price Milburn, Wellington, 1981, p.xii.

Arnold traced the plight of the rural labourer, finding them to be landless, servile, demoralised men, with low wages, a meagre diet, and poor living conditions. These circumstances Arnold attributed to enclosures, the appearance of surplus labour in the countryside, the destruction of cottage industries by the Industrial Revolution, and the repressive attitudes of the English ruling class in the wake of the French Revolution. He noted that the labourers' discontent with their situation had already culminated in the 1830's with the wave of protest known as the Swing riots. In the 1870s, the period examined by Arnold, the formation of Arch's Union was prompted by a hardening of class lines between farmers and their labourers, and the labourers' demand for "...adequate food, decent homes, the chance to better themselves and secure a stake in the land, and the right to be treated with full respect as free men."[100] It was to this Union that the New Zealand Government looked for help to satisfy its immigration requirements. It hoped that union encouragement of immigration would provide a reprieve from the desperate labour shortages which were hindering the country's development. As Arnold writes:

> "Given the predicament of the English farm labourers and the nature of his revolt, it is not surprising that the New Zealand authorities looked to the movement with such hope. Their new land was hungry for men accustomed to hard labour, and gifted in the rural skills."[101]

The distant colony could offer all the farm labourers demanded. Indeed, immigrant letters reveal that the appeal of New Zealand lay in the good wages, plentiful, good, cheap, food, the short (usually 8 hour) working day, the general relief from debt and poverty, and more egalitarian labour relations.

Arnold traced the inter-action of the labour needs of England and New Zealand further, by in-depth studies of areas which contributed substantially to the New Zealand immigration drive of the 1870s, among them, the county of Kent. He dis-

100 ibid., p.35. But see Jones, E.L. 'The Agricultural Labour Market in England, 1793-1872,' EHR, 2nd ser.XVII, no.2 (1964), 322-338, discussed below at p.92.

101 Arnold, R. op.cit., p.35.

covered how the New Zealanders had wooed both the Kentish branches of the National Agricultural Labourers Union, and the affiliated Kent and Sussex Labourers Union. However, for the latter, by the late 1870s emigration was not the only tool to be used in the fight against employers. The Union encouraged a Land and Cottage Fund, Sick Benefit Clubs, education and general self-improvement for the labourers. Such activity, wrote Arnold, was contrary to New Zealand's interests, as ...many...began to feel that the Kentish rural labourer did not need to cross the oceans in order to enjoy a new day."[102] Nevertheless, a substantial number of Kentish labourers did emigrate; in the period October 1873 - October 1874, the Kent and Sussex Labourers Union claimed that it had assisted the emigration of 3,000 persons. Arnold has traced such immigrants back to their place of origin, including one Samuel Hinkley, aged 25, a labourer who emigrated with his wife and two children in 1874. Uncovering a record of a Samuel Hinkley being charged with poaching in Brenchley in 1868, he suggested that the parish "...may have been a particularly hungry place at this period...."[103]

Arnold's study illuminates the circumstances of the Kentish and indeed English rural labourer, and the ways in which his needs complemented those of the New Zealand Government. Both the National Agricultural Labourers Union and the Kent and Sussex Labourers Union sought, through the mechanism of emigration, an improvement in labourers' bargaining power and living conditions. However, emigration was just one response to adverse conditions in the labour market, and while all else failed, it remained a popular one. Yet when alternatatives to emigration emerged, the flow diminished despite the continued enticements of the New Zealand Government. This suggests strongly that labourers looked upon emigration to New Zealand as a last resort. Unlike trade unionists who moved to America,[104] these emigrants could not so readily return to

102 ibid., p.197.
103 ibid., p.199.
104 See Erickson, C.J. 1949, pp.71-72 of this Chapter.

England if life in New Zealand did not meet up to their expectations. Finally, the ebb and flow of the tide of emigration was predominantly determined by changing circumstances in the home country. In this case at least, the 'push' forces were stronger than the 'pull'.

CHANGES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY RURAL SOCIETY; OPTIMISTIC AND PESSIMISTIC VIEWS

By the early nineteenth century the enclosure of common and waste land, and the consolidation of land into large holdings was well under way. The reasons for, and the effect of these changes were discussed by Chambers and Mingay in The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880 (1966). They argued that the enclosure of land which occurred in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was not a sudden breach with the past, but in many cases merely completed the work of centuries. The cause of acceleration of the movement towards consolidation and enclosure lay in the needs of the 'new farming', that is:

> "...the spread of more flexible rotations of crops, embracing roots, legumes and improved grasses which by providing more fodder enabled the land to carry more stock, which in turn enriched the soil with their manure... the improvement of livestock by selective breeding, experiments in drainage and the treatment of the soil... and the introduction of new machinery and better-designed implements."[105]

This new husbandry could be put into practice on large, enclosed holdings. For example, enclosed farms facilitated the use of new machinery which could not be used economically on small, scattered holdings; the grazing of herds on enclosed pasture limited the spread of disease which had been encouraged by mixed grazing which in turn hindered the development of improved herds; the cultivation of roots and legumes required large acreages. There were other incentives to enclose: newly enclosed land which had been previously cultivated

105 Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G.E. op.cit., p.54.

could be used more effectively; the enclosure of land previously lain as waste, and the ploughing and cultivation of common land, all increased the area of land under cultivation. Moreover enclosed farms yielded higher rents, and large farms were more able to withstand price fluctuations. Thus, in general, enclosed, large holdings would be more efficient, productive and profitable.

The effect of enclosure and consolidation on the rural social structure is the subject of great dispute. Chambers and Mingay examined their impact from the perspectives of the small freeholder, the cottager and the squatter. They argued that only the very small land owner would have found enclosure too costly and have consequently found it necessary to sell his land. In contrast, small farmers[106] as a whole were able to meet the cost of enclosure, since the resulting increase in the value of land enabled them to take out mortgages for this purpose. Those obliged to sell would have been replaced not by large landholders but by other small farmers. Thus in their view any decline in the numbers of small farmers which occurred in this period could not be attributed to enclosures, but was a product of a combination of factors such as the rise in the burden of poor rates, the greater profitability of large farms, the fall in prices at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and the growth of alternative occupations outside farming. This decline of the small farmer in fact occurred after 1815, when the main period of enclosure was over. Enclosures may have encouraged this tendency "...but (the decline) in no sense depended on it."[107]

The effect of enclosure upon the cottager and squatter was, they argued, also minimal. The evidence concerning the value of the commons to labouring men often seems contradictory,

106 See also Mingay, G.E. Enclosure and the Small Farmers in the Age of the Industrial Revolution. 1968, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1976 edition; Chambers, J.D. 'Three Essays on the Population and Economy of the Midlands,' in Glass, D.V. & Eversley, D.E.C. (eds), 1965, 308-353.

107 Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G.E. op.cit., p.92.

because conditions varied from one locality to another. Generally, however, Chambers and Mingay argued that the cottagers' loss of access to the commons was compensated for by an increase in the volume and regularity of employment which followed enclosure: for example, there was a substantial demand for labour for the making of fences and hedges. The only loss of employment occurred when permanent pasture increased at the expense of arable land. Consequently they attributed the growth in rural unemployment and the numbers of landless labourers not to enclosures but to the growth of population in the countryside,[108] especially in areas where the increase of people was not matched by a growth in industrial employment. One thing of which there is no doubt is that over the long run, after 1815, there was a clear downward trend in the numbers of small farmers and an upward swing in the numbers of unemployed, landless labourers.

These views stand in sharp contrast to those set out at the beginning of the present century by J.L. and B. Hammond in The Village Labourer (1911). In the first place, according to the Hammonds, enclosures were forced upon the small farmers and cottagers with no regard for their rights or interests:

> "...it was only the pressure of the powerful interests that decided whether a committee should approve or disapprove of an Enclosure Bill...a procedure that enabled rich men to fight out their rival claims at Westminster left the classes that could not send counsel to Parliament without a weapon or a voice."[109]

More importantly, in their view, the success of enclosure proved fatal to three classes: "...the small farmer, even if he received his fair share in the division of common fields, was usually unable to cope with the expense of enclosing his

108 A more recent argument for the importance of demographic as opposed to institutional factors has been put forward by Armstrong, W.A. 'The Influence of Demographic Factors on the Position of the Agricultural Labourer in England and Wales, c1750-1914,' AHR, 29, pt.2 (1981), 71-82.

109 Hammond, J.L. & B. op.cit., p.21.

holding and so was obliged to sell. Those who survived were crippled by their lack of access to fallow and stubble pasture, the result being that "...the small farmer either emigrated to America or to an industrial town, or became a day labourer."[110] The effect of enclosure upon the cottager was equally devastating: "...before enclosure the cottager was a labourer with land, after enclosure he was a labourer without land. The economic basis of his independence was destroyed."[111] Denied access to common land, the labourers could no longer keep a cow, gather fuel or cut fern for litter. Allotments, when granted, were a poor compensation for this loss, especially as many of them were located at an impractical distance from the labourers' cottages. The Hammonds noted other events and circumstances which exacerbated the plight of the labourers: the industrial revolution swept away his family's earnings; food which he had formerly produced himself, he now had to buy in a rising market with wages which did not keep pace with inflation; moreover movement in search of work outside the parish was difficult in the face of the Laws of Settlement. Traditionally squatters had even fewer rights than the cottagers, and the treatment they received depended on the length of time they had been in occupation of their land. For example, those of less than twenty years standing were usually only permitted to buy their encroachment. Like all the cottagers, they lost their common rights.

For the Hammonds, then, enclosures brought about a great change in the rural social structure:

> "The peasant with rights and a status, with a share in the fortunes and government of his village, standing in rags, but standing on his feet, makes way for the labourer with no corporate rights to defend, no corporate power to invoke, no property to cherish, no ambition to pursue, bent beneath the fear of his masters, and the weight of a future without hope."[112]

110 ibid., p.59.

111 ibid., p.59.

112 ibid., p.63.

The work of the Hammonds, while perhaps clouded by their overwhelming sympathy for the village labourer, suggested that rural society was becoming increasingly polarised in the early nineteenth century into one of large farmers and landless labourers. Among more recent historians, Hobsbawm and Rudé in Captain Swing (1969) also portray the gap between farmer and labourer as an ever deepening one. They found evidence for this in "...the separation of employer from labourer, the labour contract, the methods of wage-payments;"[113] more specifically, the end of living-in, shorter hiring contracts, the decline of hiring fairs and the substitution of cash for kind payments. According to Hobsbawm and Rudé the process was one of "...the transformation of the relations between the rural rich and the rural poor, the farmers and their labour force, into a purely market relationship between employer and proletarian."[114]

With regard to the separation of employer from labourer Hobsbawm and Rudé first noted that, under the 'old' order, it was customary for the farm servant to live-in with the employer until s/he got married. Although status differences were never forgotten, "...the relation between master and servant was equally clearly not quite that between mere employer and mere worker. Their lives were intertwined... they worked and ate together, at the same table."[115] Upon marriage the farm servant moved out of the farm house and rented a cottage with a garden or allotment, which together with his/her access to common land, facilitated the keeping of a pig or the growing of vegetables, in this manner providing some security for the family in times of unemployment or of high food prices. By the early nineteenth century many farmers were finding the payment of wages cheaper than the maintenance of workers in the farm house. Moreover, as a result of their war-time prosperity, farmers came to see themselves in the role of gentlemen, and

113 Hobsbawm, E.J. & Rudé, G. op.cit., p.18.

114 ibid., p.18.

115 ibid., pp.18-19.

their wives and daughters as ladies. Thus for social reasons, they considered it to be demeaning to have their workforce living under the same roof. The desire for separation was not one-sided; farm servants resented the restricted life they had in the farmhouse, and readily accepted independence and a cash wage. While this was not a dis-advantage when wages were good and employment regular, the not infrequent irregularity of employment and low wages meant that ultimately farm servants gained nothing from this change.

The method of wage payment varied with the class of labour: farm servants were paid largely in kind, weekly labourers by cash and varying allowances in kind, harvesters by cash supplemented with food, drink, some gleaning and free carting of wood. Farm servants were paid by the year, labourers by time, and harvesters were paid either by the piece or a previously agreed sum for the whole harvest. Even partial payment in kind guaranteed the farm servant or labourer a means of support. At times of low prices it made sense to the farmer to pay his workers in this manner. Yet the price boom in the war-years meant that greater benefit followed from selling his goods on the open market and paying his workers in cash. In this manner the burden of price fluctuations was thrown upon the shoulders of the employees. Because their wages were not linked to the rate of inflation, and because goods previously given by the farmer were no longer within reach, living standards fell.

Under the 'old' order too, the nature of the labour contract also varied with the type of labour: servants received a yearly hire at the hiring fairs, harvesters were hired for the 'harvest month', casual labourers for the week or even the day. Whereas the longer periods of hiring were a necessity in years when labour was not abundant, the appearance of a permanent surplus in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century undermined this tradition. According to Hobsbawm and Rudé:

> "What affected the labour market was not of course mere numerical increase, but the failure of agricultural employment to rise correspondingly, the failure of non-agricultural employment to develop

> sufficiently in the farming counties, and perhaps most obviously, the failure of the surplus population to migrate."[116]

So, once the farmers were guaranteed a ready supply of labour, long-term contracts were not simply unecessary, but in fact a liability, for he then had to maintain his workforce in bad times when there was not enough work to go round. Consequently in the early nineteenth century periods of hire were shortened for all kinds of farm labour, and the tradition of hiring fairs died down. The employer no longer needed to search for his workforce - they came to him looking for work.

The nature of the labour contract is also discussed by Ann Kussmaul. In her work on farm servitude, Kussmaul studied many aspects of this institution. She firstly defined this group of agricultural workers, differentiating them from the non-resident, less permanent, agricultural labourers and identifying their place within the rural social order. She found such workers to be very numerous in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, representing 60% of the population aged 15 to 24.[117] However, their presence was not uniform throughout the country: there was an inverse relationship between the employment of farm servants and agricultural labourers, the south and east employing more of the latter. This geographical divide was related to land use and farm size, the pastoral, small farmers of the north and west relying most on such labour. Other factors affecting the keeping of farm servants were demographic: "...service was uniquely suited to a farming environment of nuclear families, high rates of mortality, and a high age at marriage."[118]

Kussmaul then discussed the method of hiring of servants, the duration of their contracts, and social aspects of the institution, such as servants' and masters' privacy and their general relationship. She found that servants were hired on a yearly basis, at the annual hiring fairs. Since most left their master at the end of the year, farm servants comprised

116 ibid., p.22.

117 Kussmaul, A. Servants in husbandry in early modern England. CUP, Cambridge, 1981, p.3.

118 ibid., p.24.

a very mobile occupational group. Their decision to move was influenced by the presence of kin in other areas, and their informal information network. Moreover there was little to impede their movement since they were devoid of dependants and possessions. Kussmaul wrote that this interchange of labour implied uniform, rigid, agricultural practices; yet at the same time such a mobile population spread technological change when it moved from a more to a less 'advanced' area.

The nature of farm service changed little in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: "It took the conjunction of the structural changes of enclosure, the growth in the size of farms, and new agricultural techniques with hyperinflation, the Poor Law, and Napoleon's exile to Elba, to cause the rush towards extinction to begin."[119] At the beginning of the nineteenth century the inflation caused a general shift to wheat with the need for constant labour being met by day labourers. Wildly fluctuating food prices in the years 1794-1801, (which produced an increase in the cost of living of 79%),[120] made farmers reluctant to board their employees. Furthermore in times of underemployment or unemployment, the farm servant was the responsibility of his/her master, and not of the Poor Law Guardians. Thus servants were a potential financial burden; moreover, one year's residence granted them settlement and thus a right to relief and so even after leaving a farmer's employment they could be a drain on his purse in effecting rising poor rates. Consequently during the post-1815 depression when there was a glut in the south and eastern agricultural labour market, farmers hired servants either for a period shorter than one year, or not at all. Indeed, some landlords stipulated in their leases that tenants were not to hire servants. The relative rise in mid-century in the price of animal products and the benefits of pastoral farming caused some farmers in the north and west to cling to old methods of employment, but in the south and east even this price change did not arrest the extinction of the farm servant. So after 1815 labour was hired

119 ibid., p.119.

120 ibid., p.122.

only when it was needed, and the "...underemployment of servants was replaced by the unemployment of labourers."[121]

Hobsbawm and Rudé argued that living standards amongst agricultural workers fell during the early nineteenth century (see pp.85-86 of this Chapter), and Kussmaul referred to the unemployment prevalent amongst labourers, implying detrimental living conditions. The subject of labourers' living standards is explored in greater depth by T.L. Richardson in his study of Kent in the period 1790-1840.[122] He painted a similar, pessimistic, picture to that of Hobsbawm and Rudé. Richardson examined commodity prices and the structure of household expenditure, finding that food, shelter and warmth consumed over 90% of labourers' income. They were thus very susceptible to price fluctuations, especially that of bread; when bread prices fell their consumption of 'luxury' items such as meat, sugar and tea increased. There were three identifiable phases in the cost of living in the years 1790-1840: inflation 1794-1812, deflation 1812-1823 (with the exception of 1817) and finally price rises 1823 to the early 1830s.

Having established the trend in the cost of living Richardson then compared this to the wage curve, and identified a fairly close degree of correlation between the two.

After 1815 the regularity of employment determined the agricultural labourers standard of living. Yet even for labourers in regular employment there was only a marginal improvement in the deflationary period. As Richardson wrote "A 5 per cent improvement in real wages after a wait of thirty-five years was but a modest gain for labourers who were in regular employment. For labourers who were only able to obtain employment at irregular intervals their standard of living situation must have been lamentable."[123] In fact in

121 ibid., p.125.

122 Richardson, T.L. 'The Agricultural Labourer's Standard of Living in Kent 1790-1840,' in Oddy, D.J. & Miller, D.S. (eds), The Making of the Modern British Diet, Croom Helm, 1976, 103-116.

123 ibid., p.108.

Kent in 1816 as much as a quarter to a third of the rural labour force were altogether without work. Consequently in terms of real wages which allows for wage and price levels and unemployment, Richardson found "...a catastrophic fall in real wages for almost the whole period 1790-1840,"[124] and therefore a decline in the standard of living.

A contrasting, more optimistic view of workers' living standards was adopted by Lindert and Williamson.[125] Their article was wider in scope than the work of Richardson since they studied not only the farm labourer but also other occupational groups such as artisans, blue-collar workers and white-collar employees. However in this review of their work we will focus chiefly on their analysis of agricultural workers' standard of living. They firstly turned their attention to the full-time earnings of adult males, and found that in the latter half of the eighteenth century farm labourers gained ground on higher-paid workers though after 1815 the gap between lower and higher-paid workers widened. When money wages were compared to the cost of living, they discovered an improvement in real wages between 1810-1815, a decline 1815-19, followed by a continuous rise which led to real wages nearly doubling by the mid-nineteenth century. The rise in real wages was in fact more than optimists such as Deane and Coale[126] calculated. Furthermore even the relative earning power of women and children did not decline (except amongst the youngest). They viewed unemployment as an overstated issue since even agricultural workers underwent general improvement in employment after 1824. They conclude that generally "The trend in unemployment thus could not have detracted greatly from the improvement in workers' real wages, and it may even have contributed to their improvement."[127]

124 ibid., p.111.

125 Lindert, P.H. & Williamson, J.G. op.cit.

126 Deane, P. & Coale, W.A. op.cit., pp.25-26. They estimated that real wages grewby about 25% in the years 1800-24 and over 40% in 1824-50.

127 Lindert, P.H. & Williamson, J.G. op.cit., p.16.

In response to the pessimists who included factors such as health, housing and work discipline in their evaluation of the standard of living, Lindert and Williamson also assessed these factors. They wrote that national life expectancy improved after 1800, as mortality declined both in the countryside and the urban centres. Looking at "the quality of life factors" of urban workers, they assessed that the compensation for a higher cost of living and a lower quality of life was a wage premium of 65% in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[128] In conclusion they wrote that if the pessimists want to find justification for their arguments regarding the worsening of living standards they need to focus on the years 1750-1820, since after 1820 material gains for workers were greater than even the optimists suggested. Furthermore, they could strengthen their case against the optimists by pointing to the influence of social injustice and social disorder on the workforce in the nineteenth century.

Thus far we have presented contrasting evidence regarding the living standards and position of the agricultural labourers. For example, Chambers and Mingay wrote that the work of the village labourer increased in volume and regularity in the early nineteenth century, whereas the Hammonds suggested that the position of the agricultural labourer was severely undermined by his loss of work and economic independence. This specific theme of employment amongst agricultural workers is addressed by Snell[129] and Jones.[130]

Snell took a more pessimistic view of workers' employment prospects than, as we shall see, Jones. He examined long-term changes in unemployment in agriculture amongst men and women in the years 1690-1860. Using settlement examinations he plotted the percentage of unemployment which occurred in each calendar month amongst workers, specifically drawing attention to the

128 ibid., p.22.

129 Snell, K.D.M. 'Agricultural Seasonal Unemployment, the Standard of Living, and Women's Work in the South and East, 1690-1860,' EHR, 2nd ser. XXXIV, no.3 (1981), 407-437.

130 Jones, E.L. op.cit.

employment differentials amongst males and females, and between different regions. In the period 1690 to 1750 Snell identified male unemployment as being lowest during harvest and highest at winter in grain-growing areas. By contrast in areas where livestock was important, male unemployment occurred in spring after the calving and dairying season. For women spring and harvest held out best employment prospects in both grain and pastoral areas but with the changes in agricultural technology and production women increasingly lost their harvest employment to men so that they had more security in the spring while the men were more secure at harvest. Consequently a "...marked sexual division of labour..."[131] occurred which resulted in a general decline in female participation and earning capacity after 1750. The gradual withdrawal of women from the agricultural labour market was not the result of Victorian morality - but economic change in the eighteenth century: "...the historical determinants of women's economic and domestic roles would appear to be located primarily in seemingly autonomous changes in the structure of the economy, rather than in shifts of social attitudes."[132]

This sexual division of labour was reflected in sexual wage differentials. Before 1800 there existed an inverse correlation between male and female wages.

The decline of women's participation in grain production and their engagement in "...the increasingly insignificant dairy and calving season, in spring weeding, and in early summer haymaking"[133] depressed their wages in the nineteenth century. The detrimental implications of this change and withdrawal of female labour for the familial income (and therefore the standard of living) would have been limited if enclosures and the new

131 Snell, K.D.M. op.cit., p.413.

132 ibid., p.436.

133 ibid., p.422.

agricultural practices provided more regular work for the men, particularly in seasons when they tended to experience unemployment. However Snell disagrees that they had this effect[134] and writes that male employment continued to suffer from seasonality in the nineteenth century. Furthermore the familial income would not have been so affected if the women entered alternative occupations such as domestic service, dressmaking or millinery. But in the east there were few such alternatives for women. Indeed Snell writes that the men may have sought to limit female employment in order to reduce their own unemployment. The decline of female participation in agriculture was further enhanced by the separation of home and work place with the unfortunate result of making the family dependant on the male income which had drastic results at times of male unemployment. In the north the position of women was not the same and thus the family income less vulnerable; agricultural employment for both sexes was comparatively highly paid, there was alternative female employment, much greater continuity in hiring practices, and more prolonged and fuller female employment.

Jones in 'The Agricultural Labour Market in England, 1793-1872,'[135] also addressed himself to the subject of work for agricultural labourers. He examined the trends in the supply and demand for agricultural labour, and more specifically investigated the proposition that in the third quarter of the nineteenth century there was a glut in labour supply. Jones wrote that the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars engaged many farm workers at a time when enclosures increased a demand for their labour at home. It was the resultant shortage of hands as opposed to any desire on the part of the farmers to free themselves of some of their workforce, that prompted farmers to experiment with mechanization. The ending of the wars in 1815 released men from both the fighting and the war industries. This influx of labour coincided with the growth of population

134 (For a contrary view see Chambers, J.D. in Glass, D.V. & Eversley, D.E.C. (eds), op.cit.).

135 Jones, E.L. 1964.

in the countryside which unfortunately was not matched by a corresponding increase in jobs. In fact the population growth removed any advantage which could otherwise have been obtained from an expansion of employment. As a result there emerged "...a serious, although mainly seasonal, surplus of labour which depressed the average annual wage to distressingly low levels..."[136] Some labour shortages still occurred at harvest time, but in general demand was high at times of price peaks as in 1818, 1824, the late 1830s and early 1840s, and low in the troughs of 1815-1816, 1822-23, and the late 20s.

For Jones, the 1840s were the turning point in labour demand. The construction of the railways pulled men away from the farms, and shortages of labour were reported. The situation was particularly critical at times of peak cultivation and crop gathering; at harvest time the deficit was no longer fully met by an influx from Celtic countries. These shortages continued into the 1850s and 60s, at which time intensification of farming methods produced a growth in the demand for agricultural labour. Yet at this time the workforce were leaving the land in response to better wages available in the towns, or the promise of wealth at the Australian gold diggings. Once more the farmers were encouraged to mechanise,[137] a move which transformed the structure of the agricultural workforce - there emerged an elite of more skilled and better paid workers who operated the new machinery. In order to improve the supply of workers, and to encourage their workforce to stay on the land, farmers were obliged to improve conditions. Jones argued that the growth of Arch's Union in the 1870s was therefore not a sudden desperate response to appalling conditions, but on the contrary, was the response to a check in the upward course of the standard of living.

136 ibid., p.325.

137 For a discussion of mechanization see Collins, E.J.T. 1969. Collins, agreeing with Jones, writes that mechanization was "...primarily a response to a deteriorating harvest labour market" (p.455). He attributes harvest labour shortages after 1835 to urban employment opportunities which removed the incentive for non-agricultural workers to supplement their incomes by harvest work; the decline of cottage industry in areas where it had been a major source of casual labour; decline in the size of the female agricultural labour force because domestic service was comparatively more attractive; decline of interregional labour flows - for example the Irish - as regional labour shortages declined.

Chambers, Mingay, the Hammonds and Jones, although disputing the origins of the surplus of labour in the early nineteenth century, are in agreement that it existed. The Hammonds took their argument one step further, stating, like Snell, that the position of the agricultural labourer deteriorated not only as a result of his loss of work, but also through the loss of work for his family. This latter point is studied by Pamela Horn in her examination of the role of children in the rural labour market.[138] Against a background of poor housing, poor diet and general deprivation it is clear why children from labouring[139] families were sent out to work at the earliest opportunity. Apart from the financial needs, Horn cites the view prevalent at this time that unless a boy began to work at six or seven, "...or at the latest 8, he (would) never grow into the man he ought to be."[140] Labouring families were not alone in wanting their offspring to work: farmers sought the labour of children as they were a cheap workforce and readily available as the season dictated. The effect of this was that school attendance often became dependant on the needs of the land. Furthermore, Horn noted that children felt guilty if they were not at work. She quotes a Huntingdon labourer who was a child in the late 1870s:

> "Arter I were about nine year old, I got ashamed o'going to school when other folks went to work. One morning some men were working in a field as I passed on my way to school, and I 'eard one on 'em say 'look at that bloody grut ol'bor still a-going to school. Oughta be getting 'is own living.' After that I used to get into the dykes and slink along out o'sight in case anybody should see me and laugh at me."[141]

138 Horn, P. 'Country Children,' in Mingay, G.E. (ed), 1981 vol.2, 521-530.

139 children of small farmers were also required to work - and probably more often since their parents could not afford to be without their labour.

140 Horn, P. op.cit., p.524.

141 ibid., pp.528-529.

The work undertaken by boys was on the land and varied with the specific agricultural needs of a particular area. Their tasks included: scaring birds from newly-sown crops, watching animals feeding in unfenced areas, weeding crops, stone-picking, bean-setting, hay-making, harvesting, fruit-gathering and potato-picking.[142] Girls were more commonly employed in domestic service, or where it survived, domestic industry. However at harvest time they were required to help the boys with "leading the horses, carrying food and drink to the harvesters, and helping to bind the corn into sheaves."[143]

Conditions of work for the children were arduous. Bird-scaring, for example, involved the child being in the field in all weathers from daybreak until dusk, devoid of any company as farmers believed that "...two boys is half a boy and three boys no boy at all."[144] The use of child labour was questioned when in 1866 the Royal Commission on Children's Employment produced evidence of the hardships suffered by children working in public agricultural gangs, which were mostly to be found in East Anglia. The Commission reported on the young age of these employees (often aged between 7 and 12), the long hours they worked, the harsh discipline to which they were subjected, and the long distance (5 - 7 miles) they had to walk to work. It was not unknown for the younger children to be so exhausted from work that they had to be carried home by older children. The picture of misery painted by the Commission resulted in the Gangs Act of 1867 which, amongst other things, eliminated children under 8 years of age from gangs. However it was not until the 1870 Education Act and the Agricultural Children Act of 1873 that children, at least in theory, received more comprehensive protection. The 1873 legislation removed those below eight from the labour market, the minimum age for gang work was raised to ten, and those aged 8 - 12 had to attend

142 ibid., p.524.

143 ibid., p.526.

144 ibid., p.525.

school for a specific period. Later legislation (the Education Act of 1876) made school attendance for 5 to 10 year olds compulsory, while those aged 10-14 had to attend part-time, unless they could prove themselves competent in the three R's. Thus in Horn's view, and contrary to the Hammonds, children's participation in the labour market was not restricted until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In her study The Rural World (1980), Horn pursued many of the subjects examined by Hobsbawm and Rudé.[145] While their study is more specific in geographical terms, Horn's covers both wider geographic area and also a longer time span. She divided her work into four periods: the end of the Eighteenth Century, the War Years, the Post-War Years and the Mid-Nineteenth Century. In her first division she examined the insularity of the rural community, social stratification, and economic regional differentiation. She found that at the end of the eighteenth century people were living in a very local world, migration usually occurring within a ten mile radius. This "localism" pervaded every aspect of life, for example, marriage, and was prevalent amongst all social classes. This finding is of particular interest to our study. Furthermore she found the position of the agricultural labourer to be generally worsening, though there was a marked demarcation between conditions in northern and southern England. Unfortunately the labourer was powerless to effect any alteration in the organisation of his life.

During the War Years, like Hobsbawm and Rudé, Horn found that the position of the labourer deteriorated further. She noted the end of the custom of living-in, food shortage and un- and under-employment. With the acceleration of enclosure, on balance, the labourer and the smaller men suffered. Although the smaller farmer did not disappear, those who reaped the benefits of enclosure were the larger landlords who were efficient farmers and could afford the cost of enclosures. The ending of the War ushered in a period of labourers' riots and machine-breaking, the result of low wages and the general

145 Horn, P. The Rural World, 1800-50. Hutchinson, 1980; Hobsbawm, E.J. & Rudé, G. op.cit.

deterioration of living conditions.

Horn examined in detail specific aspects of the Post-War World: the system of poor relief, village institutions, the prevalence and treatment of crime and punishment and the struggle over the Corn Laws. In her review of the administration of the New Poor Law she noted the reluctance of officials to incarcerate people in the workhouse since it was cheaper to keep persons requiring help on out-relief. Consequently in the course of this study we must bear in mind that, according to Horn, the majority of people in receipt of relief did not enter a workhouse, and thus statistics for out-relief are very important in evaluating poverty. Next Horn examined the development of education in rural communities, the presence of some day schools and the emergence of the Sunday school. The system was not a very satisfactory one since schooling was interrupted by the need for child labour, especially in the south. Moreover many Boards of Guardians refused out-door relief to parents whose children attended school. In her examination of village institutions Horn also looked at village associations, sporting events, and organised religion, and the role they played in rural life. For example, associations such as the Labourer's Friend Society (formed in 1831) sought to obtain allotments for labourers deprived of land as a result of allotments, while friendly societies encouraged prudence and self-dependance by their system of weekly payments to the clubs. In turn, the clubs provided aid in hard times and so the distressed had no need to resort to the Poor Law. However the societies also exercised moral control over their members, excluding any person known to be "a profane swearer, drunkard, sabbath breaker, thief or otherwise notoriously wicked."[146]

Maintaining peace and order amongst the labouring class was in fact an issue causing concern amongst the rural magistracy. There were few professional rural police forces and consequently much law enforcement was left to the discretion of the injured party. Punishments were often excessive - there being more than two hundred statutory capital offences

146 Hilton Friendly Society cited in Horn, P. op.cit., p.144.

until mid-century when they decreased to two: murder and treason. Other legislation acted to the detriment of the labourers, namely the Game Laws. As Horn wrote,[147] the right to shoot game was annexed to a particular social position, to property rights, and so the crime of poaching became widespread; in 1830, one-seventh of the criminal convictions in the country were for offences against the game laws, with transportation a common punishment.[148] Those who were imprisoned suffered dire conditions in prison. These had always been problematic but with a low prison population,[149] this was not a major cause for concern. However, in the nineteenth century the prison population increased, partly a result of the crime which occurred in the post-War years. Slowly legislation was passed making prison life more humane.

Just as the Game Laws reflected the power of the propertied class, so too politics were dominated by the landed interest. Any efforts to exert influence on the part of the working class were severely crushed, as exemplified by the events in Tolpuddle, whose pioneering trade unionists were transported. Labourers posed no political threat in rural society - it was in fact the farmers who were involved in disruption, over the issue of protectionism. Repeal, according to Horn, was a "...clear sign of the declining political and economic power of the landed interest and of the emergence of urban industrialism and commerce as major forces...from the late 1860s and beyond it was to manifest itself with a growing and unmistakable clarity."[150]

Indeed much had changed from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. By the 1850s the three-tiered structure of landlord, farmer and labourer was clearly established. The concentration of landownership and the dominance of large owners was evident, though small owners and small tenants had not altogether disappeared. Within this general trend there were

147 ibid., p.173.

148 ibid., p.178.

149 In 1779 no fewer than 130 gaols and houses of correction had under ten inmates. ibid., p.188.

150 ibid., p.221.

regional variations in the patterns of landownership, as between sheep-rearing districts, arable districts and forest areas. However much of central and southern England was clearly stratified, the agricultural labourers being at the bottom of the social spectrum. The influence of the large landlord was felt in every sphere of rural society - even the letter carrier was appointed after consultation with the major landlord. There were of course those landlords who attempted to exercise a beneficial effect on their tenants and many felt it their moral duty to improve, for example, their labourers' housing. In fact Horn believes that from mid-century conditions improved for agricultural labourers as wages rose with the availability of alternative employment outside agriculture and the often resultant labour shortages in the countryside. Nevertheless there was a readily identifiable rural exodus, a result of 'push' factors in the village and of 'pull' factors outside the community. "The more rural an area was, the more likely it was to suffer a heavy outflow of population. That was the message of Victorian Britain."[151]

SUMMARY

We have seen how in the nineteenth century the framework of the debate concerning population and the economy was supplied by Malthus's cry of "overpopulation". This was widely regarded as the main cause of poverty, which occurred because the population, acting in accordance with inexorable "laws of nature", increased beyond the capacity of the means of subsistence. Few contemporaries with the exception of Wakefield and Horton viewed population movement as anything but a short-term solution to the problem of population growth. Wakefield and Horton advocated emigration and colonisation as a remedy to England's population 'problem', believing like Malthus, that population did not adjust automatically to the economic needs of, in this case, the mother country and the colonies, and that it therefore had to be redistributed by the authorities.

The modern debate regarding population and the economy is set within the framework of the role of population growth in industrialisation. One aspect of this subject is the relationship of e/migration to industrial capitalism, or in the case of

151 ibid., p.256.

this thesis, to a capitalist rural economy. Ravenstein's seminal work identified the responsiveness of population to economic circumstances as evidenced by the "currents of migration" flowing from remote rural areas to more attractive urban locations. A little later Redford suggested how these currents could spill overseas, and thus how internal migration related to the international movement of labour. Like Ravenstein, he perceived population movement to be responsive to economic circumstances in areas both sending and receiving labour. The work of Collins, Samuel and Hobsbawm identified the seasonality of much of the internal movement of labour, such short-term migration being closely related to labour demands. They found the labouring class and the artisans to have been very aware of work opportunities outside their native parish. Clark, Patten and Saville focused on the apparently more permanent internal flows of labour, though again they dealt with migration within national boundaries. Saville pinpointed the decay in rural domestic industry and rural employment as the main cause of the rural exodus to the towns.

The work of Thomas focused on the movement of labour within the Atlantic economy, identifying how internal and international migration were related to home investment and the export of capital respectively. He demonstrated the manner in which the labour force was responsive to the secular rise and fall of investment in Britain and the United States, as such investment affected the availability of employment. Although working from a different perspective, Arnold and Erickson also highlighted the importance of studying migration in a wider context than that of the home or foreign labour market. Arnold traced the movement of English rural labour to New Zealand, suggesting that adverse conditions in England pushed labour to a country where they were offered a better livelihood. Erickson, through the use of immigrant letters, also traced immigrants across the water, focusing on their motives for the move and their subsequent adaptation. In another study she identified the relative strength of 'push' and 'pull' factors,

and the way in which the movement of labour was related to a complex interplay of factors in both the home and foreign labour markets.

Finally, we examine the debate surrounding the causes and nature of the changes occurring in nineteenth century rural society. Chambers and Mingay argued that enclosures were not responsible for the decline of the small farmer, and that the enclosure movement was a long-term process. Secondly, they argued that enclosure increased agricultural employment. Their interpretation of the effects of enclosures on rural society is diametrically opposed to that offered by the Hammonds, who attributed to enclosures the decline of the small farmers and the growth in the numbers of landless labourers and the unemployed. Pursuing the theme of employment, Jones argued that after the initial post-war glut in the labour supply, the period from 1840 onwards saw shortages of labour in the countryside. Horn looked specifically at the role of children in the rural labour market, described the arduous conditions to which they were subjected, and noted that it was not until the 1870s that legislation offered them some protection by removing the younger children from the labour market. Chambers, Mingay and the Hammonds all raised the issue of the disappearance of the small farmer, and, if not agreeing on the cause of the decline, all four agreed that there was a clear decline in his numbers. Hobsbawm and Rudé explored in greater detail the structural changes occurring within rural society, and identified the polarisation of rural society into one of large farmers and landless labourers. Furthermore they argued that the gap that had appeared between the two continued to deepen as labourers became increasingly separated from farmers, their labour contract shortened and cash wages substituted for payments in kind.

It is not possible to pursue all the issues and questions raised in the above works in the remainder of this thesis. Although referring to important historical debates this study will not endeavour to resolve them all. Indeed our review of the debate on population movement and economic growth, and

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the changes within rural society, has necessarily been both selective and, at times, even superficial. However the review supports the argument for a study of the kind undertaken for this thesis, and moreover helps to locate the questions the thesis does address, in the context of more general historical and contemporary debates.

CHAPTER 2. Sources and Methodology.

The focus of this thesis lies in the rural labour market and the migratory patterns of the rural workforce. Some of the primary and secondary materials utilised in this thesis have already been touched on in the preceding Chapter in the context of the discussion of the various debates regarding population and agrarian change. In order to avoid frequent allusion to provenance, availability, and uses of sources later, in a manner which might distract, it seems useful to survey them in a single Chapter. Sources discussed will be applicable at a national, Registration District (hereafter RD) and parish level, with specific reference to Brenchley.

One general point must be made at the outset. The nature of the sources selected involves us in a methodological debate over the use of quantitative and qualitative material. Approaches based upon the one type of source or the other, are frequently discrete activities. The recent enthusiasm for quantitative sources and computer techniques has encountered hostility from those historians who claim history to be an 'art' and not a 'science'.[1] Despite the fact that historians have in practice been linking records from the days of Herodotus, concern with the formal methodology of linkage is considered, by some, to be outside their scope. This thesis seeks to demonstrate that social historians need to reject such rigidity if they are to obtain a rounded picture of their object of study. In so doing they need to make clear the precise method used to analyse the statistical data in order to facilitate comparative studies. In addition, exposure of the methodology is necessary if the reader is to be able to ensure that any conclusions flowing from that data are warranted.

1 See Aydelotte, W.O. Quantification in History. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Mass, 1971. Also his article 'Quantification in History,' American Historical Review, 71, no.3 (1966), 803-825; Lipset, S.M. & Hofstadter, R. (eds), Sociology and History: Methods. Basic Books, 1968, especially the article by Thernstrom, S. 'Quantitative Methods in History: Some Notes,' and the journal History and Theory.

Historians also need to involve themselves in discussions over computer techniques as there are still too few programmes and also too few programmers familiar with the unique problems of historical data. Otherwise many historians will find themselves advised by programmers more familiar with computing future rabbit populations as opposed to analysing the behaviour of our past human populations.

In the last instance it needs to be said that the biggest limitation experienced by any historian is that of the lack of sources; no matter how imaginative the methodology, the lack of documentation can terminate any project. This is particularly true for those studying a unit as small as a parish, and underlines the need to utilise sources and techniques regardless of their nature.

* * * *

RECORDS OF NATIONAL PROVENANCE.

(1) Census.

The census is the most important single source used in this thesis. The manuscript census for Brenchley is the main source of information concerning the general characteristics of the parish and its inhabitants. In 1841 the enumerators recorded information on age, sex, first name, surname, occupation, whether or not the inhabitant was born in the county of his/her residence or elsewhere in England or abroad, and the precise place of residence in the parish. (It also stated whether or not the resident was blind/deaf/dumb, but this information was irrelevant in the context of this thesis and so was disregarded). Although the 1841 census delineated each house and its occupants, it contained insufficient detail for us to infer the relationship to the head of household of all persons listed within it.

The amount of information or 'variables' available in 1851, 1861, and 1871 was substantialy greater than in 1841. The precise parish and county of birth of each inhabitant was recorded, along with marital condition, relationship to the head of household, and the area of land cultivated. From

these variables we can infer the type of family[2] of a resident, and the number of staff, kin, lodgers, boarders or children in a particular household. In 1841, 1861 and 1871 each house was demarcated by a double line drawn under the name of the last listed inhabitant, while in 1851 a single line drawn right across the page indicated the end of a house. Within this house a short single line separated the immediate family group from the rest of the household (lodgers, boarders or staff). When there were two households residing in one house this was clearly evident as there were two persons listed as 'head'. To the above variables we added a unique case number for each individual, and noted the census from which the information was extracted. In the end eight variables were available for the 1841 census, and twenty for the 1851, 1861, and 1871 censuses. All this information was coded and stored on magnetic tapes as SPSS[3] Save Files.

The printed census summarises the information contained in the manuscript census on a county and RD level. It identifies the distribution of jobs and people within the county, and changes occurring therein during the thirty years studied. The printed census also includes information on individual parishes, but such summary statistics do not permit us to answer all the questions posed in this study.

2 'Type of family' refers to Laslett's classifications from Household and Family in Past Time. CUP, Cambridge, 1972, pp.28-32. The classifications are as follows:
solitary family - people without spouse, children or kin but might have boarders or servants;
no family - unmarried, related or non-related people living together such as family or friends;
simple family - married couple with or without children, or widowed person with children;
extended family - single family and widowed parent, maiden sister etc.;
multiple family - two or more couples.

3 SPSS - Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

(ii) Poor Law.

The Poor Law Commissioners Annual Reports[4] provide figures for the annual expenditure of each Poor Law Union. From 1848 the Poor Law Board differentiated between money spent on in-door relief and that spent on out-door relief, enabling us to gauge the extent to which relief was given as a form of temporary unemployment payment for those outside the workhouse. Similarly the money spent on relief per se can be separated from that spent on other items, such as the payment of the county rate and salaries, or any building expenses. In this manner we obtain an accurate account of the cost of poverty and unemployment in each Union.

The manuscript records of the individual Poor Law Unions are kept in the Kent Archives Office (hereafter KAO), and include the Workhouse Admission and Discharge Registers. These list the names of those needing relief, their age, sex, occupation, date of admission and discharge, and occasionally the reason for their admission into the workhouse. We can establish, for example, which occupational groups appear frequently in the lists, and ascertain whether their need was long or short-term. The Union records also include parochial expenditure details, though not on any regular basis. However, an Expenditure Ledger for Brenchley was found amongst Tunbridge Union's papers. This Ledger differentiates between expenditure on out-door and in-door relief, and includes information on the marital condition and sex of each adult recipient, and the number, age and sex of their offspring. Fortunately, (considering the irregularity with which such records have survived), the Brenchley ledger was only eleven years shorter than the expenditure series contained in the PLCs Annual Reports, the former covering the years 1849-71, the latter the years 1838-71.

4 After 1848 the Poor Law Board, and after 1871 the Local Government Board.

Apart from Workhouse Admission and Discharge Registers, Union records incorporate the correspondence received by the Unions from the Poor Law Commissioners in London. The other half of this correspondence, that is, letters written by the Unions to the Poor Law Commissioners is located (along with other Union papers) in the Public Record Office (herafter PRO) in London, in the MH.12 class.[5] Although the Unions copied some of the letters they wrote to London and these are located amongst their correspondence in the KAO, the records in the PRO and the KAO are not identical, and so both need to be searched. These letters contain much information which was of limited interest in the context of this thesis, such as discussions of sanitation or building plans. However, they also have references to poverty and unemployment: their perceived causes and proposed remedies. It should be noted that numerous volumes are missing both in the PRO and KAO, a factor which adds to the difficulty of compiling any statistical series using Poor Law Union material.

Finally, the Correspondence of the Assistant Commissioners and Inspectors for Kent was examined. These manuscripts are kept in the PRO, classes MH.32 and 33. The correspondence consists of letters passing between the Assistant Commissioners (1834-48) and Inspectors (1848-71) for the county of Kent, and the Poor Law Commissioners in London.[6] In a similar fashion to the

5 MH - Ministry of Health.

6 Assistant Commissioners for Kent:

Majendie	1834	- no correspondence found (ncf)
Head	1834-35	- " " "
Tufnell	1835-42	- correspondence present (cp)
Hall	1843-48	- " "
Inspectors for Kent (post-1848):		
Hall	1848-50	- (East and West Kent) cp
Walsham	1851-68	- (East Kent) cp
Pigott	1851-62	- (West Kent) cp
Corbett	1862	- (West Kent) cp
Cane	1863-66	- (West Kent) cp
Smith	1866-67	- (West Kent) cp
Henley	1867-70	- (West Kent) cp
Wodehouse	1871	- (East and West Kent) cp
Farnall	1870-71	- (East Kent) cp

Union papers, they include references to distress and lack of employment.

Non-resident poor and Non-settled poor records list those seeking relief. The law required that poor relief be administered to persons residing in parishes where they had a settlement. However, arrangements were made whereby persons residing outside their parish of settlement could receive relief without being sent 'home'. Those with a settlement in Brenchley but living elsewhere were referred to as the 'non-resident' poor, while those with a settlement elsewhere but residing in Brenchley were referred to as the 'non-settled' poor. The recording of the whereabouts of the 'non-resident' poor and the origins of the 'non-settled' poor both indicate the distances travelled by the labouring class.

The Poor Law authorities' internal migration scheme of October 1835 to May 1837 was short-lived and no lists of such migrants were found amongst the records of the Wealden Unions. Occasional references exist to the Guardians requesting permission (usually refused) to facilitate the migration of a pauper to a place where he or she had received an offer of work, for example, in London, or in the merchant navy (as opposed to the approved destination of the manufacturing north).[7]

(iii) Parliamentary Papers.

The nineteenth century concern with population growth and unemployment amongst the agricultural population stimulated numerous governmental enquiries into the causes of rural distress. The following investigations were particularly useful:

Report and Minutes of Evidence from the Select Committee on Agriculture, 1833. This Report encompasses

7 For a discussion of the Poor Law authorities' emigration scheme see under parish records, p.111.

evidence from Kentish residents representing various parts of the county with regard to the quality of the soil, the size of farms, rents, land use, price of crops, hiring practices, unemployment amongst labourers, tenant farmers' difficulties in paying rates, and wages of agricultural labourers.

Returns of Average Rate of Weekly Earnings of Agricultural Labourers in the Unions of England and Wales for the quarters ended Michaelmas and Christmas, 1861, 1868-69, and 1871. This Report is a source of information regarding selected weekly wages paid to men, women, and children working as agricultural labourers, and the allowances made of food and drink (if any). None of the data related to earnings in Wealden Unions, though the returns were useful for the study of Kent as a whole. As was the case with previously mentioned sources, there were insufficient data to facilitate the compilation of detailed wage statistics for any length of time.

Reports from the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture, 1867-70. This incorporates, amongst others, the evidence of Edward Stanhope for Kent. Stanhope visited forty-nine Kentish parishes (precisely which is not specified), and presented material on their employment practices with respect to women, children, and young persons. Stanhope described in detail the nature of the work done, the demand for such labour, and the wages paid. He also discussed education, the homes of agricultural labourers, and referred to the custom of living-in, allotments, agricultural labourers' diet, and hiring practices. As Stanhope was engaged to give evidence for a variety of counties, much of the latter discussion is very general in nature and of little value for the compilation of a case history of one parish, but is useful for the study of the county as a whole.

The final point which can be made about all these Parliamentary Papers (hereafter PP) is that their greatest value lies in their provision of general background information on the county level, but (unless one is very lucky), they are of limited use to the local historian. Similarly, as such Reports were not compiled on a regular basis, they only supply us with glimpses of, for example, wage levels, and cannot help in the compilation of wage series.

RECORDS OF LOCAL PROVENANCE.

(i) Estate and Family.

Estate and Family Papers located in the KAO were searched for labour account books which would shed light on the relationship between employer and employee. This relationship would be elucidated by the method of wage payment (cash or kind), the level of payments, and the length of contracts. Estate Papers on occasion also discuss occupational, sex, and age differentials in payment and hiring practices, the seasonal variations in payment and hiring practices and in the demand for labour. In the case of the county of Kent, records such as labour account books are a rarity after the eighteenth century. The Linton Park Labour Account Books were the only data of its kind found for an estate in the vicinity of Brenchley, and then only for the years 1864-71. Such a dearth of material relating to wages in Brenchley (and indeed Kent) make it impossible to compile a continuous series of statistics showing wage levels for the period 1834-71.

(ii) Parish.

Parish records include minutes from vestry meetings. Vestry Minutes pertaining to Brenchley and its surrounding parishes were searched for information about un/employment in the parish, wages, hiring practices, and efforts to assist the migration of parishoners. Occasional references exist

to schemes organised by parish officials for the employment of 'surplus hands', and these include details such as the name, age, sex, marital condition, wage and type of work undertaken by each parish employee. Similar details were given of individuals wishing to emigrate with the assistance of the parish. The parish at its vestry meeting nominated persons it sought to move elsewhere, the decision of such a meeting was made known to the Guardians of the Union, who in turn sent a list of proposed emigrants to the Commissioners in London for their approval. The most comprehensive record of such proposed emigrants (1834-70) is to be found amongst the Poor Law Union Papers in the PRO (class MH.12). These lists give the date emigration was applied for, the age, marital status and parish of origin of the applicant, and, where applicable, his spouse; also the number, age, and sex of any offspring, whether or not the applicants were successful in their application, the destination of the emigrants, and the relief received in the previous year (though the irregular recording of this latter information makes it of very limited value). Reference was found to a handful of Brenchleyites. Nevertheless the Vestry Minutes provide an interesting group of statistics with regard to the parishes' expenditure on emigration, though again irregular recording of this data presents difficulties with the calculation of expenditure levels. Also we cannot differentiate between proposed and de facto expenditure, as the parishioners did not always note whether or not they had received permission from the Commissioners for their proposed expenses. However even such sparse references cease after the late forties, while after 1850, despite missing volumes, it is easy to see that interest in emigration decreased enormously. From the whole of Cranbrook Union, for example, only one family left in the period 1867-73, while Tenterden Union sent two families during 1852-55, and none in the years 1862-71.

Marriage Registers are also valuable for the study of population movement. They record the place of residence of each partner at the time of marriage, in this manner indicating the area covered by Brenchleyites for work or social purposes, and therefore the nature and extent of Brenchleyites' contact with other parishes.

Baptismal and Burial records, meanwhile, are used to ascertain the natural increase of the parish, a crucial component of the calculation carried out to estimate Brenchley's net gain/loss of population by e/migration.

(iii) Tithe.

The Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 required that every land owner and occupier have the size, value, and use of her/his holding recorded. The resultant Tithe Award and Tithe Map (compiled for Brenchley in 1842 and 1844 respectively),[8] is the chief source of information about land use, land ownership, and size of holdings available for the period studied in this thesis. Furthermore the inclusion of all land occupiers in the Award, regardless of the size of their holding or its use, facilitates the study of those who cultivated land as a supplement to the family income (for example, cottage gardeners). Indeed, while the 1851, 1861, and 1871 manuscript censuses contain information regarding the occupiers of land and the size of their holdings, they do not differentiate between ownership and tenancy, specify land use, or identify occupiers of land whose land was not utilised for commercial production. As the nature of land use affects the amount and nature of employment available, the Tithe Award is a doubly important source. The Tithe Map is the only detailed map of Brenchley available for the earlier part of our period, for the latter part there is an Ordnance Survey map compiled between 1868-71.

8 and updated at later dates with regard to the tithe payable.

(iv) Newspapers.

Newspapers published in the vicinity of Brenchley were searched for references to social and economic conditions in the parish and its neighbours. Their contents were found to be national, foreign, local (usually society) news and advertisements, in roughly equal proportions. Very rarely was there any socio-economic comment on a local level, or reference to emigration from Brenchley or indeed Kent. An additional problem with the use of this source is that there is a dearth of newspapers relating to the 1830s and 1840s. Indeed, only two newspapers, the Maidstone Journal and the Maidstone Gazette, spanned the entire period 1834-71. More specialist publications, such as farmers journals, were also examined, but most were found to have been published after 1870. Any earlier ones had an occasional reference to Kent or the Weald, but nothing specifically on Brenchley.

(v) Poll Books.

As Poll Books were compiled every few years they permit the linking of individuals on a more frequent basis than that afforded by the censuses. We can therefore compare the decennial turnover of population to that of, for example, an annual or bi-annual nature. The Poll Books are a register of the enfranchised population (never more than 3% of the total inhabitants of Brenchley), and therefore reveal the migratory habits of a limited number of Brenchley's residents. Their use was made possible by the fact that no changes in the franchise occurred in the period covered by the Poll Books, namely, 1835-65. Some of those registered in the Poll Books for Brenchley were not resident in the parish and so were ignored for the purposes of data linkage.

There were three variables available from the Poll Books which could be used in record linkage: surname,

first name, and the place of residence in the parish. While the smallness of the number of individuals involved minimised the possibility of a false match being made using the 'name' variable, the 'place of residence in the parish' variable was not a very reliable one, as individuals could change their address. When the Poll Books were linked to the census the additional variables of 'sex' and 'age' were utilised. The age of a potential match on the census was checked to see if he (only men were entitled to vote) had been old enough at the time of the compilation of the Poll Books to vote, that is, over 21. This method eliminated many candidates who would otherwise have been deemed a match had the variables 'surname' and 'first name' been solely relied upon.

RECORDS PERTAINING TO EMIGRATION.

(i) At the Colonial Office (CO).

Colonial Office Records can be divided into several sections: the records of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners (class CO.386 in the PRO), materials relating to the Canadas (CO.42), the Cape of Good Hope (CO.48), New Zealand (CO.208), Van Diemens Land and New South Wales (CO.201 and 206), Australia generally (CO.385), and North America (CO.384). All these records relate to the period being studied with the exception of CO.48 which covers the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The records of the CLECs contain several interesting and useful pieces. CO.386.149-51 are the most important from the viewpoint of this study. These pieces are registers of Emigrant Labourers Applying for a free passage to South Australia, 1836-41. They rendered a total of 477 Kentish applicants, who, with their families, totalled 1,309 persons. The details given in these lists include the name of the applicant, spouse and children, occupation(s), age(s), precise place of residence in Kent, marital status, to whom the application was made (that is, which 'agent') and when, the applicant's sex, embarkation

and application numbers. One notable problem with these lists is that it is difficult to ascertain which persons actually left - some have no embarkation number, while others who do, also have a special note added 'declines to go'. Finally, CO.386.154, Applications of Convicts' families for passages, while not dealing with quite the same phenomenon, yielded a total of 19 Kentish families.

Relating to the Canadas, CO.42 contains volumes of bound letters referring to emigration, but no lists of emigrants. CO.48 Cape of Good Hope data, also contain bound volumes of letters. These latter letters are arranged in alphabetical order and span the years 1819-21, and unlike the former, include letters written by Kentish persons interested in emigrating to the Cape. CO.48.47 yielded more information. This piece is entitled Settlers Sailing Lists - Returns of Heads of Parties, South Africa, 1819, and lists three parties emigrating from Kent. It includes details of occupation, sex, marital status, place or origin, and who defrayed the costs. Other documents in CO.48 were examined but these (for example, CO.48.76, Reports Albany Settlers, 1823-25), gave no indication of the origin of the persons to whom land was granted, and thus proved to be of little use to the local historian.

The New Zealand records, (CO.208) are the most informative of all, containing the papers of the New Zealand Company. Piece numbers 272-3 cover the period 1839-50, and list details of Emigrant Labourers Applying for free passages to New Zealand. As in CO.384.149-51, details recorded were: the applicant's name, number, date of application, to whom the application was made, sex, age, marital status, occupation, parish of origin and details of spouse and family. 457 applicants (with their families totalling 1,220 persons) were identified as coming from Kent. Using CO.208.274, Forms of Application for free passage to New Zealand, 1839-42, which incorporates the 'Bolton's' passenger list, it is possible to identify

certain applicants as actual emigrants. There is a problem with identifying persons in the latter source - the application number given in CO.208.272-3 is listed as the embarkation number in CO.208.274, and so the embarkation number of the former source appears redundant, and not necessarily a clue to who actually emigrated. CO.208.278, Lists of Emigrants Maintained, 1839-42, also provides a check on who actually emigrated by the comparison of surname on both lists.

Further lists of persons desirous of emigrating are located in the New Zealand Company records, though they are not as extensive as the above. CO.208.269-71, Register of Cabin Passengers, 1839-50, mentions Kentish persons though irregular recording of the information restricts the number of persons whose origin can be detected. CO.208.254, Applications for Land, 1839-50, has fourteen persons applying for land from Kent, CO.208.257-8 and 261, Applications for Land, Nelson, 1841-50, has thirteen applications, while CO.208.263, Applications for Land in the Plymouth Settlement, 1843-50, has only one Kentish applicant. Other pieces in this class contain lists of persons either "desirous of emigrating" or having emigrated, but do not indicate their origin. For example, CO.208.279, Lists of Candidates for Employment, 1839-50, does not mention origin.

The records of the CLECs relating to Australia have already been mentioned. Other Australian material was found in classes CO.201, 206, and 385. CO.201.199 is one of a series of volumes of bound letters covering the period 1828-33, letters written by persons interested in emigrating to New South Wales and Van Diemens Land. Unfortunately no persons from Kent were found. CO.201.406/436/447/472 are the correspondence of the Secretary of State and contain miscellaneous letters concerning land, immigration policy, printed emigration circulars, for the period 1848-53, but have nothing specific in the way of lists.

CO.206.102 is the piece Statistical Blue Books, New South Wales, 1850-59. There are many such Blue Books and one was checked to ascertain the nature of the information recorded. As was expected, these books consist of aggregate statistics which are of considerable value though not in this particular context. CO.385.3/4, Register of Forms and Circulars sent to Intending Emigrants, 1831-3, contains thirty-two Kentish names and addresses, but no other details. CO.385.11, Australia, Letters from the Secretary of State, Bounties and Loans to Emigrants, 1831-71, would have been a very useful source if along with the details of age, sex, occupation, marital status, ship of travel, the parish of origin of the emigrant had been recorded. Undoubtedly the most valuable source of information regarding emigration to Australia is the aforementioned CO.386.149-51 (Register of Emigrant Labourers Applying for a free passage to South Australia, 1836-41).

Finally the Colonial Office holdings respecting North American Settlers were checked. CO.384.40 is yet another volume of bound letters - one in a set of many, (pieces numbers 6-11, 15, 19, 21, 23, 29, 31, 34 and 37 are the remaining volumes in this set), covering the period 1820-35. Unfortunately no Kentish letters were found.

The two most valuable sources of emigrant lists are the New Zealand Company records, and the CLECs records pertaining to Australia. Although sources checked and found to be of no immediate use have not been mentioned, those which from their description/title might tempt others in pursuit of the same kind of information have been cited. For the same reason it is worth referring to non-CO material which was searched for lists of emigrants, namely the Board of Trade, the Ministry of Transport (Marine Department), and the Home Office (HO).

The Board of Trade data includes ships' manifests - those for inward traffic commence after 1878, while those relating to outward traffic are post-1890. These lists not only cover too late a period, but also fail to inform us of the precise parish of origin of the passenger, and so are of little use for a local study. Numerous references

to emigration are to be found in the Board of Trade records, but none are sufficiently specific to be of any great use to the local history student, the bulk of the material being given over to general policy discussions. Similarly, the Ministry of Transport (Marine Department) was found to have no lists for this or any other period. The records are devoted to general policy discussions, such as the medical inspection of emigrant ships, or the Passenger Acts.

It should perhaps be made clear that records of the two above-mentioned departments were searched for emigrant lists. On the other hand, HO material was perused for references to in-migrants or immigrants in Kent (perhaps classified as 'aliens'). Very little such material was found, and the only useful documents were not listings but references to the presence of foreigners in Kent in the Disturbances section of the Home Office papers. HO.45.7853 for example, reports the riots between foreign and English labourers in Cowden (1866), and HO.45.3472Q refers to riots involving English and Irish labourers at Murston in 1851. The records classified as Emigration, Foreign, or Aliens yielded neither lists of Kentish emigrants nor references to Kent.

(ii) Sources Located Overseas.

Just as the Colonial Office in London compiled lists of prospective emigrants, so too the Colonial Governments listed their arrivals. The National Archives in Wellington houses the documents of companies involved in the settlement of New Zealand (such as the New Zealand Company) 1840-54, the documents of the Provincial Governments' immigration schemes 1853-71, and the documents of the Central Government which took control of immigration after 1871. The New Zealand Company material deposited in the National Archives was the same as that in the PRO, London. Records of other associations, such as the Otago Association, yielded no Kentish names. A search for Canterbury Association material proved fruitless as these are scattered between many repositories, and none could be found in Wellington. The

Canterbury Museum was approached with a view to obtaining lists of persons brought out by this Association, but years of trying have produced no results. Not surprisingly the Museum is renowned for its reluctance to help researchers.

With regard to the six provinces: Otago, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Auckland, lists of assisted emigrants were found for the latter three.[9] The lists for Nelson, Canterbury and Auckland covered the periods 1849-77, 1857-70 and 1864-70 respectively (the majority of Auckland's records have been destroyed). Information regarding Kentish persons included: age, sex, marital status, occupation, and parish of origin. The immigrants were referred to as "assisted immigrants", though this description was an ambiguous one. "Assistance" was sometimes equivalent to a loan, the 'loan', in theory, being repayable after arrival. Occasionally immigrants would refuse to pay it, and the New Zealand Government dropped its claim. Problems also arose when persons signing promissory notes were not of legal age and therefore could not be obliged to reimburse the government. Whether the immigrant in question was truly "assisted" or on a 'loan' it is usually impossible to establish, since the authorities only described them as "assisted" or "free". Post-1871 records are very comprehensive but lie outside the period covered by this thesis. (For a thorough analysis of this source see Arnold, R. The Farthest Promised Land). One final listing was found in these archives: Recruits of the Waikato and Taranaki Regiments, 1863-65. This specified the soldiers' county and parish of origin.

Repositories in New Zealand were searched not only for immigrant lists, but also for material pertaining to the labour market in the Colony. The Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington houses an extensive collection of

9 Additional but temporary provinces were created from the existing six in the 1850s and 1860s: Hawkes Bay, Marlborough, Westland, and Southland. No reference was found to their organising immigration.

manuscripts: letters and journals describing life in New Zealand in the nineteenth century. This material is not arranged according to the immigrants' county of origin, and so it is impossible to identify Kentish persons - short of a very laborious search which time did not permit. However, detailed descriptions of socio-economic conditions for each province are available from the writings of non-Kentish persons.

With regard to Australia, details of South Australia's assisted immigrants were available in London. The State Archives of Victoria, Melbourne, are the location for the listings of Assisted Immigrants to that State. Meanwhile the Latrobe Library in Melbourne presented the same problems as the Alexander Turnbull Library with regard to tracing manuscripts relating to Kentish or Brenchley persons. Nevertheless it yielded information on conditions in Victoria, especially at the time of the gold rush. From the destinations of the immigrants recorded in the lists we can gauge the extent to which Kentish folk were drawn by the availability of gold (or at least how many admitted this).

Finally, lists of Assisted Immigrants arriving in New South Wales were examined in the Archives of New South Wales, Sydney. The information recorded by the Department of Immigration was the same as that for Victoria, and so again we could trace the fate of Kentish persons from one side of the Colonial labour market to the other. Unfortunately a fuel strike in 1981 necessitated a hasty departure from the Archives and Australia, before the transcription of the lists was complete. These have been microfilmed by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (Mormons), but their genealogical library in England was unable to supply copies of the films, while their importation from the Mormon headquarters in Salt Lake City, USA, was too costly. Consequently the New South Wales material utilised in this thesis is not as extensive as it could be.

The Mitchell Library in Sydney follows the custom of

the other repositories in not ordering their material by county of origin of the immigrant. Nevertheless it possesses a wealth of material relating to immigrant life in New South Wales, in the form of photographs, printed books and manuscripts.

A search for immigrant lists in the Canadian National Archives, and the Ontario Provincial Archives, proved less fruitful. The compilers of the lists of assisted or free arrivals did not record the precise county of origin of the immigrant, only the country, and so we cannot identify Kentish folk. However, both Archives house informative discussions of Canadian labour needs, though the focus of their collections is on the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the period of mass emigration to Canada and the settlement of the Prairies.

In order to examine the emigration experience from the participants' own viewpoint, a search was made for personal case histories. The Kentish local press were approached with a request to print a letter to the effect that any persons with letters, journals or photographs pertaining to Kentish emigrants[10] come forward. Only Kent Life agreed to publicise this research, all the other local papers refusing to print a letter or short article which had been prepared on this subject. Their opinion was that there was insufficient public interest in such a topic to warrant publication.

At the same time as the Kentish press were approached, a similar request was made of the major daily newspapers in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. The response from

10 The same request was made for information regarding Kentish migrants. In fact the location of letters written by internal migrants was an impossible task, as it necessitated making contact with every local newspaper in Britain with a plea for persons in possession of material relating to persons originating from Kent to come forward. Even if such a task was undertaken, the chances of success in locating material pertaining to internal migrants was very limited indeed.

New Zealand and Australia was quite amazing, very much in contrast to that of both the Kentish and Canadian press and its readers. The appeal produced fifteen solid case histories compiled on the basis of letters, diaries, notebooks, and photographs, and thirty less detailed, but nevertheless useful studies. All the major Kentish and 'Colonial' genealogical societies, and Kent's local history societies were presented with a similar request. These rendered information of limited use: a few references to parish records and newspapers or names of emigrants.

SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CENSUS MATERIAL FOR BRENCHLEY.

In the course of this thesis many sources have been used in entirely conventional ways, yet at the same time there have been new departures in the use of, for example, printed census data. Both approaches to the use of historical sources will be discussed, along with some general reflections on the use of manuscript census data, and the problems encountered in the linkage techniques used on Brenchley.

In accordance with tradition, socio-economic conditions on a county level were portrayed using the reports of Parliamentary Commissions; the natural increase of Brenchley's population was calculated on the basis of statistics for births and deaths extracted from parish registers. Meanwhile the Tithe Award was used to ascertain land use, land ownership, and the size of holdings in Brenchley.

However, as mentioned, the sources were sometimes being put to an entirely new use. For example, poll books have been habitually associated with the study of voting behaviour.[11] In this thesis, the use of data linkage has given them an entirely new role - that of source material for the study of population movement. Meanwhile,

11 See Vincent, J.R. Pollbooks: How the Victorians Voted. 1967, CUP, Cambridge, 1968 edition.

birthplace[12] statistics contained in the printed census returns for 1851, 1861 and 1871 have been used for more than summary tables of the birthplaces of Kent's inhabitants. Since the census identified both the areas sending people to Kent and the Kentish-born resident in the other counties of England and Wales, we can compare, for example, the flow of the Kentish-born to Sussex with the flow of the Sussex-born to Kent. This birthplace information about the numbers of Kentish-born in Kent and in the other counties of England and Wales, when used in conjunction with birth data extracted from the Registrar General's Annual Reports (hereafter RGARs) and a death rate based on the English Life Table No.3, facilitated a complex calculation which, in principle, should produce estimates for the numbers of Kentish-born persons leaving Kent in the decennial periods 1851-61 and 1861-71 for destinations both in England and Wales, and other 'foreign' parts.

Now that historians are resorting to the computer they have within their grasp sources previously deemed unmanageable. The census linkage described below has explored the utility of data linkage on a sophisticated level, and has enabled us to exploit the information contained within the manuscript census to the full. The linking

12 As mentioned previously, the birthplaces of the population of England and Wales were first recorded in detail in 1851. While the 'birthplace' question was posed in the 1841 census, the information recorded consisted of whether or not the person concerned was resident in his/her county of birth, or whether they had been born in another English county, Scotland, Ireland, the British Colonies, 'foreign parts', or the birthplace was not stated. The precise county of those born in England was not given. Therefore although we know how many Kentish-born persons were living in Kent in 1841, we do not know the number or whereabouts of those living outside the county. Consequently we cannot attempt the calculation for the period 1841-51, but we can estimate the net gain/loss by migration of the Kentish-born in this period.

of three censuses (1851, 1861 and 1871) necessitated the compilation of a unique Fortran computer programme[13] which has facilitated the study of the turnover of the people of one parish over a thirty year period. Moreover, by tracing individuals over the 1851-71 censuses we can explore occupational change and the extent of opportunity for vertical or horizontal movement in Brenchley. Similarly the study of the occupational characteristics of fathers and sons reveals the extent to which occupations were inherited from generation to generation, and thus sheds more light on the possible rigidity of Brenchley's social structure. We can also study the migration occurring within the parish. This is done by linking the census and then examining the addresses of those resident in Brenchley for the duration of more than one inter-censal period. Furthermore, using SPSS programmes, it is possible to draw a picture of the characteristics of Brenchley's population, and to answer such specific questions as whether or not there was a decline in rural craftsmen, how many labourers lived-in with their employers, the numbers employed by each size of farmer, whether there was an ageing rural workforce, or a population becoming increasingly proletarianised (as evidenced by an increase in those calling themselves agricultural labourers, and a decrease in the number of small farmers).

The manuscript census for Brenchley is the most important single source used here not only for the study of the labour market, but also for the study of population movement. The enumerators recorded the birthplaces of Brenchley's residents in detail from 1851, and so we can identify the birthplace of Brenchley's in-migrants. However, this data must be used with caution as 'birthplace' is not necessarily synonymous with place of recent origin.

13 See Appendix 1, pp.428-433, for details of the Match Programme.

For example, those reported as being born in the parish of Horsmonden may have never lived or worked in that parish at all. While birthplace is the only indicator of life-time migration, a Horsmondian may have been domiciled in numerous parishes before coming to Brenchley. Although we have little choice but to treat birthplace as synonymous with recent origin, the analysis of the labour market using birthplace data is undertaken with these reservations.

The linking of successive censuses yields also a picture of the decennial turnover of population: indicating those who came into the parish, those who left (the migrants), and those who were present on both censuses (the persisters). The characteristics of the two groups of migrants and of the persisters can be subsequently related to data on the social and economic circumstances prevalent in Brenchley. The absence of detailed birthplace information on the 1841 census makes linkage impossible.

The method used to link census data has been the subject of much debate both in England and North America. First of all, researchers have pointed to the inadequacies of the census data itself. Wrigley in his article on 'Baptism Coverage in Early Nineteenth Century England: the Colyton Area,'[14] linked the 1851 Colyton census to Colyton's parish registers in order to evaluate the accuracy of the latter. In this manner he discovered the problems occurring when the information recorded in the census is taken at its face value. For example, the variable 'name' was found to be problematic as names were easily misread by the enumerator (who copied the householders' returns into his book - the book is the source used in the PRO), while the same individual may have written a diminutive, nickname, or second forename as opposed to his/her correct first name on successive censuses. Similarly the variable 'age' was found to be a source of error; for example, ages were often overstated. Wrigley concluded that the under-registration of parish data was exaggerated by two-thirds when tested using the census because of the errors in the census itself.

14 Wrigley, E.A. 'Baptism Coverage in Early Nineteenth Century England: the Colyton Area,' PS, 29, pt.2 (1975), 299-316.

Tillott[15] has examined the accuracy of the 1851 and 1861 census data for various urban and rural communities in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and adjacent counties. In his article he suggests that errors may have occurred at four different stages: when the census passed through the hands of the householder, enumerator, registrar or census clerk. Unlike Wrigley, Tillott experienced few difficulties with the recording of first names and surnames, but 'age' was a problem due to the tendency of individuals to round off their ages. Most of the inaccurate intervals occurred with persons over twenty years of age, and overall there were more errors in the ages of women than men. Confusion also occurred with the definition of people's relationship to the head of household. For example, lodgers and visitors were not always correctly registered - visiting relatives, for example, may have been recorded either by their relationship to the head of household (HOH) or by the fact that they were visiting. Obviously such errors cause difficulties with the study of household structure as well as census linkage.

Further problems arise with the data on occupation. Farmers' rendering of the numbers they engaged as agricultural labourers in Brenchley did not tally with the number of persons declaring themselves to be agricultural labourers. Moreover it is difficult to distinguish between in-door and out-door servants, or farm servants and farm domestics. Tillott found the occupations of children similarly confusing. Scholars aged one or two occur, perhaps because "...the enumerators allowed their dittos (frequently used in the books when recording scholars) to proceed too far."[16] Scholars "at home" were found with no co-resident governesses. Male non-scholars aged 10-14, when no individual occupation was reported, were frequently assigned by checkers the occupation of their father. For

15 Tillott, P. 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses,' in Wrigley, E.A. (ed), 1972, 82-133.

16 ibid., p.123.

example, in the Doncaster registration district one ten-year-old boy was described as a railway engine driver - his father's occupation. Consequently Tillott suggests that "...the checkers' emendations are guesses and as such must be first distinguished and then disregarded."[17]

Inaccuracies in the census data create problems not only for the study of the labour market, but also for census linkage. The precise method used in linking censuses has been in (often unresolvable) dispute, as few researchers publish a detailed account of their methodology. This is not the case with the work of Katz on Canadian census data. Many of the observations made by Wrigley and Tillott are echoed by him in his very thorough study of census data, in which he presents us with statistics for the reliability of each variable used in matching censuses.[18] In another work[19] he states the precise scores given to each variable used in census linkage when a match or non-match occurred, and the total score required by two records before they were deemed to be 'truly linked'. The observations of Wrigley, Tillott and Katz[20] have all been taken into account when developing the match programme. However, the details supplied by Katz have been used as the foundation for the programme, and his work on the reliability of variables used in census linkage is quoted in the description of the programme developed to link the Brenchley data, which is given in Appendix 1, pp.428-432.

17 ibid., p.124.

18 Katz, M. & Tiller, J. 'Record-Linkage for Everyman: A Semi-Automated Process,' Historical Methods Newsletter, 5, no.4 (1972), 144-150.

19 Katz, M. The People of Hamilton, Canada West. Harvard University Press, Mass, 1975.

20 For a series of essays on record linkage see also Wrigley, E.A. (ed), 1973, especially Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield, R.S. 'Nominal record linkage by computer and the logic of family reconstitution,' 65-101, for a discussion of the weighting system used to evaluate the links made between birth, burial and marriage records.

CHAPTER 3. The Distribution of People and Jobs within Kent, 1841-71.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF KENT.

Between 1841 and 1871 the population of Kent[1] increased by 304,991 or 55.5% overall; this represented the cumulative effect of increases of 12.7% (1841-51), 17.8% (1851-61), and 17.2% (1861-71).[2] However, the population of Kent was not equally distributed and indeed was becoming less so. Thus in 1841 population densities (by RD) varied from 6 per acre (Greenwich/Lewisham) to 0.1 (Romney Marsh, Hoo).[3] Whilst the percentage of the population of Kent in Lewisham/Greenwich was already considerable in 1841 (18.9%), it rose to 26.4% (1871); at the other extreme, that of Hoo fell from 0.5% (1841) to 0.4% (1871) and Romney Marsh from 0.9% (1841) to 0.7% (1871).[4]

However, a fuller picture should take account of all Kent RDs and this is given in Table 3.1. This table shows clear evidence of a geographical divide in terms of inter-censal population change. In south/south-western areas, RDs such as Romney Marsh and East Ashford were growing at a very slow rate, while areas which lost population also tended to be in this part of Kent, or more specifically in the Weald. For example, Tenterden, Sevenoaks, Hollingbourne RDs lost between 2.9 and 0.3% of their population in 1851-61; all the other RDs increased their population. Highest rates of growth (even though sometimes below the Kent increase), tended to be found in the north/north-eastern RDs such as Bromley, North Aylesford, Lewisham/Greenwich and Medway. The highest rate of growth was shown by Bromley RD in 1861-71 (58.0%). This population distribution map of Kent changed little in the period 1841-71, the north/north-east versus south/south-west dichotomy of population density

1 Registration county - the figure was arrived at by adding up the population totals for each RD.

2 PP.1843.XXII; PP.1852-3.LXXXV; PP.1872.LXVI.Pt.II.

3 ibid., see also PP.1849.XXI; formula used $\frac{p}{a}$.

4 ibid.

Table 3.1. Inter-censal population change in RDs with reference to Kent percentage increase, 1841-71.

1841-51		1851-61		1861-71	
RDs increasing by more than Kent increase					
(Kent increase +12.7%)		(+17.8%)		(+17.2%)	
Lewisham/ Greenwich*	29.0	Elham	43.4	Bromley	58.0
Elham	28.0	Sheppey	38.2	Thanet	32.2
Sheppey	23.3	Lewisham/ Greenwich	37.2	Dartford	31.0
Tunbridge	19.9	Milton	22.9	Tunbridge	30.3
West Ashford	17.5	Medway	21.1	Milton	30.1
Medway	17.0	Tunbridge	20.0	Lewisham/ Greenwich	22.5
North Aylesford	15.6	Canterbury	18.0	Faversham	18.4
Dover	15.5	Dartford	17.8		
RDs increasing by less than the Kent increase					
Maidstone	11.7	Bromley	15.5	Medway	14.2
Bromley	9.7	North Aylesford	15.4	Gravesend	13.2
Malling	9.2	West Ashford	13.7	Blean	13.0
Dartford	7.7	Faversham	13.1	North Aylesford	12.8
Blean	6.7	Gravesend	12.9	Dover	11.6
Gravesend	6.2	Dover	11.5	Elham	10.5
Eastry	5.2	Blean	10.4	West Ashford	10.5
Faversham	4.8	Malling	9.5	Sevenoaks	10.1
Milton	4.6	Maidstone	7.1	Hoo	9.9
Romney Marsh	4.6	Romney Marsh	5.0	Malling	9.0
East Ashford	3.7	Eastry	2.9	Maidstone	8.7
Tenterden	2.5	East Ashford	2.7	Romney Marsh	6.5
Hoo	1.8	Cranbrook	2.6	East Ashford	5.9
Bridge	1.7	Bridge	1.4	Eastry	5.1
Thanet	1.1	Hoo	0.6	Cranbrook	4.4
		Thanet	0.2	Hollingbourne	3.4
				Sheppey	0.4
RDs losing population					
Canterbury	6.0	Tenterden	2.9	Bridge	1.6
Cranbrook	0.7	Hollingbourne	1.2	Canterbury	0.8
Hollingbourne	0.5	Sevenoaks	0.3	Tenterden	0.7
Sevenoaks	0.5				

*Woolwich RD was created from Lewisham and Greenwich RDs in 1869. In order that the figures should relate to the same geographical unit for the period 1841-71, statistics are pre-

sented for the combined metropolitan RDs. For a map showing the location of all Kentish RDs see Appendix 2, p.434.

formula used: $(P2 - P1) = x$

$$\frac{x}{P1} \times 100 = \% \text{ increase}$$

source: PP.1843.XXII; PP.1852-3.LXXXV; PP.1872.LXVI.Pt.II.

manifest in 1841 being clearly visible in 1871. Evidently there were factors at work which encouraged the growth of population in northern and eastern Kent, while at the same time discouraging growth in the Weald. The one striking exception to this was Tunbridge RD which is listed amongst the RDs with the most substantial population increase; its growth rate was attributable in the main to the presence of the urban Tunbridge parish.[5]

Further light may be thrown on these variations by reference to the extent to which net losses and gains by migration affected these growth rates (Table 3.2). We have taken three periods as illustrative of the trends: 1841-45, 1855-61, and 1861-71, and the RDs with significant gains and losses only. Table 3.2 indicates that throughout our period, RDs gaining population by migration tended to be areas of high population growth. For example, in the period 1861-71, with the exception of Tunbridge, all RDs gaining population by migration were in the north/north-eastern part of Kent[6] and with the exception of Gravesend, all grew at a rate well above the Kent increase. Also in the period 1861-71, RDs high on the list of areas losing population by migration had negligible (if any) population growth: for example, Cranbrook, Hollingbourne, Bridge, Sheppey, or Tenterden. However, the pattern must not be exaggerated: the majority of Kentish RDs lost population by net migration even if, like Faversham in 1868-71, their overall growth was above the Kent increase.

The absolute figures such as those quoted in Table 3.2, and the substantial differences that migratory flows made to diminishing or increasing the population of the

5 See pp.178 and 180 of Chapter 4.

6 For a fuller Table showing net gains and losses by migration (absolute numbers) for all RDs of Kent see Appendix 3, pp.435-36.

Table 3.2. Net gains and losses by migration (absolute numbers).

RDs gaining	1841-46
Greenwich	8,240
Medway	3,370
Lewisham, Bromley, Dartford	3,212
Elham, Bridge	267
Gravesend, North Aylesford, Hoo	193
RDs losing	
Maidstone	234
Canterbury	584
Romney Marsh, Tenterden, Cranbrook	2,214
Tunbridge	5,069
Milton, Sheppey, Faversham, Blean	5,463

RDs gaining	1855-61
Lewisham/Greenwich	14,571
Elham	2,811
Medway	2,558
Sheppey	1,046
Tunbridge	569
RDs losing	
Dover	72
Gravesend	93
Milton	142
Hollingbourne	1,470
Sevenoaks	2,025

RDs gaining	1861-71
Lewisham/Greenwich	7,653
Bromley	7,083
Thanet	6,958
Gravesend	137
Milton	89
RDs losing	
Hoo	304
Faversham	432
Hollingbourne	1,717
Tenterden	1,814
Sheppey	3,847

Formula used: (P2-P1) - (B-D) = +/- net migration

source: RGARs PP.1842.XIX - PP.1873.XX. For a comprehensive listing see Bibliography, pp.484-5; census, PP.1843.XXII; PP.1852-3.LXXXV; PP.1872.LXVI.Pt.II.

various RDs may be illustrated from Table 3.3. This Table further examines the importance of migration to each RD. Here the net gain/loss by migration is represented as a percentage of the population of each RD. The gains made by migration, when viewed from this perspective, represented contributions as high as 34.8% (Bromley 1861) and as low as 0.6% (Milton 1861).[7] If we consider those losing population by migration, the variation was also great, ranging from a loss as great as 20.8% (Sheppey 1861) to one of 0.2% (Dover 1855). However it is striking that RDs in the south/south-west: Tenterden, Romney Marsh, East Ashford, Cranbrook, and Hollingbourne, were high on the list of those whose loss was greatest. Once again a pattern of growth in the north/north-east, and of loss in the south/south-west emerges.

Whilst emphasising net migratory flows, as this Chapter has done so far, one must not overlook the factor of natural increase per se, in determining population growth rates by RD. In some RDs natural increase (B-D) was greater than gross increase (P2-P1), due to out-migration; meanwhile in others, natural increase, calculated in this way, fell short of gross increases, due to in-migration. From Tables 3.2 and 3.3 we can infer that natural increase was an important contributor to population growth in many RDs. This inference is confirmed in Table 3.4 which compares natural increase to gross increase. For the majority of the RDs natural increase was greater than overall increase, the discrepancy between the two being accounted for by net losses by migration.[8]

Two points must be made at this stage. Statistics for net gains or losses of population by migration must be treated with caution as they do not reveal the total movement of population. For example, Gravesend RD experienced a net loss of population by migration in the

7 For an expanded Table which includes all RDs see Appendix 4, pp.437-38.

8 For a detailed Table specifying which RDs fell into each category see Appendix 5, pp.439-441.

Table 3.3. Net gain/loss by migration as a percentage of the population of each RD.

RDs gaining, 1841-46	1841 base population
Greenwich	10.2
Medway	9.2
Lewisham, Bromley, Dartford	5.0
Elham, Bridge	1.0
Gravesend, North Aylesford, Hoo	0.6
RDs losing	
Maidstone	0.7
Canterbury	3.9
Romney Marsh, Tenterden, Cranbrook	7.5
Tunbridge	21.3
Milton, Sheppey, Faversham, Blean	10.5
RDs gaining, 1855-61	**1855 base population**
Lewisham/Greenwich	9.5
Elham	12.8
Medway	5.5
Sheppey	6.8
Tunbridge	1.9
RDs losing	
Dover	0.2
Gravesend	0.5
Milton	1.1
Hollingbourne	10.7
Sevenoaks	9.2
RDs gaining, 1867-71	**1861 base population**
Lewisham/Greenwich	4.2
Bromley	34.8
Thanet	21.8
Gravesend	0.7
Milton	0.6
RDs losing	
Hoo	10.6
Faversham	2.3
Hollingbourne	12.6
Tenterden	16.6
Sheppey	20.8

In other words, in the period 1855-61 Elham, for example, gained by net migration 12.8% of its 1855 population.

source: Census, PP.1843.XXII; PP.1852-3.LXXXV; PP.1872.LXVI. Pt.II; RGARs, PP.1842.XIX-1873.XX.

Table 3.4. Number of RDs with natural increases above, similar to, or below gross increase.

	1841-46	1855-56	1861-71
Higher natural increase (RDs losing by net out-migration)	16	14	18
Similar	7	7	4
Lower natural increase (RDs gaining by net in-migration)	5	7	6

source: Census, PP.1843.XXII; PP.1852-3.LXXXV; PP.1872.LXVI.Pt.II; RGARs, PP.1842.XIX-1873.XX.

period 1855-61 of 93 persons. Gross figures may reveal that in fact 2,000 entered and 2,093 left the RD. Thus the net loss of 93 is less significant when the 2,000 entrants are taken into account. We can see from this example that net figures may misrepresent the function of an area as an employer of labour. Secondly, net statistics do not reveal differential movement on the part of various occupational groups. Consequently if we are to establish the role of any area as an employer of labour the above calculations must be complemented by tracing its population (identifying, for example, its age, sex and occupational characteristics), from census to census. Although this method overlooks inter-censal movement it nevertheless remains the most effective means of establishing the volume and characteristics of the 'comers' and 'goers' in each parish or RD.

THE NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF KENTISH AGRICULTURE.

The statistics for the distribution of population, population growth rates, and the net gains/losses by migration of each RD have roughly demarcated north/north-eastern Kent from south/south-western areas. How did these figures relate to the nature and availability of jobs in Kent? In the mid-nineteenth century, agriculture was not only

the most important (though decreasingly so) single activity in Kent; Kent itself was one of the most important agricultural counties in England. Yet if we are to establish the possible connections between demographic and economic change in Kent, agricultural activity in the county must be examined on a more local level. The county was subsequently divided by writers into between two and four major geological and agricultural regions. Charles Whitehead, in his comprehensive review of Kentish agriculture divided the area into the following four major regions:[9]

1. East Kent (Rochester-Canterbury-Folkestone-Ashford);
2. Mid Kent (westward from Lenham to Westerham, bounded on the north by Rochester and south by Tonbridge);
3. North Kent (westerly direction to Bromley and from the bank of the Thames due south to the borders of the Mid Kent division);
4. Weald of Kent (from Ashford to beyond Tonbridge, bounded on the north by Mid Kent, and south by the Sussex border).

Whitehead described the land of East Kent as consisting of a more or less shallow covering of mould upon the chalk, on which wheat, turnips, barley, grass, oats, seeds, peas, beans and hops were grown, with flocks of Kent sheep being kept on many farms. The Mid Kent region was comprised mainly of the lower Greensand formation and produced turnips, clover, wheat, oats, and cattle. The upper part of North Kent enjoyed good soil while the lower part, where the chalk was only covered by its natural thin layer of soil, had poorer soil. The region contained much woodland used for hop-poles, and grew oats, barley, vegetables and salad plants, much of which were exported to London. Similarly the fruit (berries) grown in the Orpington and Crays area was bound for London. Finally the Weald was made up of heavy soils upon the Weald clay in the upper part, and lighter clay with an admixture of sand and loam in the

9 Whitehead, C. 'Sketch of the Agriculture of Kent,' JRAS, 60 (1899), 429-485. He also included four sub-divisions: Romney Marsh, Thanet, Sheppey and the Hundred of Hoo.

lower part. Here there was much land given over to pasture and the growing of hops, with some oats and wheat. From this analysis and description one can draw the inference that Kent's agriculture was very diverse, and this had always been so: "Agriculture is in a very advanced state in Kent, and it has a greater variety of products than any other county (sic) in the Kingdom."[10]

We discussed in Chapter 1 how the trend of the new husbandry in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century was not only towards experimentation with new crops and rotation systems, but also towards heavier stocking. The cultivation of newly enclosed land with crops such as swedes, mangolds, legumes, sainfoin and ryegrass, in the words of Chambers and Mingay "...provided great quantities of additional fodder and raised the levels of animal nutrition."[11] Likewise in the 'Golden Age' the role of livestock production intensified within mixed farming. This drive towards heavier stocking of, for example, cows, was nationwide and prompted by the demand for dairy products in the growing urban centres such as London. Yet proof of a transition to a heavier dependence on pastoral farming in the earlier decades is hard to come by in Kentish sources. George Buckland noted of Kent in 1845 that a "...larger number of cattle and sheep... are reared and fattened..."than was the case at the time of Mr. Boys's report in 1805.[12] The general increase in livestock production in Kent was considered by Buckland to be a signal of agricultural improvement, and it was not the only one he observed. He commented favourably on Kent's increasingly efficient dairying, the enclosure of waste lands, the Commutation of Tithes and the Poor Law Amendment Acts, which "operated ben-

10 McCulloch, J.R. Geographical Dictionary. Longmans, 1866, vol.III, p.82.

11 Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G. op. cit., p.54.

12 Buckland, G. 'On the Farming of Kent,' JRAS, VI (1845), p.300. His reference to Boys is: Boys, J. General view of the Agriculture of Kent. 1796, Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1813 edition.

eficially on the agriculture of the county."[13] On the subject of livestock production he stated that an important area for sheep fattening and rearing was Romney Marsh where fattening land on average could carry and fatten 4 or 5 sheep an acre, while breeding land could support 2 to 3 ewes per acre in the winter and double the number in summer.[14] Cattle occupied a secondary position to sheep in the district's economy, though Buckland observed that the area kept or fattened many cattle in the summer which had been sent down by Wealden breeders.

In later decades, the balance was clearly shifting slightly towards pastoral as opposed to arable farming, a not unexpected trend given the relative price movements in this period,[15] although the trend would become much more marked in the ensuing period of the 'Great Depression' in agriculture. To quote the Victoria County History:

> "It will be seen that in 1867 arable land occupied three-fifths, and in 1907 only two-fifths of the cultivated surface, the decline being heaviest in wheat, beans, peas, clover and turnips. The grass area shows a corresponding extension."[16]

13 Buckland, G. ibid., pp.300-01.

14 ibid., p.299.

15 Relative Price Movements: Arable and Livestock Products, 1851-80 (1865-74 = 100).

	1851-55	1856-60	1861-65	1866-70	1871-75	1876-80	Movt 1871-80; cf.1851-60
Wheat	103	98	87	100	100	87	-7%
Barley	82	98	86	101	103	95	+10%
Oats	90	87	87	101	104	96	+7%
Beef	77	85	87	94	110	103	+31%
Mutton	80	88	93	93	108	105	+27%
Cheese	75	86	84	102	97	85	+13%
Milk	65	84	82	89	91	111	+36%

source: Jones, E.L. 1968, p.21.

16 Page, W. (ed), Victoria County History 3 vols, Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd, 1908 edition, vol.1, p.459.

The first comprehensive animal and crop returns for Kent was compiled for 1867. The Table (Table 3.5) has been constructed using figures for both Kent and England and Wales, and reveals the percentage of land used for each purpose.

Table 3.5. Area under crops, and number of livestock, Kent, England and Wales, 1867.

% land devoted to	Kent	England & Wales
(i) arable, within which,		
Wheat	14.7	12.8
Barley	5.6	8.1
Oats	7.5	6.9
Potatoes	1.3	1.3
Swedes, turnips, mangolds	5.8	7.7
Temporary grass	7.7	11.0
Hops	5.7	0.2
Other (residual)	11.7	8.5
(ii) pasture, permanent,	40.0	43.5
(iii) livestock, number,		
Cows & heifers	24,500	4,014,000
Total cattle	68,137	
Sheep	1,063,414	22,025,000
Pigs	75,570	2,779,000

note: the livestock figures apply to stock kept in the county in summer time. From the prevailing practice of the county it may be assumed that a winter census would show more cattle and fewer sheep.

source: Page, W. (ed), op. cit., p.459; Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, A Century of Agricultural Statistics; Great Britain 1866-1966. HMSO, 1968, 92-126.

While we must bear in mind that Table 3.5 shows averages, and thus disguises regional diversity, it nevertheless draws out the characteristics of both Kentish and English/Welsh agriculture, and shows the continuing importance of arable cultivation and how land use in Kent resembled the national average. Both were very diverse, the one noteworthy difference being the higher percentage of land given over to hop cultivation - a Kentish speciality. We obtain some further insight into the importance of livestock

in the county's economy when we consider the figures cited for a Mid Kent farm belonging to Lord Torrington in mid-century. The 500 acre farm consisted of: 62 acres of hops, 20 acres of fruit, 182 of meadow and 236 of arable,[17] a significant proportion being meadow (though not necessarily breeding or fattening land) in an area renowned for its hops and fruit. Although there was eventually a substantial national decline in sheep rearing, this was not so noticeable in Kent, and some areas, such as Romney Marsh, remained heavily stocked with both sheep and cattle.

The importance of the nature and location of land use in the county is in its implication for population. Firstly, districts concentrating on livestock had a low population density and grew little in population. The Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture[18] reported in 1867 that 1 man was needed for every 25-30 acres in arable culture while only 1 man was needed for every 50-60 acres under pasture.[19] Consequently in Romney Marsh,[20] for example, the population grew little in comparison to the labour intensive fruit growing arable areas of north and east Kent, whose population growth rate was above the Kentish average. Secondly, we can thus infer from the Royal Commission's evidence that arable and fruit growing areas supported a denser population and tended to grow faster in population terms. This was exemplified by northern Kent and Thanet. Thirdly, districts characterised by mixed farming, (therefore most of Kent), could, if they swung the balance towards livestock, show a reduced demand for labour, probably the case in the Weald.

17 Buckland, G. op. cit., p.275.

18 Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, PP.1868-69.XIII.

19 ibid., cited in Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G. op. cit., pp.133-134.

20 In 1851 the acreage of Romney Marsh RD was similar to that of Faversham, Tunbridge and Tenterden RDs. Yet the number of adults (persons over age 20) engaged in agriculture was far lower: approx 1:3:3:2 (994:2501:3177:2181). All were 'agricultural' RDs.

In extra-metropolitan Kent as a whole, between 1851 and 1871, the numbers of agricultural labourers and farm servants declined from 48,213 to 42,825, that is, by 11.2%.[21]

However, variations in farming practice over time and space were not the only determinants of population size and growth rates. All RDs were experiencing a decline in the relative importance of agriculture as an employer. Moreover, the predominantly agricultural RDs sustained the heaviest population losses by migration. We should be wary of concluding that because agriculture was the principal employer in a particular RD which was losing population by net migration, that it was the agricultural labour force who were leaving. Non-agricultural groups may have been responsible for the exodus. However it is striking in view of the overall decline in the relative importance of agriculture as an employer, that it was the predominantly agricultural RDs which suffered heavy population losses by migration. Migration could have been both a cause and result of this decline, and to what extent was the population loss attributable to the pull of labour by industry? If we are to explore these issues we must first undertake an examination of the nature and distribution of industry within Kent.

THE NATURE AND DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY IN KENT.

"The manufactures of Kent are exceedingly small compared with its population", commented the Official County Map and Guide of 1877. "The paper mills employ about four thousand hands, and in weaving ribbons and silks, and in the manufacture of linens, waistcoats and shirts, etc., about 1,000 more are employed. Other manufactures are bricks, tiles, pottery, cement and lime, which give employment to several thousand people. The

21 PP.1852-53.LXXXVIII.Pt.1(2) and PP.1873.LXXI.Pt.1.

dockyards and shipping interests give occupation to a great many more. The fisheries of Kent are very important; the rivers and extensive seacoast forming a wide and varied field for these operations."[22]

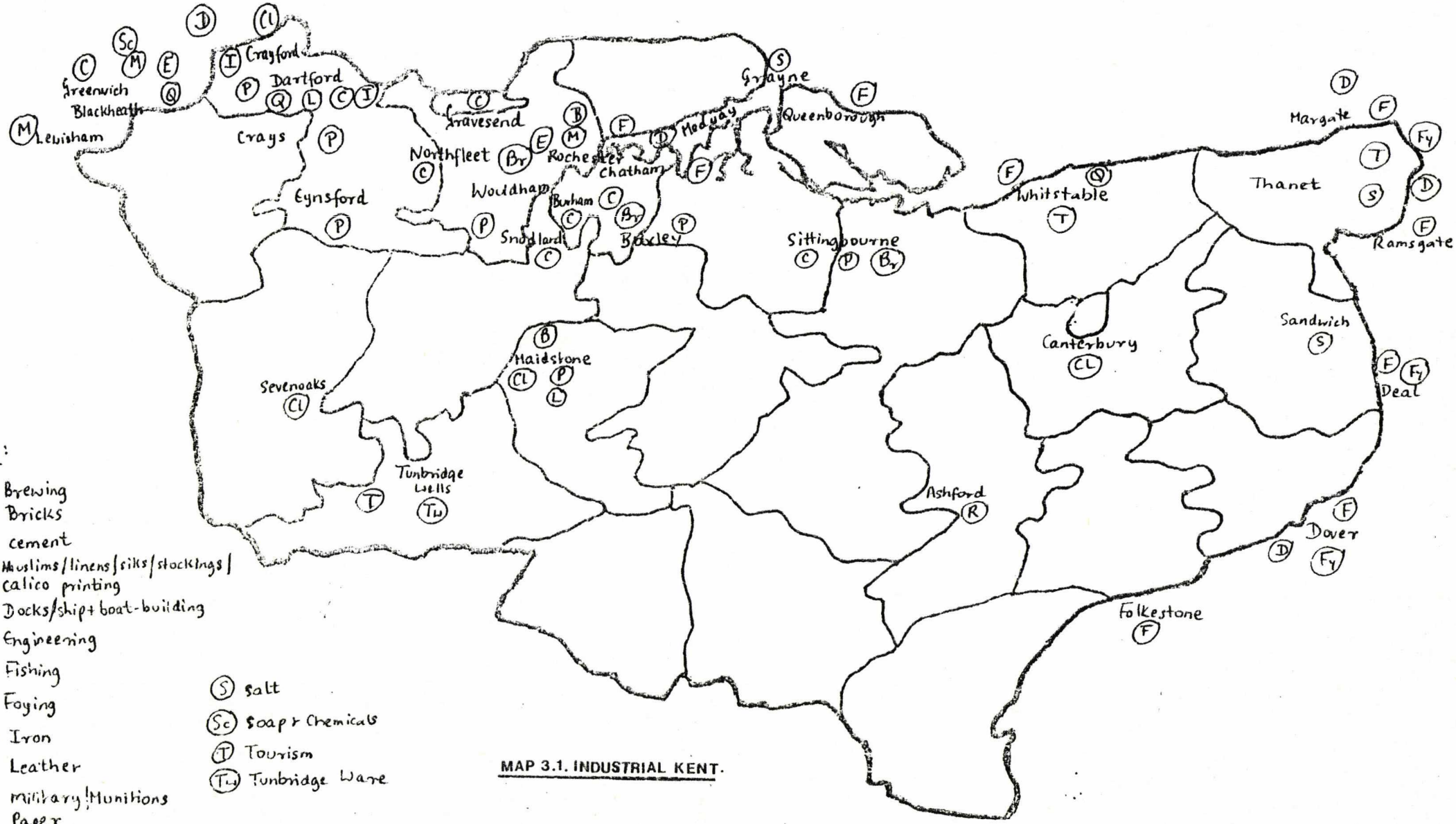
The nature and distribution of Kentish industry had changed considerably since the seventeenth century when the Weald, and notably Brenchley, were the site of iron furnaces. The industrial map of nineteenth century Kent (Map 3.1) shows north Kent and the eastern coastline to be Kent's industrial centres. The metropolitan RDs of Greenwich and Lewisham (later also Woolwich) grew in the nineteenth century primarily because they were the sites of army and navy barracks and the Gun Factory.[23] The presence of the barracks stimulated the growth of related industries: shipbuilding, munitions, and engineering, while employment for traditional craftsmen such as tailors, shoemakers, leather and woodworkers relatively declined. The docks, rail and road transport provided employment for unskilled labour.[24] After 1860 Greenwich became the site of cable and cement works, soap and chemical manufactories. The impact of military establishments was also an important factor in the development of the Medway area. For example, Chatham Dockyard provided employment in victualling, construction,[25] and the repair of boats. As the navy supplied every man

22 The Official County Map and Guide. Simpkin, Marshall & Co, 1877, p.11.

23 See Crossick, G. An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society, Kentish London 1840-80. Croom Helm, 1978. Employment at the Royal Arsenal grew from 1,066 in 1848 to 8,986 in 1861-62 (p.83).

24 Crossick, G. ibid., writes that in 1863, 829 men were employed in the Deptford docks and 1,508 in Woolwich. Of these 28.5% and 31.4% respectively were semi- and unskilled (p.69).

25 See Preston, J. Industrial Medway: a historical survey. The author, Rochester, 1977. Preston writes that employment in the Chatham dockyard was 1,778 in 1855-7, it fell to 1,735 in 1860 and then rose to 1,330 established hands and 2,170 hired hands by 1875 (p.129).



Key:

- (B) Brewing
- (Br) Bricks
- (C) cement
- (CL) Muslims/linens/silks/stockings/calico printing
- (D) Docks/ship+boat-building
- (E) Engineering
- (F) Fishing
- (Fy) Foying
- (I) Iron
- (L) Leather
- (M) military/Munitions
- (P) Paper
- (Q) Quarrying
- (R) Railway
- (S) Salt
- (Sc) Soap+Chemicals
- (T) Tourism
- (Tw) Tunbridge Ware

MAP 3.1. INDUSTRIAL KENT.

Source: The Official County Map+Guide, op.cit; Crossick, J. op.cit; Preston, J + Jessup, K. - see over.

with one gallon of beer a day (a precaution against scurvy), the brewing industry developed in this area.

Other Kentish industries had emerged as a result of the presence of certain natural products, namely, chalk ragstone, limestone, clay, lime, flints, Roman cement stone, iron and copperas. Northern Kent was the location for the manufactories based on these natural resources. Production of Portland cement began in 1830 at Northfleet, using North Downs chalk, and clay from the Thames and Medway estuaries. Furthermore, the availability of river transport encouraged the industry to develop on Thameside, "...from Gravesend up to Dartford, in the Medway valley between Rochester and Burham, and at Sittingbourne."[26] The population of 'cement villages' grew rapidly, for example, the population of Burham, Snodland and Wouldham more than doubled in the period 1851-61.[27] Preston wrote that in the early years it was only the low paid agricultural labourers who were attracted into the industry, the situation changing as cement manufacturing became more scientific.

The availability of water transport encouraged the location of paper mills along the Medway, for example, at Eynsford, Snodland, Boxley, Maidstone, Sittingbourne, the Crays and Dartford,[28] the river being used to bring in the bulky raw materials. The area's proximity to London, the centre of the newspaper industry, was an important factor in the growth of paper manufacture in north Kent. Other significant northern industries were: Aveling and Porter's engineering works at Rochester (employing 400 men in 1872);[29] brick making at Burham and Sittingbourne;

26 Jessup, F. Kent History Illustrated. 1966, Kent County Council, Maidstone, 1978 edition, p.66.

27 Preston, J. op. cit., p.65.

28 Preston quotes the following figures for employment offered by the paper industry in 1866: Messrs. Hook & Co. of Snodland, 120 approx; Balston of Maidstone, 350; Joynson at St. Mary Cray, 630 (p.153).

29 ibid., p.120.

Seafar's brass and iron founders, steam engine and boiler fitters, pump workers and millwrights - at Dartford; leather at Crayford; the quarrying of marble at Bethersden, gravel at Blackheath, stone at Igtham, calico-printing at Crayford; iron founderies at Crayford and Dartford; copperas works at Dartford.

Yet outside northern Kent there were only a few noteworthy pockets of manufacturing activity. There were copperas works at Whitstable, and linen making, tanning and brewing industries at Maidstone. Some employment was created by railways although this should not be exaggerated.[30] Tufnell, the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner for Kent (1835-42) commented on the employment provided by railway construction. He estimated that for every 66 Kentish labourers there was 1 job available with the railway (105,639:1,599). In fact nine-tenths of these railway employees were not Kentish labourers but navigators who travelled from railroad to railroad, and belonged to no county in particular:

> "...this leaves only one-tenth of the increase of employment, which I have shown to be due to the formation of the railroad, as falling to the native inhabitants of the county. And thus, the whole advantage, amounts to an addition of the evanescent quantity of $\frac{1}{660}$ th to the usual demand for labour in the county."[31]

At its workshops in Ashford established in 1849 the Company constructed and repaired wagons, coaches and locomotives. The town had been chosen due to the availability of "... labour, water supply, land and ease of access to the rest of the company's railway network."[32] Jackson found that the population of Ashford grew steadily after 1841, 4,000 people being added in the years 1841-61. However, recalling Table 3.1, neither of the Ashford RDs grew at a rate above the Kent average after 1851, and indeed both lost population

30 The South Eastern Railway's main line was built between 1841 and 1844.

31 Assistant Poor Law Commissioner Tufnell's correspondence, PRO, MH.32.71, 1st March, 1842.

32 Jackson, K. 'The South Eastern Railway and its Workshops at Ashford,' Cantium, 2, no.4 (1970), p.96.

by net migration (see Appendix 3). It is also noteworthy that like Tufnell, Jackson found that many of the Company's employees and their families were 'foreign'. Under one-third had been born in Kent, and even most of the latter were the offspring of adults who had come to the town from as far away as Northumberland (8.5%) and Durham (6.6%).[33] However Jackson believed that work was plentiful for both Kentish and non-Kentish workers, and that this was evidenced by the Company's continuous building of houses for its employees. He concluded that, "It is unlikely that the company would have built houses if it considered that it would not need the services of the men for whom such cottages were intended."[34]

Fishing was carried on all around the Kentish coast-line, for example, at Dover, Folkestone, Ramsgate, Rochester, Whitstable, Gillingham and Queenborough. London was the principal market for the catches, with the railway providing easy transport to Billingsgate market. The industry consisted both of deep-sea (cod, herring, and mackerel) and shellfish fishing, the latter declining in the Medway in the late nineteenth century as a result of the pollution of the water by centres of heavy industry. Apart from employing labour directly in fishing, the industry stim-ulated the growth of fishing-related activities: boat building, rope, sail, oar and net making. Another activity based on the sea was that of foying, the ferrying of supplies to passing ships, and the aiding of vessels and crews in difficulty. This was an important source of employment in the Thanet-Dover-Deal area, situated as they were on one of the greatest shipping routes in the world. Here the Goodwin Sands both caused many disasters, and provided an anchorage for passing ships. Anchorage was necessary due to the fact that the wind which brought ships round the Isle of Thanet could not also enable them to

33 ibid., p.96.

34 ibid., p.99.

navigate the Sands - so the ships dropped anchor and waited for the wind to change. Consequently for towns such as Deal, foying was the mainstay of the economy. The population of Deal grew by 1,321 people in the period 1841-71, an increase of 19.8%. Yet the rate of growth was uneven : between 1841-61 the town grew by 12.6% (843 persons) and in the years 1861-71 the increase was 6.3% (478 persons). The decline in the rate of growth coincided with the period of severe unemployment amongst those engaged in foying (as will be discussed on p.167 of this Chapter and in Chapter 6).

A final benefit that Kent enjoyed as a result of its proximity to the sea was the tourist industry. In the nineteenth century the Thanet area became very popular as a holiday resort with the middle classes, who, with the advent of the South Eastern Railway, were able to frequent watering places such as Margate. Eventually the lowering of train fares brought the seaside excursion within reach of the working classes. More specifically the presence of holiday makers prompted the opening of hotels, lodging and boarding houses, tea-rooms, restaurants, numerous places of amusement, and souvenir stalls. As 'The Times' observed in August 1860:

> "Visitors make trade wherever they go, and often where there would be no trade without them. Look at the trays of little curiosities on the jetty or the beach, from the tempting piece of polished amber to the commonplace shell. Look at the marble knickknacks and the pebble brooches - they would never find customers except among people on holiday. So little trades are maintained by small pleasuring, for pleasuring in the end means spending, and where money is spent there is always somebody who gains."[35]

35 The Times, 30th August 1860. Cited in Whyman, J. A Sketch of Economic Development in Kent, 1600-1900. University of Kent, unpublished manuscript, 1969, p.6.

Tunbridge Wells was the only important watering-place outside the Thanet area, and it was also the site of a noteworthy manufacture - that of Tunbridge Ware. The tea tables, writing desks, workboxes, baskets, paint boxes, cabinets were very popular in the late nineteenth century. The only other towns which should be mentioned in this summary of nineteenth century Kentish industry are Canterbury and Sevenoaks - which produced muslins, brocaded silks and stockings, and Sandwich, the Isle of Thanet and Isle of Grain - which produced salt. The rate of growth of these areas was varied: Tunbridge RD was the only district in the Weald to grow above the Kent average and gain population by net migration. Sevenoaks RD lost population between 1841-61, and then gained in the years 1861-71. Thanet RD had a high rate of growth, while Canterbury fluctuated from losing 6% of its population in 1841-51 to gaining 18% in 1851-61. The nature of the labour requirements of each industry and any recessions/booms experienced could, as in the case of foying, help explain these fluctuations. However in discussing population growth we must note the effect of non-industrial employment, for example the presence of soldiers in Canterbury city, who in 1871 formed the largest single occupational group: 15.5% (900) of all males aged 20 and over. Furthermore the status of Canterbury as a city resulted in the settlement of the middle classes and there was a consequent demand for domestic servants. Amongst the gainfully employed females aged over 20, these represented the largest single occupational group: 13% (363) or 22.6% (643) if we include the cooks and housekeepers.[36]

From this review it is evident that northern Kent was the most important industrial area in the county, with eastern Kent providing employment for workers engaged in the fisheries, foying or the tourist industry.

36 PP.1873.LXXI.Pt.I, pp.92-94.

The precise effect of these industries in terms of the amount of jobs provided for each RD is difficult to assess, though information regarding the distribution of jobs within Kent can be obtained from the printed census. This summarises the numbers, by RD, of adults (persons aged 20 and over) engaged in one of six general occupational groups: professional, domestic, commercial, agricultural, industrial and indefinite.[37] These are broad categories; for example, farmers are classified with the landless labourer under "agricultural" employment. More specific information concerning occupational distribution and change is available[38] for the years under review, but since in this Chapter we are dealing with all the RDs of Kent, these general figures will be used to establish the trends.

PERSONS ENGAGED IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS.

From Table 3.6 we see that domestic employment formed the largest category in all the RDs. With regard to professional employment, the RDs of Medway, Sheppey, Dover, and Lewisham/Greenwich revealed large percentages - a result of the presence of military establishments. The 'domestic' category was dominated by females, domestic employment being the most popular occupation amongst women. For example in Bromley RD in 1871 a half of all adults were engaged in a 'domestic' pursuit and 92.2% of these were females.
This 92.2% represented 84% of all female employment. Meanwhile the commercial presence was only noticeable in Gravesend RD. In 1871 the census revealed that soldiers even outnumbered labourers in Rochester City/Chatham and Dover Borough. In Rochester/Chatham (the census cites

37 Registrar General's classification. For a definition of these groups see Appendix 6, pp.442-44.

38 A study of such occupational details has been made by Armstrong, W.A. 'Social Structure from the early census returns,' in Wrigley, E.A. (ed), 1966, 209-237.

Table 3.6. Importance of each occupational group, by RD and sex for all adults, 1851 and 1871, per cent.

RD	1. Professional				2. Domestic			
	1851		1871		1851		1871	
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.
Bromley	2.7	0.9	3.3	1.2	4.6	41.8	3.9	46.3
Dartford	2.1	0.7	3.0	1.1	3.7	41.6	2.4	42.3
Gravesend	4.5	1.0	7.9	1.5	4.0	45.9	1.8	43.3
N. Aylesford	2.3	0.7	2.5	0.7	2.3	41.6	1.8	43.1
Hoo	2.6	0.4	2.4	0.7	1.8	37.8	1.4	41.1
Medway	23.6	0.7	18.9	0.8	3.8	41.5	1.4	37.3
Malling	1.6	0.7	1.6	0.9	3.3	40.3	2.7	42.7
Sevenoaks	1.8	0.8	2.0	0.9	4.5	40.3	2.9	42.6
Tunbridge	2.3	1.0	2.9	1.3	4.6	44.9	2.6	44.2
Maidstone	4.1	0.8	4.4	0.9	4.4	39.7	2.0	41.0
Hollingbourne	1.4	0.5	1.7	0.7	2.9	36.9	2.0	43.8
Cranbrook	2.0	0.8	2.3	1.0	4.3	40.9	1.8	43.6
Tenterden	1.6	0.7	2.1	0.9	3.3	40.1	1.3	43.3
W. Ashford	1.7	0.6	2.1	0.6	3.9	38.7	1.4	42.4
E. Ashford	1.1	0.7	1.5	0.7	2.9	38.6	1.8	44.2
Bridge	1.5	0.7	1.6	0.7	3.5	39.5	2.3	43.5
Canterbury	7.6	1.0	14.0	0.7	6.5	46.7	2.3	39.0
Blean	3.0	0.7	3.6	1.2	3.8	44.7	1.7	45.6
Faversham	2.0	0.7	1.8	0.7	3.2	41.0	1.8	44.1
Milton	3.3	0.7	1.8	0.7	3.1	40.4	1.5	44.9
Sheppey	33.3	0.6	26.5	0.5	2.3	37.7	1.1	37.6
Thanet	3.1	1.0	3.9	1.4	4.8	48.0	2.4	46.7
Eastry	5.2	0.7	7.6	1.1	3.7	40.5	2.1	43.1
Dover	9.2	0.9	16.3	0.9	4.9	43.3	2.1	40.5
Elham	5.6	1.0	20.0	1.1	4.0	40.4	2.1	39.4
Romney Marsh	5.5	0.5	4.9	0.6	3.2	40.8	1.5	41.5
Lewisham/ Greenwich	15.9	1.0	9.7	1.2	3.8	44.5	1.5	44.1
Kent reg. county	8.4	0.8	8.0	0.01	3.9	42.4	2.0	42.8

Table 3.6. cont...

RD	3. Commercial				4. Agricultural			
	1851		1871		1851		1871	
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.
Bromley	2.4	0.3	4.6	0.2	21.5	2.4	9.0	0.5
Dartford	2.8	0.4	4.5	0.2	18.8	2.3	12.2	1.3
Gravesend	12.3	0.9	14.1	0.3	3.3	0.3	2.8	0.2
N. Aylesford	3.4	0.4	5.2	0.2	19.8	2.0	14.6	0.6
Hoo	1.0	0.2	1.7	0.1	43.7	4.8	38.1	1.5
Medway	4.8	0.8	5.1	0.3	3.6	0.2	2.3	0.1
Malling	1.6	0.2	1.9	0.2	30.2	3.6	22.8	1.4
Sevenoaks	1.4	0.3	2.2	0.1	27.5	3.8	23.1	1.3
Tunbridge	2.3	0.5	3.3	0.3	18.1	2.6	13.2	1.0
Maidstone	2.8	1.0	3.4	0.4	17.3	2.0	15.5	0.9
Hollingbourne	1.1	0.1	1.1	0.03	36.0	6.4	33.2	1.4
Cranbrook	1.1	0.2	1.3	0.2	30.8	6.8	29.0	1.6
Tenterden	1.4	0.3	1.3	0.2	31.8	5.3	30.8	1.4
W. Ashford	2.0	0.3	2.6	0.2	21.9	5.5	18.8	1.5
E. Ashford	1.4	0.3	1.1	0.2	31.5	6.1	30.4	1.2
Bridge	1.4	0.2	1.7	0.1	32.9	4.9	28.4	1.4
Canterbury	2.1	0.7	3.3	0.4	5.1	0.2	5.1	0.2
Blean	6.4	0.4	8.9	0.1	17.0	2.6	15.6	0.7
Faversham	4.2	0.6	3.3	0.1	24.1	3.8	19.7	1.0
Milton	1.7	0.3	3.7	0.1	22.4	3.9	15.2	0.6
Sheppey	2.5	0.4	3.7	0.1	9.1	0.8	6.4	0.2
Thanet	7.9	0.8	6.7	0.2	9.8	1.4	7.5	0.4
Eastry	6.0	0.6	4.9	0.2	19.8	3.3	17.6	0.9
Dover	6.9	0.7	7.1	0.3	9.5	1.6	6.4	0.3
Elham	4.6	0.5	4.1	0.3	19.4	3.3	10.1	0.8
Romney Marsh	1.7	0.2	3.8	0.03	31.1	3.9	32.0	1.2
Lewisham/ Greenwich	5.0	0.6	7.0	0.4	3.1	0.3	2.2	0.2
Kent	4.2	0.5	5.2	0.3	14.7	2.1	10.6	0.6

Table 3.6 cont...

RD	5. Industrial				6. Indefinite			
	1851		1871		1851		1871	
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.
Bromley	11.5	3.8	14.9	5.4	4.6	3.5	9.1	1.6
Dartford	17.4	2.1	19.1	6.0	5.4	2.1	6.6	1.3
Gravesend	15.3	1.8	15.1	6.6	6.0	4.7	4.2	2.5
N. Aylesford	14.0	1.2	17.0	3.1	9.4	2.4	10.0	1.3
Hoo	5.3	0.4	7.2	1.4	0.6	1.4	4.0	0.5
Medway	12.7	1.2	18.3	6.0	3.9	3.3	8.1	1.2
Malling	12.9	2.0	17.2	3.9	2.0	1.8	3.9	0.8
Sevenoaks	11.3	1.7	15.5	4.4	3.1	3.5	3.8	1.2
Tunbridge	13.9	1.1	17.3	6.5	5.4	3.2	4.9	2.6
Maidstone	16.1	3.2	19.4	7.2	4.1	4.4	3.4	1.5
Hollingbourne	8.9	1.0	9.6	2.1	1.2	3.4	3.5	0.9
Cranbrook	10.1	0.9	13.2	3.3	1.7	2.0	1.6	1.0
Tenterden	9.4	0.9	10.4	3.4	2.4	2.7	3.4	1.3
W. Ashford	15.5	1.2	20.0	4.4	6.6	2.4	4.7	1.2
E. Ashford	9.7	0.8	11.0	2.0	4.7	2.2	5.1	0.9
Bridge	9.3	1.0	10.5	3.2	1.6	3.5	5.3	1.2
Canterbury	17.2	2.5	19.8	8.5	6.6	3.7	4.8	1.9
Blean	11.4	1.5	12.5	4.5	6.0	2.5	4.0	1.6
Faversham	11.9	1.4	17.4	3.2	4.5	2.6	5.4	1.0
Milton	12.8	1.2	18.3	2.9	7.3	3.0	9.7	0.6
Sheppey	7.1	1.1	14.5	3.4	2.7	2.5	5.5	0.4
Thanet	12.7	1.3	16.7	6.4	5.0	4.4	5.4	2.3
Eastry	9.8	1.4	12.5	4.5	3.6	5.4	3.7	2.0
Dover	13.0	2.1	13.3	5.2	4.5	3.3	5.6	1.9
Elham	13.4	1.6	10.5	4.6	3.9	2.3	5.4	1.5
Romney Marsh	7.9	1.3	8.3	2.7	1.7	2.3	3.1	0.4
Lewisham/ Greenwich	15.4	1.6	19.4	6.6	5.8	3.1	6.1	1.7
Kent	13.3	1.7	16.7	5.5	4.7	3.2	5.7	1.6

note: m. = male
f. = female

source: census, PP.1844.XXVII, PP.1852-53.LXXXVIII.Pt.1(2), PP.1873.LXXI.Pt.1.

one figure for the two areas), soldiers comprised 15% of all males aged over 20, and in Dover the corresponding percentage was 27.[39]

39 PP.1873.LXXI.Pt.1, pp.88-91.

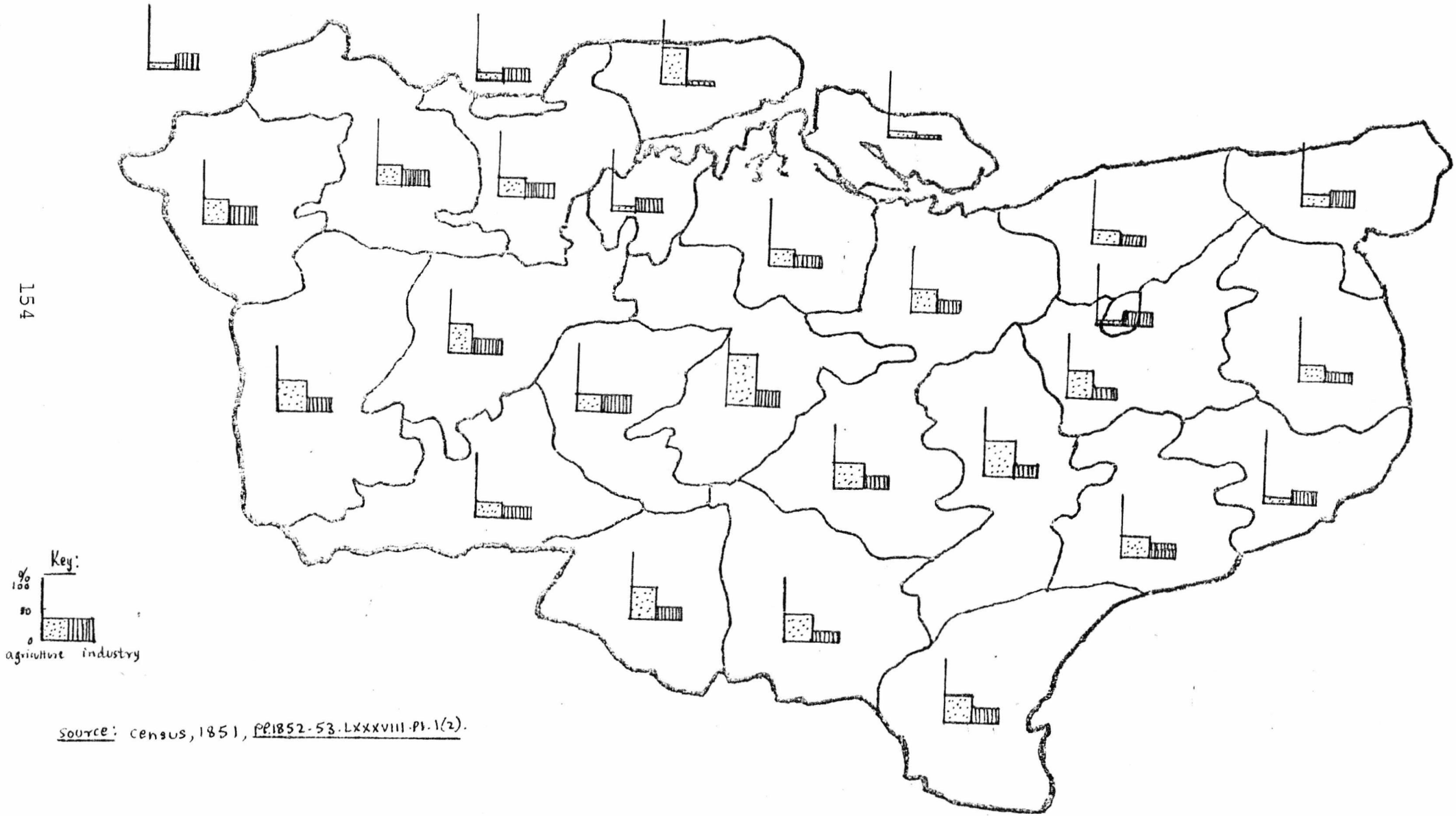
The statistics for agricultural and industrial employment are of greatest interest. They show that with the exception of Hoo, the most important agricultural areas (in terms of the percentage of adults employed) were the western and southern RDs. Furthermore from Table 3.7 we see how, in 1851 for example, the largest single agricultural category in each RD of Kent was that of agricultural labourer (outdoor), each of the other major agricultural groups forming a comparatively far smaller percentage of those engaged in agriculture. Industrial employment occupied the highest percentage of adults in the RDs of Dartford, Maidstone, Canterbury, Gravesend, Greenwich/ Lewisham, West Ashford, Bromley and North Aylesford (all northern RDs with the exception of Maidstone and Canterbury), followed by Elham, Dover and Tunbridge (eastern RDs with the exception of Tunbridge). Thus the location of agriculture and industry, (as inferred from the standard sources of Kentish social and economic history), was reflected in the census figures for the numbers in agricultural and industrial employment. This need not have been the case as some industries or agricultural activities may have been small employers, no matter what their contribution to the local economy. Consequently their location in a particular area was not necessarily synonymous with the large scale presence of employment.

From Map 3.2 we can see that in the case of most of the RDs where agriculture was important, there was a corresponding lack of industrial employees. On the other hand the significance of agriculture in Kent was demonstrated by the fact that even in the most industrialised RDs, agriculture was still a substantial employer - in Dartford, for example, (the most important industrial RD in terms of the percentage employed) had 20.1% of its adult population engaged in industry, and 21.2% in agriculture. However Table 3.6 and Map 3.3 demonstrate clearly that the number of persons engaged in agricultural employment was relatively

Table 3.7 Breakdown of the adult agricultural community, 1851, per cent.

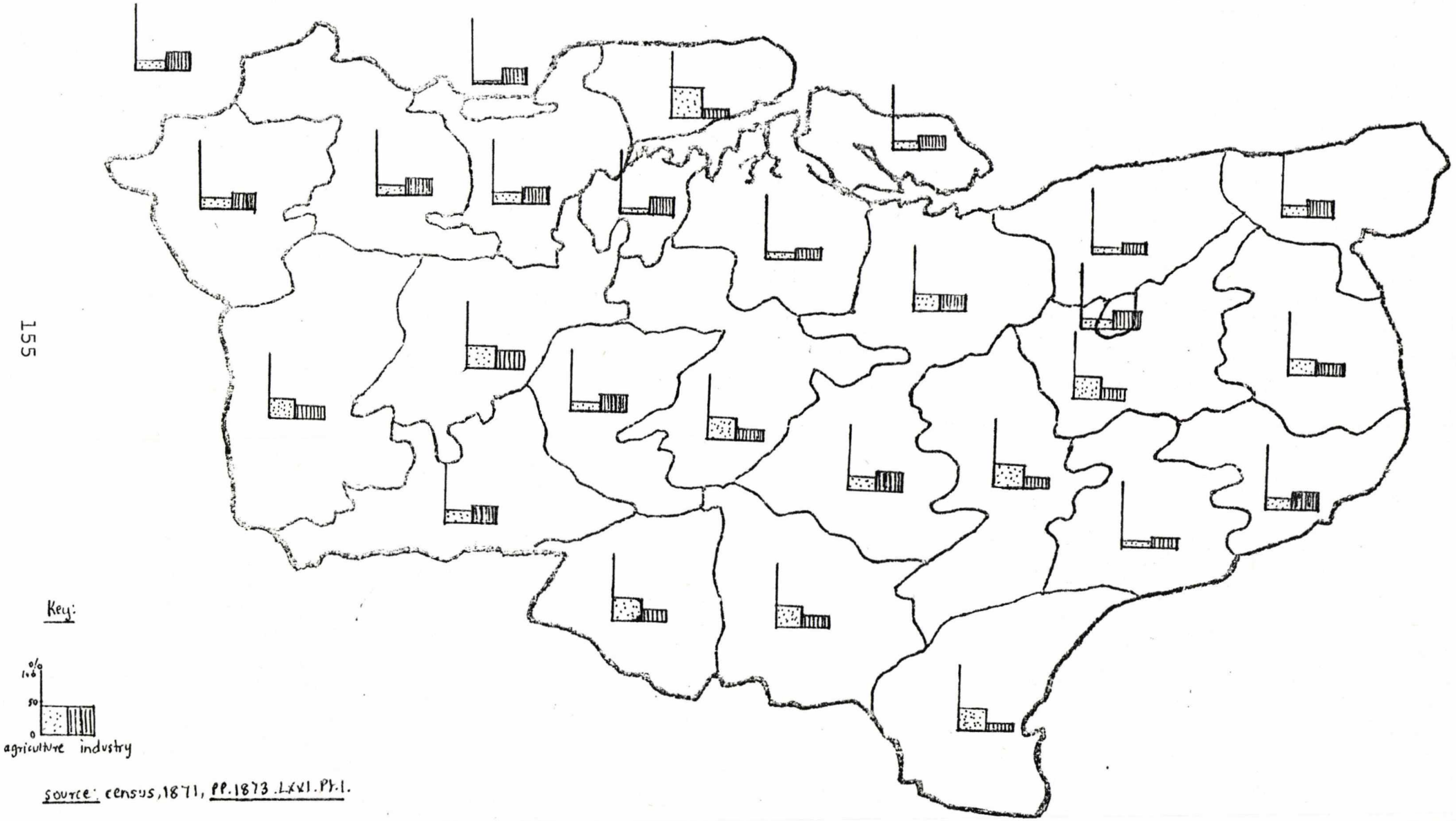
RD	Farmers	Farmers' family workers	ag. labs. (outdoor)	farm servant (indoor)
Bromley	7.9	6.1	79.5	6.5
Dartford	7.7	4.8	82.1	5.4
Gravesend	17.2	3.1	70.3	9.4
N. Aylesford	7.2	4.1	80.6	8.1
Hoo	7.4	1.7	87.8	3.1
Medway	10.2	3.2	83.0	3.7
Malling	8.4	4.4	80.9	6.3
Sevenoaks	10.5	6.9	78.9	3.6
Tunbridge	11.7	5.2	76.1	7.1
Maidstone	9.7	4.2	82.3	3.8
Hollingbourne	14.4	9.6	65.1	10.9
Cranbrook	13.7	7.3	71.9	7.0
Tenterden	16.4	8.8	72.8	1.9
W. Ashford	18.5	10.2	57.3	13.9
E. Ashford	16.2	9.1	63.3	11.4
Bridge	10.5	6.6	73.7	9.2
Canterbury	8.9	4.4	83.1	3.6
Blean	10.9	9.2	72.0	7.8
Faversham	10.5	6.5	72.9	10.0
Milton	9.2	7.7	77.9	5.2
Sheppey	6.5	5.4	78.1	10.0
Thanet	10.1	5.8	70.5	13.6
Eastry	12.5	7.6	65.2	14.6
Dover	12.7	7.8	63.2	16.2
Elham	17.3	10.6	59.1	13.0
Romney Marsh	12.0	6.7	75.6	5.8
Lewisham/ Greenwich	8.8	3.1	86.4	1.8
Kent reg. county	11.5	6.7	73.8	8.0

source: PP.1852-53.LXXXVIII.Pt.1(2).



Source: census, 1851, PP.1852-53. LXXXVIII. Pt. 1(2).

MAP 3.2. KENT- comparative percentage of adults engaged in agricultural and industrial pursuits, 1851.



source: census, 1871, PP. 1873. LXVI. Pt. I.

MAP 3.3. KENT – comparative percentage of adults engaged in agricultural and industrial pursuits, 1871.

declining throughout the county. By 1871 even the most important agricultural areas had a smaller percentage of their workforce working in farming than in 1851. This decline in the percentage of the workers engaged in agriculture was also evident in industrial RDs such as Bromley, Dartford, and North Aylesford, where the percentage of industrial workers finally rose above that of those involved in agriculture. In places such as Medway, Canterbury or Gravesend where non-agricultural work had always been far more important, the gap between the two sectors of the economy widened even further. If we compare the percentage in agriculture with those in all non-agricultural pursuits,[40] the role of agriculture becomes even clearer. As an employer of labour it never surpassed the combined industrial, professional, domestic, commercial and indefinite occupations. Only in Hoo did agriculture almost equal the other employment (48.5% against 51.5% in 1851).[41]

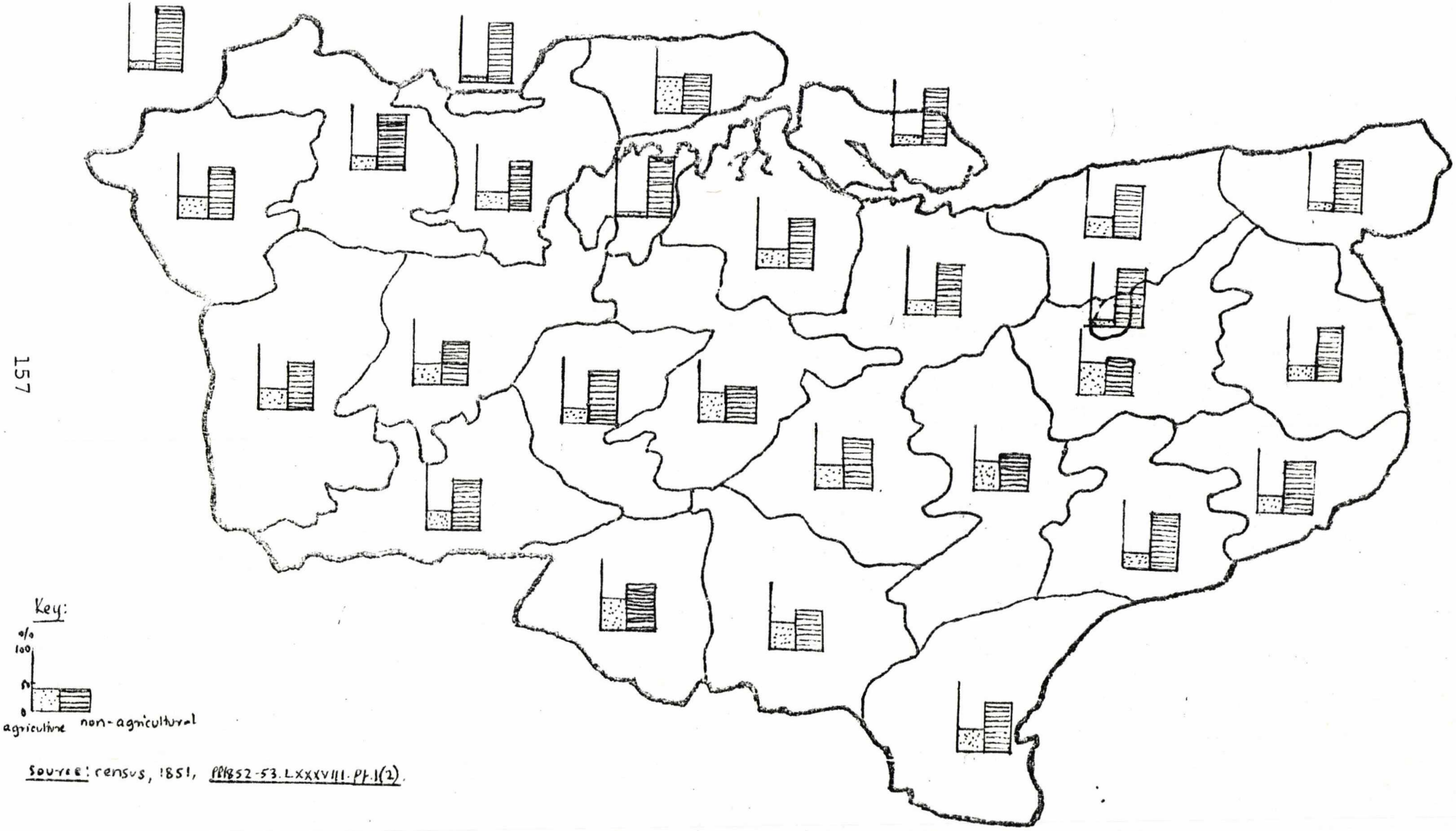
THE BUOYANCY OF THE KENTISH LABOUR MARKET.

In the preceding pages we identified the location of jobs in Kent and the numbers of persons engaged in particular occupations. An additional perspective on the Kentish labour market can be obtained by examining its relative buoyancy. In the absence of unemployment figures this can be done by calculating the expenditure on poor relief.[42]

40 bearing in mind that such figures include those not gainfully employed, such as wives at home.

41 See Map 3.4, p.157.

42 This assumes that other causes of relief expenditure would have more or less balanced out.



Source: census, 1851, PP1852-53. LXXXVIII. Pt.1(2).

MAP 3.4. KENT—comparative percentage of adults engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits, 1851.

From Table 3.8 we see that Poor Law Unions[43] with the highest outlay on relief[44] in 1841 were Hollingbourne, Cranbrook, East Ashford, Romney Marsh, Tenterden, Malling and West Ashford. In all these unions a high percentage of their adult populations were engaged in agricultural pursuits. Furthermore, those areas whose expenditure was above the county average tended to be those which had a major part of their workforce engaged in agriculture, and which had little industrial employment available. In contrast, the unions of Lewisham/Greenwich, Dartford, Bromley, Gravesend, Medway, Blean, Thanet, Eastry, Canterbury, Elham and Dover all had below average expenditure in 1841, and they were all areas with a high percentage of the adult population engaged in industrial activities. The exceptions to this were North Aylesford, Maidstone and Tunbridge where the presence of industrial employment apparently did not keep expenditure down, and Sevenoaks, which was an 'average' union despite the agricultural occupations of most of its adult workers. By 1871 (Table 3.8), this contrast between 'agricultural' and 'industrial' unions, while still evident, had diminished as more unions exhibited above average expenditure, though the gap between the union with the highest and lowest outlay had widened slightly.[45]

The figures given in Table 3.8 suggest that while poverty became more evenly distributed in the county, its overall incidence scarcely changed. However before we can conclude this we need to allow for price movements

43 Poor Law unions: these were usually the same geographical units as RDs.

44 Relief defined as: out-door and in-door relief, salaries of officers, other expenses associated directly with relief, medical relief, maintenance of lunatics, workhouse loans and interest.

45 1841, Hollingbourne Union, 15s.7d - Gravesend Union 3s.2d; ratio of Hollingbourne:Gravesend= 4.9:1; 1871, Hollingbourne Union, 12s.7d - Dartford Union 2s.5d; ratio of Hollingbourne:Dartford= 5.2:1.

Table 3.8. Expenditure on relief per head of population, by Union, in shillings and pence.

Union	1841	1845	1851	1855	1861	1865	1871
Bromley	6.10	6.5	no return	6.0	5.10	5.0	4.7
Dartford	4.10	6.5	5.0	6.2	6.5	3.4	2.5
Gravesend	3.5	4.7	5.0	6.0	6.5	5.10	6.7
N. Aylesford	8.2	7.4	6.7	8.2	7.0	6.0	8.7
Hoo	9.10	8.10	9.5	11.10	9.0	8.2	10.10
Medway	5.2	4.2	2.10	4.2	6.0	4.2	5.5
Malling	10.5	9.10	8.7	9.0	8.10	8.10	10.5
Sevenoaks	7.5	8.7	8.5	10.2	8.7	8.0	7.2
Tunbridge	7.7	8.5	4.5	8.0	8.0	6.2	7.5
Maidstone	8.0	6.7	6.7	8.10	9.2	7.5	8.10
Hollingbourne	15.7	13.0	10.7	12.7	12.5	11.10	12.7
Cranbrook	12.0	11.5	9.7	12.2	10.7	9.0	9.7
Tenterden	11.5	9.10	9.10	12.7	11.5	10.5	10.10
W. Ashford	10.2	9.0	9.7	9.2	7.10	7.2	10.7
E. Ashford	11.7	9.8	8.10	9.7	8.10	8.0	9.2
Bridge	8.5	8.0	7.5	9.10	8.5	8.10	10.10
Canterbury	7.0	7.2	7.10	6.10	6.0	6.2	7.5
Blean	6.0	6.10	6.2	7.2	6.7	5.10	7.0
Faversham	9.7	9.0	8.5	8.5	7.7	6.7	8.7
Milton	8.10	7.2	6.0	5.10	5.7	5.2	7.10
Sheppey	6.2	5.5	4.7	4.10	3.7	3.5	8.0
Thanet	5.0	5.2	5.0	6.10	6.5	5.10	5.10
Eastry	6.10	8.5	7.10	8.2	8.0	7.5	9.2
Dover	6.5	6.5	6.2	6.7	6.5	6.10	9.5
Elham	7.5	6.7	5.7	6.0	4.7	4.2	5.2
Romney Marsh	11.7	11.0	8.7	10.0	10.0	10.7	11.10
Lewisham/ Greenwich	5.0	4.1	8.0	5.0	4.3	5.5	8.11
all Kentish unions	7.7	6.10	6.0	7.2	6.7	6.0	7.5

source: PLCs Annual Reports, Poor Law Board and Local Government Board Annual Reports, 1841-71; for a comprehensive listing see Bibliography, p. 488-89.

and acknowledge that some years were particularly bad ones. With regard to prices Burnett wrote that while in the years 1790 to 1914 "...there was almost no alteration in the general level of prices, but within this span of time there were secondary, secular movements",[46] so that prices varied greatly over the intervening years. From 1820 to 1850, with the exception of 1825, 1840 and 1847, prices exhibited a downward trend. After 1850 until 1873 prices

46 Burnett, J. A History of the Cost of Living. Penguin, 1969, p.196.

increased by 48%, particularly in the years 1854-55 and 1871-73. To overcome the problem of exceptional single years and to take account of price changes we can compare relief and price averages for say, a seven year period at either end of our study, namely 1841-47, and 1865-71 (Table 3.9), thus producing a table of the trends in real relief.

Table 3.9. Average real expenditure on relief per head of population by union, in shillings and pence, 1841-47 and 1865-71, in order of expenditure.

	1841-47 expenditure	
union	relief s.d.	real relief s.d.
Hollingbourne	13.8	11.3
Cranbrook	11.10	9.7
Romney Marsh	11.5	9.4
East Ashford	10.6	8.6
Tenterden	10.6	8.6
Malling	10.0	8.2
West Ashford	9.8	8.0
Hoo	9.5	7.9
Lewisham/ Greenwich	9.1	7.6
Faversham	9.1	7.6
Sevenoaks	8.9	7.3
Bridge	8.4	6.11
Tunbridge	8.0	6.7
Milton	7.11	6.7
North Aylesford	7.10	6.6
Eastry	7.9	6.5
Maidstone	7.1	5.10
Elham	6.8	5.6
Bromley	6.8	5.6
Canterbury	6.8	5.6
Blean	6.7	5.5
Dover	6.1	5.0
Dartford	5.7	4.7
Sheppey	5.7	4.7
Thanet	4.11	4.1
Medway	4.5	3.8
Gravesend	3.11	3.3
all Kentish unions	6.10	5.8

Table 3.9. cont...

union	1865-71 expenditure relief s.d.	real relief s.d.
Hollingbourne	12.0	10.2
Romney Marsh	11.5	9.8
Tenterden	10.8	9.0
Malling	9.10	8.4
Cranbrook	9.8	8.2
Bridge	9.8	8.2
Hoo	9.6	8.1
West Ashford	8.8	7.4
East Ashford	8.6	7.2
Maidstone	8.6	7.2
Lewisham/ Greenwich	8.2	6.11
Eastry	8.2	6.11
North Aylesford	8.1	6.10
Faversham	7.11	6.9
Dover	7.8	6.6
Sevenoaks	7.6	6.4
Tunbridge	7.1	6.0
Canterbury	6.9	5.9
Gravesend	6.7	5.7
Milton	6.5	5.5
Blean	6.5	5.5
Thanet	6.0	5.1
Sheppey	5.5	4.7
Medway	5.2	4.4
Elham	4.8	4.0
Bromley	4.8	4.0
Dartford	2.9	2.4
all Kentish unions	7.0	5.11

agricultural price index for 1841-47 = 121
" " " " 1865-71 = 118

formula used to calculate real relief=s.d. ÷ agricultural price index.

source: PLCs, Poor Law Board and Local Government Board Annual Reports, 1841-71; The Rousseaux Price Indices, 1800-1913, cited in Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P. Abstract of British Historical Statistics. CUP, Cambridge, 1962, pp.471-72.

Table 3.9 suggests relatively little change in rank order, and confirms that at both the beginning and end of the period, the unions with the highest expenditure levels were in the Weald. Those with the lowest level were (with the exception of Thanet in 1841-71), in north/north-eastern Kent. However, not all these industrial unions had such a comparatively small outlay: Lewisham and Greenwich were surprisingly high up on the list of expenditure on relief. The gap between the unions exhibiting the lowest and highest outlay narrowed slightly and using these seven year averages we found that approximately half of the unions decreased the money value of their expenditure and half increased it. When the rise in prices after 1850 is taken into account the increase for many of the unions becomes negligible, while the decrease is more pronounced. For example, the spending of Medway Union increased by 9d which in real terms was unlikely to have been an increase at all. It is therefore evident from Table 3.9 that poverty was not intensifying within the county, not even in the Weald, though the contrast between the north/north-eastern and south/south-western areas was still pronounced. There was a tendency for unions with a high percentage of their workforce engaged in industry to be less impoverished than the agricultural, and the former, in terms of population growth, were likely to be in the top half of the ranking order (see Table 3.1, p.129). The persistence of high poor relief levels tends to support the idea of a persistent labour surplus and indirectly to suggest comparatively little change in the condition of the agricultural worker.

The information concerning the availability of jobs in different areas of Kent contained in the statistical data discussed above is supplemented by discussions of poverty and unemployment found in the correspondence of Kent's Poor Law Assistant Commissioners and Inspectors. These not only point to the geographical areas in difficulty, but also indicate the occupational characteristics of

those in greatest need. The New Poor Law came into effect just prior to the commencement of the period of study (1834), and, at least officially, put an end to the problems of poverty, unemployment and surplus population, especially among agricultural labourers. The Chairman of River Union[47] declared:

> "There never has been a real surplus agricultural population in this Union... Under the old system, relief being nearly always granted on application, and the chief part of their time and money spent at the ale house, labourers gradually fell into idle disorderly habits and began greatly to prefer being a pensioner on the road... to working for the farmer... Under the restrictions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, both masters and labourers began to reflect on their relative duties, and many of the latter, finding menaces against the Relieving Officer unattended to, applied to be set to work... (at this time) ...all the labourers are employed, and I have little doubt that henceforth all who are industriously inclined, will obtain a fair share of employment."[48]

The observation of the chairman of River Union was just one of many statements collected for a 104 page report compiled in 1836 on the state of the unions under the new legislation. At the time, his optimism was echoed by other unions, from all districts of Kent. The general thrust of the comments made was that the Old Poor Law had made the labourers spendthrift, prone to drunkeness, and lazy. To quote the chairman of Romney Marsh Union:

> "...I am convinced, that this apparent surplus of labour has, in almost all cases, been produced by the operation of the Billeting and Roundsman systems, and payment from the Rates in aid of wages,

47 The Union was in existence for a brief period only, 1834-38. See Poor Law Assistant Commissioner Tufnell's correspondence, PRO, MH.32.69.

48 Chairman of River Union quoted in Tufnell's correspondence of May 31st, 1836, ibid. This is in fact an extract from the 2nd Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales, PP.1836.XXIX.Pt.1, p.192.

> and also of course by the improvidence of the labourers, who relied on their own right to 'work or relief' in their own parishes."[49]

Some of the writers admitted that a certain amount of unemployment in agriculture was inevitable, but the Chairman of Blean Union, for example, reported that he was hiring hands in the wet weather so that he would have them in the fine, as there was an actual deficiency of hands in some areas.[50] Only Cranbrook Union admitted to facing the future with some trepidation:

> "All these West Kent Unions are just coming into action and the enormous quantity of labourers out of employ frighten the newly elected Guardians, and fill me with apprehensions."[51]

On the basis of these Reports, Tufnell confidently concluded that the "...plague of pauperism"[52] which had existed under the Old Poor Law was over. Yet two years later in 1838 he was writing:

> "The distress is really greater now than has ever been known before. The distress of the farmers from the bad hop season, combined with the snow, will upset us in some places for a fortnight. East Ashford will apply for your sanction to a relaxation under the 52nd clause[53] which you will of course grant."[54]

Apart from East Ashford, Faversham, Hollingbourne, Tenterden and Tunbridge Unions applied for a lifting on the ban on out-door relief in 1838. The cause of this distress amongst the labouring classes was not only the low price of hops, but also the high price of wheat, which was the largest single item in the labourers' weekly expenditure. In 1838 wheat

49 Chairman of Romney Marsh Union cited in Tufnell, ibid.

50 Chairman of Blean Union cited in Tufnell, ibid.

51 Letter from Cranbrook Union, 4th January, 1836, cited in Tufnell, ibid. The West Kent Unions came into operation after those of East Kent.

52 Tufnell, ibid.

53 Clause 52 forbade out-door relief.

54 Tufnell's correspondence of 24th January, 1838, PRO, MH.32.70.

rose to 64s.7d per quarter and to 70s.8d by 1839. Its price had almost doubled since the mid-1830s (it had been 39s.4d in 1835), and fell to 50s.1d by 1843. The nation-wide distress which resulted from the high prices of the late 1830s not surprisingly coincided with the appearance in 1838 of the Anti-Corn Law League, an organisation dedicated to the repeal of the Corn Laws which they believed to be responsible for such price levels.[55]

Nevertheless, despite these hardships, Tufnell considered the condition of the Kentish agricultural labourer to be more advantageous than that of agricultural workers in other counties. Indeed (while this may have been little compensation to the Kentish labourer), Tufnell's assertion was borne out by the later remarks of Bowley.[56] According to the latter's calculations the nominal weekly wage of Kentish agricultural labourers in 1837 was 12s.0d. Such a wage was surpassed only by Cheshire (13s.0d), and equalled by Stafford, Lincoln, Nottinghamshire, Derby, West, East, North Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmor-land. In contrast labourers living in Bedfordshire, Hereford , Devon, Wiltshire, earned 8s.0d, or those in Dorset 7s.6d.[57] Tufnell believed that at this time:

> "...the pauperism does not on the whole appear to have been so onerous as in several preceding years, except in three or four Unions, where it is referable to peculiar circumstances. I would hope that this result is in some degree attri-

55 Burnett, J. op. cit., pp.206-207.

56 Bowley, A.L. Wages in the United Kingdom in the 19th Century. CUP, Cambridge, 1900 - see his chart at the end of the book: 'Nominal Weekly Wages of Agricultural Labourers.'

57 It is worth noting at this point that, writing in mid-century, James Caird, op. cit., cast Kent amongst the poorly-paid southern counties, and Bowley himself found that by 1860 Kentish agricultural labourers' wages were no longer on par with those attainable in the industrial north. For an extensive table of Kentish and other agricultural labourers' earning 1833-71 see Chapter 4, Table 4.22, pp.226-27.

butable to the Amended Poor Law..."[58]

As proof of this factor he quoted figures for the increase in the numbers of deposits made, for example, by agricultural labourers in the Tunbridge Wells Savings Banks between 1831 and 1837, which showed a 200% increase.[59] He failed to add that the 46 and 137 agricultural labourers respectively who made the deposits in each of the cited years represented a miniscule fraction of the labouring population in the area.

The fluctuating circumstances of agricultural workers was a subject for constant discussion on the part of Kent's Poor Law authorities in the 1840s. Richard Hall, who became Inspector for the county of Kent in 1848 (and remained in office until 1850), observed in 1849:

> "...the Hops are bad and for the most part a failure; ...less employment than usual has been given to the labourers during the past year, and ...their wages have been seriously reduced."[60]

In 1850 he added that while the condition of those in constant employment had not worsened, the fact that there were fewer persons employed constantly, meant that labourers as a class were worse off than before.[61]

G. Pigott, the Poor Law Inspector for West Kent (1851-62), submitted a more favourable report in the year 1855, stating that: "...there has been no falling off of employment for good labourers throughout my District."[62] As this statement was at variance with the increased figures for poor relief in between 1854 and 1855, Pigott explained that the prevalence of typhoid, cholera, and smallpox had increased outlay on the sick, and high prices had pressed heavily on labourers with large families, who

58 Tufnell, 1st March, 1842, PRO, MH.32.71.

59 Tufnell to the PLCs, 28th June, 1858, PRO, MH.32.70.

60 Richard Hall, 25th September, 1849, PRO, MH.32.37. Note also his letter to the PLCs of 12th June, 1849.

61 Richard Hall, 25th January, 1859, PRO, MH.32.37.

62 G. Piggot, 1855, PRO, MH.32.62. His District included Oxon, Bucks, West Berks, Mddx, Sussex as well as West Kent.

as a result, had to resort to the workhouse. The occurrence of such expenditure in 1854-55 reinforces the point that fluctuations in outlay occurred from year to year and that the study of individual years, as opposed to an average for several years, can paint a misleading picture of poverty. Furthermore at this time the incidence of distress was attributed to non-economic factors, and generally there were few comments on the condition of agricultural labourers after 1850. Jones, 1964, in fact stated that there were shortages of labour in the countryside (Chapter 1, pp.92-93) at this time.

References to the manufacturing districts or to industrial workers meanwhile, were comparatively rarer occurrences throughout the period. However in the cyclical trough year of 1857 Pigott reported that:

> "...at this time the number of un-employed labourers in Unions of which I have the superintendence is for the season of the year unusually small, owing to the circumstances that my District contains no manufacturing town, and that the Unions, also, by which it is surrounded are wholly rural."[63]

This comment is very striking, since in the 1830s unemployment was habitually associated by the Poor Law authorities with agricultural workers. Surprisingly the Inspector for East Kent[64] made no reference to the dire circumstances of those workmen engaged in foying. The plight of these workers, or to take one case, the Deal boatmen, was brought to the attention of the whole nation as a result of a letter published in 'The Times' of October 1858. Their loss of employment was attributable to technological change rather than cyclical factors:

> "...steam power... (which) ...with other analagous causes, has already almost entirely put a stop to the constant employment which the boatmen of Deal could once command... The mails, once so large a source of profit... are now almost all received from steamers calling at

63 ibid., 14th November, 1857.

64 At this time J. Walsham, Inspector for East Kent in the period 1851-68.

> Plymouth and Southampton... Of the vessels that do anchor in the Downs, it is invariably found of late years that they are better supplied and better manned and officered that they used to be, and consequently have less need either of Deal boatmen or Deal marketing..."[65]

The author of the article sought public contributions to a fund which would be used to: "...permanently relieve the sufferings of the Deal boatmen, and restore happiness in many a home",[66] both by aiding emigration of the young and the establishment of societies for the aid of the older boatmen and their wives and families.

What is clear from the above discussion is that despite the New Poor Law, the condition of the labouring class, or more precisely the agricultural labourers, was frequently in the minds of the authorities. The Assistant Commissioners and Inspectors were at pains to point out the beneficial influence of the New Poor Law, dismissing bouts of agricultural unemployment and falling wages as temporary aberrations. Admittedly there were some exceptionally bad years, though concern with unemployment amongst agricultural labourers and the expenditure of agricultural unions was constant as the frequency of references to both reveals, down to and including the 1850s.

If the frequency of discussion can be taken as an indicator of concern, the circumstances of the industrial working class were of little interest to Kent's Poor Law authorities. It is significant that only one comment was found in the Assistant Commissioners and Inspectors papers regarding the state of the labour market in Kent's manufacturing districts and that in an exceptionally depressed year. Thus, the division between the manufacturing and agricultural unions, revealed by the statistics for

65 Henry Kingscote, letter to The Times, 7th October, col.4, 1858.

66 ibid. Earlier references to unemployment amongst the Deal boatmen are to be found in the records of Eastry Union, PRO, MH.12.4988, 1834-36, where again improvements in navigation were blamed.

expenditure on relief, is further brought out by the correspondence of the Assistant Commissioners and Inspectors. Unemployment was greater amongst agricultural workers, and so of greatest (though not sole) consequence to the Wealden and southern unions.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

To summarise, population density was greatest in northern and eastern Kent, leaving a less densely populated section in the south/south-west part of the county. Secondly, the highest rates of growth occurred in northern and eastern Kent, while most of the other areas experienced relatively low or negative growth. Thirdly, net gains by migration were on the whole the experience of northern and eastern RDs, while most of the remaining areas habitually lost population as a result of migration.

Agriculture was an important activity throughout the county, particularly in the western and southern regions, in which little alternative employment was available. Yet agriculture was increasingly less important as a source of employment, a factor attributable to the increasing importance of pastoral farming and the preference of labourers for urban employment. In comparison, the industries of Kent were concentrated in the northern and eastern part of the county: the north specialised in the heavier industrial activities such as cement making and shipbuilding, while the east offered fishing and foying. Outside these areas there were pockets of industry in Ashford, Maidstone and Tunbridge. Though industry in 1851 was less significant than agriculture in terms of the percentage of the adult workforce employed, by 1871 its role as employer had increased and in some areas overtaken the percentage of the workers engaged in agricultural pursuits.

The suggestion that agriculture was associated with unemployment was supported by the information relating to Poor Law expenditure which was highest in the most important agricultural unions, and lowest in those with the highest percentage of their workforce engaged in industry. However,

as the importance of industry increased, such structural changes worked to decrease poverty, or where an increase in expenditure occurred, it was of minimal proportions, considered in real terms.

It is clear from this study of the distribution of people and jobs within Kent that there was a coincidence of demographic and economic boundaries. Northern and eastern Kent had pockets of dense population, they experienced high population growth rates, and RDs gaining population by migration tended to be located in this area.[67] These were regions of low expenditure on relief and they also happened to be those where industry was primarily located. Outside north/north-eastern Kent, Maidstone and Tunbridge were important pockets of industry. Both had high growth rates and Tunbridge gained population by migration - neither of these features being characteristic of the Weald.

Although agricultural employment was important throughout the county, areas most reliant on this activity as a source of employment were the western and southern regions. In contrast to 'industrial' areas, these had low population densities, comparatively low growth rates (if not negative growth), population losses by migration,[68] and high expenditure on relief. Outside this area the northern RD of Hoo had low population density, a low population growth rate, and high expenditure on relief. Not only was Hoo the region where agriculture occupied the highest percentage of the adult population, but it was the only RD in the county where in 1851 agriculture equalled all other employers.

On the above evidence we can conclude that considerable disparities of employment opportunities existed within Kent, and that the population was sufficiently mobile to respond to them. However the scope and scale of the enquiry so far

67 though some lost population by migration.

68 In fact nearly all Kentish RDs lost population by migration.

have precluded a range of questions which together constitute a more detailed probe into the nature of the relationship between economic and demographic change. From a county study we cannot confirm or deny the observations of those writers who hold that it was the agricultural labourers who were particularly mobile, pulled by the attractions of industrial work and/or urban life. In order to discover whether or not this was the case a closer examination of the composition of the 'movers' is essential. The identification of the characteristics of numbers of the 'comers' and 'goers' also plays an important part in establishing the role of a particular area as an employer of labour. This task can be fulfilled most effectively by the study and linkage of the manuscript census, an arduous task even for the student of one parish.

CHAPTER 4. Economic and Environmental Pressures in a Mid-Nineteenth Century Village, Brenchley, 1841-71.

In the preceding Chapters we argued that an effective examination of labour mobility necessitated a detailed study of one parish. Because we are exploring the effects of agrarian change on the rural workforce, it was most appropriate to study a parish with the majority of its workforce dependant upon agriculture. An initial decision was made to choose a parish within the Weald, an area virtually devoid of industrial employment and frequently noted by the Poor Law Commissioners for its expenditure on relief and the presence of surplus labour. Practical constraints also played an important part. The parish selected for study had to have a population of a size appropriate for detailed quantitative analysis, and sources pertaining to migration and the local economy. Given that four manuscript censuses were to be coded and analysed, a population total of between 2 and 3,500 persons was considered appropriate.[1] Brenchley satisfied both these requirements. Sources deemed essential were as follows: correspondence of the Poor Law Commissioners, workhouse admission/discharge registers, out-relief lists, settlement and removal papers, marriage registers, tithe records, and the manuscript census.[2]

1 Brenchley parish had a population in 1841 and 1871 of 2,472 and 3,365 respectively, according to the manuscript census PRO, HO.107.456 and RG.10.935.

2
i. correspondence of the Poor Law Commissioners located in the PRO - this correspondence contains details of migration schemes and poverty in the unions;
ii. workhouse admission/discharge registers - which indicate poverty and unemployment;
iii. out-door relief lists - " "
iv. settlement and removal papers - offer some insight into the migration of persons to and from the union concerned;
v. marriage registers - indicate the origins and literacy of marriage partners;
vi. tithe records - describe land ownership and use;
vii. the manuscript census - used to establish the socio-economic characteristics of the parish and population turnover.

THE REPRESENTATIVENESS OF BRENCHLEY

(i) Occupational Distribution.

In Chapter 3 we found that the Wealden unions were areas characterised by having a high percentage of the adult workforce engaged in agriculture. Only in Tunbridge Union did those in industrial pursuits represent a significant proportion of the population. Indeed, Kent as a whole was an important agricultural county. Table 4.1 shows that the distribution of employment in Brenchley followed the pattern of other Wealden areas, agriculture being the most important employer.[3] In fact the level of agricultural employment exceeded that of Kent, and when compared to England and Wales the importance of agriculture in Brenchley was even more pronounced, industry being in its manifold variations the prime employer in England and Wales. Industrial work was increasing in importance in Kent,[4] some of the Wealden unions and in Brenchley itself. However, the increase in Brenchley did not produce levels of industrial employment comparable to those of the other areas cited in Table 4.1.

3 In the county table given in Chapter 3, pp.149-51, Group 2, 'domestic' was inflated by the inclusion of housewives of no stated occupation. In the coding of the Brenchley census these persons were place in Group 6; however, in this instance, in order for us to be able to produce a comparable table, Brenchley's housewives of no stated occupation were counted as members of Group 2.

4 For a detailed discussion of this point see Chapter 3.

Table 4.1. Percentage of adults in each occupational category, 1851 and 1871.

Category	Brenchley parish		Tunbridge Union		Sevenoaks Union		Cranbrook Union		Tenterden Union		Kent civil county		England & Wales	
	51	71	51	71	51	71	51	71	51	71	51	71	51	71
1. prof.	2	2	3	4	3	3	3	3	2	3	9	9	3	4
2. domestic	43	44	50	47	45	45	45	45	43	45	46	45	45	42
3. comm.	3	2	3	4	2	2	1	2	2	2	5	5	4	5
4. ag.	34	31	21	14	31	26	36	31	37	32	15	11	17	11
5. indust.	10	14	15	24	13	19	11	17	10	14	15	22	24	32
6. indefinite	9	8	9	7	7	5	4	3	5	5	8	7	7	6

In the case of Brenchley, 'adults' are those aged 21+, all other areas 20+. To facilitate comparison with areas outside Brenchley, 'adults' have been denoted in the Registrar General's manner as those aged 20/21+. However, where such direct comparisons are not being made the adult workforce will refer to those aged 16+, since the majority of those aged 16 to 21 were economically active.

The percentages have been rounded up/down: up .5+
down .4-

source: manuscript census for Brenchley, 1851, PRO, HO.107.1615; 1871, PRO, RG.10.935; printed census for the unions and Kent, England and Wales, PP.1852-53. LXXXVIII. Pt.1(2); PP.1873. LXXI. Pt.1;
There was no union summary for the 1841 census.

(ii) Sex Distribution.

From Table 4.2 it is clear that Brenchley, in contrast to the union of which it formed a part, had a male surplus in 1851, the balance being redressed by 1871. All the Wealden unions, and indeed Kent, England and Wales had either a sexually balanced propulation, or a slight surplus of females. In the next Chapter we shall explore the possible implications of Brenchley's male surplus in terms of sex-related migration differentials.

Table 4.2. Comparative percentage of female to male adult population, 1851 and 1871.

year				year			
51		71		51		71	
m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Brenchley parish				Tunbridge Union			
54	46	49	51	47	53	44	56
Sevenoaks Union				Cranbrook Union			
50	50	50	50	50	50	49	51
Tenterden Union				Kent Registration County			
50	50	50	50	49	51	49	51
England and Wales							
48	52	48	52				

source: Brenchley census, PRO, HO.107.1615 & RG.10.935; census for all other areas, 1851 and 1871, PP.1852-53.LXXXVIII.Pt.1(2) & PP.1873.LXXI.Pt.1.

(iii) Age Composition.

Table 4.3 depicts the age characteristics of the areas under consideration. It is evident that the age distribution was the same throughout, the largest group being the 0-10 year olds. There was also very little variation in the proportion in each age category, though Brenchley's under 10s represented a higher percentage than those of the comparison areas both in 1851 and 1871, raising the question of comparative fertility levels.

Table 4.3. Percentage of the total population in each age category.

Age category	Brenchley parish		Tunbridge Union		Sevenoaks Union		Cranbrook Union		Tenterden Union		Kent reg. county		England & Wales	
	51	71	51	71	51	71	51	71	51	71	51	71	51	71
0-10	31	31	25	26	27	26	26	26	27	26	25	26	25	25
10-20	21	20	21	20	21	20	22	21	21	21	20	20	20	20
20-30	15	15	17	17	15	15	15	15	15	15	17	17	18	17
30-40	12	12	13	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	13	13	13	13
40-50	8	8	10	10	9	10	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10
50-60	7	7	7	7	8	8	8	8	9	8	7	7	7	7
60-70	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	5	5	5	5
70-80	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
80+	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5

Percentages have been rounded up/down.
a slight discrepancy exists between Brenchley's age categories and those of the printed censuses. The former are 0-10, 11-20 etc., the latter 10-20, 20-30. Brenchley's manuscript census did not give the months of age, that is, it stated age 10, 11, 12 years etc., and not 9 years 1 month, 10 years 2 months etc. Such detail was necessary to adopt the classification of the printed censuses.

source: Brenchley census, 1851 & 1871, PRO, HO.107.1615 & RG.10.935; census for all other areas, PP.1852-53.LXXXVIII.Pt.1(2) & PP.1873.LXXI.Pt.1.

However, the figures for the 0-10 year olds are percentages and may reflect lower percentages in other categories as opposed to fertility levels. In summary, the data for Brenchley's occupational, sex and age composition reveal nothing extraordinary about the parish, and therefore with regard to these variables, it can be seen as representative of the Weald. Its occupational characteristics had much in common with those of the Wealden unions and Kent, agriculture being an important employer for all these areas. Brenchley's level of agricultural employment was high when compared to Tunbridge Union or Kent, but on a par with other Wealden unions. The shift to industrial work occurred at a similar pace, though Brenchley lagged behind the levels of all the areas under review. In 1851 it had a temporary male surplus, while the age distribution of its population followed the profile of the other areas. We must note that the sex and age distribution hint at the possible effects of net migration, issues which will be discussed in the next Chapter.

POPULATION GROWTH IN BRENCHLEY.

Taking the period 1841-71 decade by decade, we find contrasting growth rates for the areas under consideration (Table 4.4). Tunbridge Union, as a result of the presence of Tonbridge and Tunbridge Wells, grew at a persistent and particularly high rate; when the two urban areas were subtracted, the 'rural residue', while still showing a tendency to grow, did so at a far lower level, more on the level of England and Wales. Meanwhile Kent's growth rate rose in 1851-61 after which it fell. A decline in growth was also discernible in the figures for England and Wales, Brenchley, and Saville's (overwhelmingly rural) registration districts, though this time for the decade 1851-61. Indeed Saville's figures are striking since they present the rural areas as either having a minimal growth rate or in fact a decline of population.

Generally, (but with the exception of Kent and Saville's RDs), the 1860s saw a surge in population growth. If we recall Chapter 3, Brenchley's growth rate was never above the Kent increase, but also not as low as some of the other Wealden areas. Brenchley's surge in the 1860s which brought it up to the level of the Kent growth rate, is initially startling, but we are informed by the Registrar General[5] that this was the result of the building of new houses. This information gives rise to the question as to why was there a need for such houses. Both the birth rate and death rate fell by approximately 5% (see p.180 of this Chapter), so no discrepancy between the two can account for the need for new housing.

Table 4.4. The Growth Rate, per cent increase.

Area	Average 1841-51	1851-61	1861-71
Brenchley	9.4	6.1	17.3
Tunbridge Union	19.9	20.0	30.3
Tunbridge 'rural residue'	6.3	10.6	12.4
Kent	12.7	17.8	17.2
England & Wales	13.0	12.0	13.0
Saville's RDs	2.8	-0.2	-0.04

The growth rate was calculated using the formula $(\frac{P2}{P1} - 1) \times 100$ where:
P2 = the total population at the second census;
P1 = the total population at the first census.
Then we obtained an intercensal average.

source: Brenchley census, 1841-71, PRO, HO.107.456, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935; PP.1843, XXII; PP.1852-3. LXXXV; PP.1872.LXVI.Pt.II; Saville, J. op.cit., p.58.

5 PP.1872.LXVI.Pt.II, p.76.

BIRTH, DEATH AND MARRIAGE RATES.

Cairncross, in his study of internal migration in Victorian England,[6] had calculated the birth and death rates for the rural residues of northern and southern England, thus giving us some indication of what rates we could expect for Brenchley and Tunbridge Union. He found the southern birth rate in the decades 1841-51, 1851-61, and 1861-71 to be 31.5, 32.1 and 32.3 respectively. Meanwhile the death rate for the area was found by him to be 19.7, 19.7 and 19.2.[7]

There has been a long-term debate regarding the under-registration of births and deaths, despite the advent of civil registration in 1836. In the late nineteenth century, Farr calculated that births were under-registered in England and Wales by 6.5% in 1841-50, 2.9% in 1851-60 and 1.8% in 1861-70. Later he suggested an inflation figure of 5% for the nineteenth century. In 1840 the Registrar General thought that deaths were under-registered by only 2%.[8] More recently Glass[9] has examined the issue of under-registration, suggesting that births were under-recorded by 4% in the 1850s and by 2% in the 1860s, female births being less likely to be registered than that of males. Meanwhile Wrigley and Schofield[10] have suggested that all births be inflated by factors such as 1.1200 for 1841, 1.0700 for 1846, 1.0555 for 1851, 1.0425 for 1861 and 1.0240 for 1871, the factors for the intervening years being obtained by linear interpolation. Deaths were to be increased by the ratio of 1.02 in the years 1841-5, decreasing to 1.00 by 1850 whereafter Wrigley and Schofield have used the registered totals. Table 4.5 has been constructed using the civil registration correction factors supplied by Wrigley and Schofield.

6 Cairncross, A.K. op.cit.

7 ibid., p.82.

8 Glass, D.V. 'A Note on the Under-Registration of Births in Britain in the Nineteenth Century,' PS,5,pt.1 (1951), 70-88.

9 ibid.

10 Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield, R.S. (eds), op.cit., pp.636-37.

Table 4.5. The crude birth and death rate, per 1,000, per annum.

Area	Average					
	1841-51		1851-61		1861-71	
	births	deaths	births	deaths	births	deaths
Tunbridge Union	32.1	20.0	34.3	20.2	33.5	18.5
Kent	33.6	21.8	34.4	20.8	36.0	20.5

The crude birth/death rate for Tunbridge Union and Kent was calculated by first obtaining a figure for the births/deaths per 1,000 for each year, and then finding the inter-censal average. The equation used to calculate the yearly rate was $\frac{b \text{ or } d}{p} \times k$ where:

b/d = the total number of births or deaths registered during the calendar year January 1st - December 31st;
p = the total population at the middle of the year (interpolated from census data using the formula
$P = P1 + \frac{n}{N}(P2 - P1)$;
P = population estimate at some date between the two censuses; N = number of months between censuses; n = number of months between date P1 and the date of the estimate);
k = 1,000.

source: RGAR, PP.1842.XIX - 1873.XX.

In the case of Tunbridge Union the birth rate rose by the 1840s and continued at a relatively high level in the 1850s, subsiding very slightly by the 1860s. Kent's birth rate, meanwhile, rose in the 1850s and continued to rise in the 1860s. Cairncross's Rural Residues (which do not take account of under-registration of births), showed little variation for the rural south, though there was a very slight tendency for the rate to rise in the 1860s, which finds an echo in these Kent figures.

Of the crude death rates, there was a similarity in the level of Tunbridge Union, Cairncross's Rural Residues, and Kent. The level of Cairncross's rates remained basically uniform throughout, while there were slight variations in Tunbridge Union and Kent: the death rate in the former rising in the

1850s and then falling in the 1860s, whereas in the latter the decline started earlier.

Fortunately in the case of marriages, the RGARs supply totals for all[11] marriages, and therefore the use of an inflation factor was not required.

Table 4.6. The Marriage rate, per 1,000, per annum.

Area	Average		
	1841-51	1851-61	1861-71
Tunbridge Union	6.9	8.4	7.9
Kent	7.2	7.6	7.6
England	8.6	8.9	8.8

The marriage rate was calculated by first obtaining a figure for the marriages per 1,000 for each year and then finding the inter-censal average. The equation used to calculate the yearly rate was $\frac{m}{p} \times 1{,}000$ where:

m = number of marriages in a year;
p = the population of the middle of that year.

source: RGARs, PP.1842.XIX - 1873.XX.

We would expect that a fall in the birth rate would be preceded by a fall in the marriage rate. To a limited extent this was clear for Tunbridge Union where the birth rate rose and fell with the marriage rate decade by decade. Kent's marriage rate rose from 1850 onwards maintaining the same level throughout the 1860s. The birth rate for Kent, meanwhile, rose in the 1860s. For England as a whole there was very little variation in the marriage rate. With regard to the levels of the marriage rates these were generally uniform in the 1850s and 1860s - only in the 1840s was there a marked discrepancy between Tunbridge Union and England.

11 Marriages defined as: according to the rite of the established Church and not: special licence, licence, banns, Superintendent Registration Certificate, not stated by which of the foregoing forms, in registered places of worship, in Superintendent Registrar's Office, between Quakers, between Jews.

Such are the patterns revealed by published data at the county and RD levels. When we turn to the individual parish of Brenchley, due to our reliance on ecclesiastical figures, we cannot produce comparable birth and death rates.[12] We are therefore obliged to work with the raw baptismal and burial records as extracted from the parish registers. Similarly the marriages are those recorded by the incumbent, thus excluding non-conformist marriages for which there are no records in Brenchley.

Table 4.7. Brenchley's baptismal, burial and marriage rates, per 1,000, per annum.

	Average		
	1841-51	1851-61	1861-71
Baptisms	24.8	28.6	23.6
Burials	13.9	14.9	10.8
Marriages	7.3	6.4	4.5

The method of calculation was the same as used in Tables 4.5 and 4.6.

source: Brenchley's baptismal registers, KAO, P45/1/4,6,7, 1835-75; burial registers, KAO, P45/1/4 and 14, 1835-1909; marriage registers, KAO, P45/1/11-12, 1837-1916.

From Table 4.7 it is clear that Brenchley's average baptismal rate was higher in the 1850s than in the previous decade. It had not risen steadily from the 1840s but nevertheless peaked in 1859 after which it fell fairly noticeably. Just as the baptismal rate fell in the 1860s, so too the burial rate dropped substantially. As the fall in these rates coincided (both by approximately 5%), they raise the question of the relationship between these rates, economic pressures and living standards. Moreover the drop in the baptismal rate was preceded

12 Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield, R.S. (eds), op.cit., pp.138-39, supply corrective factors for ecclesiastical records prior to 1836, but not thereafter.

by a fall in the marriage rate. This latter rate decreased in the 1850s, most noticeably in the years 1856-57 when it fell from 8.6 to 3.9. The fall in the baptismal rate may have been a result of the fall in the marriage rate, and the fall in the burial rate may also have been not unconnected with the fall in the baptismal rate.

If we had inflated these ecclesiastical returns for baptisms and burials by the 16% and 10% suggested by Wrigley and Schofield,[13] we would obviously have increased these rates. However, even then, Brenchley's rates would have been well below those of Tunbridge Union, Kent, England and Wales. We can therefore only suggest that had ecclesiastical registration been as good as civil registration in its coverage of vital events, the Brenchley rates would initially in the years 1841-51, not be greatly dissimilar to that of Cairncross's 'rural residue'. However, overall, the trends, if not the levels, were similar for all the areas studied.

It is evident from the above discussion that the selection of Brenchley as a fairly typical agricultural community raises no particular problems. While every parish must to some extent be unique, there is good reason to suppose that analysis of factors at work in Brenchley will illuminate some of the factors influencing change in a mid-nineteenth century agricultural settlement in this region.

THE RURAL ECONOMY OF BRENCHLEY.

(i) Landownership.

The pattern of landownership is important for the information it gives on the distribution of wealth per se, and because it can therefore serve as an indicator of the degree of polarisation of the rural social structure. Furthermore landownership

13 ibid., pp.138-39.

has implications for the opportunities available for the labourer: the concentration of land in the hands of a few owners could lead to great control over the amount of work, and indeed housing, available. For example, in parishes where the land was owned by 1 - 3 persons, such landowners had the power to knock down cottages and oblige their workforce to live elsewhere in order to avoid paying high poor rates in bad times.

In 1842 the land was owned by a few:[14] 45% of the land of Brenchley was owned by 9 persons representing 5.2% of all land owners or 1.8% of all land holders, or 0.4% of the total population of the parish. Many of these owners were not in fact resident in Brenchley: the ratio of owner-occupiers to tenant farmers was 1:4, though the former did own 23.3% of Brenchley's acreage in 1842. Whether the power exercised by owner-occupiers as opposed to tenant farmers varied in its effect on the agricultural labourer is debatable, though Brenchley's owner-occupiers did own a slightly higher percentage of the land than Clapham's estimate for 1825-30 of at least 15-20%.[15] Consequently we have to bear in mind that this concentration of land ownership may have enhanced the polarisation of the rural social structure by widening the gap between farmers and labourers, and effected a change in the relations between employers and employees (to be discussed in more detail later). The ultimate effect of such changes could be to create relations between farmer and labourer which were "...a purely market relationship between employer and proleterian."[16] as the labour force became wholly dependent on selling their labour in return for a cash wage.

The extent to which landownership affected the availability of employment and housing in Brenchley can be gauged by examining the structure of landownership which differentiates 'open'

14 Brenchley Tithe Award, PRO, IR/29/17/49, is the only source on land ownership; the census does not differentiate between owners and tenant farmers.

15 Clapham, J.H. Economic History of Modern Britain, 3 vols, CUP, Cambridge, vol. 1, p.105.

16 Hobsbawm, E. & Rudé, G. op.cit., p.18.

from 'close' parishes. Holderness[17] has written that close parishes were usually associated with 1-3 large land owners. In Brenchley there were five. The dichotomy of open versus close parish was refined by Mills and Obelkevich[18] who adopted a four-tiered parish structure. Mill's categories consisted of squire's, oligarchic, divided and peasant;[19] Obelkevich's of squire's, oligarchic, freeholders and divided.[20] The squire's (Type A) and oligarchic (Type B) were in fact equivalent to close parishes, the squire's parish being one where "...one landlord owned more than half the land, (the) 'oligarchic' one in which a few landlords owned most of the land, but none had more than half."[21] According to these criteria Brenchley was neither a squire's nor an oligarchic parish for while the five large owners owned just over a third of the land in 1842, none held more than half. Obelkevich's freehold parishes (Type C) were ones where the land was owned by small-holders averaging less than 40 acres each, while the divided (Type D) was one in which there were often several large landlords with small or medium holdings and a larger number of smallholders.[22] Obelkevich states that the distinction between the two types is often hard to establish, and that "...the basic distinction between close (A and B) and open (Types C and D) usually suffices."[23]

If anything, Brenchley displayed more of the characteristics of a divided parish than any other, but it is not a place that lends itself to neat categorization. Mills attached considerable

17 Holderness, B.A. ''Open' and 'Close' Parishes in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,' AHR, 20,no.2 (1972), p.131.

18 Mills, D Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth Century Britain. Croom Helm, 1980, Chapter4, pp.64-97; Obelkevich, J. Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-1875. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976.

19 Mills, D.R., op.cit., p.94.

20 Obelkevich, J. op.cit., p.12.

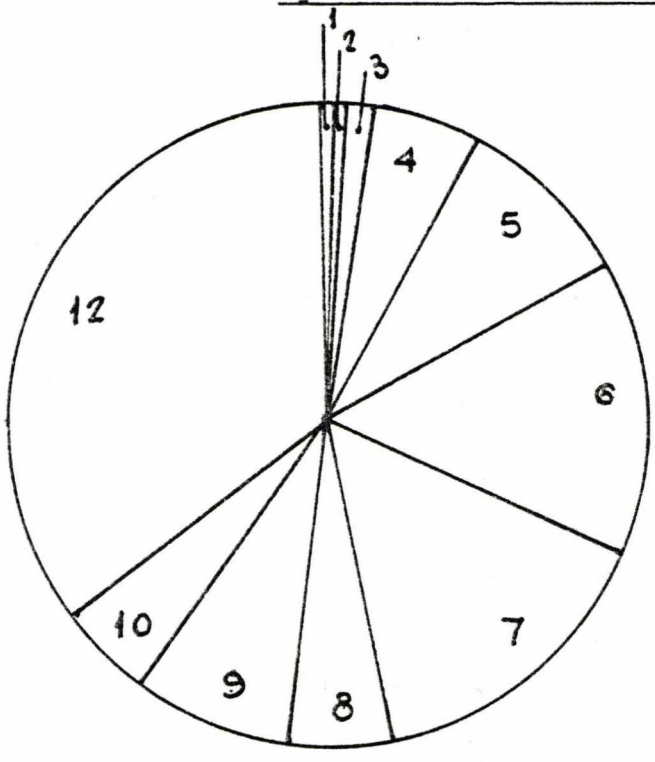
21 Mills, D.R. op.cit., pp.84-85.

22 Obelkevich, J. op.cit., p.12.

23 ibid., p.12.

importance to owners of 25-200 acre pieces of land who could offer resistance to a squire with expansionist ideas, and thus prevent their parish from becoming a closed one. He drew diagrams representing the structure of landownership in the four townships of Ardington, Sherington, Mareham-le-F-en and Wetheral and which showed that such 25-200 acre owners owned the following acreage of each parish: 14.6%, 80.0%, 40.0%, and 39.6%[24] respectively. The comparable figure for Brenchley was 45.1%. From the diagram below we see that these owners (size categories 5 - 8) represented a sizeable 'intermediate class' in Brenchley.[25]

Diagram 4.1. Percentage of the acreage of Brenchley owned by landowners of holdings of various sizes.



size categories	acres
1	<1
2	1-3
3	3-10
4	10-25
5	25-50
6	50-100
7	100-150
8	150-200
9	200-300
10	300-400
11	400-500
12	500+

Furthermore in Thurlby, a closed village, Mills found that the mean acreage of farms by 1832 was over 100 acres.[26] In Brenchley in 1841, despite the continued consolidation of

24 Mills, D.R. op.cit., pp.68-69.

25 See also the discussion of the pattern of landholding (as opposed to land ownership), Chapter 4, pp.189-91, which shows the power of the 100-200 acre occupier, and the revival of the 20-60 acre holder in the decade 1861-71.

26 Mills, D.R. op.cit., p.65.

land (see the next section), the mean was only 47.7 acres.

Moreover, the ownership of house accommodation as opposed to land per se, was a more important indicator of landlord power in a parish. In Brenchley, of the 461 inhabited houses, only 17.1% were owned by the aforementioned five large landowners, the largest single owner controlling 6.5% of the parish's housing. So also according to this measure Brenchley was clearly not a close parish. Furthermore, there were new houses built in Brenchley in the 1860s; natural increase did not demand such development. A close village would not have had such development which resulted in the growth rate of Brenchley (which was below the national level until 1861), almost trebling in the decade 1861-71.

(ii) Landholding and Farm Sizes.

As was suggested in the above discussion of landownership, ownership per se may not have been the crucial factor in determining the nature of the rural economy so much as landholding generally. A picture of the changing patterns of land holding in Brenchley can be generated by combining a number of possible approaches towards the analysis of land holding. First we consider the percentage of persons holding land in each size category to determine the changing fortunes of the small farmers. This is reinforced by an examination of the percentage of the total acreage of Brenchley occupied by each category of land holding. Finally we look at the percentage of all heads of household who held land and trace changes in the ratio of Brenchley's farmers to agricultural labourers.

It has been suggested that the concentration of landownership may have increased the gap between farmers and agricultural workers, and that the widening of this gap was attributable to the decline of small farmers.[27] The Hammonds linked this

27 Wordie, J.R. 'Social Change on the Leveson Gower Estates, 1714-1832,' EHR, 2nd ser.XXVII, no.4.(1974), 593-609.

decline of the small farmer to enclosures.[28] Alternatively Chambers and Mingay believed it to be the result of the burden of poor rates, "...the general long-run tendency towards larger and more efficient farms...[29] enclosures serving "...only to accelerate the effect of factors unfavourable to small men."[30] Such factors had been in operation well before the nineteenth century. In his study of the intermediate farmers on the Leveson-Gower Estates in the period 1714-1833 Wordie attributed their disappearance to price levels, costs, and comparative economies of scale. In Brenchley, enclosure had almost certainly taken place many years before, although it is impossible to establish the exact date.[31]

28 Hammond, J.L.& B. op.cit.

29 Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G.E. op.cit., p.90.

30 ibid., p.93. They write that farms grew in size for a whole variety of reasons: "...because except in certain specialized branches of farming large units were technically more efficient and more progressive; because the advances in husbandry involving the cultivation of roots and legumes generally demanded fairly large acreages; because large farmers had the resources to withstand occasional bad years and periods of low prices; and perhaps not least because landowners took great care in selecting the tenants for their farms, and saw that they had the capital and knowledge to farm successfully." pp.92-3.

31 Jessup, F. in A History of Kent. Darwen Finlayson, 1958, p.134, refers to sixteenth century Kent as a "...county of enclosures". There is no reference to Brenchley being enclosed by Parliamentary Act - a method which came into vogue in the early eighteenth century. The University of Reading listing of enclosure awards also has no reference to the parish, and so it may well have been enclosed as early as the Middle Ages. Tate, W.E. A Domesday of English Enclosure Acts and Awards. The Library, University of Reading, Reading, 1978, Kent is referred to on pp.145-147; Wordie, J.R. 'The Chronology of English Enclosure,' EHR, 2nd ser. XXXVI, no.4 (1983), 483-505, especially p.489 where in Table 1 Kent is classified amongst the "wholly enclosed" counties in 1600.

Bearing in mind its dependence on arable, it is surprising that the 20-100 acre holder was not less represented in Brenchley than nationally. 22.6% of land holders in England and Wales in 1851 held less than 20 acres but the 20-100 acre holders represented 41.2% of all farmers.[32] In Brenchley the comparative percentages were 20.7% and 53.7%. Moreover Mingay wrote that the "...small farmers (defined as having between 20 and 100 acres) were still numerous in the late nineteenth century, having well over a half of all holdings over 20 acres."[33] In Brenchley in 1871 the equivalent figure was 47.4%. Yet, while there were quite a few small (20-100 acre) farmers in Brenchley by comparison with England and Wales, their decline during the period 1841-71 is evident. We can see from Table 4.8 that the numbers of farms under 20 acres diminished during this time. With reference to his Staffordshire Estates' tenants holding under 20 acres, Wordie argues that these tenants, rather than facing competition from large farmers, could have turned to market gardening, had they been in the vicinity of a large urban centre. Difficult though it is to generalise from Wordie's analysis of an Estate to Brenchley's land holders, we should recall that despite the proximity of Tunbridge Wells (a distance of around three miles), the decline of Brenchley's smallest occupiers was not averted. The apparently dramatic decrease between 1842 and 1851 of the under 20 acre farmer from 45.5 to 20.7% of all land holders may be much exaggerated, due in part to the fact that the Tithe Award included all holders of land. This sets it apart from the censuses[34] which did not

32 the 100-300 acre farmers nationally represented 28.7% of all land holders, and the over 300 acre farmers 7.5%. The comparative figures for Kent in 1851 were: 18.3%, 34.2%, 33.6% amd 13.9%.

33 Mingay, G.E. Enclosure and the small Farmers in the age of the Industrial Revolution. 1968, Macmillan Press Ltd, 1976 edition, p.15.

34 The 1841 census is not used in this discussion since it did not record information on land holding.

Table 4.8. Percentage of heads of house occupying land in each size of category.

size of holding acres	tithe 1842		census 1851		1861		1871	
	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
under 1	5	2.8						
1 - 2	3	1.7	1	1.5				
2 - 3	9	5.0						
3 - 4	4	2.2						
4 - 5	8	4.4	1	1.5	1	1.8		
5 - 10	20	11.1	5	7.4	4	7.1	4	9.1
0 - 20	33	18.3	7	10.3	3	5.4	2	4.5
0 - 30	24	13.3	6	8.8	2	3.6	1	2.3
0 - 40	11	6.1	5	7.4	4	7.1	4	9.1
0 - 50	11	6.1	8	11.8	2	3.6	2	4.5
0 - 60	9	5.0			3	5.4	4	9.1
0 - 70	5	2.8	4	5.9	2	3.6		
0 - 80	5	2.8	8	11.8	8	14.3	5	11.4
0 - 90	6	3.3	3	2.9	3	5.4	1	2.3
0 - 100	7	3.8	3	4.4	1	1.8	1	2.3
0 - 200	17	9.4	16	23.5	18	32.1	15	34.1
0 - 300	1	0.6	1	1.5	4	7.1	3	6.8
0 - 400	2	1.1					1	2.3
0 - 500								
0 - 600					1	1.8	1	2.3
0 - 700			1	1.5				
0 - 800								
0 - 900								
0 - 1000								
0 - 2000								
0+								
Total	180	100	68	100	56	100	44	100

Source: Brenchley Tithe Award 1842, PRO, IR/29/17/49; Brenchley census 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496. & RG.10.935.

note: The statistics for the Tithe Award exclude gardens and only include land under woods, pasture, arable and hop cultivation - in order to make the information comparable to that included in the three censuses so far as possible. Only 1.6% of persons holding land under 1 acre declared it to be for cultivation purposes. The remaining 98.4% (301) described the land as "gardens".

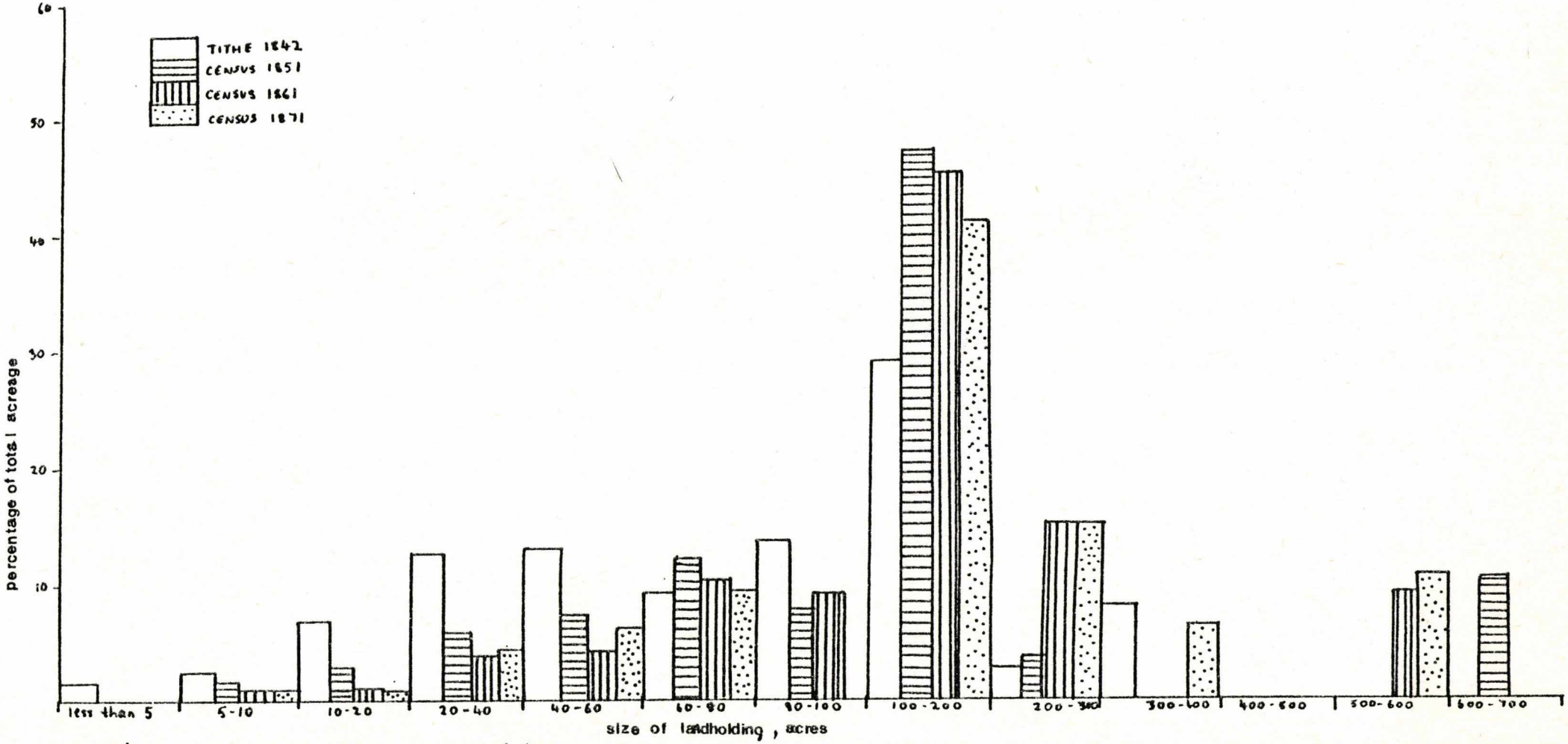
record persons unless they claimed land to be their prime means of subsistence. Nevertheless, even when considered in isolation, successive censuses reflect the trend towards the decline of the very small, under 20 acre 'farmers' from 20.7% to 13.6% in 1851-71, and of the small 20-100 acre farmers from 53.0% to 41.0%. During this time the intermediate (100-300 acres)[35] and large (300 acres +) farmers increased as a percentage of all heads of house occupying land from 26.5% to 45.5% (or 25.0% to 40.9% and 1.5% to 4.6% respectively).

Although the number of small farmers may have been on the decline, this trend need not necessarily have corresponded to any increase in the acreage accounted for by large farms. However, Figure 4.I illustrates that an increasing proportion of the parish was covered by land holdings of over 100 acres, confirming the evidence already presented regarding the growth of larger farms (if not strictly speaking 'large' farms, that is, those over 300 acres). Clearly the consolidation of land into larger units was still in process, even if on a very moderate scale. The trend is very clear in the period 1842-61, though the 1871 census figures reveal a fractional revival of the 20-60 acre land holder. The percentage changes are only minor but they testify to the trend in land holding.

Throughout this period, the percentage of all heads of household who held land was similarly on the decline. According to the 1851 census, a very large proportion - 87.5% - of all heads of house already held no land. By 1861 this figure had increased to 90.3%, and by 1871 it reached 93.8%. In conclusion, the percentage of farmers occupying small acreages was decreasing, and the percentage of farmers occupying land over 100 acres was increasing.

35 For a definition of 'small', 'intermediate', and 'large' holdings see Mingay, G.E. 'Size of Farms in the Eighteenth Century', EHR, 2nd ser.XIV, no.3(1962), 469-488; Wordie, J.R. 1974, discusses the decline of the small and intermediate farmer in terms of those holding under 20 and 20-200 acres respectively (large farms being 200+), and thus the use of different categories restricts the amount of comparison possible. He focuses on the decline of the 20-200 acre farmer, finding that the under 20 acre holder did not decline. If we use Wordie's categories we find that in Brenchley the 20-200 acre holder remained constant in the years 1851-71.

FIGURE 4.1. Percentage of the total acreage of Brenchley occupied by each size category.



Source: Brenchley Tithe Award, PRO, IR/29/17/19; census, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496 & RG.10.935.

Finally in this examination of landholding we can establish the ratio of all occupiers to agricultural labourers. Orwin and Felton commented of the nineteenth century that "...with the decline of subsistence farming and the development of farming for profit, the number of farm workers as contrasted with farmers steadily increased."[36] In 1831, in Britain, Clapham found this ratio to be 1:2.5.[37] The comparable ratios of all of Brenchley's farmers to agricultural labourers for each census 1841-71 were 1:5.2, 1:6.3, 1:7.9, 1:9.2 respectively - all figures well above those cited by Clapham. In 1851 the national ratio was 1:3.8 and for extra-metropolitan Kent 1:7.9.[38] It is interesting to see the ratio of labourers to farmers increasing at a time when the number of smaller land holders declined. Yet by the beginning of the twentieth century the ratio of farmer to labourer in England and Wales had changed to 1:3. According to Chambers and Mingay this was in part a result of the out-migration from the villages[39] and the decrease in the number of employees deemed essential by the farmers. While we have no figures for Brenchley at this time it is nevertheless striking that the national ratio fell from 1:3.8 in 1851 to 1:3 by this century. Brenchley's ratio had climbed from 1:6.0 in 1851 to 1:8.1 in 1871, and was therefore unlikely to have dropped to the national low even by 1900.

(iii) Type of Farming.

The type of farming carried out in Brenchley is indicated

36 Orwin, C.S. & Felton, B.I. "A Century of Wages and Earnings in Agriculture,' JRAS, 92 (1931), p.231.

37 Clapham, J.H. op.cit., p.113.

38 PP 1852-53,LXXXVIII.Pt.1(2), pp. ccxxiii & ccxxvi.

39 Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G.E. op.cit., p.197.

by the Tithe Award of 1842 (Table 4.9). The land given

Table 4.9. Brenchley, land use, 1842.

land use	acres
waste	1,693
wood	711
pasture	1,180
arable & hops	4,112
total	7,698

source: Brenchley Tithe Award, PRO, IR/29/17/49.

over to pasture was only a quarter of that given to arable and hop farming, although a detailed study of all the cultivators recorded in the Tithe Award disclosed that 74.3% had some pasture. Of these 9.9% (13) had over 200 acres (see Table 4.10). Of the 13, 4 had no arable land while the remainder had on average at least twice as

Table 4.10. Holders of Pasture, 1842.

Acres	no	%
under 1	8.0	6.1
1-2	17.0	12.9
2-3	13.0	9.8
3-4	11.0	8.3
4-5	6.0	4.5
5-10	30.0	22.7
10-20	34.0	25.8
20-30	6.0	4.5
30-40	3.0	2.3
40-50	3.0	2.3
500-600	1.0	0.8
total	132	100

source: Brenchley Tithe Award 1842.

much arable land as pasture. For example, of the three holding 40-50 acres of pasture, one had 60-70 acres of arable, another 100-200 acres, and the third 200-300 acres. Consequently Brenchley was unlikely to derive the cushioning effect associated with mixed farming in times of low corn prices. Indeed the district was likely to be much depressed in times of low corn prices (the 1820s and 1830s), with resultant unemployment. Corn prices did rise again after 1837, fluctuated in the 1840s, and on the whole were more buoyant after 1852-53, though not rising as much as livestock prices. The social implications of these price changes for the employment of labourers would be that opportunities improved with higher corn prices, partly, indeed, because the district was so committed to arable, and this land use displayed little change in the period 1851-71. However it is worth recalling at this stage the point made in an earlier Chapter (Chapter 3, p.139) regarding the comparatively fewer numbers of workers employed on land given over to pasture as opposed to arable. Indeed James Huzel in his thesis on Kent found a positive association between pasture and the incidence of poverty.[40] While mixed farming brought its benefits for the farmers after mid-century, too heavy a reliance on pasture could bring its own social problems in terms of unemployment amongst the workforce.

(iv) Craftsmen.

It was suggested earlier in this Chapter that the decline of the small land holder served to polarise the rural social structure, separating the villagers into two basic groups: larger land holders and labourers. The decrease in the numbers of rural craftsmen operated towards the same end. Saville wrote that traditionally each village had its own mason,

40 Huzel, J.P. The Old Poor Law, Population and Agrarian Protest in early Nineteenth Century Kent. University of Kent Ph.D, 1975.

thatcher, carpenter, baker, tailor and shoemaker. He suggested however, that with the growth of urban industry, some of these rural craftsmen lost their markets, being unable to compete with the comparatively low priced urban manufactures. These manufactures started reaching rural areas with the building of the railways, which in Kent began in the 1830s. "Rural isolation" was broken down.[41]

From Table 4.11 we can see no straightforward trend in the percentage of all male adults practicing a craft in Brenchley. The only noteworthy fluctuation (a relative decline), occurred between 1841 and 1851. Saville's proposition that railways brought the rural craftsmen into competition with manufactured goods is a possible explanation for the

Table 4.11. Percentage of all male adults* practicing a craft, 1841-71.

trade	1841		1851		1861		1871	
	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
coachmaker	1	0.2			1	0.1	3	0.3
wheelwright	6	0.9	10	1.3	9	1.1	13	1.4
saddler	2	0.3	1	0.1	2	0.2	3	0.3
carpenter, joiner	14	2.1	12	1.5	17	2.1	19	2.1
bricklayer	10	3.2	9	1.1	10	1.2	16	1.8
plumber, painter	1	0.2	2	0.3	4	0.5	5	0.5
tailor	2	0.3	7	0.9	3	0.4	2	0.2
shoemaker	10	3.2	16	2.0	14	1.7	13	1.4
sawyer	8	1.2	7	0.9	5	0.6	3	0.3
brickmaker	7	1.1	2	0.3	10	1.2	6	0.7
blacksmith	8	1.2	11	1.4	18	2.2	14	1.5
miller	6	0.9	7	0.9	6	0.7	6	0.7
baker	1	0.2			2	0.2	4	0.4
total	76	15.0	84	10.7	101	12.2	107	11.6

*adult, that is, 16-70.

source: Brenchley census, 1841-1871, PRO, HO.107.456, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

41 Saville, J. op.cit., p.11.

decline, as the South Eastern Railway linking the parish with London was built through Brenchley[42] in 1842 (Map 4.1). Yet despite the coming of the railway, Brenchley was too remote to be influenced by urbanisation, the nearest urban centre being the spa town of Tunbridge Wells. Later the building of many new houses in the decade 1861-71 enabled plumbers, painters, bricklayers, carpenters and joiners to maintain their position. We can speculate that these new houses were built for railway workers (and associated mechanics)[43] but as the percentage of the adult male labour force employed by the railway only grew from 1.6% in 1851 to 2.9% in 1871[44] it is highly unlikely. Parishes in northern Kent would have felt the impact of a link with London far more strongly.

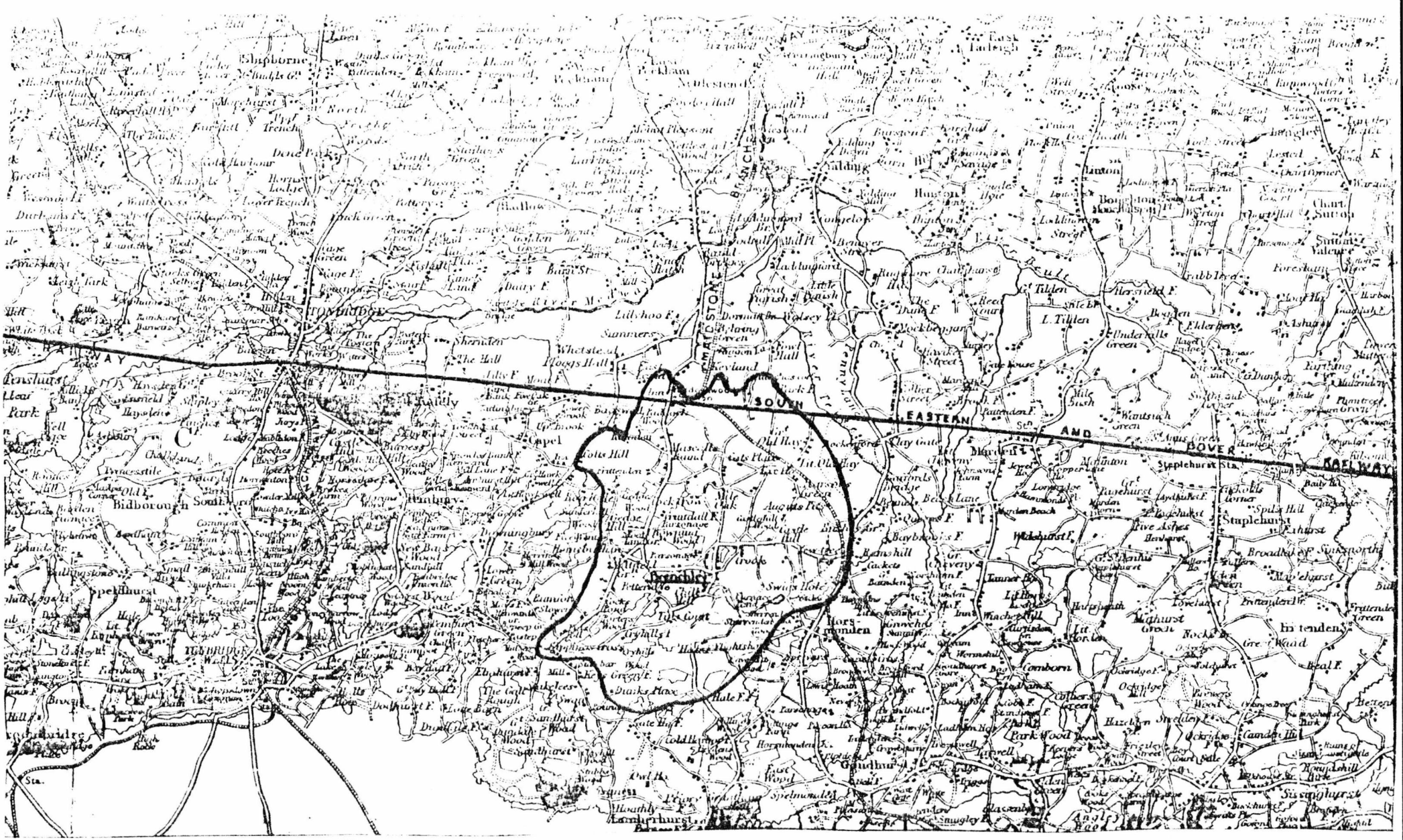
Because craftsmen formed a relatively small percentage of Brenchley's adult male labour force with relatively small numbers involved, the changes in the percentages were of uncertain significance. As their numbers actually increased in the period 1841-71, the effect of the railway and urban manufactures is therefore somewhat ambiguous. However, it should be emphasised that, even if the railways had failed to have the expected effect of eroding the numbers of rural craftsmen,[45] there was no question of their being able to transform overall opportunities in Brenchley, and there was little or no alternative employment for any dispossessed farmers, unemployed craftsmen or labourers. In the previous Chapter we mentioned that Brenchley had once been at the centre of the Wealden iron industry, yet by the nineteenth century there was no trace of any such heavy industry in the area, and the coming of the South Eastern Railway to Brenchley in 1842 brought with it very little alternative employment.

42 The railway was built through Brenchley parish, the station being situated in the hamlet of Paddock Wood.

43 Not necessarily identifiable as railway employees since they may have declared themselves on the census as, for example, "wheelwright" or "mechanic".

44 See Assistant Poor Law Commissioner Tufnell's estimate of the negligible employment provided by the railways in Kent, Chapter 3, p.144.

45 see footnote above.



source: Kelly's Directory, 1867.

MAP 4.1 BRENCHLEY parish, showing the South Eastern Railway Line.

BRENCHLEY AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

From the examination of landownership in Brenchley we found that the parish was not the most striking of 'open' parishes, but if the 'open-close' distinction is a continuum rather than a dichotomy, Brenchley lay clearly towards the 'open' end. Were Brenchley's neighbours close parishes for which it had to supply the workforce?

Obelkevich and Mills have said that open parishes had larger populations than close and the former were more densely populated.. In addition Obelkevich found differential growth rates between 1801 and 1851, population growing much more rapidly in open than in close parishes.[46] Table 4.12 summarises these findings for Brenchley and three of its neighbours: Tudely, Pembury and Horsmonden. It is clear from this Table

Table 4.12. Comparative Population Size, Increase, and Growth Rate: Tudely, Pembury, Horsmonden and Brenchley.

Population Size in Comparison to Brenchley, 1851

parish	no. of inhabitants	% of Brenchley's population
Tudely	642	23.7
Pembury	1114	41.2
Horsmonden	1226	45.3

(Brenchley 2704)

Absolute increase in population			Growth Rate, 1851-71, %			
parish	number					
	1851-61	1861-71	1801-51	1851-61	1861-71	1851-71
Tudely	-95	-5	54.0	-14.8	-0.9	-18.5
Pembury	143	134	50.1	12.8	10.7	24.9
Horsmonden	159	64	43.9	13.0	4.6	18.2
Brenchley	232	497	34.1	6.1	17.3	24.4

source: PP.1843.XXII, PP.1852-3.LXXXV, PP.1872.LXVI.Pt.II.

46 Obelkevich, J. op.cit., p.13.

that Brenchley had approximately double the population of two of its neighbours and was four times the size of the other. This finding is consistent with the possibility that it was an open parish surrounded by relatively close ones. The density of population of the parishes did not conform to Obelkevich's pattern, there being little difference between the four parishes,[47] but the growth rate once again suggested that Brenchley was surrounded by close parishes. Although initially in the period 1801-51 all these neighbouring parishes had higher growth rates than Brenchley, by 1851 Tudely was a loser of population, Pembury and Horsmonden decreased their rate of increase while Brenchley jumped from a growth rate of 6.1% in 1851-61 to that of 17.3% in 1861-71. In absolute terms, in the years 1851-71 Tudely lost population, Pembury and Horsmonden made modest gains, with Brenchley gaining the most population. In view of Brenchley's own, rather ambiguous position vaguely towards the 'open' end of the spectrum, one would not really expect sharply defined close parishes adjacent to it. Perhaps only some suggestion that they may have lain further towards the close end of the spectrum, especially Tudely.

In an earlier section we found that Brenchley had more characteristics of an open than a close parish. In this section we have found a certain amount of evidence in support of the possibility that Brenchley was surrounded by relatively close parishes. This relationship can be explored further. Holderness[48] suggested that open parishes supplied manpower for neighbouring close parishes, labourers living in the open parish and working in the close parish; close parishes suffered from deficiencies of labour. In a later discussion we shall see that the number of agricultural labourers declared by farmers as being in their employ in Brenchley was far lower than the numbers of Brenchley residents declaring themselves

47 0.4, 0.3, 0.3 and 0.4 persons per acre for Tudely, Pembury, Horsmonden and Brenchley respectively.

48 Holderness, B.A. op.cit.

to be agricultural labourers, and thus we must conclude that the latter were either unemployed or they worked elsewhere - perhaps in neighbouring parishes. Furthermore Table 5.21, p.305 of Chapter 5 shows that in proportion to settlement size, more people born in Tudely, Pembury and Horsmonden lived in Brenchley than vice versa, perhaps because there was no accommodation for them in these parishes and so they resided in Brenchley and walked to the neighbouring parishes to work.

The suggestion that Brenchley supplied some of the work-force for its close neighbours can be explored by establishing (a) the number of persons in Tudely and Pembury[49] declaring themselves to be agricultural labourers, and, (b) comparing this to the total of employees declared by the farmers. If (b) is larger than (a) we will have evidence that these parishes did indeed rely on extra-parochial, and therefore presumably, Brenchley labour. Table 4.13 summarises the findings:

Table 4.13. Number of declared employees and agricultural labourers enumerated, Tudely and Pembury, 1851 and 1871.

employer		no.declared employees (Tudely)				no. enumerated adult agricultural labourers
		m	w	b	g*	
farmer	1851	63	-	4	-	115
"	1871	58	-	23	-	81
others**						
"	1851	6	-	-	-	
"	1871	-	-	-	-	
				Pembury		
farmer	1851	131	-	-	-	160
"	1871	110	4	33	-	169
other	1851	13	-	-	-	
"	1871	36	-	-	-	

* men = men, w = women, b = boys, g = girls.
** such as butchers, wheelwrights or bakers. These rarely declared themselves to be employers but a study of their census revealed that a few did have assistants or apprentices

49 Tudely and Pembury were chosen as examples for this exercise.

- usually members of the family. These are included in the figures for "other employees".

source: manuscript census for Tudely and Pembury, 1851 and 1871, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.10.934, HO.107.1615, RG.10.936 respectively.

From the above it is clear that there was not a deficiency of labour in Tudely or Pembury in 1851 or 1871, in fact there was a small surplus. The number of declared employees in Tudely declined in 1871 as did the number of enumerated adult agricultural labourers. In Pembury, the reverse was true: employment declined while the number of enumerated agricultural labourers increased fractionally. The only expansion in employment was for boys in both villages (a phenomenon identified in Brenchley, see pp.206 and 209 of this Chapter), and in 'other' pursuits in Pembury. Yet despite any contraction in employment the ratio of all farmers (regardless of whether or not they declared themselves to have employees) to agricultural labourers remained very low (see p.193 of this Chapter and the next section on the numerousness of the agricultural labourer in Brenchley); in Tudely in 1851 and 1871 the ratio was 1:1.7 and 1:1.3 respectively, while in Pembury it was 1:1.2 and 1:1.5. So while there was a small surplus of agricultural labourers one nevertheless obtains the impression that both places suffered far less from the problems of 'surplus' labour than Brenchley. If we go further and examine the size of farm by average adult male labour force (Table 4.14), we find that employment held up well against the national average (see p.210, Table 4.16 of this Chapter), and that for Brenchley. Ultimately we therefore cannot confirm that Brenchley's residents worked in Tudely or Pembury. However it is worth noting that there were farmers occupying small or intermediate holdings who declared no workforce at all: in Tudely 4 and 6, in Pembury 5 and then 4 for the years 1851 and 1871 respectively. They and their families could not have managed their holdings without outside help. The possibility thus arises that farmers only declared their regular

workforce and not those hired on a casual basis.[50] This short-term hiring was common in the nineteenth century and so such employees would have made up a sizeable proportion of any farmer's workforce, as is illustrated by a running record of work kept by a Brenchley agricultural labourer (see below).

Table 4.14. Size of farm by average adult male labour force, Tudely and Pembury, 1851 and 1871.

farm acreage	Tudely		Pembury	
	1851	1871	1851	1871
under 5	-	-	-	-
5-10	-	-	-	-
10-20	1	2	1	-
20-30	-	1	1.7	2.5
30-40	-	-	2.0	-
40-50	-	-	3.5	2.0
50-100	3.5	4.5	3.3	8.0
100-200	9.6	8.0	8.6	4.6
200-300	14.0	8.0	7.7	24.0
300-400	-	12.0	-	14.7
400-500	-	-	12.0	-
600-700	-	-	-	-
700+	-	-	-	-

source: Tudely and Pembury census, 1851 and 1871, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.10.934, HO.107.1615, RG.10.936 respectively.

There is one unique, but not necessarily representative, record of work done by a Brenchley agricultural labourer in the year 1880 which has survived.[51] Although lying outside

50 See the General Report on the 1851 census, PP.1851.XLIII.

51 Harland, A. 'James Playfoot and Sons. The Records of a Kentish Farming Family. 26th November 1879 to 18th January 1881,' Bygone Kent, 3, no.7 (1982), 435-449; and Harland, A. 'James Playfoot and Sons. The Records of a Kentish Farming Family 1881,' Bygone Kent, 3, no.12 (1982), 727-735.

the period selected for study, the record is a useful one, particularly as the labourer's employer Mr. Edward Bridgland of Great Coldharbour Farm, Brenchley, was a conservative farmer who had resisted mechanisation and the introduction of more modern strains of hops. Hence the demands for labour on the Great Coldharbour Farm had probably not changed significantly from those that obtained earlier in the century. The record of James Playfoot's labouring activity reveals that he worked primarily in Brenchley for Mr. Bridgland but that he and his sons also worked on woodland in Lamberhurst. It has been suggested that James Playfoot, eventually to become tenant of the Great Coldharbour Farm was a particularly efficient and sought after labourer and his record of very full employment should not be taken as a typical labourer's year. Other labourers will almost certainly have had to travel further afield to obtain employment.

Finally in this discussion of the relationship between Brenchley and its neighbours, we can analyze the degree of the parishes' contact by studying the prevalence of intra-parochial marriages. These have been used as a measure of rural isolation.[52] In Brenchley there was a very high percentage of intra-parochial marriages in the years 1841-46 of 97% with a decrease after 1846 (see Table 4.15 overleaf). There was a reversal of this trend in the years 1867-71, though the percentage of intra-parochial marriages did not return to their 1840s/early 1850s high level. Throughout the period the percentage of intra-parochial marriages never fell below 73%, and so the isolation of Brenchley when measured in these terms continued to be very substantial. It is also worth noting that Table 4.15 reveals a substantial increase in the total number of marriages after 1846 and an equally substantial decline in the total number of marriages in each decade thereafter. Recalling Table 4.7, p.182 of this Chapter, perhaps Brenchley's marriage rate was decreasing as a result of the high and increasing out-migration of Brenchley's young (see Chapter 5, p. 279). Although the 16-20 year olds increased their persistency slightly in the years 1861-71, it is the increased mobility of the 21-25 year olds in 1861-71 that is significant, when we recall that the average age of females at marriage in the 1860s was 22.[53]

52 Perry, P.J. 'Working-class Isolation and Mobility in Rural Dorset, 1837-1936: A Study of Marriage Distances,' Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. 46 (1969), 121-141. Perry in fact questions the reliability of the residence data, pointing out that the true abode was not necessarily the one reported. We have no way of evaluating the accuracy of the partners' statements and have to hope that, as Perry believes, this factor was "...unlikely to seriously affect the reliability of the registers." p.123.

53 Using the Hajnal technique (see p.245 of this Chapter); Hajnal, J. 'Age at Marriage and Proportions Marrying,' PS, 7 pt.2 (1953), 111-136, the average age at marriage for men and women marrying before age 26 years in 1851, 1861, and 1871 was : 23.2 and 21.3, 22.2 and 21.7, 22.2 and 21.2 respectively. The average age at marriage for those marrying before age 25 years was used since we know from the marriage registers of the 1860s (the only ones with such information) that the female average age was 21.1, and the male 25.2.

Table 4.15. (a) Origins of Brenchley Marriage Partners, 1841-71.

period	total	both partners intra-parochial		one or both partners less than 6 miles		one or both partners 6 - 12 miles		one or both partners rest of Kent		one or both elsewhere	
		no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%	no	%
1841-46	111	107	97	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1847-56	203	182	90	11	5	3	2	2	1	5	3
1857-66	157	115	73	20	13	2	1	9	6	11	7
1867-71	51	42	82	5	10	1	2	-	-	3	6
total	522	446	85	37	7	7	1	12	2	20	4

source: Brenchley's marriage records, KAO, P45/1/11-12, 1837-1916.

(b) Marriage distances for 27 Dorset Parishes Combined, 1837-76.

								rest of Dorset			
1837-46	379	307	81	51	14	11	3	9	2	1	0
1847-56	443	363	82	61	14	10	2	6	1	3	1
1857-66	467	378	81	53	11	17	4	12	3	7	1
1867-76	396	302	76	42	11	23	6	21	5	8	2
total	1,685	1,350	80	207	12	61	4	48	3	19	1

source: Perry, op.cit.

Table 4.15 permits a comparison of the Brenchley figures with those yielded by Perry's study of marriage distances in rural Dorset. The dominance of intra-parochial marriage is less pronounced in the Dorset study, the maximum percentage being 82. This figure remained stable for longer than the comparable one for Brenchley, not falling to 76% until the period 1867-76. The prevalence of intra-parochial marriages can in fact serve as an indicator of two features of

Brenchleyites contact with their neighbouring parishes. It can either suggest that they mixed little with the outside world, or secondly, even if they did, for a variety of socio-economic reasons the majority of those marrying were with members of the indigenous population. This raises the question to be discussed in the following Chapter: were labourers, who comprised the majority of male partners, the least mobile of all occupational groups? However it is clear that the percentage of wholly intra-parochial marriages fell as persistency levels also fell (see Chapter 5).

THE POSITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURER

(i) Their Numerousness.

In our discussion of landholding, we discovered that the ratio of all farmers to all agricultural labourers for each census was 1:5.2, 1:6.3, 1:7.9, and 1:9.2, indicating either a decrease of farmers, an increase of labourers, or a combination of the two. The very small and small farmers were indeed on the decrease and in absolute terms the numbers of farmers in Brenchley showed a decline from 69 in 1841 to 56 in 1871, or if we consider those classified as members of the workforce,[54] 67 to 55. Meanwhile the numbers of agricultural labourers of all ages grew from 359 in 1841 to 515 in 1871. If we merely consider the workforce the respective figures are 308, 392, 383 and 451 (the ratio of farmers to agricultural labourers thus becomes: 1:4.6, 1:6.0, 1:7.0, 1:8.2).

Yet the farmers in Brenchley did not declare themselves to be employing this number of people in the period 1851-71 (there was no such return for 1841). The total number of declared employees on the land was:249 men, 0 women, 4 boys (1851); 277 men, 0 women, 72 boys (1861); and 288 men, 24 women and 98 boys (1871). Persons claiming to be following agricultural pursuits (excepting farmers and their sons who

54 Workforce - those aged 16-70. A study of the census data for Brenchley revealed that those aged under 16 and over 70 represented an insignificant proportion of those gainfully employed. Consequently the age group 16-70 has been used throughout to denote the 'workforce'.

could not be counted as employees) numbered 459, 493, and 540. There are three possible explanations for this discrepancy, namely (1) employers did not declare all their workforce, (2) Brenchleyites may have had employment outside the parish and (3) unemployment. The evaluation of these three explanations is not a simple task. In the case of (1) we have no farmers' records for Brenchley which could be compared to the census data and thus no source which could reveal the true number of employees. However, the second possibility, that of Brenchley residents commuting daily to, for example, Pembury, has been explored in the previous section. We had found that in terms of its demographic characteristics (Table 4.12, p.199 of this Chapter), Brenchley had the look of an open parish surrounded by close ones, but that the number of employees declared by the farmers of Pembury and Tudely did not point conclusively to Brenchley's agricultural labourers working in these parishes. The third explanation, that of unemployment, will be explored presently.

(ii) Changes in the Demand for Labour in Brenchley.

Chambers and Mingay wrote that in the period 1832-36 grain producers complained of low prices, and there were renewed cries of 'depression.'[55] Brenchley was an arable area, and therefore likely to suffer from unstable and low wheat prices. Consequently the demand for labour was limited and there was talk of "surplus hands" or "surplus poor."[56] A local farmer, Neve, speaking to the Select Committee on Agriculture in 1833, was certainly of the opinion that there was no such 'surplus'. He believed that there was enough work for all the hands in the Weald if only the farmers would employ the labour. He was asked whether there "...would...be a surplus population of labourers if the tenants were in a better

55 Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G.E. op.cit., p.127.

56 Neve, op.cit.

condition to employ them?" He replied "I think not." "You think there is work enough undone on the land to employ them if the farmers could employ them?" - "Yes."[57] Unfortunately the farmers were not then in a suitable financial situation to employ more labour.

After 1840, writes Jones, there was a change in the situation and even signs of labour shortages.[58] Firstly, the structural changes imposed by the New Poor Law terminated the existence of schemes as the 'Labour Rate' which 'persuaded' farmers to engage labourers. Secondly, and most importantly, prices rose from 1837. Chambers and Mingay wrote: "Barley and wool prices rose, meat and grains generally were beginning to edge upwards, and for twelve years after 1836 the annual average price of wheat never fell below 50s."[59] The 1850s and 1860s were a period of a growth in demand for agricultural labour.[60] However, at this time, while corn prices did not show any general disposition to fall until the late 1870s, there were yearly fluctuations, and "...they (did not) show any disposition to move upwards...market conditions were right for a decided swing away from wheat growing towards livestock production."[61] Tunbridge Union records shed light on the labour demand at this time. Tufnell, the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner for the area, reported in 1868 that in bad years, as a result of the Union Chargeability Act of 1865, (which substituted a union for a parochial basis for settlement),

57 ibid., lines 5253-5.

58 Jones, E.L. 1964, p.327. There is only one reference to a reluctance amongst Brenchley farmers to keeping on their labourers during bad weather or bad harvests in the years 1840-42. PRO, MH.12.5372.

59 Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G.E. op.cit., p.131. 50s. was approximately the average late eighteenth century pre-war price (p.127).

60 Jones, E.L. op.cit.

61 Jones, E.L. The Development of English Agriculture, 1968, Macmillan, 1976 edition, p.19.

"...the farmers now only kept on their best men instead of making work for the whole as they used to do."[62] Knowledge that the expense of relief for the unemployed would no longer fall on their shoulders alone prompted farmers to dismiss all but the most needed labour.

It could be argued that it was population growth, and not prices or institutional changes which was responsible for the variations in the proportion of the population for whom employment was found. An investigation of this argument requires a comparison of population growth and employment opportunities. Table 4.16 records the average labour force on each size of farm for England and Wales, extra-metropolitan Kent, and Brenchley. This reveals that employment in Brenchley, when compared to averages for other areas, was holding up well. In 1851 only 22.2% of all Brenchley farmers employed a lower than average number of men, and the largest group of employers, those holding 100-200 acres hired at an above average rate. There was a slight increase in the average number of workers employed. Those holding land of between 100 and 200 acres increased their employment by 6.9% in the decade 1851-61 (from 129 men, women and boys)[63] and 0% (148 to 148) between 1861 and 1871. Taking all farms into account the comparable figures were an increase of 38.0% (253 to 349) and 18.0% (349 to 410).

This increase in the number of jobs suggests that employment was capable of being expanded when the farmers had the means to do so. However, this growth occurred mainly in the employment of boys, not adult men. The number of boys declared by farmers as being in their employ increased from 4 in 1851 to 98 in 1871. Legislation did not restrict the employment of children aged under 14 until 1876 (see Chapter 1, p.95) and thus there were no legal obstacles to tapping this cheap source of labour. In fact this trend in the disproportionate[64] increase in employment of boys in comparison to young and

62 PRO, MH.12.5376. November 1868.

63 Boys being those aged 15 and under.

64 If we compare the % increase in the numbers of men declared to be employed by farmers between 1851 and 1871 it is only 7.3% whereas the increase of boys was 92.2%.

Table 4.16. Size of farm and average adult male labour force.

farm acreage	England & Wales 1851	e-met. Kent 1851	Brenchley 1851	1861	1871
under 5	0.1	0.2	0.0	2.0	
5-10	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.3
10-20	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.7	0.0
20-30	0.5	1.2	1.0	2.0	1.0
30-40	0.8	1.7	1.6	1.3	2.8
40-50	1.0	2.1	2.6	0.5	1.7
50-100	1.6	3.1	3.5	3.4	3.0
100-200	3.5	5.6	7.1	6.2	7.6
200-300	5.2	8.6	14.0	10.3	13.0
300-400	9.3	14.0			15.0
400-500	12.3	17.1			
500-600	15.7	20.6		50.0	40.0
600-700	18.7	25.9	7.0		
700+	25.7	36.3			

note: the 'average number of men' is an approximate figure because the printed census does not specify in all cases the precise number of men employed. For example, it records how many 10-20 acre farmers employed 10-14 men, the precise figure (10, 11, 12, 13 or 14) is not given. In this situation 10 would have been the number counted, so the figures may be slightly underestimated. The information on farm employment is available in 1851 for extra-metropolitan Kent, intra-metropolitan Kent being included under 'London'. In 1861 we have no data for Kent, only for Bucks, Cambs, Cheshire, Cumberland, Lincs, Norfolk, Shropshire, Wilts, and the North Riding of Yorkshire. In 1841 and 1871 this information was not recorded. Brenchley's manuscript census contains the figures for all but the 1841 census.
In the case of Brenchley in 1861 and 1871, the 500-600 acre holders employing 50 and 40 adult men respectively are not a true average since there was only one farmer with this acreage in both years.

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496. & RG.10.935. Kent, England and Wales Census, PP.1852-53,LXXXVII,Pt.I(2).

middle-aged men in agriculture was to continue for some time to come. However if we consider child labour as a whole as revealed by the census, the percentage of those aged 16 and under for the four censuses 1841-71 was as follows: 9.5%, 6.2%, 11.9% and 8.8%. So as a whole child labour was not on the increase and in fact the number of 'scholars' increased from 0.5%, 18.7%, 43.3% to 50.4% of all those aged under 16.[65]

Outside of agriculture, the railway provided work for a very small percentage of the adult male workforce, and which increased only slightly from 1.6% to 2.9% in the period 1851-71 (13 to 26). Non-agricultural employment for men and boys as a whole (as declared by employers on the census) remained stable in the decade 1851-61, (22 and 20 respectively) and then grew by 56/58 jobs in the following decade (an increase of 71.8% and 74.4% respectively). Initially it appears difficult to gauge the growth in the availability of domestic employment for adult women - domestic service being their largest employer. Although the numbers of heads of house who had domestic servants 'living-in' were easily identifiable, those domestic servants not 'living-in' were not disclosed by their employers. Consequently, the decline in the percentage of heads of house having servants 'living-in' could have reflected the end of the practice (see pp.212-215) and not an overall decline in work available for domestic servants. In fact between 1841 and 1871 the percentage of adult women in service grew from 9.6% to 17% (57 to 162 persons).

It should be clear from the above that the comparison of the growth of population with the growth in jobs is a relatively complex matter. Moreover it is one that provides no

65 See Chapter 1, p.95, for a discussion of the legislation affecting child labour and schooling. Although the first grant of public money for education was made in 1833, it is surprising when we consider the figures above that the first noteworthy move to remove children from the labour market was not made until the Gangs Act of 1867 and the Education Acts of 1870, 1873 and 1876.

easy answer to the question as to whether fluctuations in the demand for labour were a consequence of population growth. For example, in the two decades 1851-61 and 1861-71 the population grew by 6.1% and 17.3% respectively. Agricultural employment (the largest) in 1851-61 grew at more than double the rate and then at half the rate in the next decade. Assuming that there was no deficiency in the availability of work to start with, this growth rate in jobs would have at least initially been adequate for the growing population. However if there had been a deficiency of jobs at the starting point (due to earlier population growth), the discrepancy could have only been overcome by a greatly accelerated growth in employment. There is, in fact, considerable evidence of shortage of employment in the early 1830s (see pp.234+ of this Chapter).

(iii) The Decline of Living-in and Changes in Hiring Practices.

Ann Kussmaul in her comprehensive study of farm servants[66] proffers an explanation for the decrease of the custom of 'living-in' which was identifiable from the late eighteenth century onwards. Firstly the New Husbandry with its emphasis on wheat-growing reduced the need for constant labour; it was more practical to hire day labourers as opposed to farm servants, and so the numbers of farm servants, or workers 'living-in' decreased, particularly after the coming of peace. Hosbawm and Rudé cite the evidence of the Select Committee on Agriculture of 1833 which claimed that 'living-in' had disappeared from the Weald "...since the early part of the War."[67]

66 Kussmaul, A. op.cit. See also the reference to her work in Chapter 1.

67 Hobsbawm, E.J. & Rudé, G. op.cit., p.23. See also Report from the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state of Agriculture, and persons employed in Agriculture in the United Kingdom, PP.1833.V.

John Neve of Tenderden, in giving evidence to this same Committee stated that fewer servants[68] were kept in the farmers' houses than used to be.[69] Examining the data for Brenchley, we find the custom of 'living-in' persisting throughout the period under consideration, but the custom was most definitely on the decline, primarily amongst the largest group of employers, the farmers (Table 4.17). It is striking that as high a figure as 48.5% of farmers had employees 'living-in' as late as 1851, and equally striking that there was a collapse to 16.4% in the following twenty years. Not only did a decreasing percentage of farmers have their workforce 'living-in' with them, but also these members of the workforce who were 'living-in' formed an increasingly smaller proportion of the total agricultural labour force. In 1851 the 32 farmers who were heads of household and who had labour 'living-in', between them provided domicile for 56 persons, or 11.9% of the total agricultural labour force.[70] In 1861 the 11 farmers supplied domicile for 18, or 3.2% of the

68 It is important to distinguish between farm servants and farm labourers. The former formed the core of the permanent staff on a farm, namely, the bailiff, housekeeper, carter, ploughman, cowman, shepherd, dairy and kitchen maids, and the thresher. It is also important to differentiate between farm servants customarily living-in and those not living-in. This is difficult: a farmer on his census schedule might declare, for example, that he employed 7 men, and then would list those living-in. Those of his farm servants living independently would not be included, and so their occupations are unknown. All we can say is that, for example, in 1851, there was 1 shepherd in Brenchley, and he was not distinguished on any farmer's return. Similarly there were 8 carters, 2 appearing on their employer's form.

69 John Neve, cited in the Report op.cit., 11 June 1833.

70 defined as: agricultural labourers and all farm servants.

Table 4.17. Percentage of farmers and tradespeople with employees 'living-in', 1851-71.[71]

	1851	1861	1871
% farmers with employees living-in	48.5	20.0	16.4
% parish tradespeople with employees living-in	23.1	16.0	8.8

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496 & RG.10.935.

force, and by 1871 the 9 farmers had residing with them 10, or only 1.8% of all agricultural workers. Thus, the security gained from 'living-in' was avilable to fewer and fewer workers. Many farm servants had previously been differentiated from agricultural labourers by their proximity to the farmer. These increasingly became indistinguishable from labourers.

It is interesting and surprising that other occupational groups shared this same tendency. For example, of all males classified as domestic servants,[72] 89.3% lived with their employer in 1851, 73.9% in 1861, and 52.9% in 1871. Looking at the issue from the point of view of the employer, the percentage of all heads of household with employees (such as journeyman, apprentices, farm and domestic servants) 'living-in' declined from 9.2% in 1851 to 2.7% in 1871. Leaving the heads of household who were farmers aside, the trend was still clear, a decrease from 3.8% in 1851 to 1.5% in 1871.

In our examination of landownership and landholding we identified a widening gap between farmers and labourers. The decline of living-in enhanced this gap between all employers and employees. The labour contract sheds more light on the

71 See also Appendix 7 for a detailed table of %s of heads of house in each occupational category having employees 'living-in'.

72 Classified as: servants (including hotel servants), cooks, coachmen, grooms, footmen.

relationship between employer and employee. Whereas the preceding discussion of living-in was based on information supplied by the census enumerators' returns, the sources for the study of the labour contract are more elusive. Kussmaul writes that farm servants' contracts were increasingly shortened in the early nineteenth century to half a year or 51 weeks, thus preventing the servant from obtaining a settlement in the parish and a right to Poor Relief. Moreover, relief was never used to subsidise farm servants, who were deemed to be the responsibility of their master. Consequently farmers would decide to hire no farm servants in order to avoid these problems. Indeed Kussmaul found that landlords stipulated in their leases that tenants hire no servants. The idea behind shortening hiring periods for farm servants and other workers was the same - to deprive them of a settlement and therefore a right to relief. Of those that did hire servants, Keith Snell found that before 1821-30, "...the percentage of hirings that were for the full fifty-two weeks never fell below approximately 87%, but by the next decade they had dropped to only 66% of hirings."[73] It is therefore hardly surprising that we found a movement away from living-in and, as we shall examine below, the instigation of shorter periods for those who did or did not live-in.[74]

While there is no direct evidence of the length of hirings in Brenchley, there is much to show that farmers were reluctant to hire agricultural labourers for long periods and to keep them on in bad times. Under the Old Poor Law the Parish Overseer's employment schemes were designed to force farmers to employ more labour. In November 1832 they proposed a "Rate

73 Snell, K. The Standard of Living, Social Relations, the Family, and Labour Mobility in South-Eastern and Western Counties, 1700-1800. University of Cambridge Ph.D, 1980. See also Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion of Snell's study.

74 It is worth noting that in the north where industry drew away workers from agriculture, farmers, in order to secure their workforce, needed to offer a yearly contract.

for the better employment of the industrious and ablebodied labourers,"[75] whereby each ratepayer had the choice of either paying the rate to the parish or paying the equivalent in wages to labourers. Such a practice was not unusual in the Weald and was quite widespread in southern England during the closing years of the Old Poor Law. For example Staplehurst parish agreed at a vestry meeting in December 1832:

> "That the committee shall appoint to every rate payer (employing his number of labourers) for one week from Monday morning to Saturday night such a proportion of the surplus or unemployed as is equal and fair according to the respective amount of their rating and make entry of the same in the book before mentioned... That the above resolution be in force for three months."[76]

The only other reference to the hiring practices for this period came from John Neve[77] who in giving evidence for the Weald in 1833 stated that the old custom of hiring labourers at fairs had died out, and that instead labourers now went around the farmers' houses looking for work. This suggests that farmers had no need to go to fairs; the scarcity of work ensured that workers came to the farmers. That these references are encountered in the early 1830s is not surprising, for, as was mentioned earlier, these were years of low grain prices.

Tufnell's statement of 1868 cited earlier (p.209 of this Chapter) regarding the farmers' tendency to keep on only the most needed section of their workforce suggests that many of the other employees had been hired on short-term contracts, and could be dismissed at will, a situation which would have

75 KAO, P45/8/2.

76 KAO, P347/8/1. The three months were those of winter when labourers were least likely to be kept on.

77 Neve, op.cit., line 5199 of the Report.

been of little consequence to the agricultural labourer if s/he obtained regular employment. No farmers' records were found for Brenchley, only the Labour Account Books for Linton Park,[78] an estate approximately four miles away. These records detail the hiring practices relating to farm servants in the years 1864-71. The general impression is that the Estate, like many large farms, had a core of regular workers; these included a brewer, bricklayer, cowman, carpenter and watchman. Yet even here some of these 'regulars' were recorded as being paid "per day", while others were recorded as being paid "per week". Hobsbawm and Rudé point out that this was happening to farm servants thirty years earlier, when those who had been hired on a yearly contract (for example, those who were needed regularly to tend cattle), often had their contracts reduced from a year to a month:

> "There was a distinct tendency in counties with a labour surplus to hire even horsemen, stockmen and shepherds by the week, the day... In a word, the farmhand became essentially a casual labourer, hired and dismissed at will..."[79]

Kussmaul suggested that at this earlier time farm servants' contracts were being reduced to six months. Nevertheless, despite this dispute over the length of hiring periods of farm servants in the early nineteenth century, there is a clear indication in the Linton Park records that even on estates, where employment was traditionally more stable, by the 1860s the employer offered very short contracts for some regular workpeople such as cowmen, carpenters, shepherds or watchmen.

We have seen evidence to the effect that fewer persons were living-in, and that both agricultural labourers and farm servants had their position undermined by the shortening of hiring periods. As a result of the changes in hiring

78 KAO, U24/A7-A11, Linton Park Labour Account Books, 1864-71.

79 Hobsbawm, E.J. & Rudé, G. op.cit., p.24.

practices, farm servants became more like labourers. One further piece of evidence regarding hiring should be discussed. Certain members of the agricultural workforce, such as women, appear in the Linton Park Account Books only during hay making, and were paid on a daily basis. The same applied to boys employed in the hayfield, though a few were employed regularly throughout the year. The only other labour recorded was casual labour, the 'odd job' men, who were hired on a daily basis and paid by the day or on a piece rate. These women, boys and 'odd job' men had probably always been hired in this manner. However, we can conclude that despite the fluctuating circumstances of English agriculture there was a persistent structural trend in Brenchley towards the extinction of farm servants and the shortening of hiring periods - even for the most essential workforce.

(iv) Wages.

In our discussion of wages, we must first consider the methods of wage payment and Hobsbawm and Rudé's proposition[80] that in the nineteenth century farmers substituted payments in cash for payments in kind. The evidence on this issue, and on wages in Brenchley generally, is rather sparse. The Linton Park Labour Account Books have no reference to payments in kind, except for beer given to casual workers at harvest time. Neither does the Brenchley Parish Farm Account Book,[81] nor the parish scheme of 1832 for providing work for the unemployed,[82] (see also pp.215-216 of this Chapter), nor the earlier prize essay of Boys on the agriculture of Kent.[83] John Neve only mentioned

80 ibid.

81 KAO, P45/25/1, Brenchley Parish Farm Account Book, 1836-44.

82 KAO, P45/8/2.

83 Boys, F. op.cit.

cash wages when discussing earnings in his area in 1833[84] and parishes organising work for their unemployed along the lines of Brenchley also only specified cash payments for work done. The absence of any reference to payments in kind only suggests the discontinuation of this custom. The data for a more positive conclusion are lacking, but the Royal Commission on Labour of 1893-4 included a report on Hollingbourne Union which stated that "...there are no perquisites given to labourers in this district except that...waggoners and stockmen frequently have cottages rent free, and sometimes are given fuel; and no payments in kind are made except beer in hay-time, harvest, and hop-drying."[85] Consequently we are justified in concentrating on cash earnings.

An attempt has been made using a mixture of parish and estate records, to compile scattered information on agricultural labourers' money wages in and around the Brenchley area. However we have to bear in mind that wages paid by the parish or by an estate were different. Those paid by the parish were related not only to a man's trade, but also his age, marital condition and the size of his family. For example, in July 1827 it was:

> "...resolved that man and wife with no children employed on the highways should have 14d a day, and a man and wife with 1 child should have 16d a day and all boys 4d per day and no single men to be employed above 15 or 16 years of age and a Man and 2 children 18d a day. It was also further ordered that men with more than 2 children to have 20d a day."[86]

84 Neve, op.cit.

85 Royal Commission on Labour, PP.1893-4.XXXV, vol.1, pt.V, B-111, Report by Audrey Spencer, Assistant Commissioner, 8 November, 1892, p.51.

86 KAO, P45/8/2, Brenchley parish records.

In 1832 Brenchley parish vestry recommended the following wages for agricultural workers:

Table 4.18. Brenchley, parish wages, 1832.

Boys under 16	6d a day
Boys 16-18	10d a day
Youths 18-20	1s 2d a day
Single men 20+	1s 6d a day
able-bodied married men	2s 0d a day

source: KAO, P45/8/2, November 1832.

In the period 1836-44 the Parish Farm[87] paid men around 2s for a day's work, while a Mrs. Hodges received 1s a day for hay-making. Unfortunately the keeper of this account book did not always specify the number of days which the wages represented. For example, it was recorded that Thomas Whitley was paid 8s for reaping beans, but not how long he had spent at this task. In 1868 Tunbridge Union officials recorded that[88] some men were sand-digging for 10d a day (if they were single), and 1s a day if married, and one 4 lb loaf of bread a week was given for each child.

Neve, in his evidence for the Weald,[89] recorded that agricultural labourers not on the parish pay roll used to earn 3s to 3s 6d a day, while at the time of his Report in 1833, they had for the past two years been earning only 2s 3d to 2s 6d a day (though we must bear in mind that on a national level prices had gone down at this juncture, at least compared to the War years and to the mid-1820s).

87 KAO, P45/25/1.

88 PRO, MH.12.5376, November 1868.

89 Neve, op.cit.

More specifically, the Poor Law Commissioners cited the following wages for Brenchley in 1834, wages which did not compare badly for example, to farm wages in the semi-industrialised and therefore high-wage county of Nottinghamshire.[90]

Table 4.19. Brenchley, labourers' wages, 1834.

men:	summer	12s per week
	during harvest and hop-picking	2-3s per week more
	winter	10-12s per week
	very few given beer	
women:	summer	9 - 10d per day (girls 4-6d per day)
	harvest	1-1s 3d per day (girls 6-8d per day)
	winter	seldom employed (girls not employed)

source: Appendix to the 1st Report from the Commissioners on the Poor Laws, answers to Rural Queries, Appendix B, pt.1, 1834,XXX.

An additional source of information on wages, albeit those paid on an estate, are the Linton Park Account Books.[91] From Table 4.20 we see that the basic rate at which wages on the Estate were paid did not fluctuate greatly over the years, variations occurring only occasionally with seasonal demands for labour. However this conceals the fact that the week worked was not always of the same duration, and so although the workforce were paid on a stable rate, their total earnings may have risen and fallen during the course of the year. Wages also varied according to trade, age and sex: women, boys, and casually employed men were the lowest paid.

90 Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G.E. op.cit., p.137. In Nottinghamshire the average agricultural weekly wage was about 12s 6d. If we take Bowley, A.L. 1900, his Nottinghamshire agricultural labourers were receiving a wage of 12s 10d in 1833 in comparison to the Kentish wage of 13s 1d.

91 Linton Park Labour Account Books, 1864-71, KAO, U24/A7-11.

Table 4.20. Wage levels by trade and method of payment, Linton Park, 1864-71.

Year	Trade	Payment per day highest level		+ lowest level		Payment per week (6 day) highest level		+ lowest level	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
1864	bricklayer	3	6	3	6				
	" boy	1	8	1	8				
	labourer	2	2	1	8				
	carpenter	3	6	3	6				
	waggoner	2	10	2	10				
	" mate	1	8	1	8				
	women, hay-field	1	0	1	0				
	cowman					16	0	16	0
	shepherd					16	0	16	0
	stableman					16	0	16	0
	poultry boy					8	0	4	0
	night watchman					7	0	7	0
	boy, various	1	2	1	2				
1865	odd job boy		8		8				
	bricklayer	3	10	3	6				
	women, hay-field	1	0	1	0				
	stableman					18	0	16	0
	yard boy					11	0	9	0
	poultry boy					9	0	4	0
	cowman					18	0	16	0
	shepherd					18	0	16	0
	waggoner					19	0	16	0
	labourer	2	2	2	0				
	watchman					17	0	15	0
	waggoner's mate					13	0	6	0
	brewer					16	0	13	0
	boy, various	1	0	1	0				

Table 4.20. cont...

Year	Trade	Payment per day highest level		+ lowest		Payment per week (6 day) highest level		+ lowest	
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
1866-67	missing								
	" boy								
1868	boy, various	1	6	1	0				
	labourer	3	2	1	8				
	carpenter	3	10	3	0				
	brewer					18	0	18	0
	" assistant					15	0	15	0
	bricklayer	3	10	3	10				
	cowman					18	0	18	0
	" boy					7	0	6	0
	shepherd					18	0	18	0
	waggoner					18	0	18	0
	" mate					11	0	10	0
	boys, weeding		6		6				
	" picking		6		6				
1869	boy, various	1	8	1	2				
	labourer	3	2	2	6				
	cowman's boy					8	0	6	0
	cowman					18	0	18	0
	waggoner					18	0	18	0
	" mate					12	0	11	0
	shepherd					18	0	18	0
	carpenter	3	10	3	10				
	bricklayer	3	10	3	10				
	boys, hayfield		8		8				
	women, hayfield	1	0	1	0				
	stable keeper					15	0	15	0
	laundry helper					15	0	15	0

Table 4.20. cont...

Year	Trade	Payment per day highest + lowest level				Payment per week (6 day) highest + lowest level			
		s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
1870	missing								
1871	cowman					16	0	16	0
	shepherd					16	0	16	0
	waggoner					16	0	16	0
	carpenter	2	8	2	8				
	bricklayer	3	6	3	6				
	" boy	1	4		10				
	brewer	2	0	2	0				
	labourers	2	8	2	0				

explanations for fluctuations in, for example, a brewer's wages were not offered. We can only detect that labourers' wages occasionally varied according to their task. For example, in 1868 labourers working "in the plant houses" earned 3s 6d - 2s 8d a day, while those who were recorded as "watering plants" received 1s 8d a day.

source: Linton Park Labour Account Books, 1864-71, KAO, U24/A7-11.

Labourers' wages rose slightly between 1864 and 1869, but then declined in 1871. The shepherd, cowman or craftsman who formed the core of the permanent staff at the Estate had the highest wages, and maintained their levels more than other employees.

Differences between market wage rates and those paid by the parish inhibit the compilation of even the most meagre of wage series for the period 1833-71 using the figures cited above; the best that can be done is the fusion of this data as in Table 4.21. Furthermore none of the records pertaining to employees of the parish, estate or local farmers cover the time span in question, so we are also unable to establish the wage trends of any one of these employers. Accordingly, we shall have to

Table 4.21. Agricultural Labourers' Weekly Wages, Brenchley, 1833-71, s.d.

Year				
1833	1836	1838	1867-70	1871
12.0	12.0	12.0	10.0 - 19.0	12.0 - 16.0

source: Brenchley parish records, KAO, P45/8/2; evidence of Neve, op. cit; Linton Park Labour Account Books, KAO, U24/A7-11; Tunbridge Union records, PRO, MH.12.5376.

revert to the series of Kent wages produced by A.L.Bowley. These are given in Table 4.22, in comparison to those ruling in other English counties at various dates from 1833 to 1870-1.

From Bowley's calculations (Table 4.22) Kent appeared as a high wage area, with levels only below those paid to labourers in the industralised northern counties. Meanwhile the trend in money wages in Kent and half of the other

Table 4.22. Agricultural Labourers' wages, selected dates, 1833-71, s.d.

County	year							
	1833	1836	1838	1851	1860	1860-1	1867-70	1870-71
Kent	13.1	12.0	-	-	12.9	12.0	13.9	12.0
Middlesex	13.0	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	13.6
Surrey	12.0	10.0	-	9.6	12.7	12.9	13.6	14.0
Sussex	12.1	11.0	-	10.6	11.6	11.8	12.7	12.0
Hampshire	10.2	-	-	9.6	11.3	12.0	10.9	10.6
Berkshire	10.5	-	8.10	7.6	10.9	-	10.6	10.0
Oxford	10.1	-	9.10	9.0	-	-	13.0	11.6
Hertfordshire	11.0	-	-	9.0	10.0	10.0	11.0	11.0
Buckinghamshire	10.2	-	-	8.6	-	-	13.0	12.0
Northamptonshire	10.3	8.0	-	9.0	11.3	11.0	12.0	11.6
Huntingdonshire	10.5	9.0	-	8.6	10.11	-	10.0	11.0
Bedfordshire	10.0	-	9.0	9.0	10.11	10.3	11.0	10.6
Cambridgeshire	10.6	-	-	7.6	10.6	-	11.0	11.0
Essex	10.3	9.0	9.3	8.0	11.9	11.3	11.3	11.0
Suffolk	9.11	8.6	9.6	7.0	11.11	10.7	11.0	11.0
Norfolk	10.9	-	9.6	8.6	10.6	10.7	11.0	10.0
Wiltshire	9.1	-	9.0	7.3	9.6	9.6	10.1	10.3
Dorset	8.2	-	-	7.6	9.9	9.4	9.6	10.0
Devon	9.0	-	7.0	8.6	9.4	9.2	9.9	10.3
Cornwall	8.11	-	-	-	10.0	-	11.0	11.0
Somerset	8.6	7.6	-	-	9.8	10.0	10.0	10.6
Gloucester	9.6	-	9.10	7.0	9.6	9.5	10.10	10.9
Hereford	8.1	-	-	-	9.5	9.0	10.0	9.6
Salop	9.2	-	7.0	-	10.4	10.0	10.9	11.0
Stafford	11.1	-	-	9.6	12.3	12.6	13.10	13.0
Worcester	9.6	-	10.0	-	10.0	10.0	11.0	11.0
Warwick	10.10	9.6	15.0	8.6	10.11	10.9	11.9	11.6
Leicester	11.2	-	-	9.6	12.8	-	12.6	13.0

Table 4.22. cont...

County	year 1833	1836	1838	1851	1860	1860-1	1867-70	1870-71
Rutland	12.2	-	-	-	11.9	-	-	12.0
Lincoln	13.4	12.0	12.0	10.0	13.8	13.0	14.0	13.6
Nottinghamshire	12.10	-	-	10.0	13.1	12.9	14.6	13.0
Derby	12.0	-	-	11.0	12.0	12.0	14.9	14.0
Cheshire	9.10	-	-	12.0	12.3	11.8	12.6	13.6
Lancashire	12.2	-	-	13.6	13.6	-	15.0	15.7
York W	11.5	-	-	14.0	13.6	13.6	14.10	15.3
York E	11.0	-	-	12.0	-	13.6	14.6	-
York N	11.4	-	-	11.0	13.8	13.6	14.0	13.6
Durham	11.0	-	-	11.0	14.3	14.3	-	16.0
Northumberland	11.5	10.6	-	11.0	14.0	14.0	16.6	16.6
Cumberland	10.8	-	-	13.0	13.6	15.0	16.6	15.0
Westmor- land	11.0	-	-	-	15.0	14.3	15.1	15.6
Monmouth	10.8	-	-	-	11.8	11.8	12.10	13.9
Wales	8.2	10.0	-	-	11.3	11.2	-	-

*Bowley does not have a complete series of statistics, for example, there are none for the years 1838-51. Of those available, seven periods have been selected. His periods run: 1833, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1851, 1860, 1861-1, 1867-70, 1869-70.

source: Bowley, A.L. 1900.

counties of England and Wales[92] was for them to be lower in 1870-71 than they had been forty years earlier though the overwhelming majority of the counties displayed an upward swing to 1870. There was a temporary recession in this swing in the 1850s for all but the northern areas. Thus Kent displayed no deviation from the trends of other counties in money wages, while its wage levels were amongst the upper quarter of those of England and Wales. Richardson[93] found that wages for agricultural labourers fell between 1830 and 1840, while Mitchell and Deane[94] found that average money wages, (allowing for unemployment), fluctuated from a low in the early 1850s until the mid-1860s when they showed a marked upward, though not continuous, swing to 1871. Since Kent itself did not deviate from the trend in money wages it is therefore likely, though by no means a certain deduction, that the observations made earlier regarding the trends in real wages on a national level would be applicable to Kent. Wages in Brenchley in the 1830s were occasionally below the Kent county levels, yet not as low as those of the majority of English and Welsh counties. Thus what little data we have for Brenchley suggests that the national and county trend in real wages was also applicable on a parish level.

However, money wages do not give a rounded picture of the position of the agricultural labourer: the cost of living, (especially provisions, rent, fuel and clothing), and the availability of employment determined his ultimate real wage and standard of life. Richardson[95] studied agricultural wages and the cost of living in Kent for the earlier period of 1790-1840. From his work it is clear that while money wages had a tendency to follow the trend of the cost of living,

92 Bowley, A.L., 1900, Table 4.21 of this Chapter.

93 Richardson, T.L. 'The Agricultural Labourer's Standard of Living in Kent, 1790-1840,' in Oddy, D.J. & Miller, D.S. (eds), 1976, 103-116.

94 Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P., op.cit., p.343.

95 Richardson, T.L. op.cit.

they were usually lower than the latter. Consequently in terms of real wages which allows for wage and price levels and unemployment, Richardson found there was a fall in Kent for almost the whole period 1790-1840,[96] even for those in regular employment. Unfortunately in Kent as much as a quarter to a third of the rural labour force were out of work,[97] and we have already seen evidence for a similar potential in Brenchley.

Unfortunately there is no unbroken series of statistics for the cost of living which would enable us to establish real wages in Brenchley during our period. Indeed no appropriate records were found to exist for Brenchley, nor in its neighbouring parishes and Tunbridge Union itself. The General Ledgers of the Union,[98] under their "in-maintenance charges" stated the amounts paid to various individuals for supplying provisions to the workhouse, such as flour, meat, bread, cheese, soap and candles. But these amounts were not broken down by quantity and so we can not calculate from these the cost of each commodity. For example, Jos Mercer was paid £1.17.6 on February 1836 for providing the workhouse in Tunbridge Union with potatoes, but the quantity of potatoes was not specified.[99] Since we are unable to calculate the cost of living and therefore real wages in Brenchley, inferences must be drawn from movements in the cost of living and real wages at the national and county levels. This is not unreasonable as there is nothing in the local material (Table 4.21) or in Table 4.22 to suggest that wage experiences in Brenchley and Kent diverged markedly from the national trend.

96 ibid., p.110.

97 ibid., p.108.

98 Tunbridge Union General Ledger, 1835-37, KAO, G/To/Af1.

99 ibid.

From Table 4.23 it is clear that from the early 1850s there was a rise in real wages, sustained, though, not as great as that which came about after 1870.

Table 4.23. Real wages in agriculture, 1830-70.

	(a) Agricultural prices	(b) Bowley agricultural earnings, England & Wales	b/a real wages	If 1830-5(64)=100
1830-4	123	79	64	100
1835-9	128	79	62	97
1840-4	125	81	65	102
1845-9	114	74	65	102
1850-4	105	78	75	117
1855-5	122	90	74	116
1860-4	116	90	78	122
1865-9	119	92	77	120
1870-4	122	110	90	141

source: Rousseaux price index and Bowley's agricultural wages in Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P. op.cit., pp.349-350 & 471-472.

(v) Allotments

Having examined the position of the agricultural labourer with reference to his numerousness, the demand for his labour, hiring practices, the decline in living-in and wages, we must finally address ourselves to the question whether or not labourers (or dispossessed farmers) managed

to retain an element of independence through the cultivation of gardens or allotments. In our discussion of landownership and landholding we noted the possible effects of the concentration and consolidation of land on the rural social structure, including the increase in the ratio of agricultural labourers to farmers. Did this period in Brenchley's history witness the continued creation of a rural proletariat?

On a general level we should note that the Labourer's Friend Society, an organisation recommending the provision of allotments to the labouring population, had a West Kent branch. Indeed it was their agent who gave the evidence to the Committee inquiring into allotments discussed below. Some of their declared aims were stated as being

> ...
> (3) The Society recommends the letting to the labourer so much land only, as he can cultivate with the aid of his family during his leisure time; consequently, not sufficient to make him a small farmer, or in any way independent of his regular labour.
>
> ...
>
> (6) The Society does not encourage the removal of labourers from one parish to another, but proposes rather to benefit them wherever they are found, to attach them to the soil, and to equalize the supply of labour to the demand.
>
> (7) The system recommended by the Society is founded on the basis of profit to the labourer, both charity or almsgiving. It assumes there is a surplus of labour; and that, in some parts of the country, the labouring man cannot obtain such full and constant employment as is adequate to this subsistence: it proposes, by alloting to him a small quantity of land, to find him profitable occupation for that part of his time which his employer does not require; and thus, by furnishing him with the means of raising a proportion of his most wholesome food in the most economical manner, he is made, by his own exertions, independent both of the parish, and of the charity of his neighbours."[100]

100 Notice of the West Kent Labourer's Friend Society, 1835, KAO, P192/28/3.

The information contained in the Notice does not indicate precisely where the Society was successful in its aims. Consequently its influence in Brenchley remains unknown. The only detailed source of information for Brenchley on this subject is the Tithe Award which lists all gardens in the parish. Of the 497 persons listed, 35% were involved in arable farming, pasture, wood or hop cultivation, 59.7% possessed gardens (all under one acre), and 5.2% had a house but with no land of any kind. Perhaps because so many persons had gardens there were no specific references to allotments. Barnett points out the difference between 'gardens' and 'allotments', even though ultimately they fulfilled the same function: the former would be attached to the labourer's cottage, while the latter would be rented separately. "One man might well possess both. It was hoped that if the garden ground was inadequate it could be supplemented by a separate allotment."[101] A little earlier in 1834 the Poor Law Commissioners were informed that in Brenchley there was no "land let to labourers" for use as allotments.[102] The Commissioners reported on the presence of allotments in 50 parishes selected from all over the county. The only ones with allotments were: Barham - some labourers 15-20 perches; Boughton Monchelsea - some, ½ acre; Chiddingstone - only gardens and small plots for potatoes; Chilham - some; Egerton - some; Goudhurst - very few; Hawkhurst - large gardens only; Higham - very few; Speldhurst - very few; Sundridge - very few; Tenterden - 5 men; West Wickham - a few; Wye - some. Brenchley's immediate neighbours, Pembury and Horsmonden were reported as having none. Indeed, of the twelve Wealden parishes

101 Barnett, D.C. 'Allotments and the Problem of Rural Poverty, 1780-1840,' in Jones, E.L. & Mingay, G.E. (eds), 1967, p.166.

102 Appendix to the 1st Report from the Commissioners on the Poor Laws, answers to Rural Queries, pt.II, PP.1834 XXXI, p.239b.

approached, three made no reply and four had none.[103]

The Report from the Select Committee (Allotments of Land) of 1843, which included evidence on allotments in Hadlow, a parish in close proximity to Brenchley, revealed that there were 25 acres under the allotment system.[104] It being customary to rent approximately ¼ acre to each person, 100 labourers or mechanics in Hadlow probably held allotments. Some measure of the significance of this is afforded by noting that the 100 allotment holders represented 23.8% of all heads of house in Hadlow. (Assuming that Hadlow had the same proportion of heads of household to population as Brenchley).

Barnett wrote that these allotments tended to be arranged by "...parochial clergymen and middling country gentlemen."[105] There was much opposition to the allotment system, since this was "...an age of enormous respect for private property... Supporters of the allotment system were as anxious as any to avoid the taint of interference with private property rights. Yet the implications of State assistance in providing the poor with land could not but interfere to some degree with these rights."[106] If allotments were to be granted they had to be done as a result of the benevolence of the individual landowner. From the Tithe Award we know that in Brenchley there existed at this time only a handful of even moderate proprietors,[107] Thomas Marchant (162 acres), Le Despencer baroness (794), Stephen Hooker (508), William Lambard (267), Robert Walton (774) and the Drapers Company (658). Of these only two were resident landlords, and it is unlikely that the

103 ibid. pp.235b-268b.

104 Report from Select Committee on Labouring Poor (Allotments of Land), PP.1843.VII, evidence of Henry Martin, Hadlow farmer, p.215. He reported in 1843 that 3,000 families in the county of Kent had allotments. ibid. p.213.

105 Barnett, D.C. op.cit., p.165.

106 ibid., p.182.

107 who between them owned 37% of the parish.

absentee landlords interested themselves in, or propagated such schemes. Similarly the clergymen (who averaged 2-3 on each census) did not remain in the parish for any great length of time (none were traced from one census to the next), and therefore they too probably lacked a long-term commitment to their parishioners. In Brenchley it would thus appear that the paternalism referred to by Barnett did not exist to any great extent, if at all.

SOCIAL DISTRESS AS REVEALED IN POOR LAW MATERIAL

In Chapter 3 we discussed the prevalence of poverty and unemployment in Kent and, more specifically, the Weald. Although Tunbridge Union had lower than average expenditure for its locality (due to the presence of Tunbridge Wells), generally the Weald was reported as being a distressed area. In the years 1838-42 it was said by the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner Tufnell that the Weald was suffering from "...the want of employment...pauperism and its numerous attendant evils."[108] And although the 1840s, as a whole, were probably less dire than the 1830s, the continuing precariousness of employment is hinted at by Kent's Poor Law Inspector, Richard Hall. He wrote of Tunbridge Parish:

> "The Corn Harvest good. The crop of hops with but few exceptions very bad. Wages reduced from 12s to 10s... less employment than usual. The advantages of hop-picking lost to the labourers and their Families."[109]

Looking at the period as a whole however, the annual expenditure figures reveal (Tables 4.24 & 4.25) that the combined real expenditure on in- and out-door relief for Tunbridge Union as a whole declined in the late 1840s and early 1850s, and rose in the mid 1850s. This appears to

108 Tufnell's correspondence, PRO, MH.32.71, March 1842.

109 Hall's correspondence, PRO, MH.32.37, September 1850.

Table 4.24. Tunbridge Union, per capita expenditure on relief and real relief, 1850-69.

	(a) prices (Rousseaux)	(b) relief	real relief b/a
1850-4	105	54d	51
1855-9	122	67d	55
1860-4	116	63d	54
1865-9	119	58d	49

source: Poor Law Board Annual Reports, for a complete listing see Bibliography, pp.488-89.

show no great difference over 1850-4 to 1865-9, but, had it been possible to push this calculation back to the 1830s or even the early 1840, very probably a lower per capita expenditure on relief would have been in evidence. The same trend was evident almost all of the unions in Kent and in Brenchley.[110] In fact Brenchley conformed to the trends seen in England, Kent, Hollingbourne and Tunbridge. If we separate the two forms of relief (with respect to Tunbridge Union and Brenchley) the trend remains the same.

Given that half of Brenchley's adult male labour force described themselves as "agricultural labourers" or "labourers", Brenchley was clearly a parish of potentially great unemployment and poverty. Evidence of this is available in the aforementioned scheme of 1832 (p.215-216 of this Chapter) when the Parish Overseer was obliged to pressurise farmers into employing more labour. Evidence regarding the incidence of poverty

110 See figure 4.II.

Table 4.25. Expenditure on Relief* per Head of population, Tunbridge Union and Brenchley Parish, 1849-71, and 1848-59 respectively.

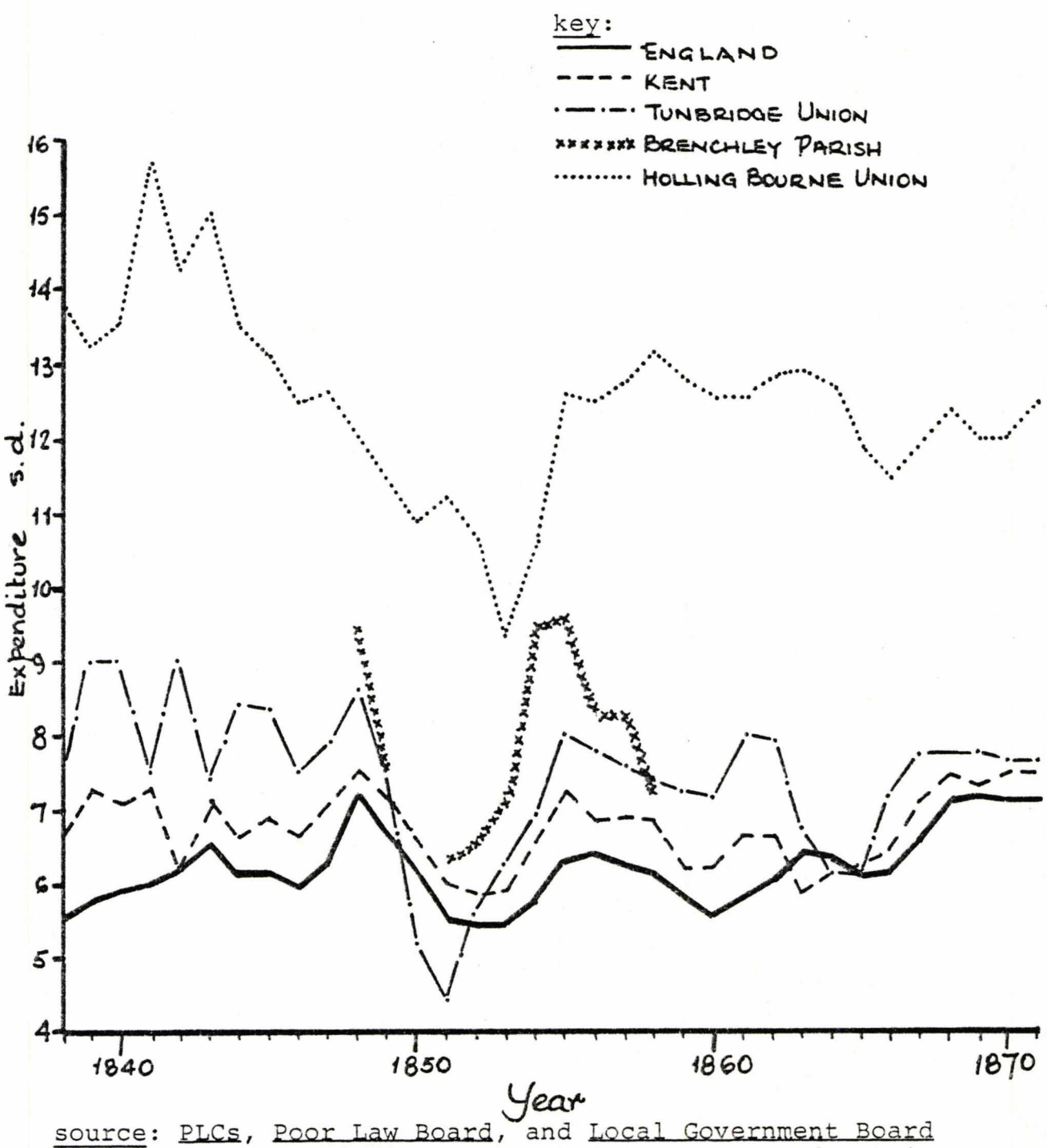
Tunbridge Union total expenditure on relief					Brenchley Parish total expenditure on relief				
Year	indoor		outdoor		Year	indoor		outdoor	
	s	d	s	d		s	d	s	d
1849	1	10	3	10	1848-49	1	10	7	9
1850	0	11	3	10	1849-50	1	2	6	2
1851	0	9	3	3	1850-51	1	0		
1852	0	9	3	3	1851-52	0	9	5	6
1853	0	10	3	4	1852-53	1	2	5	4
1854	1	2	4	5	1853-54	1	2	5	11
1855	1	8	4	4	1854-55	1	9	7	8
1856	1	10	4	3	1855-56	2	4	7	2
1857	1	8	4	0	1856-57	2	0	6	2
1858	1	6	3	9	1857-58	1	11	6	4
1859	1	3	3	9	1858-59	1	10	5	1
1860	1	2	3	10					
1861	1	4	4	5					
1862	1	6	4	4					
1863	1	2	3	10					
1864	0	11	3	8					
1865	0	11	3	7					
1866	1	2	3	6					
1867	1	5	3	10					
1868	1	6	3	6					
1869	1	3	3	7					
1870	1	7	3	4					
1871	1	6	3	2					

* Relief defined as: in- and out-maintenance, (the latter including the cost of non-resident paupers.

source: Figures distinguishing in- and out-door relief are available from 1848. The expenditure for Tunbridge Union is based on the Poor Law Board and Local Government Board Annual Reports; Brenchley's expenditure is from a Parochial Ledger, Tunbridge Union Records, KAO, G/To/Af1/10. The latter are available for a shorter period and are based on expenditure for the year beginning and ending Lady Day (March 25th).

FIGURE 4.II. Relief expenditure* per head of population England, Kent, Tunbridge Union, Brenchley parish, Hollingbourne Union, 1838-71.

* defined as out-door and in-door relief, salaries of officers, other expenses directly associated with relief, medical relief, maintenance of lunatics, workhouse loans and interest. For Brenchley: in- and out-relief and non-residents only.
The figures for 1850 for Brenchley are not presented as they only relate to indoor relief and therefore supply a misleadingly low figure.



source: PLCs, Poor Law Board, and Local Government Board Annual Reports, 1838-71; Parochial Ledger, Tunbridge Union Records, KAO, G/To/Af1/10.

and unemployment at the parish level in the era of the New Poor Law is to be found in the expenditure on relief, both in- and out-door, discussed above. Additional information is contained within Relief Ledgers and Workhouse Admission Registers which stated both the numbers and the characteristics of those receiving in-door or out-door relief, and additionally in the records of the Brenchley Benevolent Society (which was not connected with the Poor Law officials, but held charity status). Because levels of expenditure and the nature of those being relieved may have fluctuated with changes in administrative policy, or indeed with inflation and the increasing cost of relief, there are problems with using expenditure or workhouse statistics for this purpose.

A Relief Ledger, for the period 1835-36, which recorded the recipients of out-relief in Brenchley, provides a picture of unemployment in the parish at this time.[111] The Ledger listed 147 heads of household receiving relief, 37 of whom were not actually resident in Brenchley.[112] It recorded the trade, marital condition and age of the applicant, and the number and sex of the applicant's children - though the information was not regularly provided. Only 7 heads had their occupation recorded, and of these 4 were shoemakers, 1 gate-keeper, 1 rat-catcher and 1 servant. 96 persons were recorded as having children, the number averaging at 3.7 children per family, all of a dependant age. The irregularity with which the information was recorded diminishes the value of the Ledger in this respect. Nevertheless, it provides

111 KAO, P45/12/19. The last ledger, and the one examined here, was for the period 1835-36, the others covered an earlier period (pre-1827, there is a gap in the records for the years 1827-35).

112 Such non-resident paupers were also prohibited from receiving out-relief, though a listing of Brenchley's non-resident poor for the period 1845-66 revealed 33 heads of household who were regularly receiving relief, though it is uncertain whether or not they were kept in a workhouse at their place of residence. KAO, G/To/Af1/10-11, Tunbridge Union Records. For a discussion of the whereabouts of these persons see Chapter 5, though in summary it can be noted that the overwhelming majority were in close proximity to Brenchley.

vital evidence of the extent of unemployment in Brenchley in the 1830s. The 1841 census listed 492 heads of house, and so the 1835-36 list represents approximately a quarter of all heads of house. This suggests that anything up to a quarter of Brenchley's heads and their families were on relief sometime during those two years.

Unfortunately, as noted in footnote 111, there is no equivalent ledger for the period 1830-35 which could provide a comparison for later years. Instead we have Relief Journals which give only the name of the recipient of relief, the amount received, and occasionally the cause of the request for aid. Although there is no indication whether or not all the recipients were heads of house, it is highly probable that they were. Heads of house represented 19.9% of the total population of Brenchley in 1841. If we apply the same percentage to 1831 (there being no manuscript census for Brenchley for that year which would allow us to calculate the exact number of heads of house), we have an estimated number of 517 heads of house in 1831. Examining the Relief Ledger for 1830 the highest number of requests for relief were made in the week ending December 17th: 203[113], or 39.3% of Brenchley's heads of household. This percentage is higher than that obtained for 1835-36 and points to the early 1830s as having been very bad years indeed.

It is interesting to note at this point that the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 officially condemned the granting of out-relief, the Commissioners in London recommending the 'workhouse test' for those requesting aid, and regularly refusing to lift the ban:[114]

> "If... the Farmers have no money to employ the labourers on their farms,

113 Parish Overseas Accounts, 1830-31, KAO, P45/12/26.

114 See Digby, A. Pauper Palaces. RKP, 1978, for a thorough examination of the administration of the New Poor Law, and especially the ineffectuality of central administration vis a vis local economic circumstances.

> when of course some return would be obtained for their labour, still less can they have money to give as out relief, from which no return can be expected. The Commissioners though unwilling to differ in opinion from the Guardians cannot see what advantage the ratepayers can anticipate to the labouring classes by supporting them in idleness through the intervention of the Relieving Officer..."[115]

Yet in times of high unemployment, local Poor Law officials were reluctant to place the able-bodied in the workhouse, preferring to give them out-relief until they found work.[116] Indeed, the workhouse admission registers[117] show that the majority of the workhouse inmates from Brenchley and other parishes in the Union were not able-bodied labourers, but the sick, the insane, illegitimate children and their unwed mothers. As regards the able-bodied in the workhouse, unemployment was usually stated to be the cause of their admission, but the constantly higher rate of expenditure on out- as compared to in-door relief (see Table 4.25, p.236) indicates that the number of unemployed able-bodied persons was higher than the number recorded in the workhouse registers. The tendency was for out-relief to be given to the unemployed able-bodied labourers, and not only to the old, sick, insane, or unmarried mothers and their children.

In 1836[118] a Benevolent Society was established in Brenchley whose Annual Reports exist for the years 1839[119] and 1840.[120] The 1839 Report stated that it had aided 193 poor families and individuals in their "own habitations." The aid was always in the form of articles and not money,

115 Tunbridge Union Records, PRO MH.12.5372, December 1840.

116 ibid., see also pieces 5372-76.

117 Tunbridge Union Records, KAO, G/To/W1a/1-51.

118 Since the 1839 report was described as being the third of its kind, the suggestion is that the Society was established in 1836 (we have no documentation indicating its duration.)

119 Printed and Draft Reports of the Brenchley Benevolent Society. KAO, P45/25/2.

120 4th Report of the Brenchley Benevolent Society for 1840. KAO, P45/25/2.

so in that year they gave away 1465 yards of Calico, 699 yards of flannel and 25 tons of coals. In the following year the Committee donated 1363 yards of Calico, 720 of flannel and 16 tons of coal to "upwards of 200 families."[121] They reported that they:

> "...have not to record any particular cases of destitution more than on former years they have in their visits found as much need for benevolent exertions..."[122]

The Committee may not have considered 1840 to be a comparatively bad year in terms of the demand on their resources yet the 200 families aided in 1840, if taken as a percentage of all heads of house (that is, families,) in Brenchley in 1841, represented a startling 40.7%.[123]

The general fall in expenditure or poor relief in the late 1840s is surprising (see Figure 4.II, p.237). On a local level, Poor Law Inspector Hall wrote in 1849 that labourers as a class were worse off than before.[124] Meanwhile the rise in the mid-1850s was attributed by Poor Law Inspector Pigott to the prevalence of disease.[125] However, as Brenchley's relief figures exclude medical expenses, the fact that expenditure peaked in these years cannot simply be attributed to sickness. It is more significant that Inspector Pigott added that high prices of

121 ibid.

122 ibid.

123 see p.239 for a discussion of the percentage of Brenchley's heads of house receiving relief in the early and mid 1830s.

124 See Chapter 3, p.166.

125 ibid.

agricultural products pressed heavily on labourers with large families.[126] forcing them into the workhouse. Thus prices may account for much of the increased outlay in the mid-1850s.

If we examine the prices of vegetable and animal products at this time we find a rise in the years 1854-57.[127] If we recall Chapter 3, p.137, we find that the price of wheat and oats fell at this time. Any decrease in profit for the farmer would have been passed on to the labourer by an increase in the price of his produce. The same pattern was repeated in the early 1860s when expenditure on relief rose, as did the prices of some vegetable and animal products, while wheat, barley, cheese and milk prices showed a downward trend. We therefore have to bear in mind that any fluctuations in expenditure may have been influenced by the cost of living and moreover that expenditure itself, when related to the cost of living index may not have been as high as the raw figures suggest. If we recall the Rousseaux Price Index (p.230 of this Chapter) we see that when expenditure was high in the late 1830s/early 1840s, agricultural prices were high; expenditure fell in the late 1840s/early 1850s as did prices. Thereafter, as was mentioned earlier, there was no great difference in terms of real relief between the early 1850s and the late 1860s, prices and relief following the same trend with the exception of the years 1865-69 when prices rise while expenditure on relief fell, producing a minor fall in real relief.

Finally, in summary, we can say that Brenchley's expenditure on in- and out-door relief was above that of Tunbridge Union[128] which itself tended to be above the

126 ibid.

127 Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P. op.cit., p.472.

128 See Table 4.24 of this Chapter.

Kentish average.[129] Tunbridge Union was also above the English average until 1864, while throughout the period of study which we can record, Brenchley was permanently so[130] (see Table 4.25 and Figure 4.II of this Chapter). The expenditure of Hollingbourne Union, also situated in the Weald, was not only above the national norm but above that of the other Wealden areas.

THE NARROWNESS OF OPPORTUNITIES.

Although the data on wages suggests that there were signs of improvement, the evidence on landownership, landholding, hiring practices and living-in point to a certain deterioration in the agricultural labourer's position. In this final section we will examine (i) the mean age at marriage and (ii) the occupational inheritance of fathers and sons in order to establish the narrowness of opportunities in Brenchley.

(i) The Mean Age at Marriage.

Low expectations have been linked with a young age at marriage. Connell[131] has written that in pre-Famine Ireland the peasantry achieved what little they could hope for at an early age. As nothing was to be gained by delay, marriage occurred early. What of marriage patterns in Brenchley? If by 'early' is meant under 20/21, then we find from Table 4.26 that very few of the under 20s were married in Brenchley. However, the Brenchley figures are decidedly higher than the national ones. While marriage between the ages of 21 and 25 may not be considered early, it is nevertheless interesting to note that in 1851 so many of Brenchley's 21-25 year old females were married. The

129 See Tables 3.8 and 3.9, Chapter 3, and Figure 4.II of this Chapter.

130 With the exception of 1850 when no expenditure on out-relief was recorded. It is impossible to evaluate whether this was an omission or in fact there was no expenditure that year, though the latter is highly unlikely.

131 Connell, K.H. The Population of Ireland, 1750-1845. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1950.

explanation does not lie with a disproportionately large number of men to women; the sex ratio of men to women was 1:1.2 in 1851 and 1:1.04 in 1871 (see Table 4.2, p.175 of this Chapter). If we isolate those aged 16-25 the ratio becomes 1:0.9, 1:1.0 and 1:1.1 men to women for the years 1851, 1861 and 1871. The percentage of women ever married in this age group declined in the decade 1851-61, and then rose again 1861-71. In comparison England and Wales displayed a very slight, but steady increase in such marriages amongst both men and women. Similarly the young Brenchley men came to the altar more frequently and again in greater numbers than their counterparts nationwide.

Table 4.26. Percentage of Young Men and Women Ever Married, Brenchley, England and Wales, 1851-71.

	Brenchley					
% ever married	1851		1861		1871	
at age	m	f	m	f	m	f
16-20	0.7	6.5	3.7	11.0	2.0	10.3
21-25	24.0	57.3	30.1	39.4	39.2	45.3
26-30	64.9	77.4	56.5	76.2	68.2	71.7
	England and Wales					
16-20	0.4	2.5	0.5	3.1	0.6	3.2
21-25	20.3	31.3	22.5	33.6	23.3	34.8
26-30	55.9	60.2	59.8	63.1	60.8	64.4

source: Brenchley census, 1851, 1861 and 1871, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, & RG.10.935; census, England & Wales, PP.1852-3. LXXXVIII, PP.1873.LXXII.Pt.I.

An important, methodological point must be made at this stage. The analysis of the percentage "ever married" in any particular age group does not indicate the precise age at marriage. Consequently a person in the 21-25 age group enumerated as married may have married either at age 16 or 25.

Strictly speaking these statistics do not enable us to make reliable comparisons of those marrying between the ages of 16 and 20 to those marrying between the ages of 21 and 25 or older. In order to do this we need the mean age of marriage. However, as Anderson points out, the advantage of using statistics for proportions ever married vis a vis the mean age at marriage is that the former are "...less susceptible both to short run trade cycle linked fluctuations and to distortion brought about by a small number of extreme cases of marriages at relatively advanced ages."[132] The main disadvantage is that they "...can be heavily influenced by patterns of population movement."[133]

Brenchley's marriage registers supply information for age at marriage in the 1860s, which was 22.1 for females and 25.2 for males.[134] Using the Hajnal technique[135] the mean age at first marriage for the 1851, 1861 and 1871 census years was for females and males: 21.3 and 23.2, 21.7 and 22.2, and 21.2 and 22.3 respectively. There was thus a slight difference between the age calculated using the marriage registers and his calculation. The mean age for both sexes showed minute fluctuations, the largest change being between 1851 and 1861 when the mean age at first marriage for Brenchley's males fell from 23.2 to 22.2 - a negligible difference.

What could account for this slight decrease and the increase of the 21-25 year old males ever married in Brenchley? Anderson has suggested that in rural areas farm servants living-in could not marry, neither could farmers'

132 Anderson, M. 'Marriage Patterns in Victorian Britain: An Analysis based on Registration District Data for England and Wales, 1861,' Journal of Family History, 1, no.1, (1976), p.57.

133 ibid.

134 KAO, P45/1/11-12.

135 Hajnal, J. op.cit.

sons until they obtained their own land. In contrast, hired, day wage agricultural labourers were not subject to such constraints.[136] Since the number of male agricultural labourers as a percentage of the adult male workforce in Brenchley was high, this would explain why the level of the proportion of ever married males was higher than for England and Wales as a whole. In Anderson's terminology, Brenchley was experiencing a shift away from "traditional agriculture" and thus the constraints imposed on the labourer by the farmer were being reduced.[137] Meanwhile the trend towards a higher proportion of 21-25 year old males being "ever married" cannot be explained by the fact that agricultural labourers formed an increasing percentage of this age group in Brenchley, since there was little change in their percentage. However there was a decrease of living-in, though we cannot assess precisely for which age groups.

Pursuing the effect of occupation further, we can look at the behaviour of individual male occupational groups (Table 4.27). This Table shows that the largest occupational group, that of labourers, showed an increase in the percentage ever married in the 21-25 age category, and stability in the 26-30 age group. Perhaps as Connell suggested, the increasingly earlier achievement of all that could be expected caused this trend: labourers' chances of obtaining land decreased at a time when their wages increased. They therefore had nothing to gain by delaying marriage. The only other substantial occupational group was that of 'commercial' men, but since these persons were very migratory (see the following Chapter), it would be misleading to attach any interpretation to their statistics.

136 Anderson, op.cit. p.63.

137 ibid., p.65.

Table 4.27. Percentage of males ever married by age and occupation, Brenchley, 1851 and 1871.

	1851		
Occupation	16-20	21-25	26-30
labourers	0% (0)	35% (17)	71% (43)
farmers	-	100 (2)	100 (4)
farmers' sons	0 (0)	0 (0)	-
professional	0 (0)	0 (0)	50 (1)
commercial	20 (1)	29 (2)	50 (4)
domestic	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
tradesmen	0 (0)	16 (3)	67 (4)

	1871		
	16-20	21-25	26-30
labourers	0% (0)	43% (29)	71% (47)
farmers	0 (0)	0 (0)	100 (2)
farmers' sons	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
professional	0 (0)	100 (1)	33 (1)
commercial	0 (0)	43 (3)	17 (5)
domestic	0 (0)	50 (3)	0 (0)
tradesmen	11 (3)	38 (8)	68 (15)

source: Brenchley census, 1851 and 1871, PRO, HO.107.1615 & RG.10.935.

Anderson examined three other propositions regarding the effect of employment on the marriage rates and mean age at marriage for both males and females, namely: (1) domestic service for women produced low marriage rates for women, (2) highly paid male employment can be correlated with a low age at marriage for women and (3) domestic service for women caused low marriage rates for males.[138] Regarding the first proposition that the incidence of female domestic

138 ibid., pp.55, 66 and 71.

service produced low marriage rates for women, we know from our earlier discussion that the percentage of adult women in service grew from 9.6% to 17% of all adult females. An age-specific study of females in domestic service revealed that the percentage of 16-20 year old servants was stable in the years 1851-71, the 21-25 year olds displayed a steady increase from 14.7 to 26.0% by 1871, while amongst the 26-30 year olds the percentage of domestic servants fell in 1861 and then returned in 1871 to the level it had been in 1851 of 9%. If we compare these findings to Table 4.26 the percentage of females ever married aged 16-20 rose and fell by 1871, those aged 21-25 ever married decreased as a percentage of all 21-25 year old females in 1861 and then rose again, while those aged 26-30 showed a gradual decrease between 1851 and 1871. There is thus no obvious correlation between the trends in the percentage of women ever married in each of these three age groups and the percentage in domestic service. It is only if we ignore the year 1861 and compare the years 1851 and 1871 that we find that the percentage of women ever married aged 21-30 was lower in 1871 than it had been in 1851 while the percentage in domestic service was higher - but it was by no means a consistent relationship.

The second proposition, that highly paid male employment was related to a low age at marriage for women, was found to have no application to Brenchley. Here the mean age at marriage for women showed no change (see p.245 of this Chapter) despite the gradual rise of agricultural labourers' real wages from the 1850s. Thirdly, did an increase of women entering domestic service reflect itself in the decline of marriage rates for men? From Table 4.25 we see that comparing the years 1851 to 1871, the proportion of males ever married in each age category increased, while if we consider labourers in isolation (Table 4.27 of this Chapter), who were the most likely marriage partners for the females under consideration, their percentage ever

married increased between 1851 and 1871. Therefore on the basis of this evidence the third proposition was not found to be applicable to Brenchley. However, one point should be made regarding these findings: the results may be misleading due to the small number of females involved. For example, in 1871 domestic servants represented 17% of all adult women which in gross terms was 162 persons. Meanwhile women in other occupations were also very few in number so perhaps they too exerted a minimal, if any influence, on the marriage patterns of Brenchley's men. 114 women were, for example, milliners, glove makers, basket weavers, farm servants or teachers, that is, 11.8% of adult women. Anderson believed that in fact "...female employment other than domestic has little effect on male marriage patterns in the more agricultural area."[139] His finding appears to be applicable to Brenchley.

In summary it must therefore be said that the relationship between socio-economic factors, the mean age at marriage and the percentage of men and women ever married in the various age groups is not clear. However what is striking is the fact that levels of the proportions ever married were higher than for England and Wales as a whole. This is our only yardstick for measuring whether or not Brenchleyites had low expectations and therefore married in greater proportions in each age group (with the exception of the males ages 26-30 in 1861). If the proportions ever married in each age group reflects low expectations, then the data for Brenchley supports the proposition that men and women in Brenchley had a fatalistic outlook.

(ii) Fathers and Sons.

The availability of opportunities is also indicated by

139 ibid., p.66.

a study of the occupational similarities/differences between fathers and sons: The extent to which sons pursued their fathers' callings being in part a reflection of the restricted opportunities available for the younger generation. However, the study of inter-generational occupational change as an indicator of the rigidity of the social structure is undertaken with the following reservations: we can only trace co-resident fathers and sons, and not sons residing elsewhere. Unless we know the pursuits of all the sons, we cannot establish the precise degree of occupational inheritance.

Table 4.28. Occupational inheritance, co-resident fathers and sons, 1851 & 71.

father's occupation	sons' occupation			
	1851		1871	
	agrees	disagrees	agrees	disagrees
craftsmen	88% (7)	12% (1)	75% (15)	5% (5)
other commercial & industrial	38% (3)	62% (5)	45% (9)	55% (11)
labourers	96% (69)	4% (3)	95% (141)	5% (7)
others in ag	47% (8)	53% (9)	32% (8)	68% (17)
(farmers)	27% (3)	73% (8)	7% (1)	93% (13)

craftsmen: shoemaker, wheelwright, bricklayer, carpenter, smith, lathe cleaver; so, for example, if a shoemaker's son became a smith his occupation would 'agree' since he would still be a 'craftsman'.

other commercial and industrial: waterman, butcher, grocer, carrier, brewer, coachman;

labourers: agricultural labourers, farm servants;

others engaged in agriculture: farmer, bailiff, gamekeeper, gardener.

source: Brenchley census, 1851 and 1871, PRO, HO.107.1615 & RG.10.935.

In 1851, occupational inheritance was highest amongst agricultural labourers and craftsmen (Table 4.28). Earlier we found the position of craftsmen in Brenchley to be somewhat ambiguous, but what is striking is that labourers, the most disadvantaged group in rural society, had the highest rate of generational inheritance. Only a few sons managed to break away from their father's way of life while remaining in Brenchley. The three labourers' sons who did not pursue their fathers' callings became a bricklayer, a shoemaker's apprentice and a fishmonger. This was a step up for all three, but then a downward step was hardly possible. Given the unattractiveness of agricultural work, it is hard to imagine the younger generation becoming agricultural labourers had alternatives been available. Of the craftsmens' sons, the one who had a different occupation to his father became a labourer. Of all the occupational groups, farmers' sons were least likely to follow in their fathers' footsteps. 11 farmers' sons were cited, of whom only two worked as farmers (their parents having retired), while one worked with his father. The other eight were listed as having the following occupations: East India Company employee, architect, doctor and five agricultural labourers. Thus three entered a profession, the remaining five slid down the economic scale. What is particularly striking is the fact that the fathers of these downwardly mobile youths all had holdings of under 75 acres. Unfortunately the size of holding of the fathers of the three professional sons were not recorded and so we cannot evaluate the effect of size of holding on occupational change.

In 1871 the generational inheritance of occupation was much the same. It was still strongest among the sons of labourers and craftsmen, and weakest amongst farmers' sons. The degree of inheritance amongst labourers' sons remained basically the same, while fewer craftsmen's sons became such and almost all farmers' sons failed to follow in their fathers' footsteps. Of the labourers' sons who

changed occupations, 1 became a baker, 1 a carpenter, 2 gardeners, 1 a groom and 2 blacksmiths. Sons of craftsmen who took up different callings to their parents had a tendency to slide into the ranks of labourers. In 1871 four became agricultural labourers and one a groom. Of the 13 farmers' sons who changed occupations all but one joined the labouring class.

It is evident that what occupational mobility there was within Brenchley was usually downward. If we examine all the sons whose occupations differed from their father's in 1851 and 1871 the ratio of upward to downward mobility was 1:1.6. Excluding labourers' sons who could not move downwards and therefore whose inclusion is a little misleading, the ratio becomes a striking 1:5.8, a somewhat starker reflection of occupational opportunities in Brenchley.

Generally the occupational structure of the parish was such that there was little opportunity for change for the majority of its workforce. We discussed earlier how outside of agriculture very few opportunities were present. The railway brought only a few extra jobs for the men. Meanwhile if we consider all non-agricultural employment (as declared by employers on the census), it remained stable in the decade 1851-61 and then grew by 71.8% for men and 74.4% for boys in 1861-71. This would appear to be a large increase until we recall that it represented only 56 and 58 extra jobs for men and boys respectively. These 56 new jobs would have occupied 6.1% of the adult male workforce in 1871. It is therefore not surprising that of all the sons in Brenchley examined in Table 4.27 the ratio of 'agree' to 'disagree' was 1:0.2, the overwhelminging majority of the former being the sons of agricultural labourers. This examination of generational inheritance of occupation therefore suggests that the offspring of the labouring class had limited opportunity for self-betterment.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We have found evidence for the decrease in the numbers of small farmers, the consolidation of land into large holdings, an increase of shorter hiring periods, and the decline of 'living-in'. All these ensured that social relations in Brenchley remained permanently altered. Society was more than ever polarised into one consisting of larger farmers and labourers. Now especially the latter had little hope of vertical or horizontal mobility while the employers, no longer bound by long hiring contracts nor laden with employees 'living-in', hired and dismissed workers as the market dictated. At least half of Brenchley's male adult labour force were labourers and even more were involved in some form of agricultural work, and so these changes affected the largest occupational group in the parish.

Admittedly wages in Kent were not low, and if we examine the wages of Linton Park's labourers, some of these were earning as high a wage as 19s a week in 1867-70. Yet there were great discrepancies in the wages paid, those of Linton Park's labourers on 10s a week in the late 1860s receiving less than a parish employee of the 1830s. We should also record the obvious point that the wage of even the most highly paid Brenchley labourer was low when compared to wages paid to their counterparts in industry. The real wage itself fluctuated but if we take the national real wage index as an indicator of the position of the Brenchley labourer, his real wage was actually on the increase. However, changes in hiring practices reduced the regularity of earnings. In addition the ending of payment in kind threw the burden of inflation on the labourer. We will now turn our attention to the response of the workforce to the circumstances of life and work in mid nineteenth century Brenchley.

CHAPTER 5. Migratory Movements and the Labour Market in Brenchley, 1841-71.

In the preceding Chapter we explored aspects of Brenchley's economy, such as the position of the agricultural labourer, the incidence of poverty and the narrowness of opportunity for occupational change. We found that changes occurring in agriculture and the rural social structure were not always to the advantage of the majority of the workforce. We will now explore what flows of labour were associated with these economic and environmental circumstances.

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF MIGRATION.

In considering the mobility of the Brenchley workforce we must first take note of the legislation which bears directly on the movement of labour - a profuse body of laws known as the Laws of Settlement. Every person had one parish, and only one in which s/he had a settlement and a right to relief. It was this parochial basis of relief which was said to hinder the movement of labour. As Rose writes: "A worker... might be deterred from moving from the parish in which he had a settlement to one in which there was a greater demand for his labour because of the fear that, if due to sickness or unemployment, he applied for poor relief, he might be summarily removed back to the parish with which he had severed his former ties."[1] The Select Committee appointed to enquire into the Laws which Concern the Relief and Settlement of the Poor in 1775 had pointed to this obstacle to mobility, and to the considerable amount of money spent in litigations concerning settlement, and the increasing burden of poor rates. The Committee concluded that if the law was amended:

1 Rose, M. 'Settlement, Removal and the New Poor Law,' in Fraser, D. (ed), The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century, Macmillan, 1976, p.31.

> "... the Poor would have an easier access to Places where they might find employment, and would avoid the cruel and severe Treatment which they frequently receive from the contending Parishes during such Contest."[2]

As a result of the Report, but prior to the New Poor Law of 1834,[3] migration was encouraged (at least in theory) by the introduction of the requirement that the parish conducting the removal of a poor person pay the cost, by the provision that persons could not be removed until they had actually become chargeable, and by the granting of 'non-resident' or 'non-settled' relief (all 1795).[4] After 1834 migration was encouraged by the introduction of the concept of 'irremovability' (1846),[5] and by the substitution of a union for a parochial basis for settlement (1865).[6] Moreover legislation in the 1830s and 1840s enabled Guardians to finance emigration using the poor rate.[7]

2 Report from the Select Committee on the Laws which concern the Relief and Settlement of the Poor; and the Laws relating to Vagrants, and also the state of the several Houses of Correction - England, PP.1775-80.31, p.4.

3 4 and 5 Will IV, c76, 1834, An Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales.

4 35 Geo III, c101, 1795, Act to Prevent the Removal of Poor Persons, until they shall become actually chargeable.

5 9 and 10 Vic, c66, 1846, An Act to Amend the Laws Relating to the Removal of the Poor. Families who had continuously inhabited a parish for five years could not be removed when they became chargeable. Further legislation along these lines was passed in 1861 (24 and 25 Vic, c55, 1861) shortening the 5 year residence period requirement to 3 years and then subsequently in 1865 to one year (28 and 29 Vic, c79, 1865, Union Chargeability Act).

6 28 and 29 Vic, c79, 1865, An Act to provide for the better Distribution of the Charge for the Relief of the Poor in Unions. An Act of 1848 (11 and 12 Vic,c110, 1848) had made a step towards union responsibility for paupers by transferring the cost of relief from the parish to a common union fund.

7. See Chapter 1, p.65.

Yet at the same time these amendments were introduced, others acted to a contrary effect. For example, the 1834 legislation removed various ways in which settlement and thus a right to relief could be obtained: previously a yearly hiring, service as a parish officer, and apprenticeship in the merchant navy qualified one for settlement. The recommendation of the 1832 Royal Commission on the Poor Laws that birth in a parish become the single means of acquiring a settlement was ignored.

Contemporaries certainly continued to be concerned with the impact of the Settlement Laws on migration. G. Beckett wrote in 1851:

> "Many... prefer accepting certain provision made for pauperism at home in their own parish to the chance of finding suitable and profitable employment in some other place, whence they are liable to be driven immediately upon their becoming chargeable, through want of work or other cause, and to which they cannot return without incurring the risk of punishment."[8]

The very concept of settlement was contrary to Victorian laissez-faire ideology and the notion that labour should be 'free' to respond to market forces. Indeed this belief had been put forward earlier by Adam Smith in his Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776) wherein he condemned any obstruction to the "free circulation of labour" and capital. The Poor Law was singled out as one such obstruction which inhibited a poor man from exercising "...his industry in any parish but that to which he belongs." The fear of removal to his parish of settlement prevented "The scarcity of hands in one parish... (being)... relieved by their superabundance in another."[9]

8 Introduction to the Report of Coode, G. to the Poor Law Board, on 'The Law of Settlement and Removal of the Poor,' PP.1851.XXVI.

9 Smith, A. Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. 1776, 2 vols, Methuen & Co Ltd, 1930 edition, vol.1, p.142. He noted other obstructions to the "free circulation of labour and stock," for example, apprenticeship which prevented the movement from trade to trade and the privilege of corporations which obstructed spatial mobility.

G. Unwin wrote that "...within half a century of his death the principles of the economic freedom of the individual and of the non-interference of the State had come to be adopted by those who prompted the legislation and directed the administration of the kingdom."[10]

Social theorists wished to 'free' labourers so that they could satisfy the needs of the labour market both locally and over longer distances.[11] Indeed, in the face of such pressure the Poor Law Commissioners were so concerned to encourage labour mobility that they financially assisted the movement of labourers both to the northern manufacturing centres, and to the Colonies. Yet while they encouraged migration on the one hand, they also, perhaps unwittingly, countenanced legislative features which constituted a potential deterrent to movement. Certainly the constant debate over settlement indicates that it was seen as a possible impediment to the desired flow of labour. In the context of this study, the extent to which the movement of population was determined or constrained by the Laws is impossible to ascertain. All we can do is point to the existence of the laws and suggest their effect in restricting the mobility of the labouring class. Their impact may have been greatest on long-distance movement. Perhaps labourers were discouraged from undertaking a long journey when there was a strong possibility that they would be forced to return all the way 'home'.

NET GAINS AND LOSSES BY MIGRATION

Having established the legal framework within which we are operating, we now turn our attention to the mobility of the Brenchley workforce. This discussion will be followed

10 Unwin, G. 'The Aims of Economic History,' (1908 lecture), in Harte, N.B. (ed), The Study of Economic History. Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1971, p.46.

11 See also Rose, op.cit.

by an analysis of the factors affecting this mobility. In terms of net migration, Brenchley was a loser of population. In the decades 1841-51, 1851-61, and 1861-71, its net loss by migration was 78, 256 and then a gain of 58 persons respectively.[12] Such a loss was not untypical of rural areas; most of central, southern and western Kent habitually lost population as a result of migration (see Chapter 3, p.131). Likewise the rural residues of England and Wales experienced considerable losses, especially in the southern part of the country. But considering the number of persons residing in Brenchley, the parish's loss was a sizeable one, especially in the decade 1851-61.[13] After 1861 there was a net gain. However this reduced loss does not imply that the turnover of population had decreased. Indeed, as we shall see presently, this was far from the case (p.267 of this Chapter). Yet regardless of the turnover of population the fact must be borne in mind that ultimately Brenchley was a net loser of population, an important point which will receive further discussion. For despite its growth rate (Chapter 4, p.178) there were many persons who had either been born in the parish or who came there and subsequently were unable or unwilling to remain.

BRENCHLEY IMMIGRANTS, 1841-71

'Life-time' immigrants to Brenchley are identified in Table 5.1. The 1841 census did not record birthplace in detail; respondents were only asked whether or not they

12 The net loss by migration was calculated using the formula (P2-P1)-(B-D) where B = baptisms and D = Burials, there being no civil registration return on a parish level. See Chapter 4, p.182.

13 in 1841 the 78 persons lost by net migration represented 3.2% of Brenchley's population, the 256 persons lost by net migration represented 9.2% of the population of the parish in 1855 and in 1861 the 58 persons gained represented 2.0%.

were born in Kent. 89.5% of all 16-70 year olds[14] replied "yes", 10.5% replied "no". Successive censuses reveal how the Kentish-born, and those from neighbouring counties, consistently formed the largest grouping in the parish.

Table 5.1. Origins of Brenchley's 16-70 year olds, 1851-71.

Division of birth*	1851		1861		1871	
	no	%	no	%	no	%
I	27	1.8	28	1.8	44	2.4
II	1406	93.2	1452	91.8	1676	89.8
(Kent)	(1214)	(80.5)	(1192)	(75.4)	(1424)	(76.3)
III	11	0.7	20	1.3	23	1.2
IV	12	0.8	15	0.9	23	1.2
V	6	0.4	9	0.6	13	0.7
VI	-	-	2	0.1	9	0.5
VII	3	0.2	5	0.3	1	0.1
VIII	2	0.1	1	0.1	4	0.2
IX	1	0.1	2	0.1	3	0.2
X	-	-	-	-	-	-
XI	1	0.1	-	-	1	0.1
foreign parts etc.,	1	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.1
missing/not known	38	2.5	45	2.5	68	3.6
Total	1508	100.0	1581	100.0	1867	100.0

*Divisions as used in the published census:
I intra-metropolitan Middlesex, Surrey and Kent;
II extra-metropolitan Surrey and Kent, Sussex, Hampshire & Berkshire;
III extra-metropolitan Middlesex, Oxon, Northants, Hunts, Beds, Herts, Bucks, Cambs;
IV Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk;
V Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset;
VI Gloucs, Hereford, Shropshire, Staffs, Worcestershire, Warwcks;

14 That is, those comprising the majority of the workforce, and referred to subsequently as the 'workforce' or 'adults'.

VII Leics, Rutland, Lincoln, Notts, Derbs;
VIII Cheshire, Lancs.
IX West, East and North Riding of Yorkshire;
X Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland;
XI Monmouthshire, Wales;
foreign parts, Scotland, Ireland, British Colonies and East Indies, Isles in British Sea, born at sea.

source: Brenchley census 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

The almost exclusively local nature of Brenchley's catchment area within Kent, and some nearby Sussex parishes, is confirmed by the statistics referring to parish of birth of the workforce (Table 5.2). Approximately half of the 16-70 year olds had been born in Brenchley, the others originating from a distance of only a few miles (see Map 5.1, p.262) It is noteworthy that the percentage of Brenchley-born declined from 51.8% to 43.8% during the course of twenty years, though they continued to be the largest contingent by far.

Although sparse, the contents of Poor Law records - registers of non-settled[15] poor requiring relief, are consistent with the short-distance character of population movement; neighbouring unions were the most likely source of paupers. Tunbridge Union's registers of the non-settled poor (1845-66) included 3 heads of household (out of a total of 77) resident in Brenchley. One of these heads had a settlement in Hawkhurst (Cranbrook Union), one in Lamberhurst (Ticehurst Union), and one in Mayfield (Uckfield Union), all neighbouring unions. These were habitual paupers who appeared over the entire period. Unfortunately their occupation was not

15 Non-settled poor: those who had no legal claim to relief in Brenchley but found themselves in need while residing there. KAO, G/To/Af1/11, 1845-66. After 1866 - as a result of the Union Chargeability Act - parishes were no longer distinguished.

Table 5.2. Major parishes of birth of the workforce, Brenchley, 1851-71.

Parish of birth	1851		1861		1871	
	no	%	no	%	no	%
Brenchley	781	51.8	748	47.3	818	43.8
Pembury	47	3.1	52	3.3	34	1.8
Horsmonden	34	3.6	45	2.8	70	3.7
East Peckham	24	1.6	30	1.9	33	1.8
Lamberhurst	49	3.2	49	3.1	35	1.9
Yalding	36	2.4	44	2.8	57	3.1
Tudely	32	2.1	23	1.5	38	1.4
Marden	22	1.5	15	0.9	15	0.8
Cranbrook	19	1.3	15	0.9	20	1.1
Goudhurst	20	1.3	25	1.6	36	1.9
Wadhurst	24	1.6	28	1.8	28	1.5
Tonbridge*	17	1.1	19	1.2	16	0.9
Mayfield	(8)	(0.5)	31	2.0	18	1.0
Rotherfield	(6)	(0.4)	16	1.0	(6)	(0.3)
Maidstone	(2)	(0.1)	(7)	(0.4)	23	1.2
total	1141	75.6	1147	72.5	1247	66.2

*Excluding Tunbridge Wells Town which was cited separately.

The figures in brackets indicate a minor contribution in a particular censal year. They have been included to act as a comparison to years when such parishes made a more substantial contribution to Brenchley's population.

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

KENT PARISHES

A DEPTFORD ST NICHOLAS
ST PAUL
B KIDBROOK Extra Parochial
C EAST WICKHAM
D IFIELD
E LONGFIELD

F ROCHESTER ST MARGARET
ST NICHOLAS
CATHEDRAL
G LEYBOURNE
H " detached
J ALLINGTON
K Tunbridge Wells, King Charles
Holy Trinity
L BREDHURST

M SITTINGBOURNE
N BUCKLAND
O DAVINGTON
P GODNESTONE
R LEAVELAND
S CANTERBURY
ALL SAINTS
CATHEDRAL
HOLY CROSS
ST ALPHEGE
ST ANDREW
ST GEORGE
ST MARGARET
ST MARY BREDMAN
ST MARY MAGDALEN
ST MILDRED
ST PETER
T ST DUNSTAN
U ST MARY, NORTHGATE
W ST MARTIN
X ST PAUL
Y ST MARY BREDIN
Z MILTON

AA ELMSTONE
AB CHILLENDEN
AC KNOWLTON
AD WAM
AE BETTESHANGER

AF BLACKMANSTONE
AG ORGARSWICK
AH PADDLESWORTH
AJ HAWKINGE
AK CHARLTON
AL OXNEY

The parishes shaded in red were the most important contributors to Brenchley's population (excepting Brenchley itself).

MAP 5.1. Brenchley's catchment area.

SCALE
0 1 2 4 6 8 10 MILES

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recorded. Taken together, the birthplace statistics - Tables 5.1 and 5.2, and Map 5.1, with the poor law records, clearly suggest that population movement tended to be short-distance in nature. This finding is consistent with studies by Ravenstein[16] and Redford.[17]

SEASONAL LABOUR MOVEMENTS

In Chapter 1 we identified the inherent seasonality of agricultural work, and how labourers were obliged to migrate temporarily (pp.51-54). Before proceeding to our consideration of the census linkage we should refer first to this form of population movement which is not captured by linkage process, nor readily measureable from any historical record. One example of this lies in the seasonal influx to Kent of the hop and fruit pickers. Special trains were supplied by the South Eastern Railway Company to carry hop-pickers. The trains alone carried the following number of pickers: 1865 - 11,090; 1866 - 11,000; 1867 - 8,777; 1868 - 14,476.[18] Later literature on Kentish agriculture of 1908 also identified this flow of labour. Page, writing in the Victoria County History cited the figure of 45,000 to 65,000 "immigrant 'hoppers'" coming into the county in September.[19] Hops represented a substantial proportion of Brenchley produce and so the parish may well have experienced an influx of temporary labour in late summer.

16 Ravenstein, E.G. 'The Laws of Migration; JRSS, June 1885 and June 1889, vols.XLVIII, pt.2, 167-235, and LII, pt.2, 241-305, respectively.

17 Redford, A. op.cit.

18 Reports from the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture. PP.1868-69,XIII, p.291. For example a farmer in East Farleigh employed 1,400-1,500 adult hop pickers, the greater part being from London, p.291.

19 Page, W. (ed), op.cit., p.466.

The Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture discussed the accommodation available for hop-pickers in Brenchley. As it was provided for immigrant as opposed to local labour, we know that there was a seasonal influx. Three farmers are cited as accommodating a total of 270 pickers in 1868-69.[20] Since 200 people were needed to simultaneously pick 50 acres of hops,[21] and since Brenchley had 555 acres (1847),[22] we would expect to find at least 2,000 pickers. The discrepancy between the figures may be attributed to a combination of factors: all 555 acres were not picked at the same time, immigrant pickers did not all lodge with the above-mentioned farmers, and to the fact that not all hop pickers were outsiders. Some pickers, for example those engaged at Linton Park, were undoubtedly those agricultural labourers regularly recorded in the Labour Account Books of the Estate (see p.265 of this Chapter). There were in Brenchley 590 persons of all ages and sexes describing themselves as "agricultural labourers" in 1871. Presumably they and their families supplied a large proportion of hands, though at harvest time - and especially the hop harvest - outside help, along with that of indigent women and children, was required. Stanhope reported to this effect in 1868: in West Kent all the indigent population worked at hop-picking time, to the extent that school attendance became of secondary importance. The figures for school attendance (Table 5.3) undoubtedly reflect a substantial reliance on child labour during the summer months, although the

20 Reports from Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, Pt.II, evidence of Stanhope, E. on Kent, PP.1868-69.XIII, p.292.

21 ibid., p.287. These persons would be divided into parties or 'companies' of eight or ten adults, besides the children.

22 Bagshaw, S. History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County of Kent. 2 vols, The Author, Sheffield, 1847; Kelly's Directory, (Kelly & Co), of 1867 gives no land use for Kent.

seasonal differences are not as great as might have been anticipated, due perhaps to a greater incidence of absence from illness during the winter.

Table 5.3. Percentage Seasonal Attendance at School of boys and girls, Kent, 1868-9.

Boys			
summer		winter	
under 10	10-13	under 10	10-13
73	63	73	72
Girls			
74	65	69	73

source: Reports from Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, Pt.II, PP.1868-69.XIII, p.233.

The Linton Park Labour account books record some details of the seasonal influx of labour on a local Estate. Since there was a core of permanently employed workers, additional hands are easy to identify. Women and extra boys were employed at harvest time - probably the families of men already employed on the Estate. Quite often the availability of the services of the whole family were a condition of a labourer's contract, and this may have been the case at Linton Park. References to male casual labour occur throughout the year: men employed in the shrubberies, plant houses, weed cutting, or, "sundry jobs". Yet almost all of these were recorded regularly despite being classified as "casual" labour, and there is no indication of a noteworthy inflow of 'outside' labour. Even during the hop harvest there are no references to the hiring of migrant labour. The implication is that this Estate had an adequate local supply of hands and did not rely on a temporary inflow from outside,

unless harvest workers went unrecorded in these Account Books, but this is highly unlikely.

POPULATION TURNOVER, 1841-71; THE EVIDENCE OF THE CENSUS

Three sets of census linkage were undertaken: that of the 1851 to the 1861 census, the 1861 to the 1871, and finally the 1851 to the 1861 to the 1871 census. As the information necessary for such linking was missing from the 1841 census, it was not included in this study of labour mobility.[23] In the case of the 1851 to 1861 linkage, there were 5,572 persons available for linking, of whom 146 and 488 were subtracted due to inter-censal deaths and births respectively. This left a total of 4,938 persons, of whom 3,084 could not be linked, who were the 'migrants'. Of the 3,084 migrants 1,632 left after the taking of the 1851 census, while 1,452 had come into Brenchley in the inter-censal period. We therefore uncovered a total of 927 matched pairs ('persisters'),

23 The movement of labour is most effectively studied by the linking of successive censuses. This allows a fuller picture to be drawn of the rates of turnover and persistence (despite the fact that census linkage does not capture inter-censal change). These rates of turnover and persistence can in turn be related to contemporary environmental and economic stimuli. In contrast, birthplace statistics, or any single year analysis, present a generally static picture of the workforce or population. While such statistics identify the origins of the population at a specific moment in time they do not indicate the subsequent persistency/mobility of the 'outsiders' or of the Brenchley-born, and it is not so much the origin as the transiency of the workforce which is the measure of its response to socio-economic change, and which is the central theme of our study. Single year analysis therefore disguises the rather brisk turnover of the population.
For details of the Fortran programme used to link the censuses, for a flow chart which illustrates the working of the programme, and for details of the variables used to determine whether or not a pair of records were related to the same person, see Appendix 1.

representing 38% of the truly linkable population.[24]

The 1861 to 1871 linkage disclosed 6,233 persons available for linking. Of these, 134 and 568 were subtracted as a result of inter-censal deaths and births respectively. Of the remaining 5,531 persons, 3,799 could not be linked, 1,868 having left Brenchley after the compilation of the 1861 census, 1,931 having entered the parish in the inter-censal period. 866 persisters were found who accounted for 31% of the linkable population. Thus the 20 years under review witnessed a decline in persistency - or increase in migration.

Finally, a three-way link was conducted between the 1851, 1861 and 1871 censuses. 927 persons had already been linked from 1851 to 1861. When these pairs were then linked to the 1871 census, we found that 349 persons could be identified as having lived in Brenchley from 1851 to 1871, representing 14% of the linkable population.[25] Once the mechanical operation of linking was complete, we were left with three basic categories

24 By 'truly linkable' is meant the population remaining after those who were born or died between the two censuses are subtracted from the population, as the inclusion of such persons in the linking would artifically inflate the number of migrants. We also wrote into the programme an instruction which ensured that women who changed their name through marriage and therefore could not be linked would not be counted as 'migrants' but as 'persisters' if they remained in Brenchley. The 927 persons are multiplied by 2 as each person had two census entries. Therefore: $\frac{1,854}{4,938} \times 100 = 37.5\%$

25

1851 population + 1861 population + 1871	=	8,937
all deaths occurring 1851-71	=	280
all births occurring 1851-71	=	1,056
8,937-280-1,056 produces a linkable population	=	7,601
349 persisters listed three times	=	1,047
1,047 ÷ 7,601 x 100	=	13.8%

of people: migrants who were present at census (a) and not census (b), or not present at census (a) but at census (b), and persisters who remained in Brenchley for the duration of 10 or 20 years.[26]

The figures for net migration as established by linkage and the 'traditional calculation' (p.258 of this Chapter) do not agree. The explanation (which needs to be offered at this point) is a methodological one and points to the two approaches which can be taken to calculating net losses/gains of population by migration.

If we take (i) the traditional calculation (P2-P1 - (B-D) = +/- net migration;

(ii) census linkage (out-migrants - in-migrants) = +/- net migration

the results were as follows:

(i) 1841-51: (2704-2472)-(706-396)= -78
1851-61: (2868-2704)-(879-459)= -256
1861-71: (3365-2868)-(808-369)= +58

(ii) 1851-61: 1632-1452= -180
1861-71: 1868-1931= +70

In (i) the burials used are <u>all</u> those occurring in the inter-censal period while in (ii) the computer searched the burial records to see if any of those present on the 1851 census had died, and removed these from the 'linkable' population. In (i) all the deaths are used including those of people who came after 1851 and died before 1861. Consequently the number of burials used in (i) is far higher than that in (ii). (For example in 1851-61 in (i) there were 416 burials and in (ii) there were 146).

26 As 3 censuses were linked the actual number of permutations were more numerous. For example, a person could be present in 1851, gone by 1861, and back by 1871. However, in order to keep the data in a manageable form, and so as not to alienate the reader by a multitude of statistics, the focus is on the linking of the 1851 to the 1861 census, and then the linking of the 1861 to the 1871 census. It is believed that this method is adequate for answering the questions posed in this study.

As far as baptisms are concerned in (i) all baptisms occurring in the inter-censal period are used. In (ii) the computer took all the children present at census 2 and not census 1 and then checked them against the baptismal records to see if the reason for their absence on census 1 was due to their being newly-born. If so, they were removed from the 'linkable' population. Thus, (as above), the number of baptisms used in (i) is greater than in (ii). If this process had not been gone through and we had used all those born in 1851-61 we would have had an incorrect 'linkable' population since some of the newly-born may have been born after census 1 and left by census 2 and therefore did not qualify as 'linkable'. If the base ('linkable') population had been reduced by the exclusion of all the newly-born the proportion of migrants would have been reduced too since the number of persisters would have remained the same but they would have represented a higher percentage of the 'linkable' population. The two calculations serve different purposes and it is not possible to say which method is preferable: (i) deals with all the population, that is, it includes all inter-censal baptisms and burials, while (ii) deals with the 'linkable' population only. In any case, the two calculations agree broadly, in identifying the 1850s as a decade of substantial net loss and the 1860s as showing a small net gain.

The considerable rate of turnover found in Brenchley was not unexpected and had long been a feature of English rural life. In seventeenth century Clayworth and Cogenhoe, Laslett and Harrison found that of the 401 persons present in 1676, after the subtraction of 91 deaths, 49.2% had migrated by 1688.[27] On the basis of this and other evidence Armstrong

27 Laslett, P. & Harrison, J. 'Clayworth and Cogenhoe,' in Bell, H.E. & Ollard, R.L. (eds), Historical Essays 1600-1750 presented to David Ogg. Adam & Charles Black, 1963, p.183.

concluded: "It is a fallacy to suppose that villages were virtually immobile in distant times, for if their migratory horizons were usually very narrow, every serious inquiry so far conducted points to rates of turnover that were surprisingly high".[28] It is more difficult to make a lateral comparison for the mid-nineteenth century because few studies of this period have been done. However, in a recent study of a nineteenth century Essex village, taking into consideration population loss through death and the subtraction of temporary residents (that is, visitors), Robin found that 35.5% of the population of Elmdon left in the decade 1851-61.[29] The rate of turnover in Brenchley was much brisker: 64.4% who were present in 1851 had left by 1861. In fact the gap between Elmdon and Brenchley was even greater since Robin's figures are inflated by the inclusion amongst her migrants of women who could not be traced to the 1861 census as a result of name change occurring through marriage. The Brenchley linkage programme ensured that these newly-weds would not wrongly be identified as migrants.

INTRA-PAROCHIAL MOBILITY

Having recorded the precise place of abode of every resident within the parish, the census enumerators make possible the tracing of the movement of Brenchleyites within the parish itself. Looking closely at the 96 adult male persisters produced by the three-way linkage, we find that 60% (57) changed their address at some stage during these twenty years of residence in Brenchley. While it is of

28 Armstrong, W.A. 'The Flight from the Land,' in Mingay, G.E.(ed), vol.1, 1984, p.118.

29 Robin, J. Elmdon: Continuity and Change in a north-west Essex village 1861-1964. CUP, Cambridge, 1980, p.190.

interest to note that population movement within the parish was at a similar level to movement out of the parish, one value of studying the changes of address lies in the information such changes provide about the occupational history of the individuals concerned.

We should first note that the parish was divided into two occupational 'zones' - the village which housed the tradesmen, the professionals and those engaged in commercial occupations, and the surrounding hamlets where those engaged in agricultural pursuits lived. A survey of the occupational history of those adults who changed their address revealed that only 7% (4) had in fact changed their occupations - 3 of these having undergone upward social mobility, 1 moved horizontally. Of those adult males who persisted over the 10 year period 1851-61, and who had changed their address (145), 10.3% (15) had new occupations - 3 having moved up, 1 down and the rest retained their previous status.

The lack of occupational change on the part of the vast majority of the movers only reinforces the picture of inertia and implies that, for the most part, upward occupational mobility, if experienced at all, could only be achieved by migration. Neither residential change nor persistency within the parish were strongly connected to the little occupational change that Brenchleyites experienced. Amongst those who lived in one place for twenty years 23% (9) had changed their occupation.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF 'PERSISTERS'

However, even more information can be obtained from census returns. When the census information concerning each individual was first coded, twenty separate pieces of information were recorded: surname, first name, age, parish of birth, union of birth, county of birth, sex, occupation,

class, marital condition, place of residence in the parish, area of land occupied, type of family, relation to head of household, the number of offspring, kin, staff, visitors, lodgers and boarders in the household. Each of the above variables was analysed[30] to see whether independently, or in combination with each other, it/they exercised any discernible influence on people's persistence, and it is with that analysis that we now proceed.

(i) Persistence by Birthplace.

The birthplace statistics for Brenchley's workforce had shown the very local nature of Brenchley's catchment area. When the mobility of these persons was reviewed with reference to their county of birth, it was again evident that very few persons came from distant counties, and the few that did, were unlikely to be in Brenchley on the occasion of the next census (Table 5.4). For example, of all those listed on the 1851 census as born in Divisions VI-IX, none were found to be persisters. Amongst those traced over three censuses (1851-71), the Kent born were most highly represented, comprising 95.1% of the workforce, or 11.4% of the 1851 workforce originating from Divisions I and II. None originated from any other Divisions - in fact only 3 counties provided them: Kent, Sussex and

30 Except surname, first name, and the number of visitors - the latter were only temporary characteristics, the former would tell us nothing about the reasons for persistence/migration. 'Class' was also not used since the Registrar General's groupings (used in coding) were found to be too general. For example, Class 6, 'Undefined occupations', contained wide ranging occupations such as 'scholar', 'independent' or 'unemployed'.

Table 5.4 Persistency by Division of Birth of Brenchley's workforce, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

Division of birth*	no. persisting from 1851-61	% of the 1851 workforce persisting	no.persisting from 1861-71	% of the 1861 workforce persisting
I	5	18.5	4	14.3
II	435	30.9	377	26.0
III	1	9.1	2	10.0
IV	4	33.3	3	20.0
V	1	16.7	2	15.4
VI	0	0.0	1	50.0
VII	0	0.0	0	0.0
VIII	0	0.0	0	0.0
IX	0	0.0	0	0.0
X	-	-	-	-
XI	-	-	-	-
foreign etc.,	0	0.0	1	50.0
not known/ missing	2	5.3	3	6.7
total	448	29.7**	393	24.9

* for a definition of the Divisions see Table 5.1, p.259.
** that is, 29.7% of Brenchley's workforce in 1851 were persisters in 1861.

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

Middlesex.[31]

The local origin of the workforce was also confirmed when the parish of birth was considered (Table 5.5). This source of information, like that of Division of Birth, also demonstrated that the more distant the individual's bithplace was from Brenchley, the more likely it was that they would not be present at the time of the next census. Of those present in Brenchley for the duration of twenty years, 79.2% were Brenchley-born, the rest coming from neighbouring or other local parishes, with the exception of one person who came from a Middlesex parish. These 79.2% represented 20.4% of the workforce who were Brenchley-born and present at the time of the 1851 census. The linkage revealed an increase in mobility in the decade 1861-71 (see p.266-267 of this Chapter), and the figures for the workforce also reflect a general trend towards more movement. In fact the level of mobility amongst the workforce was greater than for the population as a whole - 70.3% and 75.1% in comparison to 62 and 69%. It is likely, nevertheless, that 'birthplace' itself exerted no independent influence on persistency, and further features of persisters will be explored during the remainder of this chapter.

31 While the study focuses on decennial linkage, some comments are included regarding the findings of the twenty-year linkage. Similarly while most of the tables relate to the workforce, that is, those aged 16-70 at the time of the first census, in the case of twenty year linkage the situation is a little more complex. Our youngest age category in 1851 was 0-5, in 1861 it was 6-10, in 1871 it was 16-20. In 1851 our total number of persisters aged 16-70 was 171, or 49% of the linked population. All those who were children in 1851 had become adults by 1871 (i.e. they reached age 16). Certain variables remained constant throughout, such as sex and birthplace, while the rest changed, usually as a result of ageing. For the sake of uniformity, when presenting findings for this three-way linkage, where applicable, we will work with the population aged 16-70, that is the workforce, in 1851. These 171 persons represented 11.3% of the workforce of Brenchley in 1851.

Table 5.5 Persistency by Parish of Birth of Brenchley's workforce, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

Parish of Birth	no. persisting from 1851-61	% of the 1851 workforce persisting	no. persisting from 1861-71	% of the 1861 workforce persisting
Brenchley	283	36.2	235	31.4
(a)*	54	23.6	50	21.8
(b)	32	26.0	33	25.0
(c)	10	20.0	8	11.8
(d)	0	0.0	1	14.3
(e)	1	7.7	2	12.5

(a) neighbouring parishes: Pembury, Horsmonden, Lamberhurst, Yalding, Capel, and Tudely ;
(b) representative parishes up to 6 miles: Staplehurst, East Peckham, Tonbridge, Tunbridge Wells, Cranbrook, Marden and Wadhurst;
(c) representative parishes 6-12 miles: Rolvenden, Speldhurst, Sevenoaks, Biddenden, Mayfield, Rotherfield and Ticehurst;
(d) representative parishes for the rest of Kent: Strood, Dover, Lydd, Beckenham and Aylesford;
(e) representative parishes for the rest of England: Croydon, Camberwell, Aldgate, Hastings and Brighton.

All distances were measured from the centre of Brenchley parish to the centre of the respective parish.

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

(ii) Literacy and Persistence.

A close association between increased literacy and decreased persistency was found by Perry[32] in his study of intra-parochial marriages and rural isolation. To what extent does the Brenchley data support the argument for

32 Perry, J. op.cit.

such a link? Evidence of literacy is to be found in the parish's marriage registers which show the signatures of couples being married and therefore enable us to calculate the percentage signing with an 'x'. These figures are contained in Table 5.6, and show that literacy increased steadily throughout the period.

Table 5.6. Literacy of Brenchley couples, 1841-71.

period	both partners 'x'		one partner 'x'		neither partner 'x'		total couples
	no	%	no	%	no	%	no
1841-46	55	50	37	33	19	17	111
1847-56	84	41	67	33	52	26	203
1857-66	33	21	54	34	70	45	157
1867-71	9	18	13	26	29	57	51
total	181	35	171	33	170	33	522

source: Brenchley's marriage registers, 1841-71, KAO, P45/1/11-12.

In Chapter 4 we discussed how more children were classified as 'scholars' (p.211), and the number of all types of teachers[33] resident in Brenchley increased from 7 in 1841 to 24 in 1871.[34] Obviously not all these teachers were necessarily engaged in educating Brenchley's residents, but it is clear that there was an expansion of education.

33 schoolmaster/mistress, professor, school governess, 'other teachers'.

34 Brenchley census, 1841 and 1871, PRO, HO.107.456 & RG.10.935.

In the 1841 and 1851 censuses there was no National School in Brenchley, instead of which many of the teachers had numerous pupils living-in with them. These were small, private educational establishments, and not 'schools' as such. According to Jessup,[35] there was no school of any kind in Brenchley in 1800; perhaps the children of Brenchley's less well-to-do residents attended Horsmonden's endowed elementary school or the educational charity nearby. The first National School, for both boys and girls, appeared on the 1861 census, in Brenchley village.

Was the general increase in literacy amongst marriage partners a result of the increasing literacy of labourers in particular (in the period 1841-71 labourers comprised 82% of all male marriage partners resident in Brenchley). Alternatively was it a result of extra-parochial marriages with literate persons? Tracing the four periods 1841-46, 1847-56, 1857-66, and 1867-71, the percentage of literate male labourers did in fact increase - from 34.5 to 30.4 to 40.1 to 60% of all labourers marrying in Brenchley in these four periods. It is noteworthy that the period 1867-71 saw both a substantial increase in the literacy of male labourers resident in Brenchley and an increase in rural isolation as measured by intra-parochial marriages. Turning to the question of extra-parochial marriages with literate persons, the 'traditionally literate' did indeed have more contact with Brenchley. Male partners from Brenchley, Pembury and Horsmonden tended to be labourers, the more literate groups coming from further afield, and this latter group formed an increasing proportion of all male partners. These various findings strongly suggest that any link between mobility and literacy is not a clear one, and cast doubt on the existence in Brenchley at least of a close association between increased literacy and increased mobility. It appears that literacy is not a key factor in understanding

35 Jessup, F. 1966, p.46. There was also no mention of a school in Brenchley's Tithe Award, PRO, IR/29/17/49 (1842).

mobility. However it must be borne in mind that persistency did decline between 1851-61 and 1861-71, for the population as a whole, as measured by census linkage.

(iii) Persistency by Age and Sex.

It was suggested in the previous Chapter that lack of horizontal and especially vertical mobility in Brenchley could have driven out its younger and more ambitious members of the workforce, and that a slight surplus of males in 1851 was primarily related to migration. We will now explore migration differentials with reference to age and sex. Obviously age is a useful variable for the study of migration. We know that for most persons marriage would have occurred in their early twenties, and that child rearing would have continued until the 40s. In general terms, the responsibility and ties of individuals would increase with age, and we can hypothesise that these may have hindered mobility. Previous students of the subject such as Katz,[36] had found that there was an inverse relationship between age and mobility, adult mobility being highest amongst the under 30s and declining with age. Of all 16-30 year olds enumerated on the 1851 census, a quarter were still resident in 1861, in comparison to over a third of those aged 30 and over. A study of the specific age groups showed that persistency increased with age, (see Table 5.7) with the exception of those aged 51 and over in 1851-61 and those aged 16-20 and 51+ in 1861-71, where this trend was reversed. However, even the most persistent of groups increased their mobility in the decade 1861-71, the one surprising exception being the 1.3% increase in persistency amongst the 16-20 year olds (see pp.279-280). If we measure persistency over a long time span, that of 20 years, it increased from 7.3% for the 16-20 year olds in 1851 to 19.7% for the 41-50 year olds when, as in 1851-61 and 1861-71, the trend was reversed, persistency decreasing to 4.0% for the 51-60 year olds and 3.8% for those aged 61-70.

36 Katz, M. 1975, p.124.

Table 5.7. Persistency by Age of Brenchley's Workforce, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

age at first census	1851-61		1861-71	
	no. persisters	% of 1851 workforce	no. persisters	% of 1861 workforce
16-20	44	16.1	46	17.4
21-25	56	26.2	46	22.4
26-30	55	30.9	53	27.9
31-40	126	38.7	95	28.5
41-50	86	40.4	83	30.2
51-60	56	28.1	51	29.5
61-70	25	23.8	19	13.6
total	448	29.7	393	24.9

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

Such were the persistency differentials of the various age groups comprising the workforce as a whole. Fortunately the numbers of agricultural labourers were sufficient to allow an analysis of the persistency by age of this largest single occupational group. The results of this analysis, set out in Table 5.8, provide an interesting complement to the overall figure contained in Table 5.14. Table 5.8 shows that the persistency of agricultural labourers as a whole did not change between 1851-61 and 1861-71. Moreover one can see that the net outflow of the 1851-61 period drew particularly on the younger agricultural labourers (aged 16-35), who thereafter became somewhat more likely to

persist, perhaps because, due in part to the comparatively heavy out-migration of 1851-61, conditions had improved

Table 5.8. Persistency by Age* of Brenchley's Agricultural Labourers, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

1851-61	no		no persisting	% persistent	
16-25	119	(113)	33	27.7	(29.2)
26-35	97	(89)	38	39.2	(42.7)
36-45	71	(66)	25	35.2	(37.9)
46-55	57	(49)	20	35.1	(40.8)
56+	56	(35)	13	23.2	(37.1)
total	400	(352)	129	32.25	(36.6)
1861-71					
16-25	105	(101)	33	31.4	(32.7)
26-35	75	(71)	34	45.3	(47.9)
36-45	90	(87)	29	32.2	(33.3)
46-55	56	(48)	15	26.8	(31.2)
56+	69	(47)	17	24.6	(36.2)
total	395	(354)	128	32.4	(36.15)

* The Table refers to all of Brenchley's agricultural labourers aged over 16 which is why there were 129 and 128 persisters as opposed to 126 and 127 persisters aged 16-70.

The figures in brackets are adjusted for deaths occurring to the 1851 population. The number of deaths for all males in that cohort was extracted from Brenchley's burial records. Then the proportion of agricultural labourers to all males was calculated and an estimate of agricultural labourers deaths was arrived at. This figure was subtracted from the 1851 population to give the 1851 'persistable' population. The adjustment might not provide a completely correct estimate since each cohort has been treated as a sealed group and no allowance has been made for migration.

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935; Brenchley's burial records, 1835-48 & 1848-1909, KAO, P45/1/4 & 14.

at their place of origin.[37] The lowest persistency rates at both dates were for those aged 56+, due no doubt to a greater likelihood of the break-up of the home involved in widowhood (see p. 283).[38] Meanwhile the small number of persistent professional, domestic and commercial workers preclude any analysis of changes in persistency between 1851-61 and 1861-71. Changes in persistency among tradesmen and farmers demand closer attention and will be considered carefully in the following sections.

With regard to sex, Table 5.9 shows that, overall, women and men had very similar persistency rates. A surplus of males in 1851 would suggest either a higher persistency rate amongst men or a higher out-migration rate amongst women in the previous decade. By 1871 the male 'surplus' was lost (Chapter 4, p.175), due perhaps to the slightly lesser persistency amongst males.

37 Real wages fell from 1790 until 1840, but not thereafter, while changes in hiring practices, living-in, for example, were long-term, and continuing processes. Such processes may not have been to the advantage of the labourer but there was no cataclysmic socio-economic change in this period. See Chapter 4.

38 Another way of examining the role of age in persistency is to compare the ratios of migrants to persisters, by age. Thus the percentage ratio of migrants to persisters amongst agricultural labourers was as follows:

	1851-61	1861-71
16-	1:0.4	1:0.5
26-	1:0.6	1:0.8
36-	1:0.5	1:0.5
46-	1:0.5	1:0.4
56-	1:0.3	1:0.3

This again brings out the greater migration of the young and elderly at both periods.

Table 5.9. Persistency by sex of Brenchley's workforce, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

sex	1851-61		1861-71	
	no. persistent	% of 1851 workforce	No. persistent	% of 1861 workforce
female	214	30.6	192	27.9
male	234	29.0	201	27.8
total	448	29.8	393	27.9

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

(iv) Persistency by Life-Cycle Stage.

We found that persistency was affected by age, though a study of age alone left us with the question as to why the eldest age group should be more mobile than the middle-aged. Perhaps an examination of another aspect of their life-cycle, that of marital status, can shed some light on this.

A breakdown of the marital condition of both migrants and persisters supports the suggestion that responsibility hinders mobility, for married persons were the least mobile. Indeed of all persons described as 'married' in the 1861 census, as many as 30.8% were still present 10 years later (Table 5.10).

Table 5.10. Persistency by marital condition of Brenchley's workforce, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

marital condition	1851-61		1861-71	
	no. persistent	% of 1851 workforce	no. persistent	% of 1861 workforce
unmarried	97	17.7	90	16.8
married	337	38.7	289	30.0
widowed	14	15.2	14	17.1
total	448	29.7	393	24.9

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

Additionally, the widowed were very mobile. Thus unattached people, whether young or old were liable to be mobile. The importance of the fact of being 'unattached' becomes evident when we compare the mobility of married and widowed older persons - the married revealed higher persistency rates.[39] The same pattern was revealed by the 1851-71 linkage: the unmarried, married and widowed persisters representing 7.3, 18.1 and 3.8% of the 1851 population. Further analysis of these migrant old and widowed persons in 1851 showed that 'women with no stated occupation' to have been the dominant group (21.9%), followed by the unemployed (18.8%), and agricultural labourers (17.2%). Perhaps these persons, affected by unemployment, retirement, sickness or poverty were obliged to return to their parish of settlement, enter the workhouse, or go and live with family or friends? This could provide some explanation as to why persistency was lowest amongst the eldest cohort where widowhood was most prevalent. Of all the workforce 43.5% of the widowed were aged 61-70. Moreover of all persons aged 61-70 in 1851, 38.1% were widowed.

39 Of those aged 61 and over in 1851, 36.7% of the married persisted until 1861 compared to 21.2% of the widowed.

In our examination of the relationship between life-cycle and labour mobility, we need to turn our attention to the behaviour of different members of the family unit. As the overwhelming majority of Brenchleyites lived in 'simple' families (see Table 5.13), it is not surprising that the greatest number of relatives were sons, daughters, wives and the heads of house themselves. Outside these immediate relatives the only other substantial groups were lodgers and staff (servants, assistants, governesses).

If lack of opportunities served to encourage the out-migration of the young, we would expect adult co-resident sons and daughters to be less persistent than their parents. Several points emerge from Table 5.11. Sons and daughters were less persistent than their parents, though while persistency amongst the former remained stable, persistent

Table 5.11. Persistency by relationship to HOH of Brenchley's workforce, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

Relationship	1851-61		1861-71	
	no. persistent	% of 1851 workforce	no. persistent	% of 1861 workforce
heads (all)	185	34.1	155	26.8
wives (all)	174	41.0	149	32.7
sons (16-70)	40	26.8	44	27.8
daughters "	20	19.2	23	18.2
lodgers "	6	9.8	9	14.1
assistants "	6	10.3	0	0.0
servants "	9	8.3	4	3.8
total	440	31.3	384	26.4

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

heads and their wives declined. Daughters were less persistent than sons, perhaps because they left home to marry or enter into service. This information was supported by the evidence supplied by the 20 year linkage which showed that the wives, followed by the husbands, were the most persistent (16.5% and 12.3% respectively), their children less so, (sons 9.4%, daughters 6.7%), while no servants and only three (5.2%) of the assistants of 1851 could be found in Brenchley in 1871. Meanwhile closer scrutiny of the sons revealed that of those who persisted either from 1851 to 1861, or from 1861 to 1871, 55% and 75% respectively were agricultural labourers. Once more occupation emerged as the stronger influence overriding the effects of youth and single marital status. This finding is less surprising if we recall that persistency was increasing amongst young agricultural labourers (see p.280 of this Chapter).

(v) Persistency of heads of household by number of offspring and family type.

The effect of offspring on the mobility of heads of household is evident from Table 5.12 : there was a general tendency for persistency to increase with a corresponding increase in the number of offspring. However, the numbers of persistent HOH with more than 7 children were so small that their persistency needs to be treated with caution. The twenty-year linkage followed the pattern established by decennial census linkage, (though the levels of persistency were obviously lower, for example, only 8.8% of HOH with 'no family' persisted), there being no persons with 7 or more children who persisted for this length of time.

Table 5.12. Persistency by Number of Offspring of Brenchley's HOH, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

number of offspring	1851-61		1861-71	
	no. of HOH persistent	% of all 1851 HOH	no. of HOH persistent	% of all 1861 HOH
0	33	29.2	23	17.2
1	30	31.6	22	21.0
2	30	28.6	30	29.7
3	26	35.1	25	30.1
4	29	43.3	21	38.9
5	11	34.4	14	33.3
6	14	50.0	11	34.4
7	9	50.0	5	35.7
8	3	37.5	2	25.0
9	0	0.0	2	40.0
10	-	-	-	-
11	0	0.0	-	-
12+	-	-	1	100.0
total	185	34.1	155	26.8

source: Brenchley census 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

We also found that a childless family type, the 'solitary' (Table 5.13), had a high level of migration, whether examined by decennial or twenty-year linkage (in the latter case only 2.3% persisted). The presence of dependent offspring in all but the 'no family' type may have curbed mobility, but the figures depicting the lack of movement on the part of persons with 'no family' are based on a small number of such persons and must therefore be treated with caution. Those of the 'simple', 'extended' and 'multiple' family type respectively

persisted in 1851-71 by 13.5, 12.4 and 0.0% Clearly the relationship between mobility and family type is not a straightforward one.

Table 5.13. Persistency by Family Type of Brenchley's HOH, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

family type*	1851-61		1861-71	
	no. of HOH persistent	% of all 1851 HOH	no. of HOH persistent	% of all 1861 HOH
solitary	7	15.9	4	10
no family	5	55.6	5	22.7
simple	143	37.2	122	28.8
extended	29	29.9	23	26.4
multiple	1	12.5	1	14.3
total	185	34.1	155	26.8

* family type as defined by Laslett, P. 1972, pp.28-32. For details see Chapter 2, p.105.

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

As persons of the 'no family' or 'extended' family types had kin residing with them, the relationship between the number of kin and mobility was examined. In fact, less than a fifth of all households had any resident kin, and of these only a quarter had more than one kin. The presence of kin was thus too limited to exercise an impact on mobility.

(vi) Persistency Differentials Among Various Occupational Groups.

Table 5.14 explores the persistency of differing occupational groups. It is evident that persistency was

consistently higher amongst agricultural workers, farmers, and tradesmen, and lowest amongst professional, domestic and commercial persons. Agricultural labourers were also the largest single occupational group among those linked over twenty years, accounting for approximately 50% of the linked group. They were followed by farmers and craftsmen and tradesmen. The farmers represented 18.5% of the farmers in Brenchley in 1851, the craftsmen and tradesmen 10.9%, and the agricultural labourers 15.3% There were no professional persons, 1 commercial and 1 domestic person

Table 5.14. Persistency by Occupational Group of Brenchley's Workforce, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

Occupational Group	1851-61		1861-71	
	no.	persisters as a % of the 1851 workforce	no.	persisters as a % of the 1861 workforce
Professional	6	22.2	2	6.1
Domestic	11	9.2	10	7.9
Commercial	5	14.7	7	8.3
Agricultural	161	31.4	151	30.8
- ag.labs.	126	32.1	127	33.2
- farmers	23	35.4	17	30.9
Industrial (craftsmen/tradesmen)	44	31.9	48	23.9
Indefinite	221	32.9	175	27.0
- gen.labs	14	29.2	4	13.8
- unemployed	2	8.7	1	6.3
- women, no stated occup.	192	35.2	167	29.9
total	448	29.7	393	24.9

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

linked over these twenty years. With the exception of agricultural labourers, the mobility of all these occupational groups increased by 1871. For example, as few as 6.1% of all professional persons persisted in the decade 1861-71 in comparison to 22.2% in 1851-61. The persistency of agricultural labourers only increased fractionally (1.1%) and therefore should not be exaggerated.

(a) professionals, domestic and commercial.

As was mentioned on the preceding page, professional persons were amongst those with the lowest persistency levels. We can speculate that professionals such as clergymen and solicitors could not further their professional ambitions by remaining in an isolated place such as Brenchley, or perhaps they only had short-term assignments. Meanwhile those engaged in commercial pursuits such as railway servants and coachmen were mobile by the very nature of their occupations, those in service were well aware of the demand for servants in the towns. All these three groups had very limited representation amongst Brenchley's persistent population.

(b) craftsmen and tradesmen.

Craftsmen and any tradesmen were tied by their businesses to Brenchley. Indeed, the nature of craftsmen's & tradesmen's businesses encouraged persistency, because familiarity with the local inhabitants stimulated trade. As Table 5.14 illustrates, they were, after persons involved in agriculture, the most persistent occupational group. However, we might ask, how did the mobility of persons with a different relationship to the means of production compare? For example, were master craftsmen more or less mobile than their employees? On the one hand we can speculate that journeymen craftsmen would

be more mobile because they had fewer ties with the community, but on the other hand they could be less mobile having fewer resources at their disposal.

The number of employers engaged in a craft was too small to be of value for this examination.[40] However it is possible to contrast the behaviour of master craftsmen (some of whom were employers) with that of journeymen, and apprentices. On the 1851 census these groups respectively numbered 15, 6, and 8. Of all master craftsmen 53.8% migrated from Brenchley while all the journeymen and 62.5% of the apprentices were gone by 1861. It is possible that journeymen, having some work experience behind them saw much to be gained from a move to London, where there were many countrymen employed at their craft. Apprentices, on the other hand, may have been obliged to stay not only to complete their term of apprenticeship but also in order to gain some work experience. Master craftsmen were the least mobile, in fact they were almost as immobile as employing farmers. It is unlikely that the few craftsmen resident in Brenchley felt any great need to leave the parish. Indeed, the high degree of occupational inheritance from father to son (see previous Chapter) may have been a result of the fact that the sons were offered a secure livelihood.

The number of employing grocers, millers and butchers was also very small. The inclusion of masters increased the total to 7 men, with 2 journeymen and 7 apprentices. Once more the mobility of the masters was low: 57% left after 1851, while none of the journeymen and apprentices could be traced. The low mobility of masters must be attributed to a lack of motivation to move, and a positive incentive to stay. As we mentioned earlier, their business benefited from persistency.

40 There were 2 migrant employer craftsmen in 1851-61 and 1 in 1861-71, representing 100.0% of all craftsmen employers and 33.3% respectively. See also Table 5.16 for a summary of all employers' mobility.

(c) Farmers.

Like tradesmen and craftsmen, farmers by the nature of their business were tied to the parish - or more specifically the land, and consequently were not a very mobile occupational group. Moreover, persistency levels were clearly associated with the acreage of land occupied. We examined the effect on persistence of the acreage of land occupied by the heads of household, the substantial majority of whom, as we would expect, were farmers.

Table 5.15. Persistency by Acreage Occupied of Brenchley's HOH, 1851-61 and 1861-71.

acreage occupied	1851-61		1861-71	
	no	%	no	%
under 20	3	21.4	0	0.0
20-100	10	27.0	6	24.0
100-300	8	47.1	7	31.8
300+	1	100.0	0	0.0
total	22*	31.9**	13	23.2

*In 1851 there was one persistent HOH, a farmer, whose precise acreage was not stated. In 1861 there were 4. If these persons were included the numbers of persistent farmers would tally with those in Table 5.10.

** The overall % persistent amongst farmers does not tally with Table 5.10 since the latter uses the 16-70 age group as its base population.

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

Table 5.15 shows that persistency increased with the size of holding occupied (though accuracy requires us to note

the sole exception of the over 300 acre holder in 1861, the one farmer having migrated by 1871).

In conformity with the general pattern, persistency declined in the decade 1861-71, especially amongst the very small farmers, 8 of whom were present on the 1861 and none in the 1871 census. Although the numbers involved were very small, from the 1851-71 linkage we learnt that of the 12 HOH who held land, none under 20 acres persisted, the 20-100 acre holders represented 18.9% of all such occupiers in 1851, with the 100-300 acre persons representing 23.5%. There were none over 300 acres (but then the numbers of such farmers in Brenchley were negligible - in 1851 and in 1861 there was only one HOH with over 300 acres). These data confirm our earlier proposition (see Chapter 4, pp.187-193) that land consolidation was squeezing out the small farmer, though we must note the revival of the 20-60 acre holder in the decade 1861-71.

The effect of employer status on farmers' mobility was also examined. They formed the largest group of employers, half of whom were migrants; their persistency decreased fractionally in the decade 1861-71 by 2.5% (see Table 5.16 in the next section). Farmers who were employers were only slightly less mobile than other farmers and we can therefore conclude that regardless of status, farmers represented a group with comparatively low mobility levels.

(d) Employers.

Table 5.16 shows that of those persons who declared themselves to be employers on their census return of 1851, 56.3% had migrated by the time of the next census, and slightly more, 57.8% of the employers enumerated in 1861 had left by 1871.

Table 5.16. Mobility by Occupation of Brenchley's Employers 1851-61 and 1861-71.

	1851-61		1861-71	
employer's occupation	no. of migrants	% of all employers 51-61	no. of migrants	% of all employers 61-71
farmer	22	51.2	22	53.7
craftsmen	2	100.0	1	33.3
grocer, miller, butcher	3	100.0	3	100.0
total migrant employers	27	56.3	26	57.8

note: Unlike all the preceding tables, this table deals with migrants and not persisters. This is due to the fact that a table constructed using figures for persisting employers would have had many vacant groups, e.g. there would have been no craftsmen, grocers, millers or butchers. Such a table would have been less informative than the above.

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935.

Farmers were not only the most numerous, but also the most persistent of employers. Their persistence is further supported in the linkage of the enfranchised population as registered in Poll Books.[41] Of these over half were farmers, the second largest group were tradesmen, the remainder being a combination of commercial and professional men, and those of 'independent means'. A substantial proportion of this enfranchised population were employers. It is fortunate for our purposes that no changes were made in the franchise during the period covered (1835-65), so that the statistics are not distorted by legislative changes. Two different

41 Not all the enfranchised population were resident in Brenchley. However in this discussion we will only be dealing with those resident in the parish. See Chapter 2 for a description of the method used in linking the Poll Books.

link-ups were conducted: that of successive Poll Books,[42] and that of alternating Poll Books[43] in order to obtain as many different time lapses as possible. From Table 5.17 we see the likelihood of a match being made between two different sets of records decreased as the gap between the date of each record widened. It is striking that after 5 years, 60-61% of enfranchised persons were still present and that even after 12, one-half or thereabouts remained.

Table 5.17. Persistence of Brenchley's Enfranchised Population, 1835-65.

time lapse, years	% linked
2	71, 84
5	60, 61
6	60
7	45
8	55
10	56
12	42, 51
15	32

source: Poll Books for the West Kent area: 1835-65. Maidstone, KAO, class 32.POL, Search Room Library.

Thus the Poll Books bear further testimony to the stability of the farming and trading community. Those found earlier to be comparatively more mobile - the commercial and professional men - were in the minority amongst the voters

42 1835 to 37; 1837 to 47; 1847 to 52; 1852 to 57; 1857 to 59; 1859 to 65.

43 1835 to 47; 1837 to 52; 1847 to 57; 1852 to 59; 1857 to 65.

and we can safely surmise that the conclusions reached on the basis of census linkage are supported by the evidence derived from the Poll Book linkage.

(e) The labourers.

Agricultural labourers were regarded by contemporaries as the least mobile of all occupational groups:

> "...though of all classes... agricultural labourers are under the greatest necessity to leave their birthplaces, and have the greatest inducement to do so, no class is so hard to move away."[44]

This view was exaggerated, and probably took little account of the extent to which labourers were prepared to move locally, from one village to another. Nevertheless, as Table 5.14 shows, persistency rates among the labourers were approximately the same as among farmers (a little lower in the 1850s, rather higher in the 1860s), and accordingly the labourers must be counted among the less mobile social groups. Even when supposedly better working conditions in other parts of the country were brought to their attention by the authorities, or as a result of their increased literacy, they were reluctant to leave their locality. Indeed even when the Poor Law Commissioners financed the move, few applied and of those who went, many returned."[45] The cost of any such a move may have been prohibitive, especially as only a move to a northern agricultural area or a town would appear to entail financial benefits. The constant threat of removal should they become chargeable may also have acted as a disincentive. Clearly these options had limited appeal. Agricultural workers may also have been reluctant to relinquish cottages received from their employers

44 Clifford, F. 'The Labour Bill in Farming,' JRAS, XI(1875), p.125.

45 PRO, MH.32.71, records of Tufnell, the Assistant-Commissioner for Kent, 1st March, 1842. Very few lists of assisted migrants exist for the area and amongst those in existence no reference was found to Brenchleyites.

though we have no records for Brenchley to confirm or deny this.

Thus far the following points emerge from our examination:

1. Persons from long-distance birthplaces were more migratory than persons from short-distance birthplaces (Tables 5.4 and 5.5);
2. Professional persons were more migratory than labourers, farmers or tradespeople (Table 5.14).

When the relationship between the two variables 'birthplace' and 'occupation' was explored it emerged that the majority of professional persons had been born outside Kent (55.2% in 1851), while almost all agricultural labourers (89.3% in 1851) were living in their county of birth. The corresponding figures for farmers and tradesmen were 76.9 and 82.4% respectively. In order to evaluate the comparative influence of distance and occupation we examined the behaviour of the least mobile group - agricultural labourers, and the most mobile group - professionals, originating from the same place. Lack of long-distance agricultural labourers limited our study to the behaviour of the two occupational groups originating from a closer location.[46] In 1851 there were only 13 professional, adult, persons in comparison to 338 agricultural labourers. We found that even when born in the same place, professionals were more mobile than labourers: 23% persisted to 1861, in comparison to 37% agricultural labourers.

What becomes evident then is a clear geographical demarcation line for the respective labour markets. Labourers, farmers and tradesmen originated from and moved very locally, while professionals originated from and moved from further afield. The mobility of professionals could have been the product of a variety of factors, such as

46 that is, Kent.

knowledge of opportunities elsewhere gained in transit, and the ultimate lack of opportunity for professional persons in Brenchley.

(f) Farmers, labourers and tradesmen; a comparison with Rural Yorkshire.

The Brenchley labouring class stands in sharp contrast to that studied by Holderness in the period 1777-1822.[47] He found mobility, measured by a comparison of the birth-places of sons to the places of residence of their fathers, to be greatest amongst labourers, while farmers and tradesmen were substantially less mobile. Only one-third of labourers were living where their fathers had lived, though the majority had come from within ten miles. The data and methods used here to analyse the behaviour of Brenchley labourers are different from those used by Holderness, who relied on baptismal records. The principal source of information regarding mobility in Brenchley has been the census linkage, and it is from this source that we have established the origins of labourers, and compared the birthplaces of eldest co-resident sons to that of their fathers.[48] (see Table 5.18). Overall, the population studied by Holderness was more mobile than that of Brenchley and the following points of similarity and dis-similarity emerged so far as a valid comparison could be made:-

(a) Farmers birthplace patterns were somewhat similar - in Yorkshire 54% were born in the same parish, 84% within 10 miles; in Brenchley the corresponding figures were 50% and 75%.

47 Holderness, B.A. 'Personal Mobility in some rural parishes of Yorkshire, 1777-1822,' Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 42 (1967-70), 444-454.

48 Sons who were agricultural labourers had their birthplaces compared to that of their fathers. The fathers and sons would of course be co-resident as we have no other means of identifying related fathers and sons using the census.

Table 5.18. (a) Birthplaces of Fathers whose eldest sons co-residing were born in Brenchley, by occupation of son, 1851.

occupation of son	place of birth of father					
	Brenchley	adjoining parish	within 10 miles	further	unidentified	nos.
ag.lab.	59.2% (29)	14.3% (7)	12.2% (6)	14.3% (7)	0	49
farmers	50.2 (5)	25.0 (1)	0.0 (0)	25.0 (1)	0	10
tradesmen	88.9 (8)	10.1 (1)	0.0 (0)	- -	0	9

(b) Places of Residence of Father whose Sons were Baptised in their Respective Yorkshire Parishes, 1777-1812.

ag. lab.	31.8% (144)	12.5% (58)	30.2% (137)	18.1% (81)	7.6% (34)	454
farmers	54.1 (153)	12.4 (35)	17.6 (50)	14.8 (42)	1.1 (3)	283
tradesmen	47.7 (186)	10.3 (40)	19.5 (76)	17.9 (70)	4.8 (19)	391

source: Holderness, B.A. op.cit., pp.453-4; Brenchley census, 1851, PRO, HO.107.1615.

(b) Labourers' birthplace patterns were more complex. In both cases they show signs of fairly local origins for the most part: 84% were born within 10 miles and (b) 74% in Yorkshire. But, that said, a far higher % in Brenchley were from the village itself (59 compared to 32). This is interesting - it makes the labourers the most migratory group in Yorkshire (albeit within a limited area).

The differences in the mobility of Yorkshire labourers in the period 1777-1822 and those from Brenchley in 1851 may be attributed to the changed circumstances of the agricultural labourer by 1841. As 'living-in' was declining, fewer young persons would be sent to board with farmers outside the parish. Furthermore opportunities for improvement in the south were generally more limited. The labour market in the south-east was clearly more crowded, and so the northern labourers were generally better off.

(c) Tradesmen in Yorkshire were amongst the more stable (48%), as "...an established and steady livelihood" acting as "...an incentive to stability"[49] amongst farmers and tradespeople. On very small figures indeed, this was obviously true also of Brenchley (89%).[50]

(g) Ageing of the workforce.

Finally in this discussion of the characteristics of persisters we examine the proposition that migration left the parish with an ageing population. Taking all Brenchleyites aged 56 and over, we found that during the period

49 Holderness, B.A. op. cit., p.445.

50 This appears to conflict with Table 5.14 where persistence is put at only 31% (1851-61) and 23% (1861-71). However it must be remembered that about half the movers in this group were journeymen and apprentices, not those with an established livelihood.

under consideration they represented an increasing proportion of the total population, 7.9% in 1841 and 10.4% in 1871. A study of the age composition of the largest occupational group, those engaged in agriculture,[51] (Table 5.19) reveals a growth in the proportion of those aged 46 and over. However, this increase was very small - 29.1% to 33.3% of all agriculturalists were aged over 46.

Table 5.19. Age Composition of Brenchley's male agriculturalists aged 16+, 1841 and 1871.

	% aged 1841			% aged 1871		
age	(a)	(b)	(c)	(a)	(b)	(c)
16-20	1.4	13.3	14.5	3.3	14.7	15.3
21-25	8.7	15.5	14.0	5.0	11.9	13.6
26-30	11.6	13.0	12.5	3.3	10.6	12.7
31-35	4.3	7.6	7.8	8.3	8.4	10.2
36-40	20.3	12.3	13.0	6.7	12.9	8.5
41-45	13.0	8.2	9.0	8.3	9.9	6.4
46-50	13.0	7.3	7.5	11.7	11.1	8.9
51-55	4.5	6.0	5.5	11.7	3.0	6.4
56-60	11.6	5.1	6.0	16.6	4.8	6.8
61-65	8.7	5.1	5.3	5.0	5.6	4.9
66-70	2.9	3.2	2.8	11.7	4.1	4.5
71-75	-	1.9	1.5	6.7	1.3	1.0
76+	-	0.6	0.5	1.7	1.8	0.8
total	100.0	99.1	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0

(a) farmers (b) agricultural labourers (c) all agriculturalists

The % have been rounded up/down which is why they do not all add up to 100.0%

source: Brenchley census, 1841 and 1871, PRO, HO.107.456 & RG.10.935.

51 Defined as: farmers, farmers' sons, agricultural labourers and farm servants.

If we consider farmers and agricultural labourers separately, 40.7% of the former were over 46 in 1841 and 65.1% in 1871. The comparable figures for agricultural labourers were 29.2% and 31.7%. We would expect farmers to be generally older than other agriculturalists as many had to wait for the death of a parent to succeed to a holding. However their ageing is very striking.

Thus the most persistent group of 1851, the farmers, also aged most in the period 1841-71. The agricultural labourers had a similar rate of persistency, they were the only group to increase in persistency (though only fractionally), but they aged only slightly. So, while there is some relationship between persistency and ageing it is not a simple one of increased persistency resulting in most ageing. Moreover a high rate of persistence did not necessarily result in significant ageing, as exemplified in the case of the agricultural labourers.

Comparing the findings for Brenchley to that for Kent, and England and Wales, the age characteristics of Brenchley's farmers (Table 5.20), conformed to extra-metropolitan Kent, and England and Wales, while agricultural labourers and agriculturalists as a whole, on the other hand, were noticeably younger in Brenchley, even though in 1871 they, along with the farmers, were the most persistent occupational group.

Table 5.20. Percentage of farmers, agricultural labourers and agriculturalists aged 46+, Brenchley, extra-metropolitan Kent, and England and Wales, 1871.

occupational group	Brenchley	Kent (e-m)	England and Wales
farmers	65.1	67.2	66.1
agricultural labs.	31.7	37.0	40.0
agriculturalists	33.3	37.5	39.7

source: Brenchley census, 1871, PRO, RG.10.935; PP.1873.LXXI. Pt.1, p.66; PP.1873.LXXI,Pt.I,p.xxxix.

On the other hand, a comparison can be made between agriculturalists, craftsmen, and the entire male workforce. This revealed some differences in the age composition of these groups for 1841, there being a noticeably higher proportion of craftsmen in their 20s than agriculturalists. Making this same comparison in 1871, the percentage of agriculturalists aged over 51 exceeded that for craftsmen in the same age range by 31.5%. Taken overall, though, the population of Brenchley showed no sign of ageing (see Chapter 4, pp.175-177 and Table 4.3). Indeed, Table 5.7 of this Chapter shows how the 16-20 age group increased their persistence in the decade 1861-71. Consequently it would not appear that migratory movements on a net basis, made any significant impact on the age-structure of the labour force during the period under consideration.

BRENCHLEY'S OUT-MIGRANTS, 1841-71.

This Chapter on the migratory movements of the Brenchley population has so far focused on the parish's persisters for two reasons. Firstly, such an examination is more practicable in many ways and secondly, because it also tells us much about the community, which evidently was characterized by a lot of mobility and transiency. For example, agricultural labourers and farmers, the most persistent groups, still showed two-thirds of their population migrating in each decade under consideration. These out-migrants were adequately replaced by in-migrants in terms of gains by net migration in 1861-71, though in the preceding two decades Brenchley was a net loser of population by migration. The final question we are faced with concerns the whereabouts of Brenchley's out-migrants. There are practical limitations in how far this question can be answered for the tracking down of the Brenchley-born living outside Brenchley

is a mammoth task while the location of ex-Brenchley residents who were not Brenchley-born is impossible.

Nevertheless we have some indicators of the whereabouts of Brenchley's out-migrants. Records of the non-resident poor[52] comprised 34 heads of household who were regular applicants for 1845-66. 29.4 (10) of these were in Kentish unions, 41.2% (14) in Sussex unions, 14.7% (5) in London, and 14.7% (5) elsewhere. In all 39.4% were in neighbouring unions such as Ticehurst, Cranbrook, Sevenoaks, and East Ashford. Those resident in London were in Southwark, Chelsea, Shoreditch, Marylebone, Kensington, Stepney, Westminster and Holborn. The trade of the applicant was not recorded so we learn little from these records regarding the reasons for the application. We can nevertheless infer from these figures for pauper emigrants alone that there must have been a significant number of persons with a settlement in Brenchley living in London and these other areas who did not require relief. Without a doubt Brenchley-born persons must have been included in London's net gains of 2-300 thousand persons each decade, 1841-71. It is of interest to note though, that according to Shannon,[53] immigration from south-eastern counties fell from 9.5 to 8.5% of all London immigrants between 1851-61 and 1861-71, thus raising the possibility that Brenchley might be one of many villages in the south-east where the rate of persistence temporarily increased. Unfortunately, it would be a wholly impracticable task to search the entire population of London,[54] even for one census, in search of Brenchley-born persons, and not altogether fruitful to do so. For it would be impossible to identify persons who had resided in Brenchley but were not born there, or had co-residing children born in the parish.

52 Those who had a settlement in Brenchley yet found themselves in need while resident elsewhere, KAO, G/To/Af1/11.

53 Shannon, H.A. 'Migration and the Growth of London, 1841-91,' EHR, 5, no.2(1935), 79-86.

54 Where it is probable that many Brenchleyites were located. See the discussion of non-resident poor.

However, the location of Brenchley's out-migrants who required relief suggests that the vast majority of these Brenchleyites were not in London, but either in neighbouring unions or counties (85.3%). Other Brenchleyites, this time the Brenchley-born (and not persons requiring relief) were traced in the neighbouring parishes of Tudely, Pembury and Horsmonden. In Chapter 4 (pp.199-206) we discussed the exchange of labour between Brenchley and these parishes in the context of the discussion regarding open/close parishes. A further examination of the relationship between Brenchley and these three major contributors to its population would be best explored by examining what percentage of its population passed from each parish to the other. Ideally we should discover, for example, the percentage of the Brenchley-born in Tudely and vice versa. Unfortunately a calculation of the number of Tudely-born in Tudely would require very considerable work on the census enumerators' books, more than possible given the scope of this thesis.

We can, however, calculate the number of persons born in the three parishes of Tudely, Horsmonden and Pembury and living in Brenchley, as a percentage of the total population of each of the parishes. A comparison of these figures with the corresponding figures for the number of persons born in Brenchley and living in the three parishes, reveals that in proportion to settlement size more people born in the three parishes were living in Brenchley than vice versa. Although a relatively clumsy computation it affords us the best possible indication (given the sources) of the flow of population between the parishes. The ratios for Tudely and Horsmonden suggest that in the period 1861-71, the numbers of people coming to Brenchley from those parishes increased significantly. Thus the Brenchley-born were identifiable in neighbouring parishes. There were in Tudely, Pembury, and Horsmonden in the three census years of 1851, 1861 and 1871 the following numbers of Brenchley-born: Tudely - 42, 34, 47; Pembury - 90, 85, 96; Horsmonden - 69, 96, 69. Yet using 'birthplace' as a measure of mobility,

Table 5.21. The flow of population between Brenchley, Tudely, Pembury, and Horsmonden, 1851-71.

year	Brenchley-born in Tudeley	:	Tudely-born in Brenchley
1851	1	:	4.2
1861	1	:	4.6
1871	1	:	8.9
	Brenchley-born in Horsmonden		**Horsmonden-born in Brenchley**
1851	1	:	2.5
1861	1	:	1.2
1871	1	:	3.9
	Brenchley-born in Pembury		**Pembury-born in Brenchley**
1851	1	:	1.9
1861	1	:	1.9
1871	1	:	1.4

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71, PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.935; Tudely PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.495, RG.10.934; Horsmonden PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.936; Pembury PRO, HO.107.1615, RG.9.496, RG.10.936.

more persons came to Brenchley from these parishes than vice-versa.

The search for the Brenchley-born out-migrants was conducted in two further places - that of Tonbridge and Tunbridge Wells for the years 1851, 1861 and 1871. Just as the rural workforce were drawn to an urban centre such as London, so too there was a likelihood that some moved to these two towns where there were openings, for example, in domestic service. In Tonbridge parish, of which

Tunbridge Wells Town was a part,[55] there were in 1851, 150 Brenchley-born residents of all ages. In 1861 there were 152, and in 1871, 235.[56] There were therefore more Brenchley-born persons in Tonbridge/Tunbridge Wells Town than vice versa in the ratios of 1:0.4, 1:0.4, and 1:0.3, in 1851, 1861 and 1871. In terms of gross numbers more of the Brenchley-born went to Tonbridge/Tunbridge Wells Town than to Tudely, Pembury or Horsmonden. Also in terms of net population exchange the balance was in favour of Tonbridge/Tunbridge Wells Town,[57] unlike the case with Tudely, Pembury and Horsmonden where Brenchley was the net gainer.

To summarise our findings on Brenchley's out-migrants: Firstly, in any individual neighbouring parish, the number of Brenchley-born was not all that high (see above); but taken together, the encircling parishes accounted for a lot, for example, Tudely, Pembury and Horsmonden in 1871 had 212 persons (to say nothing of Yalding or Lamberhurst). Secondly, probably about a similar number (235) more in Tonbridge/Tunbridge Wells. Thirdly, a minority were in London and further afield; judging from the percentage of non-resident poor these would have been approximately a quarter of all the emigrants.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this Chapter we sought to discover the response of Brenchley's workforce to the continuing change in Brenchley's social relations, the labour market, and the

55 In 1851 and 1861; in 1871 Tunbridge Wells Town was partly in Speldhurst parish but nevertheless the entire town was used in this study.

56 PRO, HO.107.1614-1615, RG.9.492-494, RG.10.927-933.

57 In the three census years of 1851, 1861 and 1871 the excess of Brenchley-born in Tunbridge parish over Tunbridge-born in Brenchley was 98, 94 and 166.

general lack of opportunity for vertical or horizontal mobility. The response focused on was that of persistence/migration - the identification of the flows of labour and then the relationship of these to the labour market as discussed in Chapter 4.

From the birthplace statistics we discovered that in general, Brenchley drew upon very local sources of labour, the majority of residents originating from the parish or its environs. There was a greater degree of turnover than expected, approximately two-thirds of the population migrating in the inter-censal period, the most mobile adults coming from distant places, mobility decreasing with proximity to Brenchley. Not only was there a clear division between migrants and non-migrants in terms of origin, but divisions also emerged along occupational lines. The migrants who originated from longer distances were overwhelmingly professional, commercial and domestic persons, while those from closer places were labourers, farmers and tradesmen. It therefore became apparent that several distinctive labour markets were in operation. The former groups came from further afield and displayed little tendency to remain in Brenchley, while the latter came from Brenchley and its nearby parishes, and showed a greater reluctance to move. Any movement which occurred for social or economic reasons did so within very narrow geographical limits. Even increased literacy (which possibly increased news of work available elsewhere), did not produce a significant change in the labourers' behaviour. Indeed, while there was an overall increase in migration in the period studied, the labourers were the one occupational group to (fractionally) increase their persistence, the increase in persistency of young (16-35) labourers however, being more substantial.

Although two-thirds of the agricultural labourers were migrants, they were, as Clifford rightly commented,[58] the hardest group to move. Why was this so? Perhaps they lacked the financial means to move, or if they were in possession of a tied cottage, accommodation as cheap elsewhere would be hard to come by. Moreover, they had little security of employment, and so confronted with the constant possibility of removal to their parish of settlement should they become unemployed, they preferred to persist. If any long-term benefit was to be gained from a move, it would have had to be accompanied by a change of occupation - perhaps at London's railways or gas works.[59] Finally their children displayed a high degree of occupational inheritance and so it was obviously very difficult for the labourer and his offspring to change their status.

Their increased persistency in the decade 1861-71 should not be exaggerated, but it is nevertheless of interest, especially since it was most pronounced amongst the younger members of the occupational group. Conditions in Brenchley underwent no sudden change in the 1860s, and there is no data to indicate that the 1860s were worse than the 1850s and that therefore the 'push' factors on labourers were stronger. Indeed, as was suggested earlier, perhaps out-migration in earlier decades had resulted in improved conditions for those left behind, though agricultural labourers as a percentage of the workforce were steady throughout the period 1841-71.[60] However, it is not the

58 see p.295 of this Chapter.

59 For a discussion of the employment obtained by country emigrants in London see Smith, Llewellyn, H. 'Influx of Population,' in Booth, C. (ed), Life and Labour of the People in London. 2 vols, Williams & Norgate, 1889-91, vol.1, pt.III, Chapter II.

60 Agricultural labourers represented 47.0, 46.6 and 46.8% of the male adult workforce in the three decades 1841-51, 1851-61, and 1861-71.

numbers per se but the condition of the labourers which is of most importance.

An alternative explanation for their marginally changed behaviour in the decades 1851-61 and 1861-71 lies in the decrease of 'pull' factors. Perhaps there was a reduction in the pulling power of the towns which now supplied much of their workforce by natural increase. As we noted earlier immigration from the south-eastern counties to London fell in the 1860s, and Brenchley itself started gaining population from net migration though the turnover of population was greater than in the previous decade. However neither the 'push' nor the 'pull' factors showed any substantial change in the 1860s, and since the increase in persistency on the part of labourers was only fractional what is of greater importance is the comparative persistency levels of the different occupational groups. Bearing this in mind, although we have found no evidence for worsening conditions in the 1860s, it seems that the high persistency levels of agricultural labourers was at once a reflection and a cause of their low standing and disadvantaged situation within rural society.

CHAPTER 6. Kent and the Wider Labour Market.

In the course of the Introduction it was argued that if we are are to fully understand the migration process, it must be studied on a number of levels, ranging from movements within parishes and counties to movements within countries and to international movements. In the foregoing Chapters we considered the movement of labour within Kent, and the flows of population to and from Brenchley. We now turn to an examination of Kentish people in the wider labour market. Our examination will consider the extent to which opportunities were available to the Kentish workforce beyond Kent, the operation of schemes designed to attract the Kentish workforce to areas requiring their labour, and finally the identity of the migrants themselves. In the course of this examination we will attempt to trace the influence of economic factors in determining these migratory flows.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF KENTISH-BORN MIGRANTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

Although much of this Chapter is concerned with flows of population out of Kent, it should be noted at the outset that Kent gained population throughout this period. If this is remembered it should correct the impression which may otherwise arise of Kent as a county whose depressed workforce was in flight in search of opportunities elsewhere. Indeed, migration made a positive contribution to Kent's population growth:

Table 6.1 Kent's net gain/loss by migration of the entire population of the county, 1841-71.

1841-51:

1. 619,221 - 551,286 = 67,935
2. 211,273 - 149,270 = 62,003
3. 67,935 - 62,003 = +5,932 net gain by migration

1851-61:

1. 738,699 - 619,221 = 119,478
2. 252,533 - 163,879 = 88,654
3. 119,478 - 88,654 = +30,824 net gain by migration

1861-71:

1. 884,663 - 738,699 = 145,964
2. 309,763 - 182,588 = 127,175
3. 145,964 - 127,175 = +18,789 net gain by migration

The calculation was carried out in the following manner:

1.	Population of Kent 1851	- population of Kent in 1841	= x
2.	Births 1841-51	- deaths 1841-51	= xx
3.	x	- xx	=
		net gain/loss by migration.	

note: This calculation (which could have been carried out using the formula as in Table 6.2), needed few adjustments. All the county population totals were extracted from the census and already represented the registration county. The births were also for the registration county but had to be inflated to compensate for the under-registration of births. The deaths were given in the RGARs, and did not need to be estimated, though they had to be inflated. The same calculation carried out using unadjusted figures did not produce substantially different results. The figures were +6,00 8 , +31,186, and +20,846 for the three decades respectively.

source: RGARs, PP.1842.XlX-PP.1873.XX, and the census 1841-71, PP.1843.XXII, PP.1852-3.LXXXV, PP.1872.LXVI.Pt.II.

A calculation of the net gain/loss by migration of the Kentish-born revealed an increasing loss of this section of Kent's population; a finding which is not surprising since the only way there could have been a net gain would have been by a massive influx of Kentish-born persons resident in other counties.

Table 6.2 Kent's net gain/loss of the Kentish-born population, 1841-71.

1841-51:

1. 428,953 - 82,029 = 346,924
2. 211,273 - 53,740 = 157,533
3. 346,924 + 157,533 = 504,457
4. 462,502 - 504,457 = -41,955 net loss by migration

1851-61:

1. 462,502 - 90,445 = 372,057
2. 252,533 - 64,252 = 188,281
3. 372,057 + 188,281 = 560,338
4. 509,218 - 560,388 = -51,120 net loss by migration

1861-71:

1. 509,218 - 97,379 = 411,839
2. 309,763 - 79,221 = 230,542
3. 411,839 + 230,542 = 642,381
4. 581,335 - 642,381 + -61,046 net loss by migration

The calculation was conducted in the following manner:
1. Kentish-born in Kent in 1841 - deaths of this population = x
2. Births in Kent 1841-51[1] - deaths of this population = xx
3. x + xx = estimated number of Kentish-born in Kent in 1851, assuming no migration
4. De facto Kentish-born in Kent in 1851 - estimated number for 1851 = net loss/gain of the Kentish-born population of the registration county of Kent, 1841-51.[2]
source: RGARs and the census 1841-71, op. cit.

There was a consistent loss by migration of the Kentish-born in Kent, a finding reflected in the number of Kentish-born persons found outside their county (but in England and Wales). In 1851, 77.7% of all Kentish-born persons were in Kent, in 1861, 76%, and by 1871 there were 75%. Though the majority of the Kentish-born remained in their county of birth, the percentage of Kentish-born outside their home county increased fractionally.[3] In 1861, for example, Kent had the sixth lowest percentage of 'home born' living at 'home' of all the counties in England. In 1851 the Kentish-born represented 75% of the county's population, in 1861 the figure had fallen to 68.9% and by 1871 it was 65.7%. In 1861 the only counties with a lower percentage were: Cheshire - 68%, Durham - 67.6%, Middlesex - 59.3%, Monmouth - 62.8%, and Surrey 52.3%. The fact that the Kentish-born formed a decreasing percentage of Kent's population does

1 These figures include the whole year 1841 etc., and not just a part as in previous calculations.

2 The figures were all adjusted, when necessary, so that they related to the registration county of Kent. The births were inflated to compensate for under-registration.

3 A complex calculation was carried out in order to estimate the numbers of Kentish-born persons resident in England and Wales and abroad for the two decades 1851-61 and 1861-71, thus differentiating between those who migrated internally and those who emigrated. However this calculation gave somewhat ambiguous results. For details see Appendix 8, pp.446-52.

not necessarily imply a greater mobility on their part, for the decrease may well have been the result of an increasing in-migration of non-Kentish-born.

The distribution of the Kentish-born outside their county of birth formed a readily comprehensible pattern.[4] In 1851, Middlesex and Surrey (primarily their intra-metropolitan areas), accommodated 64.6% of the Kentish-born migrants found in England and Wales. Other counties within a similar distance of Kent had the next highest percentages, though far lower than those of intra-metropolitan Middlesex and Surrey. For example, Sussex and Hampshire between them only contained 12% of the Kentish-born migrants. The percentage of Kentish-born migrants in other counties decreased as distance from Kent increased, testifying to the truth of Ravenstein's first law of migration that "... the great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance."[5] The exception to this 'law' was the presence of the Kentish-born in Lancashire and Yorkshire, which, between them, accounted for 4% of the migrants. Counties marginally closer to Kent, like Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, only had 1% of the Kentish-born migrants. The presence of the Kentish-born in the intra-metropolitan parts of Middlesex and Surrey, and in Lancashire and Yorkshire - but not in other counties at a similar or lesser distance - indicates that distance per se was not the only important factor in the spatial distribution of migrants.

From the 1861 census a substantially similar pattern emerged.[6] 62.9% of the Kentish-born migrants were in Surrey and Middlesex, while counties close to Kent, such as Sussex and Hampshire, only had 12.3% Again Lancashire and Yorkshire had the greatest concentration of the Kentish-born in the North - 4.3%. The same pattern was found in 1871,[7] the migratory habits of the Kentish-born remaining

4 See Table 6.3 and Map 6.1.

5 Ravenstein, E.G. 1885 , p.198.

6 See Table 6.3.

7 See Table 6.3.

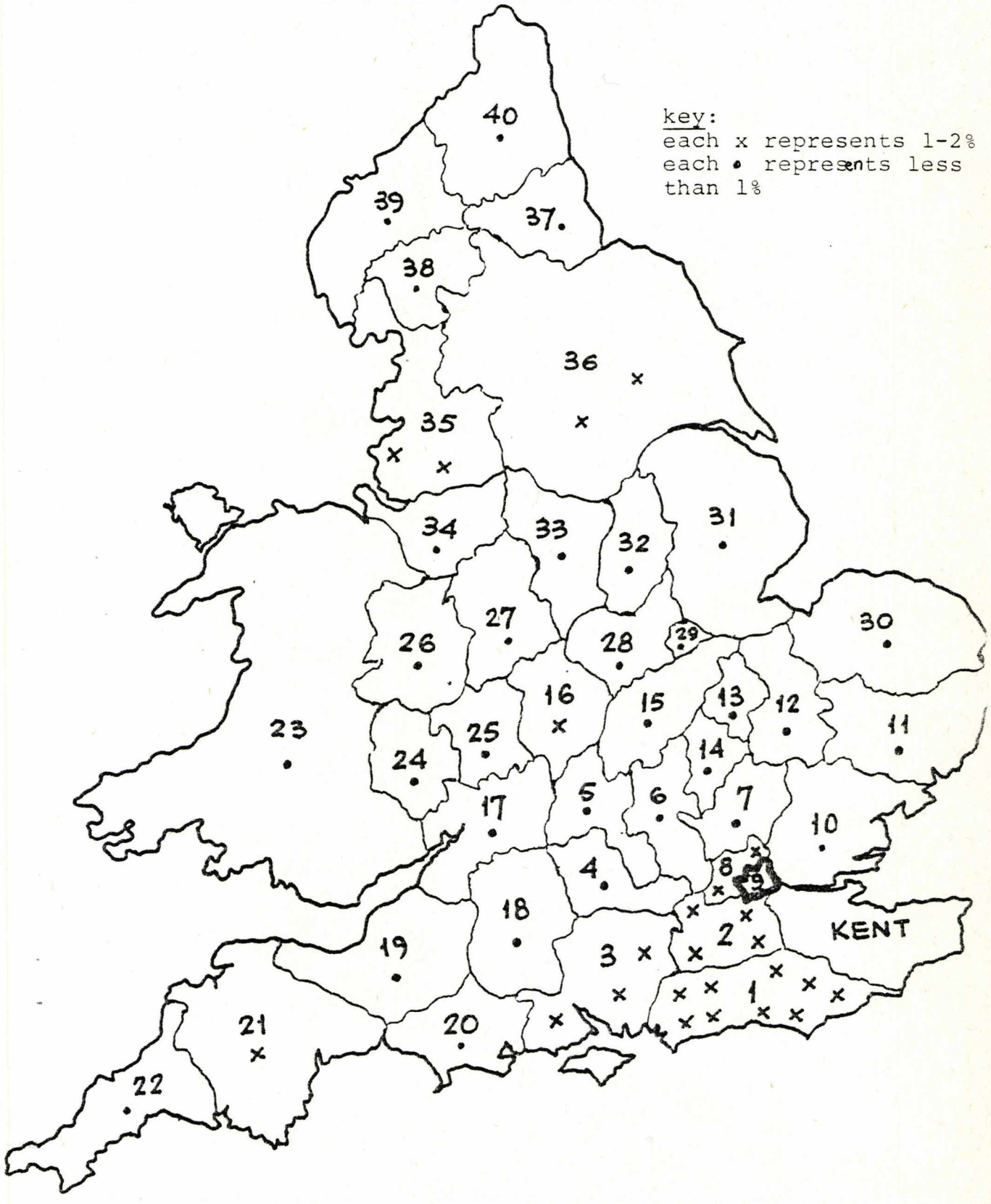
constant throughout this period.

Table 6.3. Key to counties of England and Wales.

Kentish-born enumerated in	Kentish-born migrants, percentage in each county of England and Wales		
	1851	1861	1871
1. Sussex	8.9	7.9	8.4
2. Surrey (extra-metropolitan)	3.7	6.0	10.5
3. Hampshire	3.4	4.4	5.1
4. Berkshire	0.9	0.8	0.8
5. Oxfordshire	0.4	0.4	0.4
6. Buckinghamshire	0.5	0.5	0.6
7. Hertfordshire	0.7	0.9	1.0
8. Middlesex (extra-metropolitan)	2.0	2.4	1.2
9. Surrey & Mddx (intra-met)	19.3 & 39.3	18.0 & 36.5	16.0 & 30.6
10. Essex	2.6	3.4	4.4
11. Suffolk	0.7	0.7	0.9
12. Cambridgeshire	0.4	0.3	0.3
13. Huntingdonshire	0.1	0.1	0.1
14. Bedforshire	0.3	0.3	0.3
15. Northamptonshire	0.4	0.4	0.5
16. Warwickshire	1.0	0.9	1.0
17. Gloucestershire	0.9	1.0	0.8
18. Wiltshire	0.3	0.4	0.4
19. Somerset	0.7	0.7	0.7
20. Dorset	0.3	0.4	0.4
21. Devon	1.8	2.0	2.2
22. Cornwall	0.4	0.5	0.4
23. Wales	1.0	1.1	1.2
24. Herefordshire	0.1	0.2	0.1
25. Worcestershire	0.4	0.4	0.4
26. Shropshire	0.2	0.2	0.2
27. Staffordshire	0.6	0.6	0.6
28. Leicestershire	0.4	0.3	0.4
29. Rutland	0.05	0.3	0.03
30. Norfolk	0.8	0.8	0.8
31. Lincolnshire	0.6	0.5	0.8
32. Nottinghamshire	0.4	0.4	0.4
33. Derbyshire	0.2	0.4	0.4
34. Cheshire	0.5	0.4	0.6
35. Lancashire	2.4	2.3	2.4
36. Yorkshire	2.0	2.0	2.6
37. Durham	0.8	0.8	1.0
38. Westmorland	0.03	0.1	0.1
39. Cumberland	0.1	0.1	0.1
40. Northumberland	0.5	0.4	0.5
total	100.1	100.2	100.0

In other words, in 1851, 8.9% of all Kentish-born migrants were resident in the registration county of Sussex. The 1851 figures represent the registration county. In 1861 and 1871 they represent the civil county. As the numbers involved in adjusting these latter statistics to represent the registration county would have been minimal, and since we are primarily concerned with comparing the density and distribution, it was unnecessary to adjust the figures. The percentages have been rounded up/down and therefore the total is not always 100.0%.
source: census, 1851-71, PP.1852-53.LXXXVIII.Pt.1(2), PP.1863.LIII.Pt.1, PP.1873.LXXI,Pt.1.

MAP 6.1. The distribution of Kentish-born migrants in England and Wales, 1851.



COMPARATIVE WAGE LEVELS AND STANDARDS OF LIVING

In order to explain the behaviour of the Kentish-born migrants more fully, some account must be taken of possible differences in wages and the standard of living between Kent and London, intra-metropolitan Surrey and Middlesex, and the northern industrial counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire in particular. Obviously it is neither useful nor practicable to seek to compare wage levels across a variety of occupations, and in any case there is no available data on professional and entrepreneurial incomes. The most comprehensive nineteenth century data relates to farm workers, and this enquiry will adopt E.H. Hunt's position, as set out in Regional Wage Variations in Britain, 1850-1914[8] that farm wages were the reference point by which others fixed their position.

Caird's study of English agriculture in the years 1850-51 divided England into two wage areas: the northern high-wage area and the southern low-wage area. Wages for agricultural labourers in the latter were 37% lower than those in the former.[9] Table 6.4 illustrates how regional inequalities persisted to 1867-70. The highest wages were found in the north, the lowest in the south, but the wages in Lancashire and Yorkshire were only marginally higher than those paid in Kent. The highest were paid in Cumberland, Westmorland and Durham, but these counties attracted few Kentish migrants.

It would seem then, that for former agriculturalists from Kent, commercial employment rather than higher agricultural wages were the 'pull'. Friedlander and Roshier have noted that in the period 1851-1911 "... migration was building up the main industrial centres... (including) Lancashire and Yorkshire and the Outer London are."[10] Furthermore, in his fifth law, Ravenstein stated

8 Hunt, E.H. Regional Wage Variations in Britain, 1850-1914. Oxford University Press, 1973, p.4.

9 Caird, J. op. cit., pp.511-12.

10 Friedlander, D. & Roshier, J. 'A Study of Internal Migration in England and Wales: Part I,' PS, vol.19, pt.3 (1966), p.265.

Table 6.4. Agricultural Labourers' Weekly earnings, 1867-70.

county	s d	county	s d
Sussex	16.6	Devon	12.6
Surrey	17.6	Cornwall	12.6
Hants	14.0	Wales	12.9
Berks	13.6	Hereford	13.6
Oxon	13.6	Worcs	13.6
Bucks	14.3	Shropshire	12.3
Herts	13.6	Staffs	14.0
Mddx	17.3	Leics	13.6
Essex	14.3	Rutland	-
Suffolk	-	Norfolk	14.9
Cambs	14.3	Linc	16.3
Hunts	-	Notts	15.0
Beds	14.3	Derby	15.6
Northants	15.3	Cheshire	16.0
Warwcks	15.0	Lancs	17.9
Gloucs	12.9	Yorks	17.6
Wilts	13.0	Durham	20.0
Kent	17.0	Westmorland	18.6
Somerset	12.3	Cumberland	18.6
Dorset	11.6	Northumberland	17.6

source: Hunt, E.H. op. cit., pp.62-3. See also Chapter 4, Table 21, pp.222-224.

that "...migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry."[11] Indeed, the wages of labourers in industrial employment compared favourably to the Kentish agricultural wage: Kentish agricultural labourers in the 1850s would have earned around 12s a week,[12] while in Lancashire labourers in casual industrial employment earned up to 15s a week, and navvies more than 18s.[13] London[14] wages, in particular, compared very favourably to those found in the provinces:

11 Ravenstein, E.G. 1885, p.188.

12 See Chapter 4, p.226.

13 Anderson, M. Family Structure, op. cit., p. 24.

14 The Kentish Registration Districts of Lewisham, Greenwich and Woolwich were part of 'London'.

Table 6.5. Average Weekly Wages, 1833 and 1867.

	1833 s d	1867 s d
London type of artisan	28.0	36.0
provincial	22.0	27.0
town labourers	14.0	20.0
agricultural labourers	10.6	14.0

source: Bowley, A.L. Wages and Income since 1860. CUP, Cambridge, 1937, cited in Jones, G.S. Outcast London. 1971, Peregrine, 1976 edition, p.31.

Stedman Jones cites Llewellyn Smith's evidence regarding the occupations most likely to be entered into by people originating from outside London. On top of the list were the army and navy, 88% of whom were not Londoners, 83% of the police, 78% of the gardeners and 78% of railway labourers. Although these immigrants tended not to settle in the East End, the wages recorded in St. George's-in-the-East for 1848 are nevertheless an indicator of wage differentials for specific occupations. Bearing in mind

Table 6.6. St. George's-in-the-East, Average Weekly Wage, 1848.

	s d		s d
labourers	15.7	coopers	25.5
dockers	15.7	cigar makers	30.5
shoemakers	17.5	watermen	20.10
tailors	21.6	sailors	11.10
carpenters	25.4	carmen	18.1
bricklayers	23.8	wheelwrights	25.2
butchers	18.10	police	18.10
sugar bakers	21.3	clerks	26.9
bakers	18.6		

source: Jones, G.S. ibid., p.216.

that in 1849 the average farm labourer's wage in England was about 10s, and that 20 years later on the Linton Park Estate carpenters and bricklayers were only earning what their London counterparts earned in 1849, London's attraction is clear.

However, men's earning were not the only consideration in the decision to move. Up to 1871, when the Education Act removed many children from the workforce,[15] the availability of work for children, and women, played an important role.[16] In the country, some work was available for women and children all year round, but the most substantial demand occurred at harvest time (see Chapter 4). By contrast, in industry there was steadier employment (despite the trade cycle). Women worked alongside men in factory weaving, nail production, clothing and processing (for example, printing and dyeing). Those who did not work in factories entered into domestic service, though the least fortunate worked as laundresses and charwomen. Children were also employed in the cloth trade, often as assistants to their fathers or other kin. They performed a variety of tasks such as that of piecing (tying together any broken threads), bobbin changing, cleaning, or running errands. Girls also entered the traditional female occupations of dressmaking, lacemaking or other domestic industries.

Regarding the level of wages, Hunt writes that "...in broad terms women and children were paid most where men's earnings were highest and least where they were lowest."[17] The 1906 wage census showed that, in London, women's earnings were on the whole above the UK average in the clothing trade, domestic service, printing and shop work.[18] In the 'well-paid' cotton industry children in the 1850s could earn 3-6s a week, young men and women under 18,

15 Hunt, E.H. British Labour History, 1815-1914. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981: "During the course of the first half of the nineteenth century, child employment declined considerably, although to a level that was still high by later standards. In the third quarter of the century there was little change in the overall proportion of children employed ...after 1871 a more general decline commenced..." p.9.

16 Single adult men and women represented a large proportion of migrants (Chapter 5), and so the provision of, and payments for children's work should not be exaggerated in importance.

17 Hunt, E.H. 1973, p.112.

18 ibid., p.111.

5-13s, women 9-16s.[19] In 1860 the wages paid to women in agriculture were 1s a day, girls working at harvest time only 6-8d a day, and boys 8d a day.[20] Obviously the greater availability of employment and the higher remuneration would have appealed to families dependant on the earnings of children and both spouses.

Aside from wages, the 'pull' exercised by a particular region was related to the cost of living, working hours, housing and other facilities. In his investigation of the cost of living Hunt found that low wages in the rural south were not offset by a lower cost of living. Differentials in rent and food prices did little to even out wage variations, in fact fluctuations in food prices "... favoured the high-wage areas and food accounted for the greater part of the working-class budgets."[21] Life in the town was also characterised by comparatively shorter working hours, and a better diet. In 1850 the working week averaged beteen 60 and 72 hours. While legislation reduced the hours worked by men, women and children in industry,[22] there was no comparable reduction in the working day on a farm. Farm workers also ate less well: meat was a rarity and bread the staple food. Furthermore a greater proportion of their income was spent on subsistence items; the weekly budget of a Suffolk labourer c1842 revealed that he spent 80% of his income on food.[23] Rural labourers therefore had little, if anything, left for leisure.

To summarise briefly, most Kentish-born migrants moved to areas close to Kent and primarily to intra-metropolitan Middlesex and Surrey, though significant numbers

19 Anderson, M. Family Structure, op. cit., p.23.

20 Return of the Average Rate of Weekly Earning of Agricultural Labourers in the Unions of England & Wales, quarter ended Michaelmas, 1860, Eastry Union. PP.1861.L, p.584.

21 Hunt, E.H. 1973, p.104.

22 For example, the Factory Acts of 1850 and 1853 set the mill week at 60 hours.

23 Hunt, E.H. 1981, pp.82-83.

also moved to the northern industrial centres of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Wages in London were generally better than those obtainable in Kent, and although agricultural wages were only marginally higher in Lancashire and Yorkshire than they were in Kent, industrial wages were at least 25% higher. There were also greater employment opportunities for women and children both in London and in the northern industrial centres. Lower wages in Kent were not matched by lower prices. Agricultural labourers also suffered longer working hours and a more basic diet. So it is not surprising that they were willing to exchange a low standard of living and "... a dark and muddy lane, with no glimmer of gas and nothing to do..." for better wages and diet and "...the theatres and the music halls, the brighlty-lighted streets and busy crowds..."[24] of a town.

Of necessity, these indications of the nature of the pull which distant opportunities might exercise on Kent-born persons, especially at the lower end of the social spectrum, have to be highly generalised. Without a major piece of research in its own right, there is no way of telling to what extent, for example, former Kent agricultural labourers were to be found in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and whether or not they remained in agriculture or found new occupations, as they would need to in order to earn substantially more than in Kent, which was not a notorious low-wage county. By going to London they would certainly change their occupations and consequently earn more, as indeed would craftsmen moving from a rural to an urban setting. Less still can be said of entrepreneurs or professional persons, although as a general rule they too, would be looking to better themselves.

24 Smith, L.H. quoted in Armstrong, W.A. 'The Flight from the Land,' in Mingay, G.E.(ed), 1981, vol.1, p.126.

CHARACTERISTICS OF IMMIGRANTS IN KENT

Earlier in this Chapter we found that although Kent was losing the Kentish-born population as a result of migration, the county as a whole was gaining population by migration. The percentage of the non-Kentish-born in Kent increased in the period 1851-61 from 25 to 34.3% of the county's population. Each census contains details of the distribution of these in-migrants in Kent, although the precise nature of the information varies from census to census.

Counties which were popular destinations for the Kentish-born, such as Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex, also made substantial contributions to Kent's population (Table 6.7). Perhaps, as Ravenstein argued, the fact that most migrants travelled short distances made this pattern inevitable. The Kentish RDs which had the highest percentage of all non-Kentish-born persons (1851) were: Greenwich, Lewisham, Gravesend and Medway, with 53%, 50%, 34%, and 32% respectively. Those with the lowest percentage were: Bridge, Milton, Hollingbourne and East Ashford, with 5%, 6%, 6%, and 7% respectively. Maps 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3, and Table 3.6, pp.142, 154-55, 149-151, clearly identified the distribution of jobs in Kent as a whole and for each district: the north-eastern districts were the industrial centres of Kent, the others predominantly agricultural areas. From previous investigations we know that there was more employment available in the former than in the latter.

Thus any 'permanent' gain was concentrated in the urban and industrial areas of Kent, and the agricultural localities in so far as they attracted labour, did so on a seasonal basis. Each year thousands of Londoners and persons from further afield travelled to Kent for a working holiday picking fruit and hops. For example, in 1865 the South Eastern Railway carried in special hopper trains nearly 11,100 pickers from London, Woolwich and Gravesend.[25]

25 Whyman, J. op. cit., p.34.

Table 6.7. Origins of Kentish in-migrants.

Migrants born in the county/ country	English and Welsh-born persons in Kent, % from each county/ country		
	1851	1861	1871
1. Sussex	11.3	10.5	9.6
2. Surrey (extra-metropolitan)	5.0	4.3	4.4
3. Hampshire	4.5	4.3	4.6
4. Berkshire	1.5	1.7	1.7
5. Oxfordshire	1.1	1.1	1.1
6. Buckinghamshire	1.2	1.3	1.3
7. Herfordshire	1.5	1.6	1.7
8. Middlesex (extra-metropolitan)	1.6	1.6	2.3
9. Surrey & Mddx (intra-met)	8.5 & 23.5	8.0 & 22.5	8.5 & 24.0
10. Essex	5.9	6.3	6.6
11. Suffolk	2.8	3.6	3.6
12. Cambridgeshire	0.8	1.2	1.2
13. Huntingdonshire	0.6	0.3	0.4
14. Bedfordshire	0.6	0.7	0.8
15. Northamptonshire	0.9	0.9	1.0
16. Warwickshire	1.1	1.2	1.3
17. Gloucestershire	1.7	1.8	1.6
18. Wiltshire	1.7	1.7	1.6
19. Somerset	2.3	2.2	2.1
20. Dorset	1.1	1.1	1.2
21. Devon	4.3	3.9	4.0
22. Cornwall	1.3	1.1	1.1
23. Wales	0.8	0.4	0.2
24. Herefordshire	0.4	0.4	0.4
25. Worcestershire	0.6	0.6	0.6
26. Shropshire	0.6	0.5	0.4
27. Staffordshire	0.8	0.9	0.8
28. Leicestershire	0.7	0.7	0.6
29. Rutland	0.1	0.08	0.08
30. Norfolk	2.8	3.3	3.2
31. Lincolnshire	0.9	1.2	1.1
32. Nottinghamshire	0.5	0.7	0.5
33. Derbyshire	0.5	0.5	0.4
34. Cheshire	0.5	0.4	0.5
35. Lancashire	1.9	2.3	1.9
36. Yorkshire	2.4	2.9	2.2
37. Durham	0.8	1.1	0.7
38. Westmorland	0.1	0.1	0.2
39. Cumberland	0.4	0.3	0.1
40. Northumberland	0.8	0.7	0.5

source: census, 1851-71, PP.1852-53.LXXXVIII.Pt.1(2), PP.1863.LIII.Pt.1, PP.1873.LXXI.Pt.1.

Stanhope, in his Report of 1868-69 cited the figures of 25-30,000 hoppers.[26] Such persons represented a wide

26 Reports of the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture,' Report on Kent by Stanhope, E. PP.1868-69.XIII, p.82.

variety of callings, from dustmen to paper flower makers, and often the poor of London's suburbs.[27] According to Stanhope, pickers could earn 18-20s a week, though good wages were often accompanied by poor housing conditions. The strain on the hop growing areas was such that in 1866 the Society for the Employment and Improved Lodging of Hop-pickers was formed with the aim of supplying better lodgings and accommodation for the hop pickers. The Society also set up agents in the towns supplying the pickers with a view to regulating the numbers and character of the arrivals. Interestingly, this exodus to the countryside coincided with "...a season when employment is slack in London...";[28] consequently shortages in the rural areas were now met by the unemployed of the towns.

'EXCHANGES' OF POPULATION, BY COUNTY

One further way of examining the place of Kent in the national labour market is by comparing in detail flows of labour to and from the county in the manner adopted for Brenchley in the preceding Chapter (pp.304-05). From Table 6.8 we see that Kent was gaining from the majority of the counties, but especially from the predominantly rural counties of Somerset, Huntingdonshire, Hereford and Westmorland. It was losing population on balance to Rutland, Lancashire, Surrey, Middlesex, Yorkshire and Wales, all of which, with the exception of Rutland, offered industrial employment and urban life. Since Kent lost population to only a handful of counties and Wales, we would therefore expect that the majority of counties in England would be paying lower wages than those received in Kent. According to Hunt[29] this was so with agricultural labourers wages. The exceptions were

27 See, for example, 'Hops and Hop-Pickers,' Leisure Hour, XIV, no.713 (26 August, 1865), 533-540. This article refers to the hop-pickers as being the "poorest inhabitants of London, the Borough, and great towns, principally situate on the Medway and Thames" all of whom "leave their homes for the purpose of obtaining employment in the hop-gardens of West Kent." p.536.

28 Leisure Hour, V, no.251 (16 October, 1856), p.665.

29 Hunt, E.H. 1973; see Table 6.4, p.317, of this Chapter.

Table 6.8. Exchange of population between Kent and the other counties of England and Wales, 1861.

county	ratio x:Kent
Middlesex	0.7:1
Surrey	0.6:1
Sussex	3.2:1
Hampshire	1.9:1
Berkshire	9:1
Hertfordshire	9:1
Buckinghamshire	14:1
Oxfordshire	12:1
Northamptonshire	3:1
Huntingdonshire	45:1
Bedfordshire	10:1
Cambridgeshire	13:1
Essex	4.1:1
Suffolk	10:1
Norfolk	7:1
Wiltshire	13:1
Dorset	11.1
Durham	2.5:1
Cumberland	15:1
Wales	0.5:1
Devon	3:1
Cornwall	6:1
Somerset	90:1
Gloucestershire	3.5:1
Hereford	30:1
Shropshire	8:1
Staffordshire	2:1
Worcestershire	4:1
Warwickshire	2:1
Leicestershire	6:1
Rutland	0.1:1
Lincolnshire	6:1
Nottinghamshire	4:1
Derbyshire	3:1
Cheshire	2:1
Lancashire	0.4:1
Yorkshire	0.8:1
Northumberland	5:1
Westmorland	30:1

x = for example, Middlesex-born in Kent as % of their own county population (county proper);
Kent = Kentish-born in county x as a percentage of the Kent county population.

source: census 1861, PP.1863.LIII.Pt.1.

Westmorland, Northumberland, Cumberland and Durham which despite higher agricultural wages were on balance losing population to Kent. These interesting general trends cannot be pursued further here, and let us reiterate that in terms of exchange of population Kent gained from migration, even though this gain was concentrated in the urban and industrial areas of north-eastern Kent (see p.322 of this Chapter).

SCHEMES OF ASSISTED EMIGRATION INITIATED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

(i) The Schemes of the 1810s and 1820s.

Up to this point we have examined the role of Kent in tha national labour market, identifying the flows to and from the county. However, agricultural labourers and tradesmen, for example, not only moved within the county or within Britain, but to destinations overseas. In the following sections we will examine the colonial labour market, the opportunities available for Kentish workers overseas, and the extent to which the 'needs' of the county were complemented by those of the colonies. What labour was required in the colonies and how far did it coincide with the 'surplus' at home?

In the years following the Napoleonic Wars, and prior to the New Poor Law, there was already an interest in financing emigration. Persons wishing to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope were granted aid by the British Government in the period 1818-19, which sought to defuse the post-war crisis by removing the poor and unemployed, while at the same time populating the Cape for reasons of defence.[30]

30 See Johnston, H.J.M. op. cit., Chapter 3. He discusses the relative importance of domestic and imperial matters.

There were four large groups leaving Kent for this colony. C. Guerney of Deal took out a party of 24, C. Krause of Rochester a party of 44, J. Erith, (while himself living in London), recruited emigrants from the Isle of Sheppey, and W. Menezes of Dover, all left in the period 1819-20.[31] Menezes (also signed himself as Menzies) explained his interest in the Government scheme:

> "Haveing seen in the news piper a grant for emigrants to go to the Cap of good hop your humble servent William Menzies and John Oliver to gounder govemnant as Labrors on what you think proper to seend us... I am master shoe maker Dover... Confinment does not a grie with us and being a qunted with farming and manever I have so maney Bad debts and have no parish being a sealishman..."[32]

Menezes was granted land and headed a party of 51 persons, all of whom were indentured to him for a period of years, in exchange for his covering some of their expenses. However, as Woods's thesis on the Erith party shows, contracts made before departure were not always kept, and thus the party heads often lost their labour force and consequently money they had invested.[33] The list Menezes submitted to the Colonial Office contained detailed information regarding his party. Persons classified as "labourers" were in the majority, but there were also tradesmen, namely a shoemaker, sawyer, blacksmith, wheelwright, tailor, druggist, baker, carpenter, cabinet-maker, book-binder and an accountant. The Cape needed skilled labour, though it is likely that the emigrants were obliged to turn their hands to working on the land granted to their party head during their period of indenture.

31 See PRO, CO.48.47, Settlers Sailing Lists - Returns of Heads of Parties, South Africa, 1819; Woods, T.P. The Case of James Erith, 1820 settler, University of Rhodes Ph.D, 1968; a map of Albany area shows the land occupied by Erith, Menezes, Krause, courtesy of Cory Library, South Africa, S/757/S1.

32 Menezes/Menzies of Dover, party head, PRO, CO.48.44, Cape of Good Hope correspondence 'I' to 'O', 1819.

33 Woods, T.P. op. cit., discussed the conflict which arose in the case of Erith's party, and how many of its members deserted him upon arrival in South Africa.

T.L. Hodges, the MP for West Kent, proposed in 1826 that emigration should be financed for the purpose of alleviating distress in Kent:

> "In that district of the county where I live, called the Weald of Kent, there is in almost every parish, and has for several years past been, a considerably larger number of people than the agricultural demands require; the consequence of that has been, the parishes are in considerable distress, the poor-rates enormously high, and these people are obliged to be employed on the roads, the bad effects of which I need not enlarge upon... at present these parishes can relieve themselves by promoting emigration, and the tide of emigration from that county is now setting to New York."[34]

Until the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 (PLAA), the assisting of emigrants by individual parishes to places not under British control was allowed.

Information from the United States stated that ready and well paid employment was available, so emigrants had to be enticed to go to Canada:[35]

> "If a prospect of removal to Canada does not hold out advantages such as they know they can secure to themselves immediately in the United States, I fear it would be very difficult to persuade any of them to go. I think if land was offered to them, and assistance for a period till they could get their crops, that would be a temptation that would induce them to go at once."[36]

Hodges's evidence shows Kentish interest in assisted emigration from an early period. Benenden's vestry book contains numerous references to the parish assisting emigration. For example:

34 Evidence of T.L. Hodges Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Emigration, April 27th, 1826, PP.1826.IV, p.133.

35 Canada was, until 1867, just one of the colonies in British North America. Under the British North America Act of 1867, Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia became known as the Dominion of Canada. Quebec and Ontario had been known as Lower and Upper Canada respectively.

36 Hodges, T.L. op. cit., p.134.

> "...it is agreed to send or Assist John Whibley his wife and 4 children to America for the Sum of £40. Likewise to Send or Assist James Whibley and Benjamin Pillbeam two Single Men to America at the Above Vestry it is agreed to Adopt Proceedings for the Better Employment of the Labouring Poor..."[37]

Other Kentish persons were found to be applying to the Secretary of State for information about the assistance given to intending settlers. A.C. Hall of Greenwich wrote such a letter in 1827:

> "Being desirous of Emigrating to one of His Majesty's Colonies, I shall esteem it a favour if you will inform me what Encouragement is given to persons going to the Canadas and Van Diemens Island..."[38]

One successful candidate was Thomas Diprose of Biddenden, who was given permission to proceed as a free settler to Van Diemen's Land, being granted land upon his arrival in proportion to his means "...which he may possess of bringing the same in to cultivation."[39]

Obviously, the evidence available for this early period is fragmentary in character, and more information regarding the characteristics of such persons would be necessary if we are to ascertain their typical economic circumstances in Kent and the reasons for their emigration. Personal statements are hard to come by, and we are fortunate to have the journal of Peter Harrisson, who emigrated from Sandwich to Tasmania in 1822. In his journal he stated his motives for emigrating:

37 KAO, P26/8/1, May 4th, 1832, Benenden's vestry book. Other references run from April 23rd, 1826 to November 28th, 1833.

38 C. Hall of Greenwich, June 4th, 1827, letter to the Secretary of State, PRO, CO.384.15, North American settlers, 1827, English and Scotch Applicants.

39 Courtesy of A.R. McDougall of Tasmania, a descendant of Thomas Diprose who emigrated in 1823 from Biddenden.

> "Completely tired of buying various businesses to gain a comfortable livelihood in England and finding my means of future support daily diminishing without a reasonable chance of meeting with any employ, suitable to my wishes, to improve my finances were my principal reasons for quitting my native land."[40]

(ii) The New Poor Law and Emigration.

The New Poor Law which came into operation in 1834 officially put an end to the problem of surplus population. Our earlier discussion of conditions in Kent and Brenchley clearly revealed this not to be the case - unemployment persisted amongst agricultural workers. The PLCs' emigration scheme was an admission that poverty and unemployment were present and requiring remedial action. Cranbrook and Tenterden Unions were, in terms of expenditure on poor relief, amongst the worst affected unions in Kent (see Tables 3.8 and 3.9, pp.159-60), and they will be studied as examples of emigration funded by the poor rates.[41]

The PLCs' concern was decidedly with the effects of emigration upon the poor rates, rather than with the settlement of a new country. The Poor Law Guardians were torn between their roles as employers and as officials charged with controlling poverty and its cost. As employers they periodically required abundant and therefore cheap labour - yet abundant labour often meant 'surplus' labour and soaring poor rates. There was also a concern with law and order; the riotous behaviour of Kentish labourers in the early 1830s was not forgotten. Ultimately they decided to decrease the poor rates by ridding themselves of their charges in the cheapest way - which usually meant subsidising a passage to Canada. They also organised internal migration (1835-37), sending the southern rural

40 Courtesy of the Sandwich Local History Society, the Journal of Peter Harrisson who emigrated from Sandwich to Tasmania in 1822.

41 PRO, MH.12.4911-16, Cranbrook Union correspondence, 1834-73; PRO, MH.12.5333-37, Tenterden Union correspondence, 1834-71.

'surplus' to the manufacturing north. Under the auspices of this particular scheme, 4,328 persons were moved, two-thirds of whom originated from East Anglia.[42] The scheme was short-lived as indeed was the employment obtained by these migrants, and many returned home. As with their emigration scheme, the PLCs and the ratepayers encouraged their 'undesirable' population to leave.

Despite official denials of parishes ridding themselves of their most disreputable residents, persons who had been on relief or who were a present or potential burden on the parish were often given priority. Large families with many dependant offspring were also favourite candidates. Men and women were sent out in unequal numbers, and complaints were often heard that the females were of bad character. Assistant Poor Law Commissioner Tufnell rejected the accusation that the parishes were merely shovelling out undesirables. In a letter to the PLCs he differentiated between habitual and other paupers:

> "...habitual paupers should never be assisted to emigrate. The remarks of... are I submit too general and sweeping as they would lead a reader to infer that any one who has received or is receiving parish relief should be considered therby disqualified from being send out at the expense of the Colonial Emigration Fund. This rule would have excluded at least three fourths of the labouring population of these counties from the benefits of emigration under the habits engendered by the Old System of Poor Law relief there were but few labourers who did not at times receive some assistance from the rates, and even now in many parts a labourer whatever may have been his earnings runs to the Relieving Officer at the first hint of an ailment to himself to any part of his family. Yet they are not habitual paupers and many of them when placed under new circumstances in a colony display all the hardihood, patience and self reliance which are so necessary to face and overcome the difficulties of a New Country."[43]

42 See Digby, A. op. cit., p.102.

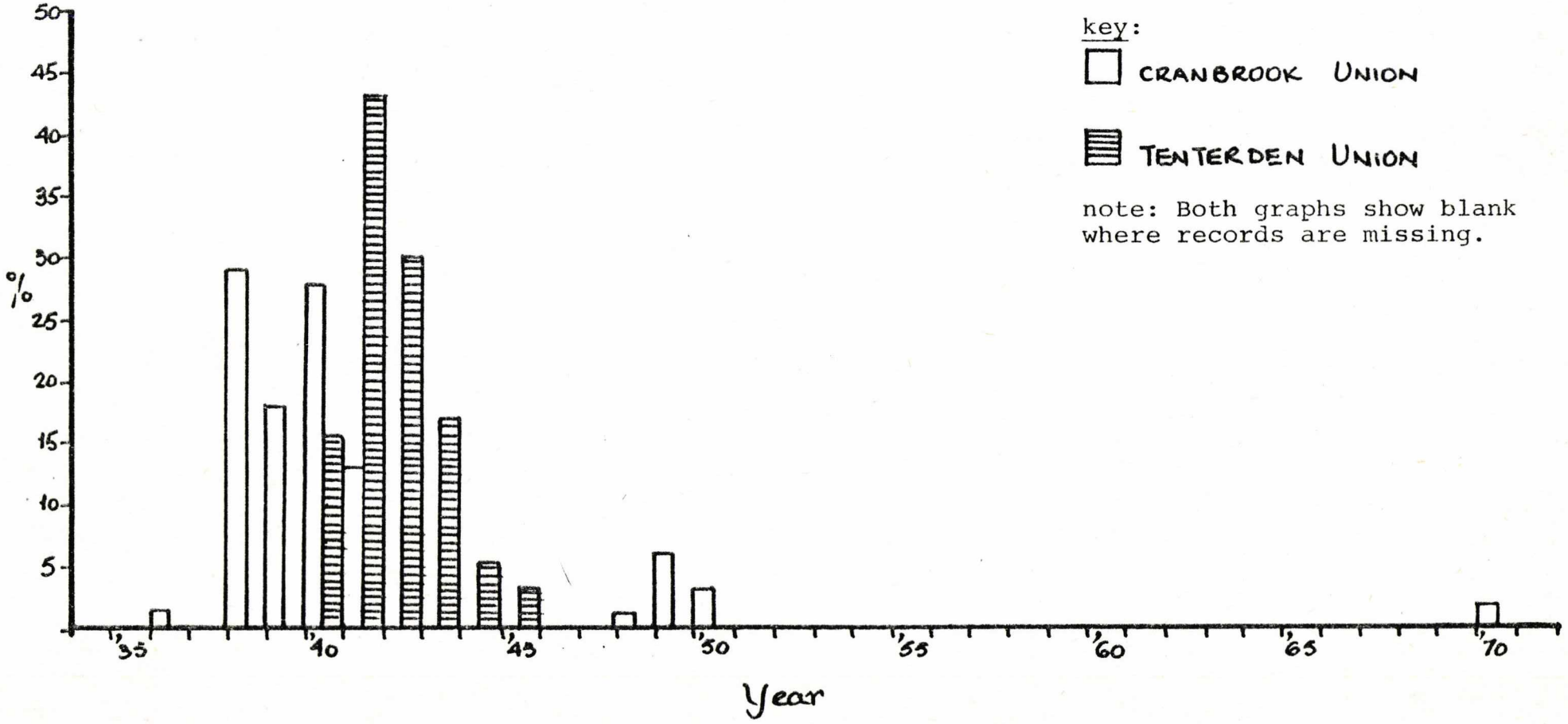
43 Tufnell to the PLCs, 21st December, 1840, PRO, MH.32.70.

In their ledgers the PLCs recorded the date of application for emigration, the applicant's age, marital status, age of spouse, parish of origin, number and ages of male and female children. They also included the destination of the proposed emigrants, whether or not they were successful in their application, and (less regularly), relief received in the previous year and the parishes' expenditure on emigration. For example, the Guardians may have decided to spend £200 on emigration but we do not always know from the records whether permission was given by the Commissioners for this expenditure. The statistics have further limitations: the aggregate emigration figures provided by the unions do not tally with the lists of persons who had emigrated, the latter lists being rather sparse. Consequently we do not have information about all the persons who were involved in this scheme.

Cranbrook Union rendered a total of 319 applicants who, with their families, numbered 703 persons in all, while the corresponding figures for Tenterden Union were 136 and 370 persons respectively. In total the Poor Law authorities handled 455 or 1,073 applicants; of these 278 emigrated from Tenterden Union and 347 from Cranbrook Union. The figures for Cranbrook are a little startling as they show that over half of the applicants and their families either changed their minds about emigrating, or were refused assistance.

From Figure 6.1 we see that 1% of Cranbrook Union's applications were received in 1836, 22% in 1838, 32% in 1839, 13% in 1840, 22% in 1841, 0.6% in 1842 and 1847, 0.3% in 1848, 6% in 1849 and 3% in 1850 - the year of the last application. The period of greatest activity was between 1838 and 1841, with a peak in 1839. Although the volumes available for Tenterden Union do not always correspond with those for Cranbrook, the overall picture is similar (Figure 6.1). Tufnell reported in 1838 that he intended to organise an extensive emigration: "...182 souls are going from Tenterden Union to Australia and many I suspect from Cranbrook. I shall do all my possible

FIGURE 6.I. Volume of Applicants - Cranbrook and Tenterden Unions, 1834-1871.



to produce an artificial scarcity of hands."[44] This peak in applications coincided with a bad hop season and heavy snow in 1838, which was succeeded by reports of distress amongst the labouring classes in the years 1840-42 (see Chapter 3, p.165). In fact Tufnell considered the "...want of employment, the pauperism and its numerous attendant evils " to be so great that "...neither public works nor emigration..." were considered to be "...of any essential benefit."[45] The proposed expenditure of the Unions confirms this picture of heightened activity at the end of the 1830s and early 1840s. Cranbrook proposed spending £3,054.14s.5d in the period 1836-49, Tenterden £2,222,10s.0d in the years 1840-52. 59.3% of Cranbrook's total intended expenditure came in 1840-41, while Tenterden spent 46.8% of its total outlay in 1841.

The cessation of activity after the early 1850s is reflected in the reports of the Inspectors for Kent, R. Hall (1848-50) and J. Walsham (1851-68).[46] Their papers contain no reference to emigration, the only report on conditions in Kent coming from Hall in June and September 1849 when he reported that:

> "...the tenor of all that I still hear in regard to the position and prospects of the Farmers and labourers in Kent, so closely resembles the strain of distress and complaint which I had to communicate to you when addressing you on the same subject on the 12th June last.
> The summary of the information which I possess is that the crops generally are good and abundant; that the Hops are bad and for the most part a failure; that less employment than usual has been given to the labourers during the past year, and that their wages have been seriously reduced."[47]

44 Letter to the PLCs, 24th January, 1838, PRO, MH.32.70.

45 1st March, 1842, PRO, MH.32.71.

46 After 1848 Assistant Commissioners were replaced by Inspectors.

47 R. Hall, Inspector, 25th September, 1849, PRO, MH.32.37.

It is significant that there was an apparent lack of concern on the part of the policy makers at a time when distress was prevalent throughout the country due to the fall in grain prices in the wake of the Corn Law repeal.[48] While we cannot trace the response of Tenterden Union (since the volumes for this period are missing), the fact that Hall's evidence referred to both areas, suggests that a similar response occurred. Of Tenterden parish he wrote:

> "The wheat harvest not an average one - Hops about one fifth of last year's crop - Labourers not so much employed this year - a reduction of ls.6d in wages - Farmers distressed."[49]

A year later he reported that the amount of regular employment given in 1850 was in most places less than it was in 1848, wages had nearly universally been lowered about one-sixth, and that while the reduction in the price of bread had corresponded to that of wages, the prices of other articles had not fallen proportionally, and neither had rent.

> "The prevailing opinion among my informants is, that the condition of the Labourer who is in constant employment has been but little if at all deteriorated during the past year, but that as fewer are employed constantly, the Labourers, viewed as a class, are worse off that they were."[50]

The last reference to emigration in the Union records is for 1855, while the Inspectors' correspondence contains no discussion of the subject after 1850. Evidently,

48 To quote Chambers, J.D. & Mingay, G.E. op. cit., "In 1849 wheat dropped to 44s.3d, in 1850 to 40s.3d, and in 1851 to 39s.6d the lowest average price for 70 years. Barley and oats also fell, although less severely, and livestock prices fell quite sharply. The dry summer of 1850 and the consequent lack of feed forced large numbers of cattle and store sheep on to the market, while the autumn of 1852 and much of 1853 were so very wet as greatly to reduce the sown acreage of grain and give rise to severe outbreaks of liver rot among the sheep." pp.178-79.

49 25th September, 1849, PRO, MH.32.37.

50 25th January, 1850, PRO, MH.32.37.

regardless of the conditions of 1849-50, the scheme had passed into oblivion in this area (and the country as a whole), although the Commissioners officially continued to operate it until 1870. Perhaps the explanation for the decreased activity of the PLCs lies in the organisation of emigration by other agencies, the gradual absorption of the surplus population, and the cheapening of travel which made unassisted, individual movement possible for a greater number of people.

Who were the Poor Law assisted emigrants? Almost all those wishing to emigrate from Cranbrook Union were agricultural labourers, comprising 71.8% of all male applicants. Paper-makers, carpenters, wheelwrights, sawyers, brickmakers and blacksmiths accounted for 8%. The remainder gave no trade. Of the female applicants, the majority gave no occupation. Of those that did, the largest group consisted of servants, who represented 19.1% of all female applicants. Other callings were that of agricultural labourer and dairymaid. Tenterden's applicants followed this pattern. Amongst the men 60.9% were agricultural labourers, 4% servants, bricklayers and shoemakers. Again, few women had their occupations recorded (35%); of those that did the majority were agricultural labourers and domestic servants.

In examining Cranbrook and Tenterden Unions we are conducting a detailed probe into one of the areas previously identified as the location for much poverty and unemployment (see Chapter 3). In Cranbrook Union, Benenden provided most applicants and emigrants - 39.5 and 35.7% respectively, Sandhurst 20.7 and 11%, Goudhurst 19.8 and 26%, Hawkhurst 14.4 and 19.6%, Cranbrook 4.1 and 0.3%, and finally Frittenden 1 and 5.2% (see Map 6.2). Not all the parishes in Tenterden Union were involved in the scheme: Tenterden and Woodchurch parishes each provided 20% of the applicants, and 20.9 and 22.3% of the emigrants respectively. Biddenden had 21.3% and 23.4%; the only other parish of note was Wittersham with 14 and 20.5%.

KENT PARISHES

A DEPTFORD ST NICHOLAS
ST PAUL
B KIDBROOK Extra Parochial
C EAST WICKHAM
D IFIELD
E LONGFIELD

F ROCHESTER ST MARGARET
ST NICHOLAS
CATHEDRAL
G LEYBOURNE
H " detached
J ALLINGTON
K Tunbridge Wells, King Charles
Holy Trinity
L BREDHURST

M SITTINGBOURNE
N BUCKLAND
O DAVINGTON
P GODNESTONE
R LEAVELAND
S CANTERBURY
ALL SAINTS
CATHEDRAL
HOLY CROSS
ST ALPHEGE
ST ANDREW
ST GEORGE
ST MARGARET
ST MARY BREDMAN
ST MARY MAGDALEN
ST MILDRED
ST PETER
T ST DUNSTAN
U ST MARY, NORTHGATE
W ST MARTIN
X ST PAUL
Y ST MARY BREDIN
Z MILTON

Aa ELMSTONE
AB CHILLENDEN
AC KNOWLTON
AD HAM
AE BETTESHANGER

AF BLACKMANSTONE
AG ORGARSWICK
AH PADDLESWORTH
AJ HAWKINGE
AK CHARLTON
AL OXNEY

MIDDLESEX
ESSEX
SURREY
SUSSEX
River Medway
The Swale

Key:
each • represents one applicant.

MAP 6.2. Emigration from Tenterden and Cranbrook Unions, 1834–71.

SCALE
0 1 2 4 6 8 10 MILES

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Figures 6.II and 6.III reveal both the marital status of the applicants and their ages. The single were very youthful, the married considerably older; single men outnumbered single women by 2:1, and single applicants the married by 1.2:1. The CLECs concern[51] with the effects of a sexually imbalanced population were obviously not shared by the poor law authorities. From the viewpoint of the parish, the older the emigrant and the larger the family despatched, the greater would be the eventual saving from the poor rate. Figures 6.II and 6.III show a falling away in the number of applicants in the older age categories, and this fact was reflected in family sizes: many applicants had large families, and there were few childless couples (38% had 5 or more children while 13% had none).

Canada and Australia were the main destinations of these Poor Law sponsored emigrants. Of all those sent by Cranbrook and Tenterden Unions 36% went to Canada and 53% to Australia (despite the official focus on Canada), 4% to New Zealand, 3% to the Cape of Good Hope, 1% to Jamaica. The destination(s) of the remainder is unknown. The interests of the PLCsdid not correspond to those of the CLECs, the former having little concern with the destinations of their emigrants as opposed to remedying their problems at home.[52] However it is clear from the unexpectedly high percentage going to Australia that the emigrants were aware of comparative opportunities overseas and consequently had preferences of their own. The parishes were therefore left with a choice of either subsidising emigration to Australia or being left with these persons on their hands.

51 See the Introduction and pp. 341-347 of this Chapter.

52 ibid.

FIGURE 6.II. Cranbrook Union - Age and Marital Status of Applicants, 1834-1871.

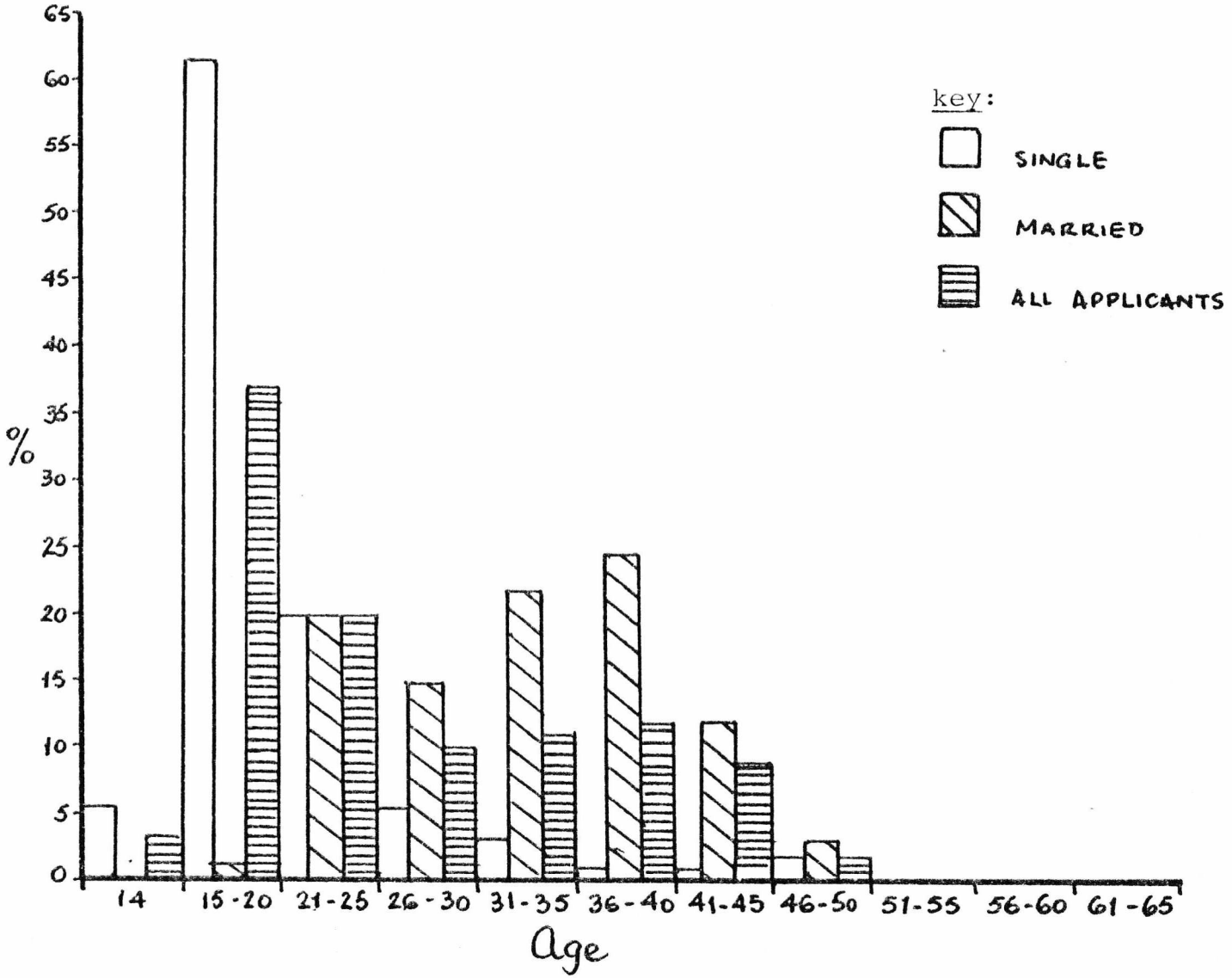
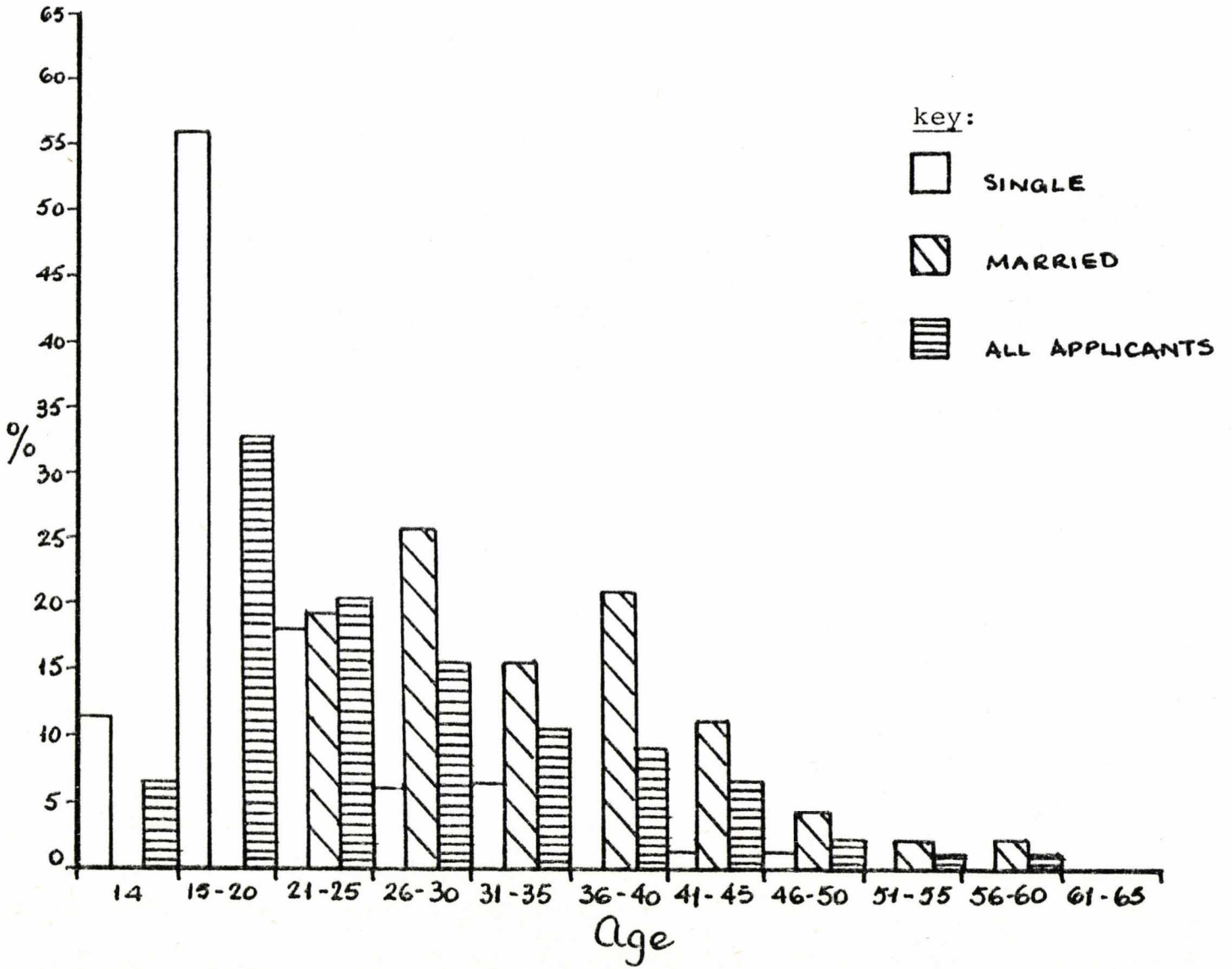


FIGURE 6.III. Tenterden Union - Age and Marital Status of Applicants, 1834-1871.



(iii) The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission and the Colonisation of South Australia.

The colonisation of Australia was initially prompted by the need for alternative convict 'accommodation' after the Revolution in America in 1776 ended transportation to that country. New South Wales received its first convicts in 1788, but in 1831 supporters of Wakefield's theories laid before the Colonial Office a plan for founding a completely different colony - that of South Australia. It was in this colony that Wakefield put into practice his theory of colonisation: in essence the systematic settlement of the colony, maintaining an equilibrium between the supply of land, labour and capital. In contrast to the PLCs, he selected his emigrants bearing in mind the effect they would have on their new homeland.[53]

According to the CLECs and Wakefieldian ideal, persons encouraged to emigrate to Australia, and particularly South Australia, were to include both capitalists and workers - craftsmen, agricultural labourers and domestic servants. Young married couples with childbearing potential, and couples with families were also welcome, though no more than two children were to be under the age of seven because of the high mortality rate of young children on board ship. Single women were more welcome than single men, there being a great concern with sexual imbalance in the colonies; an excess of single men was viewed as a moral danger. The CLECs notice declared that:

> "The most eligible candidates are young married couples without children. No family can be taken with more than two children under seven, or three under ten years of age, as the presence of a number of young children on board ship is found greatly to increase the risk of mortality; and, moreover, they displace in the vessel a proportionate

53 He disowned the project in 1841 at which point the records end.

> number of adults, whose labour would be immediately available on arrival... Single men can only be taken in a number not exceeding that of the single women in the same ship."[54]

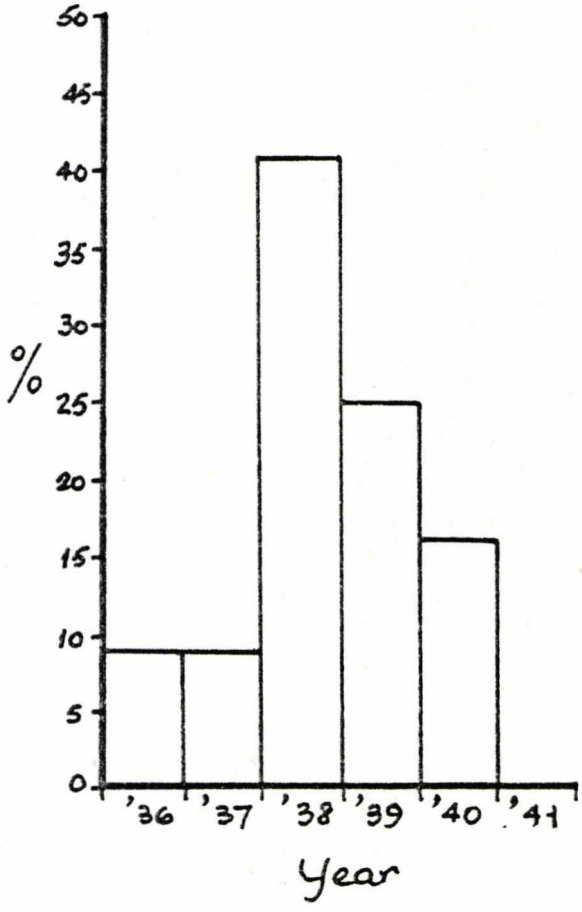
The majority of applications were received between September 1838 and March 1839 (Figure 6.IV), coinciding with the peak of activity at the PLCs. The CLECs stated that there was a "...considerable demand..." in South Australia for agricultural labourers, shepherds, female domestic and farm servants, dairy maids, and a few country mechanics such as blacksmiths, wheelwrights and carpenters. All of these groups were experiencing an element of 'push' from Kent. As the funds furnished by the colony were "...intended, not for purposes of relief to persons in this Country, but to supply the colonists with the particular description of labourers of whom they stand in need..."[55] there was strict adhesion to stated policy.

Although the applicants reflected numerous callings (83 in all, 62 persons giving more than one occupation), that of "labourers" formed the largest single group (38.9% - though not as great as among the PLCs emigrants); carpenters following with 6.9%. The majority of the female applicants were servants (67.2%), housemaids (2.3%), some did dairy work (7.6%) and sewing (6.1%). A slightly more detailed year by year breakdown shows an increase of both agricultural labourers and domestic servants amongst the applicants (there were 482 applicants and 1,214 persons from Kent in all) for a free passage to South Australia.

54 Colonial Land and Emigration Office, notice on 'Free Emigration to Australia,' 1848, PRO, CO.201.406.

55 ibid.

FIGURE 6.IV. Volume of Applicants for Free Passage to South Australia, 1836-1841.



Six sending areas emerge from a study of the addresses given to the Commissioners: the Kentish Weald (encompassing the Tunbridge Wells-Sevenoaks-Goudhurst-Staplehurst-Tunbridge-Ashford area) which provided the most substantial percentage of applicants (30%); the Deptford-Greenwich-Woolwich area with 6%; Maidstone 17%; Dover 8%; Canterbury 7%; and Rochester-Gravesend 22% (see Map 6.3). The contribution made by the Rochester-Gravesend area is surprising. It had a low outlay on poor relief and offered comparatively better-paid employment than was available in the non-industrial parts of the county. Possibly the opportunities and wages offered overseas were better still and these industrial workers, who included skilled workers, compared their position not to that of local agricultural labourers, but to that of workers in Australia.

The CLECs had stipulated that for emigration to Australia, young married couples without children, or those with few young children were preferred. Furthermore there had to be a balance between the sexes. Of all applicants 49% were married and 51% single (half of the single persons were members of family groups). Of the married, a large proportion were young: only 19% of the married males were aged 41 and over (see Figure 6.V), in comparison to 34% among those sent out by Cranbrook Union under the PLCs' scheme. The largest group of couples (30%), had not yet started forming their families, while 19% had one child, 15% had two, 15% had three, 8% had four, 9% had five, 5% had six and 1% had seven.[56] Consequently the majority of Wakefield's couples would have children in the colony, and in this manner guarantee a supply of labour. The children themelves (474 in all), were mostly under ten years of age: 14.0% were infants,

56 'children' were those aged 14 and under. Older offspring were not classified as dependants and considered as emigrants in their own right.

KENT PARISHES

A DEPTFORD ST NICHOLAS
ST PAUL
B KIDBROOK Extra Parochial
C EAST WICKHAM
D IFIELD
E LONGFIELD

F ROCHESTER ST MARGARET
ST NICHOLAS
CATHEDRAL
G LEYBOURNE
H " detached
J ALLINGTON
K Tunbridge Wells, King Charles
Holy Trinity
L BREDHURST

M SITTINGBOURNE
N BUCKLAND
O DAVINGTON
P GODMESTONE
Q LEAVELAND
S CANTERBURY
ALL SAINTS
CATHEDRAL
HOLY CROSS
ST ALPHEGE
ST ANDREW
ST GEORGE
ST MARGARET
ST MARY BREDMAN
ST MARY MAGDALEN
ST MILDRED
ST PETER
T ST DUNSTAN
U ST MARY, NORTHGATE
W ST MARTIN
X ST PAUL
Y ST MARY BREDIN
Z MILTON

AA ELMSTONE
AB CHILLENDEN
AC KNOWLTON
AD HAM
AE BETTESHANGER

AF BLACKMANSTONE
AG ORGARSWICK
AH PADDLESWORTH
AJ HAWKINGE
AK CHARLTON
AL OXNEY

MIDDLESEX
ESSEX
SURREY
SUSSEX
River Medway
The Swale

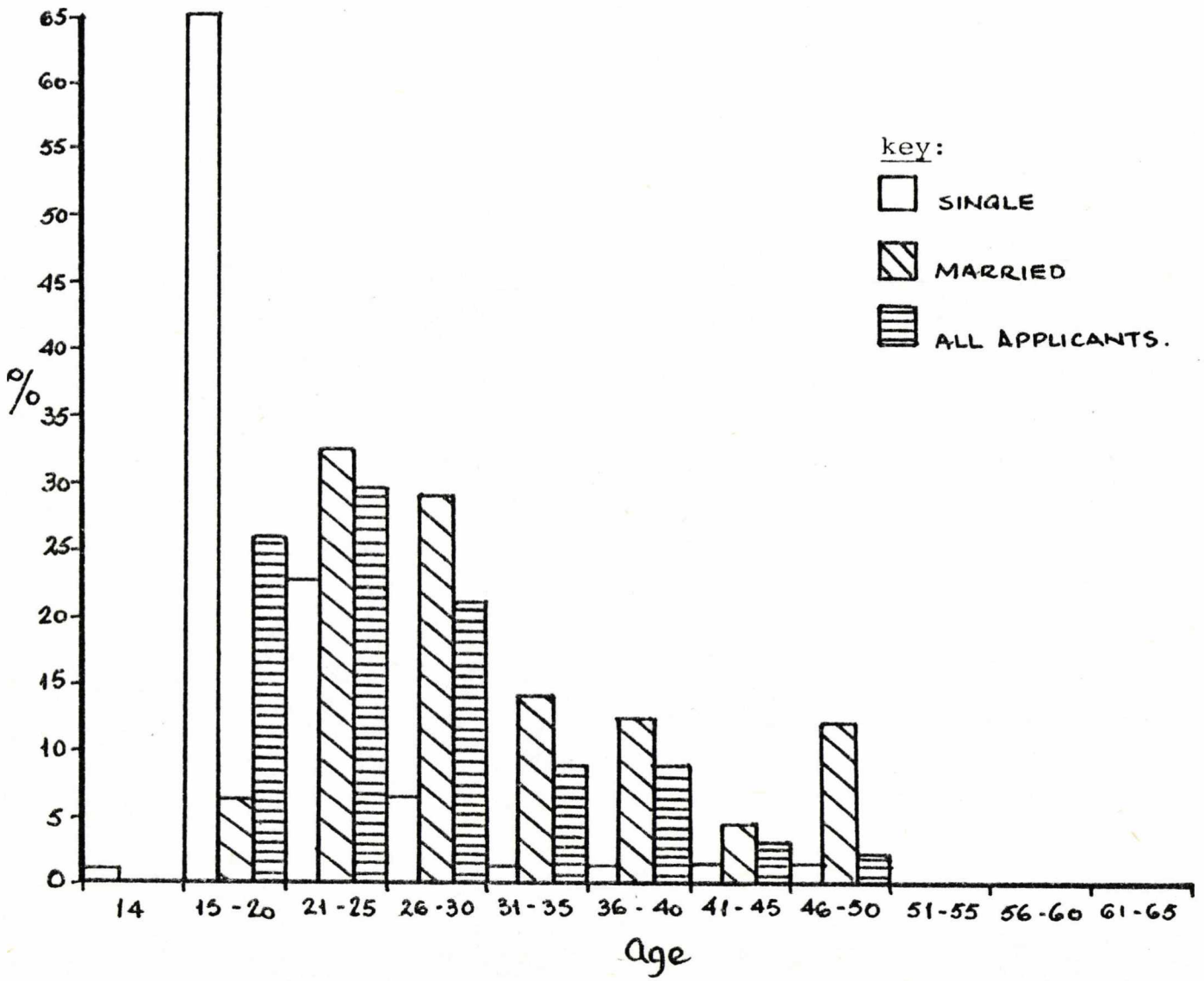
Key:
each dot represents one applicant.

MAP 6.3. CLEC s' emigrants for South Australia, 1836–41.

SCALE
0 1 2 4 6 8 10 MILES

© REVISED 1975

FIGURE 6.V. Age and Marital Status of Applicants for Free Passage to South Australia, 1836-1841.



17.1% were aged 1-2, 15.4% were aged 3-4, 15.0% were aged 5-6, 13.3% were aged 7-8, 9.3% were aged 9-10, 9.1% were aged 11-12, and 5.1% were aged 13-14. In keeping with policy many couples had no children, but the regulation regarding the numbers and ages of children was not always adhered to. Finally, unlike the emigrants sponsored by the PLCs, single men and women were almost equally represented at 0.8:1.

OTHER SCHEMES OF ASSISTANCE

In 1826 there was an expressed concern that Canada did not compare favourably to the USA (see p.328), and thus attracted fewer immigrants. Colonisers urged that there was a need to populate British North America (Canada being one of these colonies), in order to develop its resources. This would not only have economic benefits for the mother country, but it would also prevent the absorption of the British colonies by the USA. Furthermore English settlers would provide a balance to the French, and land in the colonies could be used as payment to loyal individuals. Throughout the nineteenth century the debate continued between the colonisers and the supporters of laissez-faire. As a result of this lack of consensus, there were numerous abortive attempts to assist the emigration of the poor and unemployed to Canada. One was made in 1843 when the coloniser Charles Buller proposed that the Canadian Government take over all the wild lands in the colony, and use the surplus from the sales for public works (for example, canal and road building), which would create employment for British emigrants.[57] His plan never came to fruition. Against this background the PLCs emerged as an important participant in the assistance of emigration to Canada. However, even without Government assistance the settlement of Canada continued. Numerous

57 An experiment already under way in South Australia, where land sales were used to finance emigration.

companies, such as the Canada Company and the British American Land Company, organised settlement, and were heavily relied on while government action was limited (see Table 6.9 below).

Table 6.9. Volume of Emigration from the United Kingdom to British North America, 1815-63 (first six months).

year	number	year	number
1815	680	1840	32,293
1820	17,921	1845	31,803
1825	8,741	1850	32,961
1830	30,574	1855	17,966
1835	15,573	1860	9,786
		1863	9,756

source: Papers Relating to Emigration, PP.1863.XXXVIII, p.21.

The opponents of systematic colonisation believed there was insufficient employment available for the labouring class in Canada and that Wilmot Horton's[58] plan to settle such persons on the land as proprietors was fraught with difficulties. Indeed news came from Canada and the other North American colonies of the lack of regular employment for labourers and indicating that those most likely to succeed were persons with capital and farming skills. In addition there were reports of sickness and death. The worst year was 1847, when over 16% of emigrants to British North America died.[59] In order to deter the arrival of the unfit, the British and colonial governments provided would-be emigrants with accurate information regarding conditions in the colonies. Nevertheless either disillusionment on arrival was great or the emigrants never intended to settle, since the 'desertion' to the USA was substantial. In 1841 20% of English arrivals moved to the USA. By 1849 the figure for British desertions was 26%, and by 1858 it had risen to 68%.[60] Such a high rate of loss must surely have

58 An exponent of systematic colonisation, but not of the Wakefieldian model (see Chapter 1).

59 Cowan, H.I. British Emigration to British North America: the first Hundred Years. 1928, University of Toronto, Toronto, 1961 edition, p.193.

60 ibid., pp.195-97.

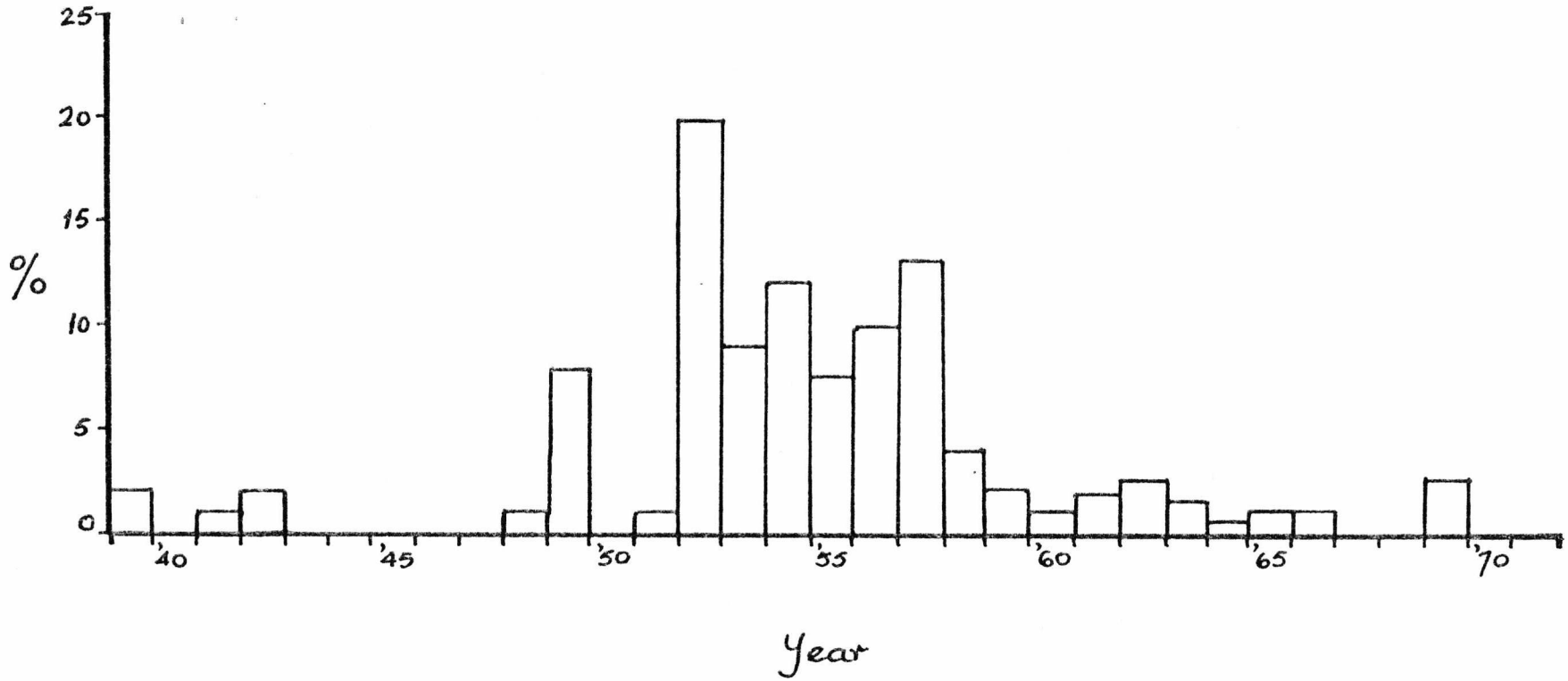
deterred the British government from contributing towards emigration.[61]

Turning our attention to Australia, we have already discussed the CLECs scheme for the colonisation of South Australia. However, other Australian states also organised immigration. Victoria, founded in 1836, assisted[62] immigrants. The attraction of the colony was undoubtedly the discovery of gold. Figure 6.VI shows that the greatest number of Kentish assisted emigrants arrived when gold was discovered. Over the entire period there was a total of 643 applicants and 1,296 emigrants. Naturally no emigrant was assisted specifically for the purpose of digging gold, but rather to work on the land or in the towns. Yet the Government was helpless to prevent a rush to the diggings where persons of various callings were found: clerks, shopkeepers, and labourers. After the 1850s both the availability of gold and the number of immigrants tapered off.

61 The loss was noted and despised by the British authorities, who believed that those who engaged in this "re-emigration" had been "duped", and were "...miserably disappointed; not a few are provided for by death in the unhealthy climate of the Southern States, to which they have to resort, while many enter the service of the United States army... For above 25 years I have witnessed the misery and disappointment of thousands who have arrived here..." Despatch from the Consul at New York to the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, 30th September, 1841. PP.1842.XXXI, p.293.

62 'assisted' - that is, nominated emigrants; persons nominated by colonists who guaranteed them employment and accommodation. The Colonial Government paid for their passage.

FIGURE 6.VI. Volume of Applicants to Victoria, 1839-1871.



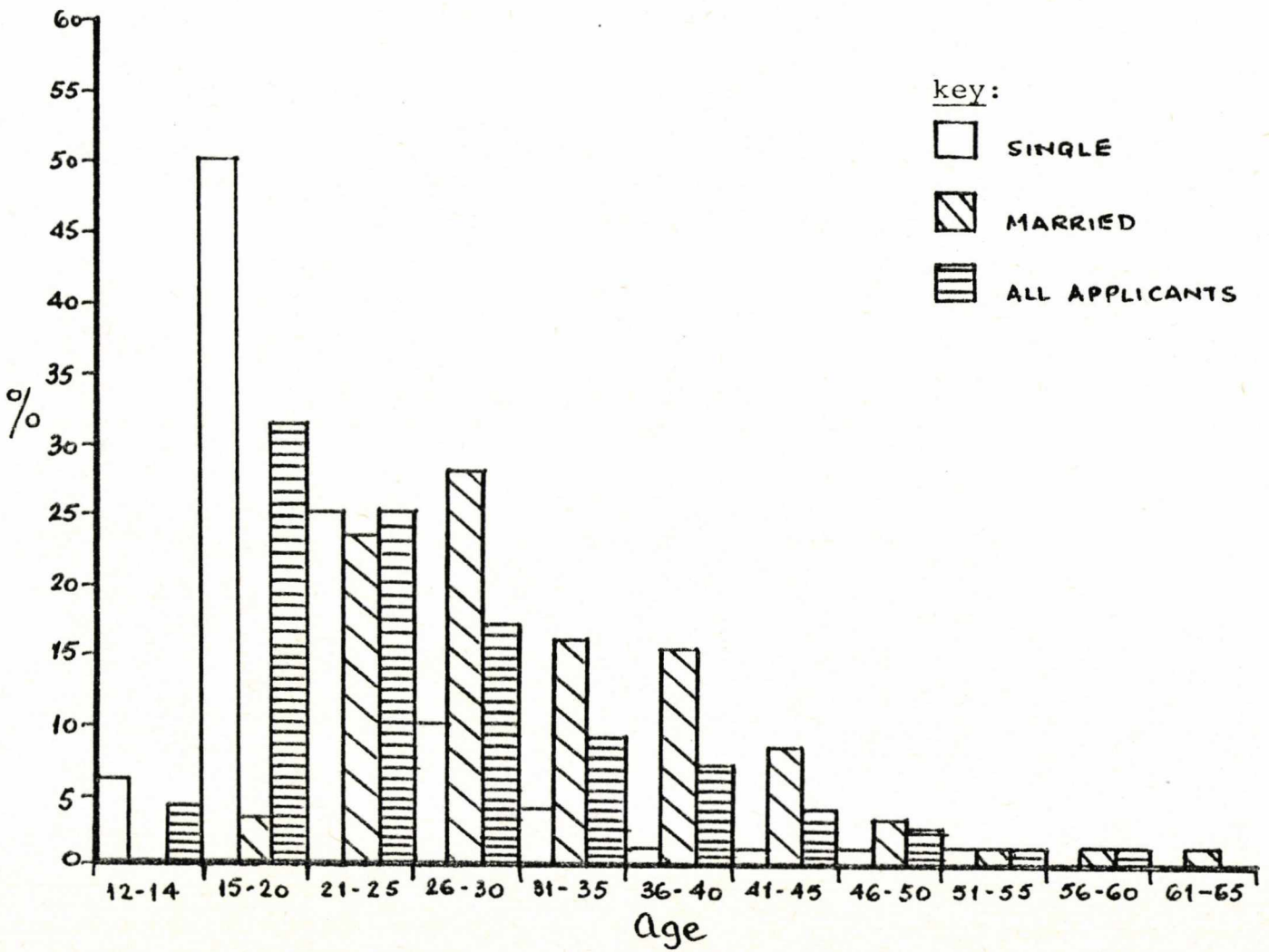
The largest occupational group being assisted were domestic servants (31% of all the arrivals), labourers (24%), and tradespeople (25%).[63] Once more many of these were young: 20% of the applicants were aged 16-20, 31% were 21-25, and 19% were 25-30 (therefore 70% of those defined as adults were aged 16-30 - see Figure 6.VII). 60% were single, 40% married, the single women outnumbering the single men 2:1. Colonists nominating emigrants preferred their future employees to be young with many years of service before them. Meanwhile the disproportionate number of single women is attributable to the fact that many of the nominations were for female domestic servants. The shortage of servants was a universal problem. Furthermore both the Commissioners in London and the authorities in Victoria were very concerned that the gold rush had resulted in more men than women being resident in Victoria. So on their part, in order to redress the balance of the sexes, the Commissioners resumed aiding Irish pauper emigration. The aim was for these girls to enter into domestic service in Victoria.

South Australia and Victoria were not the only Australian colonies to receive assisted emigrants. The Immigration Department records in Sydney reveal the influx of immigrants under the Colonial Bounty System to New South Wales.[64] The attraction of free or assisted settlers to a colony with convict founders was a difficult matter, but both the home and colonial government were anxious to establish a more balanced society in the colony.

63 PRO, Melbourne, Victoria, houses the lists of assisted immigrants, 1839-71. These include some unassisted arrivals, but these were usually listed separately and did not have their county of birth recorded.

64 Settlers were to name the categories of workers they required, purchase bounty orders for them, have them selected in Britain, and obtain refunds as soon as the newcomers had been found on arrival to meet the requirements laid down.

FIGURE 6.VII. Age and Marital Status of Applicants to Victoria, 1839-1871.



In the years 1837-38,[65] there were 66 applicants for an assisted passage, 93 emigrants in all. Of the applicants, most were shepherds and herdsmen (19), followed by female domestic servants, housemaids and cooks (15), and various mechanics (12).[66] Since New South Wales had many sheep farms, there was an insatiable need for experienced shepherds, and some horse breakers, farriers, sawyers and fencers. Later the discovery of gold in the colony caused the departure of much of the town and country labourers and craftsmen to the diggings in the 1850s. There resulted a great shortage of farm labourers, builders, carpenters and others engaged in the erection of buildings.[67] Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales (1837-46), stressed in 1840 that:

65 The Immigration Department records cover the entire period studied in this thesis but unfortunately a fuel strike in Australia in 1980 cut short the research. The microfilms of the lists, produced by the Church of Jesus Christ and Latter Day Saints (Mormons), could not be obtained in England while the cost of importing them from the Church's Archives in Salt Lake City was prohibitive. See Guide to the State Archvies of New South Wales, Information Leaflet No.22, 'Ships Carrying Immigrants and Settlers to New South Wales, 1828-96'.

66 ibid., reel 346, 1828-42.

67 Papers Relative to Emigration to the Australian Colonies, PP.1852.XXXIV.
However, Sir C.A. Fitzroy (the Governor General) wrote from Sydney on June 11th, 1851, expressing the hope that "...the inconvenience to which all employers of labour, especially those engaged in pastoral and agricultural pursuits, have been put, will not be so great as might have been anticipated... I have reason to believe that, generally speaking, the shepherds in the country have not deserted their employments." p.13.

> "...there is no sacrifice, which the People of this Colony are not prepared to make, and no security which they are not ready to offer, in order to procure the supply of Labour, which they so unanimously concur in thinking essential for the continued prosperity of the Colony."[68]

The need for shepherds and mechanics meant that more single men were brought out than single women, in a ratio of 3:1. The arrivals were also very young - their average age was 25. There were only three exceptions: a clergyman, his wife, and a lady, all of whom were in their 50s.

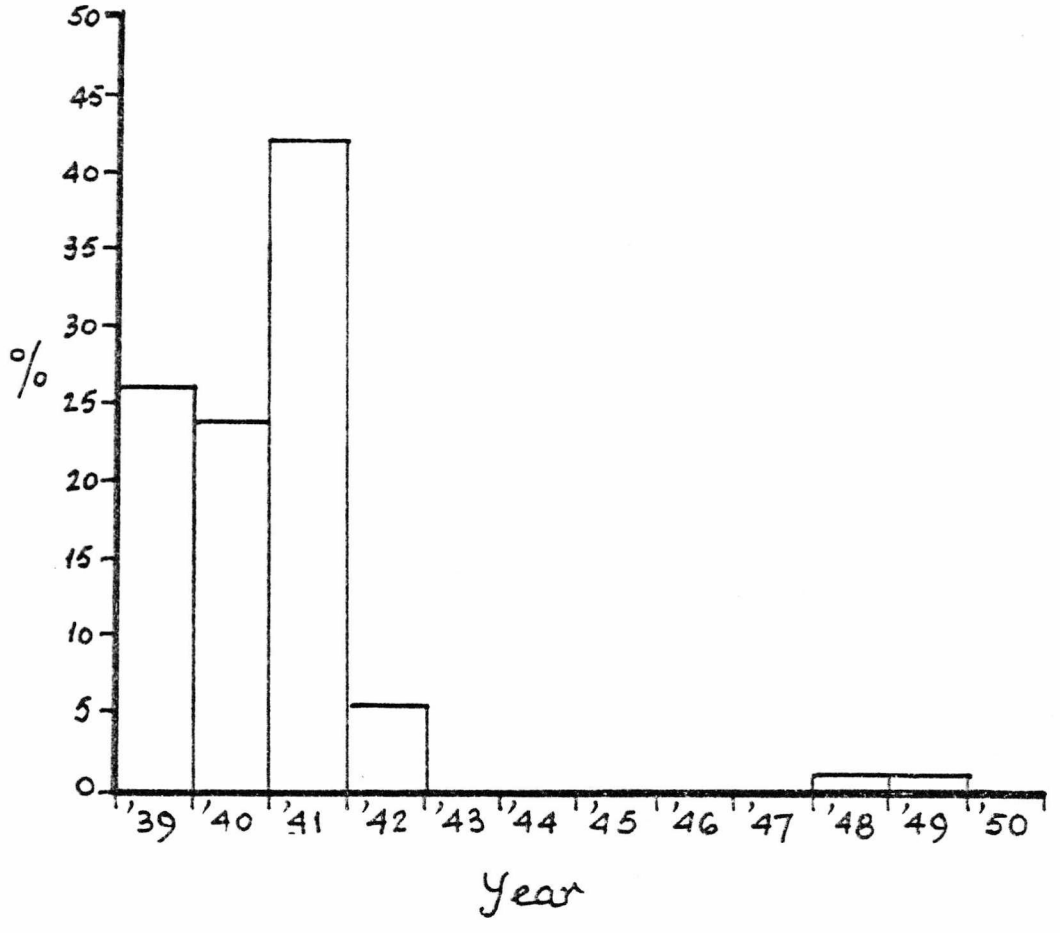
The settlement of New Zealand proceeded under a variety of schemes. In its early years, assisted and organised immigration was dominated by private ventures, as exemplified by the New Zealand Company, the Otago Association, the Canterbury Association, and the Manukau and Waitemato Companies. After 1840, when New Zealand was recognised as a British Colony, the British Government became actively involved in assisting immigrants to the colony. This was done through the CLECs, and also by the assistance granted to immigrants brought out under the auspices of those who had purchased land in the colony.[69] From 1850-71 the New Zealand Provincial Governments took over the organisation of immigration, with the central New Zealand Government taking control after 1871.

During its existence from 1839 to 1850, the New Zealand Company had 457 Kentish applicants for a free passage, who, with their families, amounted to 1,220 persons. There were two peaks in applications: one in October 1839, the other in January 1841 (Figure 6.VIII). These two peaks coincided with a period of hardship in Kent. In 1840 Assistant Commissioner Tufnell reported that:

68 Mitchell Library, Sydney, A1267, pt.1, p.1249, Gipps' Despatch, 1840.

69 The CLECs used the land fund to cover emigration expenses; under the latter scheme the money paid by purchasers of land was used to provide a free passage to labourers of their choice. There was another scheme whereby residents in New Zealand nominated persons they wished to come to New Zealand wholly or partly at public expense - the scheme was a failure as the colonists were eventually requested to defray all the costs.

FIGURE 6.VIII. Volume of Applicants for a Free Passage with the New Zealand Company, 1839-1850.



> "The general failure of the hop crop this year, and the high price of corn, which from the enquiries I have made appears little likely to be materially diminished by the harvest, makes me anticipate, - much want of employment, and a serious pressure on the rates in the ensuing winter. I have consequently been very desirous of giving encouragement to Emigration, especially from the Hop district, which has long been over-burdened with population, - but a great proportion of whose surplus inhabitants, has been yearly carried off by the Australian Emigration."[70]

After 1841 the volume of applications commenced on a permanent decline; in the years 1843-47 there was virtually no immigration to New Zealand due to conflict with the Maoris.

The range of occupations represented by the male applicants was wide, including one groom, one straw plaiter, and one thatcher. However, the vast majority classified themselves as agricultural labourers (74.7%), with bricklayers a distant second (6.3%). The female applicants were a less varied group: 38.7% were servants, 38.7% seamstresses, the rest were dairywomen, cooks, dressmakers and laundresses. Since Company policy was first to settle persons of means,[71] and then supply them with a labour force, it is not surprising that such a large percentage of the applicants were labourers and servants. Fortunately for the Company the workers they needed were those who had everything to gain from a move to New Zealand.

Once more the Weald supplied the greatest number of persons wishing to leave Kent: 34.4% of all the applicants. The rest of the applicants originated from a variety of places, with the exceptions of two other pockets of emigrants: metropolitan Kent contributed 5.8% and Dover 7.4%

70 11th August, 1840, PRO, MH.32.70. There was a revival of interest in 1848-49 as in the case of the PLCs emigrants.

71 Such persons do not figure in the records. There were only two applicants who described themselves as 'farmers'; their financial status was not reported.

(see Map 6.4). In the light of previous discussions the dominance of the Weald is not surprising. Likewise Tufnell constantly referred to the distress prevalent in the area. For example, in 1838 he wrote to the PLCs in London regarding a request he had received from the Ashford East, Faversham, Hollingbourne, Tenterden, and Tunbridge Unions for a relaxation of the ban on out-door relief.[72] Many unions were loathe to incarcerate large numbers of labourers in the workhouse when the latter's poverty was due to a bad winter or poor harvest.

The demographic characteristics of the applicants were not unlike those of persons travelling to Australia. 'Desirable' emigrants were defined as:

> "Young married couples without children... no family that included more than two children under seven... Only persons between the ages of fourteen and thirty-five were counted as adults, but the latter limit was extended in the case of parents of children above fourteen."[73]

45.9% of the applicants were married and 54.1% were single, single men outnumbering single women 1.4:1. From Figure 6.IX we see that not only the single but also the married were young, all in the child-bearing age. Amongst the married, 17.6% had no children, 23.6% had one child, 14.1% had two, 13.2% had three, 12.5% had four, 9.9% had five, 7.3% had six, and 1.8% had seven. It was suggested at the time that this preference for "...young married couples without children..." caused an increase in the number of marriages and a decrease in the age at marriage. In his report on Rye Union (Sussex), Tufnell stated that marriages had increased in the peak emigration years of 1838 and 1839 because of this selection policy. The number of marriages decreased in 1841 due to the fact that so many had married earlier in order to qualify for an assisted passage and therefore few of marriageable age were left behind. He believed that this behaviour was not unique to Rye Union, but representative of the whole of Kent and

72 Tufnell, 30th May, 1838, PRO. MH.32.70.

73 Marais, J. The Colonisation of New Zealand. Humphrey Milford, 1927, p.62.

KENT PARISHES

A DEPTFORD ST NICHOLAS
ST PAUL
B KIDBROOK Extra Parochial
C EAST WICKHAM
D IFIELD
E LONGFIELD

F ROCHESTER ST MARGARET
ST NICHOLAS
CATHEDRAL
G LEYBOURNE
M " detached
J ALLINGTON
K Tunbridge Wells, King Charles
Holy Trinity
L BREDHURST

M SITTINGBOURNE
N BUCKLAND
O DAVINGTON
P GODNESTONE
Q LEAVELAND
S CANTERBURY
ALL SAINTS
CATHEDRAL
HOLY CROSS
ST ALPHEGE
ST ANDREW
ST GEORGE
ST MARGARET
ST MARY BREDMAN
ST MARY MAGDALEN
ST MILDRED
ST PETER
T ST DUNSTAN
U ST MARY, NORTHGATE
W ST MARTIN
X ST PAUL
Y ST MARY BREDIN
Z MILTON

AA ELMSTONE
AB CHILLENDEN
AC KNOWLTON
AD HAM
AE BETTESHANGER

MIDDLESEX
ESSEX
SURREY
SUSSEX
River Medway
The Swale

Key:
Each dot represents one applicant

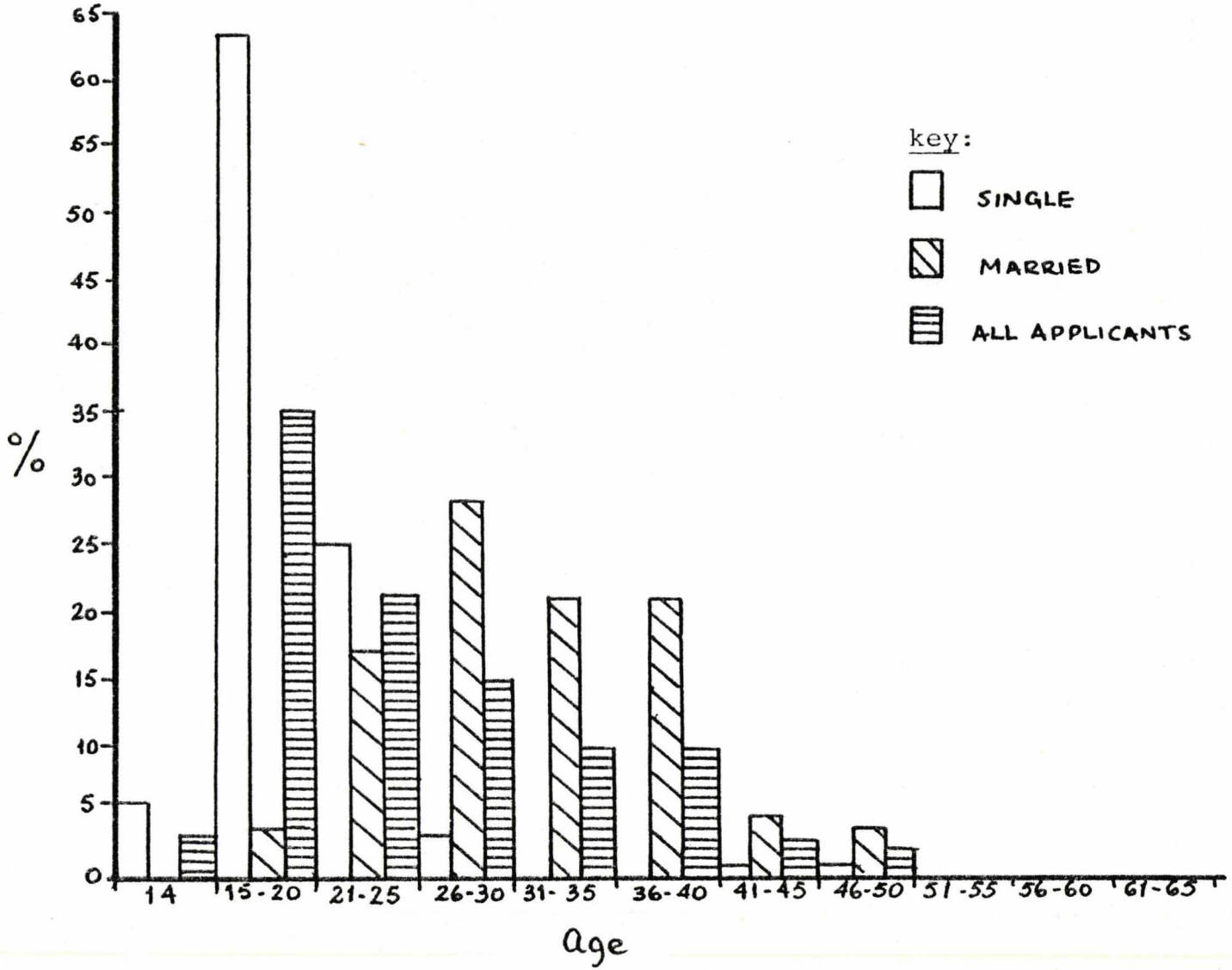
AF BLACKMANSTONE
AG ORGARSWICK
AH PADDLESWORTH
AJ HAWKINGE
AK CHARLTON
AL OXNEY

MAP 6.4. Emigrants travelling with the New Zealand Company, 1839–50.

SCALE
0 1 2 4 6 8 10 MILES

© REVISED 1975

FIGURE 6.IX. Age and Marital Status of Applicants for a Free Passage with the New Zealand Company, 1839-1850.



Sussex.[74]

Shortly before the New Zealand Company despatched its last emigrants, the Nelson Provincial Government began subsidising immigration to the province (1849-77).[75] The 'subsidy' offered was tantamount to a loan that was repayable after arrival. However, many immigrants refused to reimburse the Government and so in effect they obtained a free passage. In contrast to the immigrants discussed in the preceding pages, the identity of those travelling to Nelson is not clearly depicted. The information available shows that there were few children travelling: 41, or 72% of the arrivals were classified as "adults" (in this case persons aged 13 and over).[76] Amongst the adults there was an even sex ratio of 0.9 females to every 1 male; the married outnumbered the single 5:2.

The lists do not state the occupations of the arrivals. However, correspondence emanating from Nelson on the subject of immigration clearly stated the labour requirements of the province, and from this we can infer the occupational characteristics of the Kentish emigrants:

> "The majority (say two-thirds) of the persons to be selected, to be agricultural labourers; the remainder to be artizans, as carpenters, bricklayers, masons, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, shoemakers, tailors and painters, for all of which there is a constant demand, especially for carpenters, who, from the increase of buildings principally of wood, are certain of permanent employment. Young married persons with no children or with but one child, to be preferred."[77]

There was also a demand for servants. One settler, upset to find she could not obtain one, was consoled when she discovered this to be a universal problem: "We have no servant, but so many families here are the same, that

75 Papers Relating to the Despatch if Immigrants, National Archives, Wellington, IM,N,4,1-6.

76 There were 57 Kentish emigrants.

77 Nelson outwards correspondence, April 1854 - December 1862, May 1855, enclosure 2, National Archives, Wellington, IM,N,3,1.

nothing is thought of that...[78] To her knowledge, servant girls could earn £10 in their first year, and more in subsequent years, which she considered to be a good wage.[79] Dairymaids earned £12-14 a year, labourers 3s a day, and mechanics 5s.[80] Such wages were not as high as those paid in Australia, in addition to which New Zealand lacked the towns and their facilities which were present in Australia. Just as labour flowed from Canada to the USA, so too many immigrants abandoned New Zealand for Australia.

The final group of Kentish emigrants which can be traced to New Zealand are those who received an assisted or free passage to Canterbury Province. 146 applicants (totalling 378 persons when their families are counted), arrived in the province in the years 1857-70. The labour requirements of Canterbury corresponded to those of Nelson, with the exception of the demand for boatmen. In Chapter 3 we discussed the poverty of the Deal boatmen and these very persons can be identified amongst the immigrants to the province. The Deal boatmen, along with other mariners, represented 12% of the applicants. The largest single occupational group was that of female domestic servants (22%), followed by agricultural labourers (21%) and mechanics(21)%). The remainder were shepherds, cooks (female), dressmakers, teachers and even some farmers.

The demographic profile of other emigrant groups, with its emphasis on young married couples, was applicable to this emigration, with one exception: there were many family groups (especially amongst the Deal boatmen) where there were many young children - at times even seven in number.[81] After 1870 (and prior to 1887), 3,876 more persons emigrated from Kent to various destinations in New Zealand, many

78 Martha Adams Journal, 1850-52, Alexander Turnbull Library, qms, p.168 (her emphasis).

79 ibid., p.162.

80 ibid., p.176.

81 National Archives, Wellington, IM, CH4, nos.1-15. See also the next Chapter for a personal account of the Deal emigration.

funded by the Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union.[82]

To summarise, the numerous assisted emigrants heading for the various colonies had many similarities. The peak in their departure occurred in the late 1830s and early 1840s, and the largest group came from the Weald. The emigrants were young persons with many years of labour to give to the development of the colonies' resources, while those who were married, or who would marry, would help populate the country and supply future workers. Indeed in the case of South Australia emigrants were carefully selected by Wakefield so they would be young, preferably married persons with no children, in other words, persons who would be prepared to start a new life and invest all their energy to developing the new country. The influx into Victoria was also controlled in so far as the settlers nominated the type of labour they required, and the characteristics of these arrivals were basically the same as those settling in South Australia. Only in New South Wales were immigrants chosen less assiduously since a colony with convict founders could not afford to be so selective. Its labour needs were also slightly different in so far as it had a special need for shepherds and herdsmen and so, despite the concern with keeping a sexually balanced population, more single men were brought out than single women. Efforts were then made to redress this balance by re-starting Irish pauper immigration. However, both Victoria and New South Wales suffered from the sudden rush of persons of all callings to the gold diggings in the 1850s, which exacerbated the already existant labour shortages on the land and in the towns.

The one group whose occupational and demographic profile deviated substantially from that found to apply for all the countries studied was that of the Deal boatmen who represented 12% of the arrivals in Canterbury, New Zealand. They came to fulfill a very specific task in the province and

82 See Arnold, R. 1981.

hence the authorities waived their usual stipulations regarding age and family size. Indeed these boatmen make a unique contribution to both Kentish and New Zealand history in illustrating how an entire occupational group could lose its livelihood in the mother country and be obliged to travel thousands of miles to pursue their callings in a new country where there was a demand for their skills.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC INCENTIVES TO EMIGRATION

Up to this point we have focused our attention on the 'push' factors operating in Kent, and the social and economic considerations of the authorities. Yet regardless of the wishes of the PLCs or CLECs, or the state of the labour market in Kent, emigrants presumably perceived various advantages in moving. They could therefore, be persuaded to uproot themselves, either with assistance or independently. What were the attractions of the various colonies?

Despite the adverse reports and the losses, some emigrants did apply to go to Canada, and once there, they stayed. What had they to gain from such a move; for example, what were the labour demands of the colony and how did Canadian wages compare to those paid in Kent? In 1843 the labour requirements of the Canadian colony were outlined by the Agent for Emigration. He discussed them under three headings: capitalists, mechanics and the unskilled.[83] With regard to capitalists, the Agent advised such persons to come to Canada but not with the intention of clearing their own land and building their own farms, as few were suited to the task. Instead he advised that they buy improved 100-200 acre farms in the older settlements, at a cost of £250-500. Their investment would be repaid since the market for agricultural produce had improved, and furthermore, they would neither pay tithes nor poor rates, and their taxes would be very small. It is likely that this proposal had an appeal to all, but

83 Report of the Agent for Emigration, PP.1844.XXXV.

especially the small farmers who were experiencing difficulties in this period (see Chapter 4). The second group, consisting of mechanics and farm servants, he reported "also generally do well."[84] New towns and villages were springing up where their labour was in demand. Farm servants were especially scarce since few remained in this calling for long; they quickly accumulated enough capital to buy their own land. Carpenters and others engaged in building were in demand but they had to bear in mind that alternative employment would be needed in the winter months.

Words of encouragement to the unskilled were not readily forthcoming. The Agent stated that he could not:

> "...hold out any inducement for them (the unskilled) to emigrate to Canada at present. It is generally known, that owing to the almost universal monetary difficulties which have prevailed in the USA, the labourers employed on the public works have been discharged, and that thousands of them have found their way into Canada. The competition has been so great that labourers have been hired as low as ls 9d per day, without board or lodgings..."[85]

Despite the demand for labourers in public works (such as the widening of the Welland Canal and the finishing of the St Lawrence Canal), employment for this group of people was irregular. However the Agent ended his Report on an encouraging note. He stated that such a glut in the labour market could not be permanent in such an expanding colony, and would be relieved by the movement of labourers into the interior of the country. But movement was not to occur on a large scale until the mass influx into the Prairies in the 1890s. In the meantime the towns and their hinterland on the east coast served as the attractions for immigrants.

Immigration into Canada had increased in the early 1840s (see Table 6.9 of this Chapter) with the establishment of a Board of Public Works which organised such tasks as

84 ibid., 17th November, 1843, p.250.

85 ibid.

the aforementioned widening of the Welland Canal. Throughout the 1840s there was reported a demand for farm labourers and labourers for public works. There was also a call for domestic servants (especially females) for the growing towns: Toronto, Hamilton and Kingston, for example, had grown from small military outposts to towns of 30,000, 14,000 and 11,000 people by 1851.[86] The wages being offered to them, and to other occupational groups, were as follows:

Table 6.10. Average wages in Canada, East, for the 3 months ended 31st October, 1851.

	Per day, without board and lodging* highest £.s.d	lowest £.s.d	
bricklayer	0.6.6	0.4.6	
brickmaker	0.5.0	0.3.0	
blacksmith	0.6.6	0.4.6	
carpenter/joiner	0.7.6	0.5.0	
milliner	0.2.8	0.1.0	
farm labourer	0.4.6	0.2.9	
gardener	4.10.0	3.15.0	per month
dairy woman	0.16.0	0.12.6	" "
domestic servant (female)	0.12.6	0.8.0	" "
cook (female)	1.0.0	0.15.0	" "

* The charge for board and lodging for mechanics and labourers per week was between 8-12s 6d.

source: Papers Relative to Emigration to the North American Colonies, PP.1852.XXXIII, p.572.

Such wages not only compared favourably with those available in Kent, but were far better than those of London (see p.318). Furthermore immigrants worked in the hope of buying land - especially in view of the fact that the Canadian authorities were encouraging this category of people to settle out West. However there were those who were disappointed by what they found in the 1840s and 1850s and so there was an increasing and substantial drift to the USA from Canada.

86 Stelter, G.A. & Artibise, A.F.J. (eds), The Canadian City. McClelland & Stewart Ltd, Ottawa, 1977, p.12.

The CLECs were generally successful in applying principles to practical policy. Yet the success of their schemes was very much dependent on South Australia's appeal to 'desirable' emigrants. How did the 'push' factors in Kent relate to the opportunities available in South Australia? An advertisement in the Maidstone Gazette of 1839 enticed emigrants with promises of wages for labourers of between 5 and 12 shillings per day, and 7 to 14 shillings for mechanics (that is craftsmen).[87] Possibly these wages were an exaggeration since 10 years later the wages cited in a Government report were lower. On the other hand Australia had experienced a depression in the years 1841-46, and so perhaps by 1848 wages had not returned to pre-depression levels (Table 6.11). Those most in demand

Table 6.11. Wages, South Australia, for the quarter ended 30 June, 1848.

	per day, without board and lodging	
	highest	lowest
	£.s.d	£.s.d
bricklayer	0.8.6	0.7.6
blacksmith	0.7.0	0.6.0
carpenter	0.8.0	0.7.0
shoemaker	0.8.0	0.7.0
wheelwright	0.8.0	0.7.0
day labourer	0.4.6	0.4.0
domestic servant (male)	£25-32 per annum with board and lodging	
domestic servant (female)	£14-22 "	" "
farm servants	£40-50 "	" "
	(married couples)	
farm servants	£39 "	" "
	(single men)	
cook	£20-25 "	" "

source: Papers Relative to Emigration, PP.1849.XXXVIII, pp. 276 and 249.

were "masons, carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, blacksmiths, plasterers, wheelwrights, and all the tradesmen and labourers

87 Maidstone Gazette, 1839. British Library (Newspaper Library).

employed in building and finishing dwelling-houses."[88] Their wages were not only higher than those paid in England, but also than those attainable in Canada (see Table 6.10). Furthermore the Australian climate was more hospitable than the Canadian.

In the case of Victoria, many of the emigrants were arriving to take up pre-arranged employment, and their prospective wages were recorded along with their other characteristics. We therefore know that in the 1850s, wages promised to a female domestic servant varied from £16-25 per annum (with rations),[89] those for labourers from £25-80 (with rations), and for mechanics £50-140 per annum (with rations). The highest of these wages cited in the lists of assisted emigrants were a little more generous than those quoted in Parliamentary sources (Table 6.12),

Table 6.12. Wages, Melbourne, for the quarter ending 30th September, 1851.

	per day, without rations £.s.d			
carpenters	0.6.6			
bricklayers	0.6.6			
cooks (female)	£18-20	per annum	with board and	lodging
laundress	£18-20	"	"	"
farm servant	£16-18	"	"	"
domestic servant	£14-18	"	"	"
housemaid	£14-16	"	"	"

source: Papers Relating to Emigration to the Australian Colonies, PP.1852.XXXIV, p.478.

despite the fact that the Government was trying to counteract the flow of labour to the gold fields. Nevertheless,

88 Papers Relative to Emigration, PP.1849.XXXVIII, p.249.

89 rations: 10 lbs. meat, 10 lbs. flour, 2 lbs. sugar, 4 ounces of tea (or milk in lieu of sugar and tea) per week. Papers Relating to Emigration, PP.1852.XXXIV, p.478.

even these lower wages compared favourably to those attainable in Kent.

In his despatch of 1840 Gipps expressed a concern that "There may be some newer Colonies, in which, owing to the destitution in them of all comfort, Wages may be higher than in New South Wales,"[90] though he was convinced that on balance, labourers were better off in New South Wales than anywhere else. Wages in 1851 were more on the level of those paid in Victoria as opposed to South Australia (see Tables 6.11, 6.12. and 6.13). However the differences were often minimal and undoubtedly the choice of colony was influenced by a variety of social, economic and personal factors.

Table 6.13. Wages, New South Wales, for the quarter ended June 30th, 1851.

	per day, without board and lodging highest £.s.d	lowest £.s.d
carpenters	0.7.6	0.6.0*
bricklayers	0.6.0	0.6.0
cooks, female	£16-25 per annum with board and lodging	
housemaids	£14-18 "	" "
laundresses	£14-18 "	" "
domestic servants	£14-18 "	" "
dairywomen	£13 "	" "

*These are the wages cited for town carpenters and bricklayers. Those in the country were paid £45 per annum with board and lodging. This consisted of a dwelling with a ration of 10 lbs. of meat, 10 lbs. of flour, 2 lbs. of sugar, 4 ounces of tea (or milk in lieu of sugar and tea) per week.

source: Papers Relative to Emigration to the Australian Colonies, PP.1852.XXXIV, p.451.

90 Gipps' Despatch, op. cit.

For the Deal boatmen, the prospect of being employed was in itself a cause for their emigration. Other occupational groups emigrating to New Zealand were probably aware that they would not only have regular work, but that it would be well paid. One carpenter/builder[91] wrote in the 1850s and 1860s that he was earning as much as £10 a week building chimneys. In good times labourers would earn 12s a day, in bad times their earnings would drop to 7-5s a day - still an improvement on the Kentish weekly wage which at the end of the 1860s, at its apex, was 17s. Mechanics' wages varied from £1 - 10s a day; the writer blamed the arrival of too many immigrants at the same time for any fall in wages. As was mentioned earlier, (see p.361), many persons departed from Kent after 1870, enticed by the wages offered by the New Zealand Government. The wages in Table 6.14 are lower than those given by Parr above, but nevertheless higher than those attainable in Kent.

This advertisement (Table 6.14) was designed to entice emigrants to New Zealand, and it promised an improved standard of living. Wages and provisions aside, prospective emigrants would have heard favourable reports of the treatment received by immigrants on arrival. Far from having to wander in a strange land looking for work, immigrants found that employers came looking for them, and shortly after arrival they were engaged. Furthermore, relations with employers stood in sharp contrast to labour relations in England. As Arnold writes: "Labour was enjoying a sellers' market, and most employers took care to study the considerations that would win and hold the loyal service of immigrant labourers. Many employers found this easier in that they had themselves begun colonial life as labourers... most immigrants would probably have agreed... that 'no working man in England has any idea what a good master is'."[92] The prospect of shorter working hours,

91 Journal of James Parr, and Letters of Mary, James and William Parr, 1857-68, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, qms.

92 Arnold, R. op. cit., pp.242-43.

purposes. The total yield of wheat for the year 1870 was 2,349,914 bushels. The number of sheep in the whole Colony at the close of 1871 was about *ten millions*, or nearly forty sheep to each head of the population.

FOR THE YEAR 1870 the produce of the NEW ZEALAND GOLD FIELDS was valued at £2,163,910.

THE CLIMATE OF NEW ZEALAND is temperate and healthy.

MECHANICS AND LABOURERS work 8 hours as a standard day's work.

THE AVERAGE RATES OF WAGES AND PRICES OF PROVISIONS IN NEW ZEALAND FOR THE YEAR 1871, WERE AS UNDER:—

Tradesmen—	Per Day of 8 Hours
Carpenters	8s to 9s
Bricklayers	9s „ 10s
Painters	8s „ 10s
Blacksmiths	9s „ 10s
Tailors	8s „ 9s

Tradesmen—con.	Per Day of 8 Hours
Ropemakers	7s „ 10s
Shoemakers	7s „ 8s
Brickmakers and Masons	8s „ 10s
General Labourers	5s „ 6s

Farm Labour—	Per Year (all found).
Married Couples	£50 to £60
Single Men	£30 „ £45
Single Women (Dairy-maids)	£22 „ £28
Female Domestic Servants—	Per Year.
Cooks	£28 to £40
General Servants & Housemaids	£23 „ £33

PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

Bread	per 4 lb. loaf	0	8d	to	0	9d	Butter	per lb.	0	9d to	1 0d
Beef	per lb.	0	3	„	0	5	Tea	„	2	3 „	3 0
Mutton	„	0	2	„	0	3	Sugar	„	0	5 „	0 6

Coffee	per lb.	1s	4d	to	1s	6d
Potatoes	„	0	0½			

Clothing 30 to 40 per cent. over English prices.

For further particulars and detailed conditions, apply to the Agent-General for New Zealand, 7, WESTMINSTER CHAMBERS, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.; or to

LONDON, *March 17th*, 1873.

Table 14. Wages and Cost of Provisions, New Zealand, 1871.

Source: National Archives, Wellington, IM, 73/357.

good wages and more egalitarian social relations were certainly a tempting offer for the Kentish labourers.

On the evidence of wages and employment opportunities alone it is not surprising that so many Kentish craftsmen, domestic servants and agricultural labourers departed under the auspices of the various schemes for Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In terms of wages they had correctly assumed that these would be generally higher than those paid in Kent. However, as in Kent, wages were volatile and there were periods of unemployment. For example in Canada, those fortunate to have employment on public works in the mid-1840s, received wages of only 1s 9d a day, (see p.364), while other unskilled workers were laid off. In Australia, there was a depression in the period 1841-46 during which wages fell, though not necessarily below the Kent level (p.366). However a compensating factor for any wage fluctuations was the emigrants' knowledge that a few years of hard work would enable them to buy land. The late 1830s and early 1840s were difficult ones in Kent and so not surprisingly there was a general peak in applications in those years. The largest group came from the Weald where the very small and small farmer was gradually being 'squeezed out'. Such farmers and agricultural labourers would have been enticed by the prospect of owning their own land.

One further factor would have been in the emigrants' minds: the cost of living. In Canada, the cost of provisions on the 31st October, 1851 was recorded as shown in Table 6.15. In England, the quartern loaf (4 lb. 5¼ ozs) cost 8½d in mid-century, bacon (the meat most consumed by the working classes) was 5-9d a lb; tea - 4s Od a lb (it was only in the 1880s that a cheaper blended tea became available at a price of 2s. 6d); butter - 9d - 1s Od a lb; potatoes ½d a lb; men's shoes were 4s 6d in 1835; sugar was 8d a lb; milk 1½d a pint (or 3d a quart); cheese 9d per lb. Produce, with the exception of coal, displayed little regional variation in price. Coal was most expensive in the south: in Newcastle it was

Table 6.15. Cost of certain provisions, Canada, 31st October, 1851.

item	cost s d		item	cost s d	
bread	0.6½	(6lb. loaf)	sugar, brown	0.4	(1 lb)
butter	0.7	(1 lb)	salt	1.0	(bushel)
coals	0.3	(1 lb)	tea, black	1.10	(1 lb)
cheese	0.5	(1 lb)	cotton, shirts	2.3	(each)
eggs	0.7½	(12)	flannel, shirts	4.6	(each)
milk	0.3	(quart - 2 pts)	shoes, men	6.0	(pair)
potatoes	2.0	(bushel)	shoes, women	4.0	(pair)

source: Papers Relative to Emigration to the North American Colonies, PP.1852.XXXIII, p.571.

8s a ton, in London 17s 3d.[93] Taking the prices of provisions as a whole Burnett concludes that "...the reductions in prices of flour, bread, meat, and tea, together with lower prices of sugar, coffee and other foods... (occurred)... in the decade 1877-87 - by far the most important price-changes in the century."[94] Thus although they showed some fluctuations, prices in England were basically constant over time and space in the period studied.

The cost of provisions in England, when compared to that of Canada, suggest that food prices tended to be lower in the colony. For example bread was around 1d per lb, while in England it was double the price. Yet while butter was also cheaper in Canada than in England, in some instances items were either not available or scarce, and therefore highly priced. For example, manufactured goods were inevitably more expensive since they were more labour intensive. This trend was evident in all the colonies (see Tables 6.15 and 6.16). Indeed the fact that the New Zealand Government exhibited a need to point out that the cost of clothing was 30 to 40 per cent over English prices (Table 6.14), implies that they were aware of this shortcoming. There were also similarities between price levels in, for example, Canada and the Australian colonies (see Tables 6.15 and 6.16). The similarities between

93 Burnett, J. op. cit.

94 ibid., pp.210-17, 263-64. The figures cited above are extracted from a variety of urban and rural workers' budgets in mid-century.

Table 6.16 (a). Prices of certain provisions, South Australia, for the quarter ended 30th June, 1848.

item	cost s d		item	cost s d	
bread	0.1¼	(1 lb)	salt	0.1	(1 lb)
butter	1.8	(1 lb)	potatoes	0.1	(1 lb)
tea	2.0	(1 lb)	shoes, female	6.0	(pair)
sugar	0.3½	(1 lb)	shirts	2.6	(each)

source: Papers Relative to Emigration, PP.1849.XXXVIII, p.275.

(b). Cost of certain provisions, Melbourne, for the quarter ended 30th September, 1851.

tea	1.3	(1 lb)	potatoes	6.0	(cwt)
sugar	0.2½	(1 lb)	shoes, female	4.6	(pair)
butter	1.8	(1 lb)	shoes, male	8.0	(pair)
salt	0.1	(1 lb)	shirts,male	1.6	(each)

source: Papers Relative to Emigration to the Australian Colonies, PP.1852.XXXIV, pp.479-80.

(c). Cost of certain provisions, New South Wales, for the quarter ended 30th June, 1851.

tea	1.4	(1 lb)	salt	0.1½	(1 lb)
sugar	0.3½	(1 lb)	shoes, male	7.0	(pair)
butter	1.3	(1 lb)	shoes, female	6.0	(pair)
potatoes	6.0	(cwt - 112 lbs)	shirts, male	2.6	(each)

source: Papers Relative to Emigration to the Australian Colonies, PP.1852.XXXIV, p.450.

prices and wages meant that, for example, well-paid blacksmiths in Canada and Australia in 1851 spent about one-twentieth of their daily wage on a pound of sugar, about one-third on a pound of tea, and one-hundredth on a pound of bread.

One emigrant wrote from Adelaide in 1851 commenting on the wage and price levels:

> "...although the Wages is good almost everything here is out of the way dear from what it is at home except the Beef and Mutton which is 2d to 3d per pound..."[95]

95 Price, J. manuscripts, Mitchell Library, Sydney, B1457, pt.3.

Price advised prospective emigrants to bring all they could with them "...as furniture of all kinds is very dear."[96] As was mentioned earlier, manufactured goods were inevitably more expensive in the colonies, but on balance Price confirmed that "...once settled you can live very well."[97] The expense of certain provisions was outweighed by other benefits such as higher wages - even in bad times. What is particularly striking is the fact that labourers in the colonies, unlike their counterparts in England, were now in a position to contemplate the purchase of such items as meat. They therefore remarked about any fluctuations in the price of items which in England they would not have considered buying. Meanwhile Poole,[98] a resident of Melbourne, complained in 1852 that the discovery of gold had produced a rise in the price of provisions. For example, bread was now 2s 6d for a 4 lb. loaf, butter was 3s per pound, cheese 3s per lb, eggs 5s per dozen, tea 2s a lb, sugar 3s 4d a lb, and potatoes 4d a lb. According to his statistics for earnings, a 4 lb. loaf of bread represented 12.5% of a tradesman's daily income, a pound of butter 15%, tea 10%, and sugar 25%. The prices cited in the Parliamentary Papers (Table 6.16 (b)) when compared to the wages in Table 6.12, left the worker even worse off than he was according to Poole. Earlier in 1838, a J. Fowles, a New South Wales immigrant, had this advice for intending emigrants:

> "...provisions are always a certain profitable article to speculate in as butter, cheese, bacon, spirits, porter etc. And to those intending to go to farming bring agricultural implements as a plough for which you would pay £2.10.0 in England would cost £10 here... And all articles of furniture if near London had better be brought as the freight here would be much less than the difference in the value..."[99]

96 ibid.

97 ibid.

98 Poole manuscripts, 1852, Mitchell Library, Sydney, B1349.

99 J. Fowles Journal, 1838, Mitchell Library, Sydney, A3074.

Ultimately it is difficult and potentially misleading, to generalise about the cost of living since we can obtain conflicting accounts from sources pertaining to the same town in the same period. The cost of provisions as given in the PP varied little from colony to colony and comments made by settlers such as Price of Adelaide or Fowles reveal that they were generally considered to be high. Yet, even if the cost of living was sometimes higher than in England, the labourer's diet and the standard of living attainable exceeded that experienced in England. However, the general lack of any clear distinction - with the exception of manufactured[100] goods - between English and colonial provisions meant that in evaluating the attractions of the colonies we must stress the levels of wages and the availability of land and not prices.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

To sum up, there was a lull in assisted emigration from Kent after the 1850s (though the overall number of emigrants leaving England increased in the 1850s, and then in the late 1860s/early 1870s and the 1880s). Gradually one colony after another assumed control of its emigration policy. By 1870 the CLECs were left with the task of enforcing the Passenger Acts and the responsibility for these eventually went to the Board of Trade. By 1878 the CLECs ceased to exist. Meanwhile the 'push' factors at home promoting emigration weakened. In the 1860s there was less pressure on labour to move, indeed, shortages were reported, attributable to the "...intensification of farming methods..."[101] and the exodus of rural workers into industry or overseas which had occurred in the preceding decades.[102] However a recession in British industry and commerce started in 1875, that in agriculture in 1878.

100 Food tended to be cheaper but was not always so.

101 Jones, E.L. 1964, p.328.

102 see ibid.

Although emigration once more became the cure for the 'malady', by the 1890s the era of assisted emigration was over. Only Queensland and Canada organised large-scale immigration. Other Australian states, and New Zealand, offered little aid. The only bodies to remain active in this type of movement were charitable organisations such as the Salvation Army and Dr. Barnardo's. These gave assistance specifically to women and children: for example, many of Dr. Barnardo's charges were sent to work on Canadian farms. Likewise the Kent and Sussex Labourers' Union helped its members only move from Kent to New Zealand.

This Chapter has attempted to trace the influence of economic factors in determining migratory flows not merely within (see Chapter 3) but also to and from the county of Kent. In our discussion of Kentish persons in the wider labour market we traced the whereabouts of the Kentish-born in England and Wales, and the exchange of population between Kent and the other counties. We found that Kent was a net-gainer of population while, as expected, the majority of the movement which did occur was over short distances, the majority of the Kentish-born moving to neighbouring counties and vice versa. On closer examination, distance per se was not an overriding factor in all circumstances: migrants were moving to areas where they had the prospect of a better standard of living. The most striking example of this was the presence of the Kentish-born in the industrial north; counties closer to Kent, but with fewer 'attractions' received less migrants. Meanwhile migrants coming to Kent congregated in industrial as opposed to agricultural areas. A temporary exception to this occurred at harvest time when Kentish agriculture provided a working holiday for a variety of urban dwellers.

The overseas movement of Kentish workers extended to all parts of the British Empire: British North America, the Cape, Australia and New Zealand. In this planned transfer of population it was very clear that proponents of colonisation identified the 'surplus' population of the mother country as that required in the colonies. Previous Chapters explored the developments in Kentish agriculture and

especially the problems experienced by the labouring class. The latter part of the 1830s/early 1840s were hard years for both farmers and their workers while, in the colonies, there was a universal demand for their labour. The barrier of distance did not prevent people going thousands of miles under the influence presumably, of knowledge of higher living standards and hope of better prospects in the colonies.[103] The numbers of persons seeking assistance in order to emigrate increased when unemployment at home was rife and the call for labour in the colonies loud and clear (as in the late 1830s/ early 1840s); they decreased when conditions at home improved and social and economic circumstances overseas deteriorated (as in the 1850s and 1860s). Thus economic conditions both at home and abroad regulated the ebb and flow of migrants.

The nineteenth century concern with 'surplus' population resulted in efforts being made to redistribute labour from areas where it was considered 'redundant', to those where it could be better employed. The emphasis was nearly always on moving agricultural labourers, whether from the rural south to the industrial north, or to destinations overseas. It is only by tracing this movement of labour from its origin to its destination that we can properly evaluate the relation of 'push' and 'pull' factors and thereby obtain a genuine understanding of the causes of population movement. However, for all this emphasis on emigration and 'push' factors, it must be remembered that Kent was a net gainer on balance. Even as the population grew, the cry of 'surplus population' evaporated, and the numbers of people and jobs in Kent rose - but largely in the industrial/suburban parts of the county.

103 and the USA - though we have no detailed material on this. For more details on this point see Chapter 1, footnote 75, p.63.

CHAPTER 7. Personal Perspectives.

Any study of the workings of the labour market, or of migratory flows, necessarily deals in the main with aggregative trends and demands a quantitative style of approach. However, it has been argued that "...the real, central theme of History is not what happened, but what people felt about it at the time."[1] There is much to be said, not least from the point of view of readability, for seeking to balance such a discussion with illustrations of the actors' own perception of their situation as migrants, so far as it is possible to recover authentic records. The push/pull approach used in the preceding Chapter, on its own, can be too mechanistic. It needs to be supplemented with 'personal perspectives', and likewise these can only be understood against the background of more impersonal factors. Nothing has been found concerning the reflections of Kentish migrants within the county but with respect to those who moved abroad, material on a number of cases has come to light which reveals their motives for emigrating, and also their varying fortunes.

However desirable may be the use of such documents, their collection is fraught with difficulties. For the purpose of this study various approaches were made. First of all, a request for information was placed in all the major newspapers of the old colonies: Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand;[2] secondly, contact was made with local museums, history and genealogical societies; and thirdly, libraries and archives were searched in person (with the exception of those in South Africa).

1 Young, G.M. Portrait of an Age. 1936, Oxford University Press, 1964 edition, p.vi.

2 The Kentish local press were also approached but with the exception of Kent Life, all refused to publicise the research. They believed there was insufficient interest to warrant such action. A preliminary study of the histories collected was presented in Kent Life, January and February 1980.

Descendants of Kentish emigrants responded to the request for letters, journals and diaries, and during the course of three years many, many offers of help were received. In numerous cases, the descendant was engaged in tracing his/her family tree and could supply little besides names, and dates of birth and death. Often they would write in the hope that their family history could be researched as part of the thesis. Fortunately after the exchange of many letters, fifteen informative case histories were compiled. It was hoped that one of these would relate to Brenchley, but seeing the rarity of the data, this was not a serious expectation. Indeed, five of the persons discussed in this Chapter emigrated outside the period under review (1834-71), yet the scarcity of the material justifies their inclusion in this study.[3]

3 The case histories were obtained from the following, to whom many thanks are due:

ARCHER	-	Ms. J. Archer, Victoria, Australia
AVELING	-	Mrs. V. McCann, South Australia, Australia
BRITTENDEN	-	the late Mr. W. Honey, Deal Maritime Museum, Kent
BROOKER	-	Auckland Institute and Museum, New Zealand
CARNELL	-	Mrs. M. Kidgell, Victoria, Australia
DEAL BOATMEN	-	Mrs. I. Cooper, Christchurch, New Zealand & the late Mr. W. Honey, Deal Maritime Museum, Kent
DYASON	-	Mrs. G. Wilson, New South Wales, Australia
HARRISSON	-	Sandwich Local History Society, Kent
JENNER	-	Auckland Institute and Museum, New Zealand
MOULDEN	-	Mr. A. Moulden, South Australia, Australia
OTTAWAY	-	Mrs. F. Schroeder, Victoria, Australia
SHARP	-	Mr. B. Sharp, New Plymouth, New Zealand
THURSTUN	-	Mrs. E. Halkyard, Tasmania, Australia & Ms. L. Sandvig, Wisconsin, USA.

The letters and journals collected were in the form of transcripts produced by the emigrants' descendants (with the exception of the Moulden & Brittenden letters which were in the original), and so we do not know the extent to which the spelling and punctuation are in the original.

The dependence on the literate emigrant has a drawback: the largest occupational group under review, the labourers, could not all read and write. Fortunately their literacy was increasing (see Chapter 5), and so we have some first-hand accounts written by working men (railway employees and boatmen; unfortunately we traced no original material relating to agricultural labourers). We also have the reflections of a gentleman, a gentleman's daughter, a butcher, a solicitor, and the wives of two men of unknown callings. In order to span as wide a range of experience as possible, we have included the life histories of emigrants based on research conducted by descendants. These relate to a baker, a missionary, a farm worker, a sailor and two seamen (see Table 7.1 below), and Maps 7.1 and 7.2 overleaf).

Two tradesmen who left Kent for Australia were Thomas Ottaway and Joshua Dyason. Thomas Ottaway sailed on the 'Deborah' which left England about the middle of June 1852, with his wife Elizabeth, and two children, Tommy and Harriet. The four letters which he wrote to his mother say little of his circumstances in England, except that he felt "...there was no chance of doing anything in England, against so much competition."[4] He left behind his own butcher's shop in Tenterden, in the care of a foreman. Since he did not need to sell the business before his departure he obviously had other capital available which would enable him to start in Australia. Arriving in the midst of the Victorian gold rush, Thomas jumped at the chance of making money at the diggings, despite the fact that there was plenty of work for butchers in Melbourne (his place of residence). He wrote to his mother:

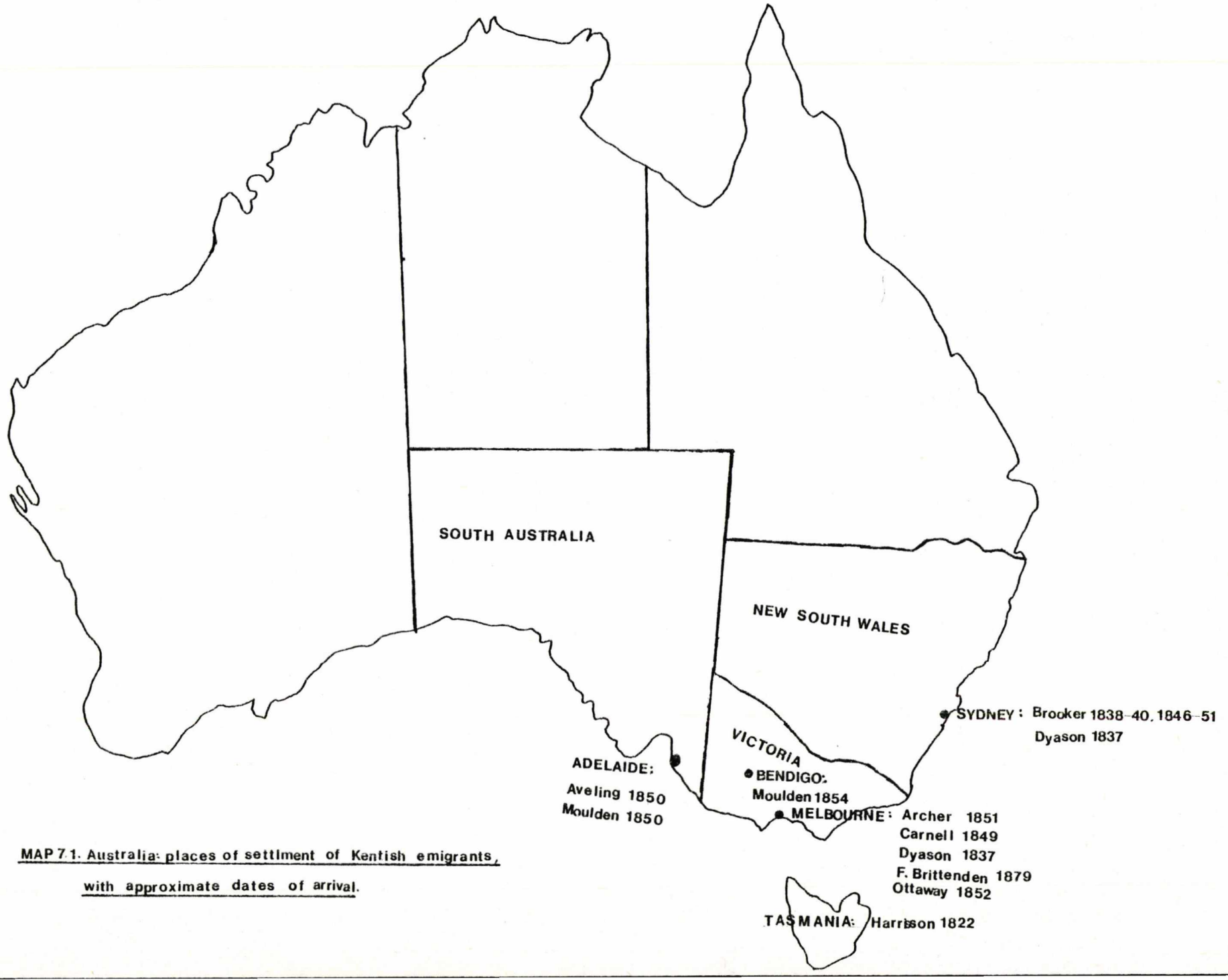
> "I have very little to say at present having been on shore only seven days, all seems excitement, nothing but Gold

4 26 September, 1852.

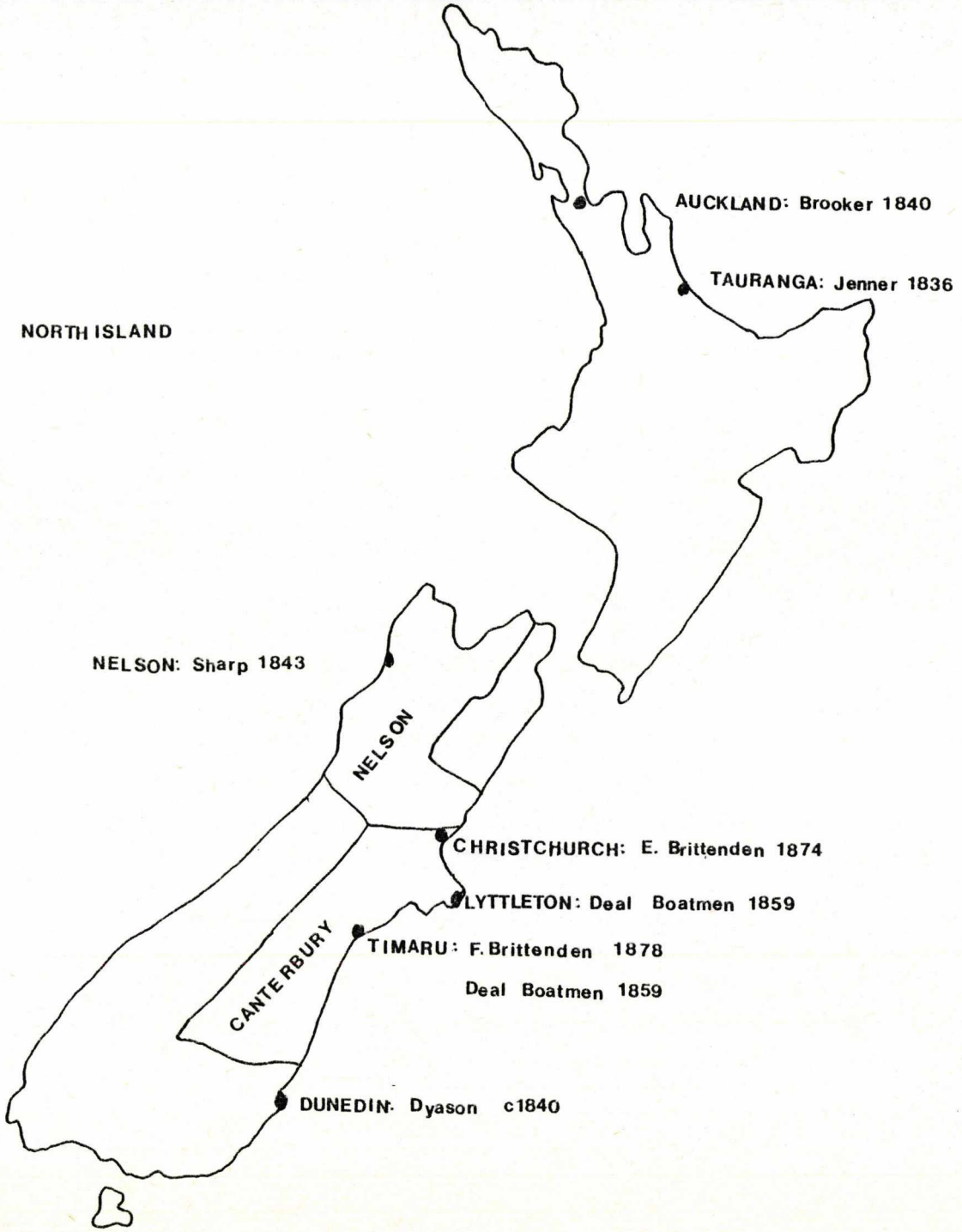
Table 7.1. Details of emigrants discussed in this Chapter.

name	origin	departure date	destination	sex	age	marital status	Kentish Occupation
ARCHER David	Gravesend	1851	Victoria, A	m	26	s	seaman
AVELING Robert	Rochester	1850	S.Aust, A	m	26	s	sailor
BRITTENDEN Ed	Deal	1874	Christchurch, NZ	m	22	s	railway employee
BRITTENDEN Fred	Deal	1878	Timaru, NZ	m	19	s	railway employee
BROOKER Stephen	Tunbridge Wells	1838	N.S.W., A	m	19	s	ag.lab.
CARNELL Ellen	Hadlow	1849	Victoria, A	f	6	s	gentleman's daughter
DEAL boatmen	Deal	1859	Timaru & Lyttleton, NZ	m	various		boatmen
DYASON Joshua	Canterbury	1837	N.S.W., & Victoria, A	m	22	m	baker
HARRISSON Peter	Sandwich	1822	Tasmania, A	m	?	s	gentleman
JENNER Rebecca	Maidstone	1836	Tauranga, NZ	f	17	s	missionary
MOULDEN Joseph	Eastry	1850	S.Aust, A	m	38	m	solicitor
OTTAWAY Tom	Tenterden	1852	Victoria, A	m	30s	m	butcher
SHARP John	Maidstone	1843	Nelson, NZ	m	15	s	merchant seaman
THURSTUN Annie	Woodchurch	1879	Tasmania, A	f	30	m	wife of ?
THURSTUN Ettie	Woodchurch	1879	Tasmania, A	f	32	m	wife of ?

A = Australia
NZ = New Zealand
N.S.W. = New South Wales
m (sex) = male
f " = female
m (marital status) = married
s " " = single



MAP 7.1. Australia: places of settlment of Kentish emigrants, with approximate dates of arrival.



MAP 7.2. New Zealand: places of Kentish emigrants, with approximate dates of arrival.

> Diggings, everybody goes - I am going myself next week although there is plenty of work. Butchers are getting 4 to 5 pounds per week and victuals - nobody will work under 10/- a day, even if they have no trade - jobbing carpenters one pound a day."[5]

In the previous Chapter we cited evidence from emigrants regarding the frequently high cost of provisions. Similarly Thomas found certain items expensive, for example, boots and shoes were £2 - 5 a pair.[6] Yet meat was cheap: "...a fore quarter of mutton at 3d lb., Rump Steaks at 6d lb., Beef steaks at 4d lb., but a short time back there was plenty of meat at 2d lb."[7] In dietary terms he believed emigrants were well off. However, by August 1854 the effect of any such advantages and the optimism of the early days had clearly faded:

> "Australia is now in a state of fearful tension - on the verge of bankruptcy - the large Speculators are giving way one after the other; trade is dreadfully flat, money very scarce and work also, we are over-done as I expected. Where I used to earn five pounds, I am obliged to be satisfied with half the money and it is expected to be worse before it is better. The value of houses and land is very much down. I paid myself £270 for a piece of land six months ago, now I would take much less for it, but I have built a nice house and shop on it, and shall wait for things to turn about again. Australia is all very well but the Golden time is gone by."[8]

5 ibid. In comparison the Linton Park carpenters were earning 3s 6d a day as late as 1864 (see Chapter 4).

6 See especially p.373 of Chapter 6. The price of shoes in Melbourne cited in the PP was less than a pound in 1851. Perhaps Thomas was quoting the price of better quality, and therefore more expensive shoes, as prices were unlikely to have increased so much in one year. The contrast between his and the official prices points to the hazards involved in generalising about the cost of living for a variety of emigrants.

7 Ottaway op.cit.

8 14 August, 1854.

Under the circumstances Thomas considered that those doing well at home should stay there. Not only was it a bad time to invest money in Australia, but the climate was also proving hard to bear:

> "He (a friend) will lose a good bit of money if not his life, when the hot weather sets in. The heat is dreadful and the clouds of dust quite suffocating. You cannot sleep at night for fleas of an enormous size, the poor little children suffer very much from them - they are bitten from head to foot."[9]

A year later the news was no better:

> "I have no very good news to tell you - there is no business doing, everything is at a standstill, property is reduced to one half the value; mine that cost me upwards of Nine Hundred Pounds is not worth more than Four Hundred, so you see I have lost by hard times Five Hundred Pounds of hard earned money, I did think of coming home some time back, but now do not know what to do. It is no use to spend money to come back unless I have a well filled purse."[10]

Thomas's last letter, written on 20th July 1856, was however, different in tone, since he was endeavouring to persuade his reluctant mother to join him in Australia. He gives no business news but describes items which he believes will appeal to her:

> "The country is looking much like England now. We have fine fields, orchards, gardens, theatres, horse racing, fancy fairs, Cricketing and all kinds of amusements. The climate has been much colder this winter - we have had several frosty mornings which makes it very healthy; People here look much better than in London,[11] there are no damp fogs and the air is very dry."[12]

9 14 August, 1854

10 10 September, 1855.

11 Thomas's mother was resident in London.

12 20 July, 1856.

From the letters we acquire a picture of a man who had emigrated as a result of his ambition to improve upon the modest capital he already possessed. The four years covered by his letters suggest that at least in that period, his expectations were not fulfilled. Many emigrants had to learn that the colonies as well as the mother country suffered bad times as well as good. However his comments regarding the Australian economy in the 1850s are surprising since the decade was considered to be one of prosperity, when much foreign investment was attracted to the country. The depression of the preceding decade was over by 1848. That the cost of provisions had risen as a result of the discovery of gold was an acknowledged fact, but no other Kentish emigrants condemned the Australian economy as a whole.[13]

If an individual's employment history is any measure of well-being, Joshua Dyason must be seen as a successful emigrant. He and his wife arrived in Australia in 1837, Joshua declaring himself to be a baker. According to their grand-daughter they left in the hope of finding better employment opportunities, and being first cousins who had married, they also sought to escape from the disapproval they encountered in their native Canterbury. Nothing is known about their early life except that they tried moving to Dunedin, New Zealand, but finding the climate too cold, returned to Australia. There is no reference to Joshua becoming a baker but rather to his manufacturing jams and preserves, though by the time of his death he was described as a cordial manufacturer and produce merchant. A history of Victoria published in 1888 relates how the business was very successful and how Joshua not only took his son into partnership but also expanded his labourforce from 3 to 20 employees by 1888. The writer talked about the business in a very

13 Two other Kentish emigrants who went to the diggings were Joseph Moulden and Ellen Carnell's father. See pp.401, 403-404 of this Chapter.

flattering manner:

> "The factory is fitted throughout with all the latest machinery for corking and filling bottles etc., The firm's principal articles of manufacture are the celebrated Prescott's Parramatta lime juice, lime juice cordial, raspberry vinegar, bottled table vinegar and every description of syrups. They received the first class certificate for articles shown at Melbourne International Exhibition of 1875."[14]

A group of letters written by emigrants from the labouring class were those of the two Brittenden brothers from Deal.[15] Edward and Frederick emigrated to New Zealand in 1874 and 1878 respectively (Frederick soon after settled in Melbourne, Australia). Edward had been employed on the railway in Kent, but we have no details of his employment (if any), at that time. However, in a letter he wrote home in December 1877 he commented on his life in Deal:

> "I suppose Old Deal is the same as ever and I suppose as dead and alive as possible. I should like to see you all and the old place once again but as for living in it I could not do it as from what I see only rogues and thieves prosper in it; if you do not happen to have money they treat you worse than a dog."[16]

14 Victoria and its Metropolis, vol.2, Melbourne, Victoria, 1888. (The quotation was included amongst the family papers). Joshua had learned the greater part of his business in Nova Scotia, British America. He was the first Jam and Pickle Manufacturer in Sydney.

15 A third Brittenden brother, James, emigrated to New Zealand in 1890. As he had been living and working in London his letters are excluded from this discussion.

16 11 December, 1877.

Frederick, writing a year later, was also critical of Deal. Comparing it to Timaru, New Zealand, he wrote:

> "It is quite different here from Deal; here everybody has got quite a plenty of money, there are no beggars or tramps."[17]

Edward, in his effort to be "independent or die in the attempt",[18] was willing to put his hand to a variety of labouring jobs:

> "Why you would laugh at the different berths I have had since I've been out here: Sailor, Ploughman, Shepherd, Bushman, Coal heaving aboard Steamers etc., etc., In fact if you are out of a berth you must say no to nothing even if it were to go and preach a sermon on Sunday."[19]

He had in fact just missed the large-scale recruitment of railway labour by John Brogden and Sons. In the period July 1872 to April 1873 this firm brought out 1,298 men.[20] Like Thomas Ottaway, Edward did not always have a secure livelihood. In the 1870s he had been earning as much as 20 - 25s a day, but in 1885 he wrote home and said that as a guard on the railway he was now earning 8 - 10s a day, though with clothing "...which is a consideration out here as you can't get a suit any good much under £6.0.0.... on the other hand we get first class mutton for 2d per pound and the 2 lbs loaf is at present 2½d, so no one need starve out here."[21] These years were hard ones in New Zealand. At the end of the Maori Wars (1856-70), only Auckland and Otago's economies were in a satisfactory condition. Elsewhere there was a depression. In

17 10 September, 1878.

18 11 December, 1877.

19 18 March, 1878.

20 See Arnold, R. 1981, Chapter 1, 'Brogdens' Navvies',p.5.

21 10 April, 1885.

towns there was unemployment while in the countryside the landless population was dissatisfied due to the unavailability of small parcels of land. Yet on the whole Edward felt he could not "...complain much."[22] He retired in 1912 after working on the railway for 36 years, 34 of which were spent as a guard. In the report given on his retirement in the Lyttleton Times he was quoted as saying:

> "The Department has treated me very well... my life on the railway has been an enjoyable one. But I cannot say I am sorry to be leaving. After thirty-six years on the trains one grows tired of it all... I am glad to be free of it. It will be pleasant to potter about my garden, devote myself to my hobby (model shipbuilding), and relax, after a life spent on the railway."[23]

Edward's adverse experiences during his early years in New Zealand had obviously not been sufficiently disconcerting to prevent the arrival of his brother Frederick. Indeed, shortly after his arrival in Timaru Frederick met one of the Deal boatmen who had emigrated in the 1850s (see pp. 391-393 of this Chapter). This boatman, Foster, promised to help him find a job, and since Foster:

> "...knows nearly every one in the town and every one knows him and respects him, I am in a fair way of getting a berth as clerk, in one of the best places in the town at a progressive salary of 50 or 60 shillings per week. I really have much to be thankful for, and I shall always think it a blessed day when I left England, although the parting was no joke and played upon my spirits for a long while after... everywhere there is activity; very few people are hanging about as there is at Deal. Labour is well paid, Carpenters getting 12 shillings a day and drapers

22 ibid.

23 Lyttleton Times, 23 December, 1912.

> get £3 a week. I think it well worth any young, smart fellow's while to come to New Zealand, for if he don't get along it is his own fault."[24]

However, like his brother, he found that a good income was not always easily come by. The letter below reveals that Frederick could not earn enough money on land to support his family and so was obliged to go to sea:

> "Since you last heard from me I have been at a lower ebb than before in my life, but for the last two years I have been more prosperous, that is to say I have earned more money. I have seen my little ones hungry. I see them now satisfied. I am not contented, because I have to go to sea to earn the money, and I am a home loving man. I am better off now, in respect of seeing my home than I have been for years. I spend two nights there every three weeks. Last year I got one night every four weeks. I was thirteen months in one steamer, passing Melbourne twice every trip, but only calling in there twice; on the first occasion I got one hour at home, and the next four hours. After thirteen months I left that steamer because she was going to South Africa. No I am not content; the years are slipping by me and I can see nothing in front of me but the same life until I am too old for the work and a man ages quickly at this work. I can only hope that by that time the children will be doing sufficient and have the will to keep the home up for me. At present two are out. Myra is at a dressmaking establishment in Melbourne and Fred at a wholesale ironmongers. But their combined wages do not keep them in clothes at present."[25]

Later letters (written up to his death in 1942) concentrate on family news. The earlier ones show that his life in the

24 10 September 1878. Perhaps Frederick had occupied a higher position than railway labourer in Deal, and was therefore able to seek the post of clerk.

25 2 December, 1904.

new homeland had not altogether been a happy one. Unfortunately for Frederick he arrived in New Zealand on the eve of a depression and so it was almost inevitable that his initial optimism would be replaced by complaints about the present and concern for the future.

The history of other emigrants from Deal, the boatmen, illustrates how some occupational groups were forced to leave their native countries in the hope of securing a less precarious existence elsewhere. The Deal boatmen had for many years served the shipping which anchored off Deal in the shelter of the Goodwin Sands, ferrying provisions, passengers and mails between anchorage and mainland, and also performing pilotage, rescue and salvage services. The advent of steam and the rerouting of mails to Southampton and Plymouth considerably reduced the volume of shipping requiring their services, and with their means of support thus diminished, their livelihood was severely threatened. In 1858 their plight attracted public attention on a national scale, with a letter and editorial in 'The Times' of October 8th describing their hardship. J.E.Fitzgerald, the New Zealand Agent General in London, came to Deal and gave an address telling of the opportunities that awaited them in New Zealand. A fund was organised whose aim was to aid the emigration of these boatmen and their families, and eventually twelve Deal men (with their families) departed in the ship 'Mystery' in December 1858, bound for Canterbury, South Island.

Of the twelve boatmen who emigrated, six proceeded to Timaru, where they took charge of the boating at that landing place. The fate of some of these men was recorded in the local press in New Zealand, and in the press in Deal, which printed extracts of letters they sent home. Thus we know that two of the boatmen, Bowbyes and Corey were drowned within eighteen months of their arrival,

during an attempt to save a boat in distress. John Wilds, whose grand-daughter still lives in New Zealand, lived to a ripe old age of eighty-nine; when he became too old to work he walked fully clothed into the sea and swam to his death.

These boatmen were renowned for their industriousness. The Editor of the Deal Telegram received the following letter in November 1859:

> "The Deal Boatmen have affected a revolution in the trade of Canterbury, and made the monopolists of lighterage quite civil, comparatively... The men are civil and industrious, not given to drink... six married men (have gone) to Timaru; (they are guaranteed) at least £300 a year, and what they can make besides."[26]

Their contribution to Timaru was acknowledged by the naming of 'Deal Street' after them. The present day area of Deal Street is in fact the location of the boatmens' sod huts, a grouping of cottages which in its day was locally known as 'Deal Town'.

The other six boatmen proceeded to Lyttleton, and eventually helped to establish a fishing industry there. Favourable reports were sent back to those they had left behind in Deal:

> "The Deal people have all got a place by themselves. It is a very nice place with a beautiful garden... There is plenty of work, it is no trouble to get work for 10s per day. We have found the place better than we expected... The six Deal men that are not going in the boat[27] have got a very good offer, I think we are going to a gentleman who wants to engage the six to load and unload the ships with wool. They will have about £150 a year each; he will give us a ship load of timber to build our own houses with, and advance us any money that we want. The things are not so very dear, meat is cheap. I think it will be a good opening for us... They will have about six months of the year

26 Deal Telegram, November 1859.

27 That is, the six who had gone to Lyttleton. Those who went to Timaru took with them the boat they had brought out from Deal.

> to work for themselves or to do what they like... What I can see about it, there is plenty of work and good wages for any one that likes to work. My dear father, I hope you will make yourself quite comfortable about us, for I have not told you anything but what is the real truth."[28]

Bowles, one of the boatmen, himself wrote confirming this favourable account:

> "Our pay will be £250 a year. Our employer has sold us one acre of freehold land each to build our houses on, and grow what we require. Potatoes very plentiful. I have made a firm agreement, and it is properly drawn up for the year, and we are to be paid for our labour in 'cash' only. Provisions are not so dear, taking everything into consideration. There is nobody poor here. Every man is catched after, particular people acquainted with boating business."[29]

A less happy account of a Kentish emigrant's life is that of Rebecca Jenner, the daughter of the head gardener on Lord Torrington's estate near Maidstone. Her grandson suggests that her motives for emigrating were twofold. Her father had a long and severe illness. Not wishing to be a burden on her parents, or to take a subordinate position in the household of her friends or relatives, she decided to pursue her religious calling. Consequently she took up a position offered her by the Church Missionary Society as mission nurse and emigrated to New Zealand in 1836. The area she went to - Tauranga - was at this time a virtual battleground for certain Maori tribes, and her first mission station was soon abandoned. She contemplated returning to England but evidently changed her mind as she was found to be

28 Letter written by the wife of one of the boatmen to her father, reprinted in the Deal Telegram, 15 June 1859.

29 Letter to a friend, reprinted in The Journal of William Stanton, published in Portsmouth in 1929.

working as a nurse to mission patients in 1838. Then a shift in occupation occurred, Rebecca accidently becoming an interpreter in the negotiations between the British Government and the Maori chiefs over the purchase of the site upon which the city of Auckland was to be positioned. She continued in this position until she and her husband left for Adelaide in 1846, as a result of a Maori war.

The man Rebecca Jenner married was Stephen Brooker, a farm worker from Tunbridge Wells. The condition of farm workers in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars has already been described (see Chapters 1, 3 and 4), and since the late 1830s were particularly bad years, it is no surprise to find Stephen emigrating in 1838. However, he did admit to his grandson that there was an additional reason for his emigration. In the previous Chapter we referred to the comparatively egalitarian labour relations prevalent in the colonies, and the appeal these would have to English labourers. Stephen voiced his dislike of the subservient position a man like himself occupied in English society:

> "My parents taught me that is was polite to take my hat off to a lady when I met her in the street, but I saw no reason why I should be obliged to lift it to the parson or the squire."[30]

Due to the disappearance of the ship's butcher Stephen, who was familiar with livestock, found himself occupied in this capacity during his voyage. Part of his contract included the right to keep all the skins, fat and hides that were left at the end of the journey, and these he sold in Sydney at a handsome profit. What he was employed at during the 18 months of his stay in Sydney is not known, but in January 1840 he arrived in Auckland as a groom, second in charge of a shipment of horses for a regiment

30 Stephen Brooker, quoted in Stephen and Rebecca Brooker, a history written by their grandson, Auckland Institute and Museum.

stationed in Auckland. He remained in New Zealand working as a livestock agent for numerous farmers until 1846. It was during one of his trading trips that he met Rebecca Jenner.

In 1846 the pair departed for Sydney, Australia, but found life there very trying. Their grandson recalled how they lived in constant fear of the "blacks" who would surround their cottage at night and steal their food and livestock. The tension of those years led Stephen to have two nervous breakdowns, after which the family decided to return to New Zealand - to Canterbury Province. They associated this trek to Canterbury with the journey made by Bunyan's Pilgrims to the English Canterbury, seeing themselves in the same role of intrepid travellers. Their grandson wrote:

> "On June 20th 1851, they stepped ashore, and, gathering together their woefully small bundle of worldly goods, wrapped in a calico tent, their only shelter during the first winter of their residence, set out over the bridle path in the steps of the Canterbury Pilgrims...."[31]

Yet their lot in Canterbury did not prove an easy one. On arrival they found that neither assistance nor land was available to them, and the New Zealanders were suspicious of arrivals such as themselves, fearing that they were ex-convicts.[32] Consequently the Brookers became squatters on land which had not already been delimited for settlement. By the time he ended his working life Stephen had been in the employment of many men, mainly working with livestock, but never managing to become an independent farmer. The history of the family is one of hardship and the relentless search for a secure livelihood. The numerous moves made by the family show how it could sometimes be very difficult to make a living in the

31 ibid.

32 Despite the fact that both had been to New Zealand before.

colonies, and that emigration did not mean the end of all financial worries.

David Archer was a seaman, the illiterate son of a Gravesend carrier. His great-granddaughter has suggested that he was attracted to Australia by the gold rush, but nothing can be proved to that effect. In fact David Archer spent his entire life nowhere near the gold fields, but working in Sandridge (the port of Melbourne) as a waterman, ferrying passengers and goods from ship to shore. He and his fellow workers were a group much despised by the public at this time due to the high fares they charged. A certain Captain Harry wrote in 1854:

> "This class of men, of whom there were a great number, generally located themselves at Sandridge, and were mostly all from different ports of London River,[33] Deal, Yarmouth, Margate and those places where many get their living by wrecking, smuggling and taking every advantage of any one who may happen to fall into their clutches, and as the most expert and generally the worst kind of such people find their way to a place like Melbourne, it is not to be wondered at that they had the repute of being a bad lot."[34]

Captain Harry's opinion of the likes of David Archer stands in sharp contrast to the description of the Deal boatmen settled in Timaru, who were engaged in fundamentally the same work as David. Again in contrast to other emigrants, such as the Brookers, David and his wife Anne only moved once in their life, and that was from one side of the street to the other. His great-granddaughter suspects that his lifestyle changed little by the move from Gravesend to Melbourne, and wonders why he moved at all. Indeed, there was no apparent financial reward; for example, his children recalled that the only way they could acquire pencils for school was by searching under the desks for stubbs cast off by other children.

33 as was David Archer.

34 Reprinted in the Melbourne Age, 6 July, 1935.

The lives of the labouring families of Brooker and Archer certainly do not suggest that persons without means would rise 'from rags to riches'. Obviously we cannot gauge their own satisfaction with their lives from a bare outline of employment history. However, the fact that Stephen Brooker had two nervous breakdowns serves to break through the romantic image of emigrants' successes, and drives home some of the realities of the situation.

We now turn to an examination of the experiences of the Thurstuns. Although Albert and John Thurstun's occupations in Kent are unknown, the account of their activities in Australia suggest that they had a little money at their disposal. Albert and Annie Thurstun, and John and Ettie Thurstun (two brothers married to two sisters) travelled to Australia on the ship 'Kent' which left Gravesend in November 1879, and reached Melbourne on January 9th, 1880. They had intended to go to New Zealand, but were persuaded during the passage to change their plans and go to Tasmania. The Thurstun material consists of diaries and letters written by Annie and Ettie during the voyage and after their arrival in Tasmania.

From Annie's letters it appears that she and Albert left Woodchurch due to Albert's asthma. While "...Albert's health is the first consideration",[35] other reasons which made them decide to go to Tasmania and not New Zealand were social and economic. They made friends on board from whom they did not wish to be parted,[36] and:

> "Another consideration land is free. 30 acres for a man, 20 the wife, 10 for each child. So we can get 100 (acres) good land, best soil in the world for nothing.

35 6 January, 1880.

36 Many of whom were from Kent.

> Another thing, we have only taken tickets for Melbourne. And it will save about 40 guineas travelling expenses. So altogether we think it best to go with them. We could almost form a settlement together. Union is strength and these seem to be Christian people."[37]

Ettie's first impression of Melbourne was very favourable:

> "It seems impossible that we are away from England. Everything is just like England. The people dress just like the English ladies did last summer. They get their fashions from there, only they dress so good here, better than in England, more like Paris.[38] The streets here are wide and clean and beautiful trees some places. I never was in such a beautiful place in my life."[39]

When they arrived in Tasmania, they searched for a house and shop to buy. Evidently they could not afford to be out of work, and the men sought temporary employment, for example, operating thrashing machines for 6 shillings a day or 1 shilling an hour. This was only intended to carry them over until they got settled. As Annie wrote:

> "This seems a nice country for anyone who does not mind a little work and you want enough cash to carry you through the first year by rights, that is if you are going in the country. We are getting on first rate."[40]

The Thurstuns had planned on "going into the country" to farm together, using a 200 acre Government grant. Yet in December 1881 Albert was working in a store, though he had managed to buy a house. In Annie's diary of 1886 there are references to Albert being involved in tin mining,

37 6 January, 1880.

38 We do not know whether or not Ettie had ever been to Paris. However her comments about clothes suggest that she could afford to be fashion conscious, and therefore was not the wife of a labourer.

39 12 January, 1880.

40 January 1880.

and while his role is not clear, he did not have much success. Annie refers to him searching for work and describes how the year was a very hard one:

> "...Albert was very down hearted because the childrens boots were nearly worn out, and he could not get work to buy them. This has been a rather hard time for us. Many times at least our dinner has been potatoes and milk, porrage, and bread and butter for breakfast, but we must be thankful we had mercies, enjoyed good health, had not been without bread, butter and jam, tea, coffee or cocoa, in the house and usually meat once a week."[41]

Like Albert, John went to work in a store for 30 shillings a week,[42] but since Ettie's writing ends sooner than Annie's we only know that in 1881 she and John were still living in rented accommodation and looking around for land to farm (though neither she nor Annie were willing to go and live in the bush). Once more, the general impression created by the emigrants is one of initial optimism followed by a sense of unfulfilled aspirations.

Yet another emigrant who was not penniless on arrival in Australia was Robert Aveling, the son of a Rochester iron foundry and engineering works owner, who emigrated as a 24 year-old, single man in 1850. According to one of his descendants he went to South Australia as an agent for his father's business, as it was the practice of most engineers to send a man out to instruct the purchasers of his machines in their use. The Avelings were amongst the first to construct a self-propelled road engine, and the first to build steam rollers. Their engines came to be used in the Yudanmutana copper mines near Blinman after 1862.

Robert's journey on the 'Boyne' was not an uneventful one. The doctor's misconduct was so notorious that the

41 11 August, 1885. Australia was experiencing a depression at this time.

42 Ettie's letter, March 1880.

passengers, who were anxious for their "...moral and personal welfare",[43] drew up a petition which they presented to the captain. They stated that the doctor had "...had criminal intercourse with a respectable female passenger... he (had) been overheard using the most obscene language to the female passengers... that he (had) frequently been intoxicated... and... in the habit of carrying fire-arms about his person."[44] After an inquiry, to the relief of the passengers, the doctor was suspended.

A month after his arrival Robert got married; on his marriage certificate he described himself as a "sailor". On subsequent birth and death records he called himself a "civil engineer." Since Aveling engines were not imported into South Australia until 1862, it is likely that Robert came in 1850 not as his father's agent, but rather obtained this position later on in life. There were mining implements aboard the 'Boyne', but if they were Robert's it is unlikely that he would have described himself as a "sailor". Perhaps the rumour that he was the 'black sheep' of the family and was sent out to Australia in 'disgrace' is closer to the real explanation for his emigration. He and his wife returned to England on many occasions, and he died in Herne Bay, Kent, in 1896. An employee of the firm of Aveling-Barford, now in Grantham, (England), recalled a colleague talking about an "uncle" who had been banished to Australia and who "was never mentioned". However he did return "with pockets full of sovereigns with which he endeavoured to re-establish himself with his nephews."[45] Perhaps Robert never represented the Aveling firm in Australia; we shall never know since descendants do not willingly discuss what they view as the 'skeleton in their closet'.

43 Editorial, The South Australian Register, Monday, July 15th, 1850.

44 ibid.

45 Olive, E.A. Public Relations Officer, Aveling-Barford Ltd, 31st May, 1973. Letter to Mrs. V. McCann, Robert's descendant.

Amongst our emigrants we have two professional men, one who was a clerk, the other a solicitor. John Sharp joined the merchant service as a young boy, coming to New Zealand in the ship 'Ursula' as a clerk in 1843. Upon his arrival he was engaged as a surveyor with the New Zealand Company, and then moved on to become the clerk to the Superintendent and Resident Magistrate, then Registrar of the Supreme Court, Resident Magistrate and member of the Provincial Parliament. The reason for his leaving Kent is not known but his subsequent life, according to one New Zealand newspaper was:

> " ...a record for which it would be difficult to find a parallel... in every phase of public service Mr. Sharp took his part and always occupied a leading position, whether in the wider area of colonial politics, in municipal government, or the local institutions which have so important a bearing upon the life of a young community."[46]

Joseph Moulden emigrated from Eastry in 1850 to South Australia, for the sake of his wife's health. He was admitted to the legal profession in Australia on 22 March, 1851, but a few months later on 23rd January, 1852, he walked to Bendigo in Victoria (a distance of some 400 miles) to dig for gold. After he had dug up £1,000 worth of gold he returned to South Australia, built a house, and resumed his legal practice. In 1870 and 1875 he took his two sons into a partnership called Moulden and Sons.

The Moulden writings include notes describing the voyage, a lengthy letter to his nephew in England written in 1851, and another long letter written to his wife from the gold diggings in 1852. Joseph had gone to the diggings to earn enough money to enable him to buy a house. To

46 Obituary (newspaper unknown), 5 June, 1919.

his satisfaction he was extracting approximately half an ounce of gold a day. His personal living expenses he considered to be minimal - £2.0.0 a week. On the whole he was content with his life:

> "...I can assure you I never in my life suffered less from wet and cold than I have hitherto during the present winter. In fact the real inconveniences of this kind of life are so trivial..."[47]

Surprisingly, he made no adverse comments concerning the hard physical work involved in gold diggings which, as a solicitor, he was not likely to have experienced before:

> "...a hearty and somewhat comfortable Breakfast over we are off down... to our hole and I am fully employed in pulling up the rubbish from the well like excavations or in carrying washing stuff off to our tub and cradle which is placed as conveniently near as may be to the scene of operations this goes on till dinner/12 o'clock when we go to our tents and I am right glad to sit down for half an hour while we have our repast - back to our holes again till sunset - and then home to tea - after which boot greasing, Damper making, or mending clothes, fills up our evening..."[48]

Possibly Joseph, being quite well off, arranged his life at the diggings with the maximum of comfort, though there was little he could do to alter the nature of the work. Perhaps he made little of the hardships in order not to worry his wife, or perhaps life for him at the diggings was not unbearable. At the end of the day he did return with a substantial amount of money, and one cannot help wondering whether knowledge of the gold diggings, coupled with his wife's ill health, were not responsible for his departure from Kent. After all, if his only concern had

47 17 July, 1852.

48 ibid.

been that of health, why did he go to the diggings since he had been admitted to the legal profession in Australia?

Yet another non-labouring man to go to the diggings was the father of Ellen Carnell, who came with her parents as a six-year-old child to Victoria in 1849. In her journal she said that the family left Hadlow as a result of her mother's ill health, and Port Phillip was recommended as the most suitable place for her mother to live. This surprised her as "...what Doctors knew about Port Phillip at that time has often puzzled me since, when I think of it."[49] She found the departure rather traumatic:

> "May 3rd was one of the sadest days of my life. I thought my heart would break..."[50]

Unfortunately her mother was not happy with her new home. Coming from a comfortable background where she was used to attending balls at the homes of the local gentry in Kent, she was distressed at not being able to get a servant, and was not impressed by the Station purchased by her husband:

> "Poor mother quite upset to find what a rough place it was and deeply regretted ever leaving England, but after a time we liked it but Mother never did."[51]

It is interesting to discover that as a child, Ellen noticed the tensions present in Australian society. For example, those caused by what she called "bigoted ignorant Roman Catholics",[52] the wild bushmen, violence, cattle stealing and robbery generally. She believed that many people were frightened of the aborigines - the "blacks". Of the occasion when a neighbour lost a three year old

49 March, 1849; she attributes the date to a particular event in retrospect, as the journal was written much later in the years 1900-09.

50 3 May, 1849.

51 December, 1849.

52 December, 1849.

boy in 1849 she wrote: "It was supposed the Blacks killed him and ate him."[53] Her own family experienced no trouble with "blacks":

> "The Blacks came round in great numbers at times, but they were never troublesome to us. Uncle Tom[54] used to talk to them in their own language. Poor things they were so pleased they had on old blankets, opossum rugs. The babys were such funny looking little things...Uncle told mother if they ever did come to the house to take a shovel of embers and go towards them and they would run away."[55]

In 1851 her father decided to sell his cattle and go to the gold diggings, leaving his family in Melbourne, a decision appreciated by her mother who was glad "...to get back to civilization again." He did quite well at the diggings; for example, he took 14 pounds of gold from one hole in 1852. He also started a general store, "...but as he would not sell sly grog or open the store on Sundays, he did not do very well."[56] In fact the Carnell's lives were filled with the constant repetition of disaster: gold or money being stolen, children dying from various epidemics (such as scarlet fever), or fire:

> "Black Thursday. The air was like the blast of the furnace. The sky looked like molten copper. The birds dropped dead from the trees... although I was young I shall never forget the intense anxiety when night came. Fire seemed all round us but the wind dropped... We were able to go to bed altho it was fearfully hot but thankful we still had our house."[57]

53 ibid.

54 "Uncle Tom" was Ellen's mother's brother who had also emigrated.

55 December, 1849.

56 December, 1852.

57 February, 1851.

Illness would break out amongst the cattle, or the crops would be flooded by torrential rain. She commented that "The farmers life at this time was a hard one."[58]

In the latter part of her journal Ellen concentrates on narrating family history and discussing politics, for example, the enfranchisement of women in Australia. She makes no comment at the conclusion of the journal concerning her general feelings regarding Australian life and how, in her memory,[59] it compared to Kent. Apart from the one comment she makes about her mother never being happy in Australia she gives no indication about the fortunes of the family. However, as there is no mention of financial hardships (as opposed to all the other hardships) we can assume that the family remained comfortably off. Nevertheless, the shock which her mother suffered by changing her role to that of a farmer's wife in Australia must have been considerable.

Peter Harrisson was also a man of means, and a 'gentleman', who left Sandwich for Tasmania (then Van Diemen's Land) in 1822. In his journal,[60] an extensive and therefore rare historical document, he declared his motives for the move to have been purely financial. This is made clear throughout the journal. He had a great awareness of costs and the profitability of certain ventures. For example, during the ship's stopover at Cork he purchased some glass because it could bring him 150% profit in Australia. He was also keen to point out that a gentleman such as himself travelled as a steerage passenger only "...from motives of economy (to save my money till my arrival here) and I find the £50 saved of great value to me."[61]

58 1862.

59 Or rather her parents' memory since she left Kent when she was six years old.

60 written in 1822 in the form of a long letter to a relative in England who was contemplating emigration to Tasmania. This relative was also a gentleman, a 2nd Lieutenant, 8th Company of Marines. Harrisson had also been in the armed forces at some point in his life.

61 See Chapter 6, p. 330.

The reason why he chose to settle in Tasmania as opposed to the Australian mainland was, in true Harrisson fashion, the profitability of the former colony:

> "There are very good reasons that the tide of emigration should flow to this place, stronger than toward the parent colony... the climate is more congenial... (and therefore) all European fruits and vegetables attain a higher degree of perfection... natural grasses are much better for stock... our grain and cattle attain much greater weight."[62]

Once in Tasmania he obtained 1,500 acres of land and spent £500 on agricultural implements, animals and crops. While he was personally satisfied with his investment, he recognised that many emigrants would be disillusioned with the country:

> "As soon as a settler arrives at Ven Diemen's Land full of hope and expectation, he begins to make enquiry about the soil and is anxious to know in what direction he is to seek his earthly paradise that he was travelled so many thousands of miles to gain, but the first impressions he receives usually cast a damper on his spirits, as he finds he has more to encounter before he can get fixed upon his estate, or get any comforts around him that he had expected, and were it not for the great distance and expense many would return disheartened... (but) when they have once embarked their little capital in stock etc., many anticipated difficulties vanish, and although numerous others arise, still by perseverance they are overcome, and a little time reconciles you to every privation."[63]

One such privation identified by Peter Harrisson was the problem of finding a wife. He described the Tasmanian women in far from flattering language, which nevertheless has its amusing aspect:

> "...as to getting a wife in this country, it is impossible. The few women that are sent here are because they are too bad to be kept in England, and they don't improve here even to be fit for servants, and most of the

62 ibid.

63 ibid.

> respectable settlers who have families prefer using one of the convicts for all domestic employments, in preference to such characters, and when they are used to the employ, they are more generally useful than women, particularly when there is a large diary of cows."[64]

Although in his eyes a convict was a suitable substitute for a wife, he had to acknowledge that there were also problems with these persons:

> "...it is useless to take anything into the bush that is worth your convicts stealing, and the only way to keep them housed is to have nothing but a pewter plate, knife fork and mug for each man and the same for yourself..."[65]

Overall, things worked out well for Peter and in conclusion he gave his relative the following advice:

> "I do not regret having crossed the Atlantic... I do not advise anyone who can get a living in Old England to leave it, and those who can get half a living, I should advise to hesitate ere facing the privations of the new colony, but to those who are sinking their property without prospect of regaining it in England, and can get sufficient money together, say £800, I should advise to bring it here..."[66]

In her work on English and Scottish Immigration to nineteenth century America Erickson has pointed to how government documents and other impersonal material may have given us a distorted picture of British emigration. Emigrant letters become valuable as a counter-balance to these partly in the knowledge they supply of "...the impact of the experience (of migration) upon the migrant himself."[67] No doubt there is a strong case for allowing

64 ibid.

65 ibid.

66 ibid.

67 Erickson, C.J. Invisible Immigrants, op. cit., p.2.

participants in historical situations a voice and an opportunity to contribute to the writing of their history. In fact an examination of these letters, journals, diaries and emigrant case histories reveals that these persons developed an awareness of the experiment in which they were participating. Ellen Carnell was one such emigrant who saw history being created:

> "I remember the separation of this colony which was then called Port Phillip but then separated was the Colony of Victoria. There was a weeks rejoicing... and I have lived to see 6 of the Colonies Federate, Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland."[68]

Unfortunately the extent to which it is possible to collect impressions from a period more distant than the Edwardian is very limited. The immigrant records and impressions which have been used are invariably both highly fragmentary in character and by definition unrepresentative. Erickson raises the following points concerning such writers:

> "Any sample of immigrant letters places undue emphasis upon people who failed as immigrants, and upon those who did not break their ties with the homeland. Letters will under-represent orphans, for example, and whole families who emigrated at the same time, as well as others who had no desire to retain ties with their former homes. It need hardly be said that illiterate emigrants, or those who could read but not write, will not be represented. This is one reason for believing that the poorest emigrants, those who may have emigrated for the most straightforward economic reasons, will not be found among letter writers."[69]

Fortunately, using diaries, journals as well as letters, we have material pertaining both to labourers and more affluent emigrants, and we see that the comparatively

68 Ellen Carnell's diary.

69 Erickson, C.J. op.cit. p.6.

wealthy could also have economic motives for leaving Kent. In Ellen Carnell's diary we have a document not written for the benefit of the 'folks back home', and so perhaps a very frank exposition of her feelings and experiences.

Generally the recollections of these Kentish emigrants show that:-

(a) few emigrants had any more than a superficial knowledge of conditions in the colonies, perhaps only that provided by enticing advertisements (Peter Harrisson is a marked exception to this);[70]

(b) uncertainties abounded and security could be hard to come by;[71]

(c) the results of immigration were often not commensurate with their expectations, and, even with the more successful, did not necessarily breed contentment.

In the final analysis, the fragmentary records surveyed here lack any significant 'scientific' value - but they are far from being devoid of human interest.

70 See Chapter 6; evidently we cannot evaluate the beneficial aspects of emigration purely from such data. Better wages may explain why people emigrated to the colonies but are no indication of their subsequent fortunes.

71 Arnold, R. op.cit., suggests that immigrants of means did badly because they did not investigate before investing, and because they were not used to hard physical work (p.267).

CONCLUSION

When the nineteenth century ended, one observer of the changes occurring in the rural world over the course of the preceding years wrote:

> "If there was formerly any parochial sentiment in the village, any sense of community of interest, it has all been broken up by the exigencies of competitive wage-earning, and each family stands by itself, aloof from all the others. The interests clash. Men who might be helpful friends in other circumstances are in the position of rival tradesmen competing for the patronage of customers. Not now may their labour be a bond of friendship between them; it is a commodity with a market value, to be sold in the market. Hence, just as in trade, every man for himself is the rule with the villagers; just as in trade, the misfortune of one is the opportunity of another. All the maxims of competitive commerce apply fully to the vendor of his own labour. There must be "no friendship in business"; the weakest must go to the wall. Each man is an individualist fighting for his own hand; and to give as little as he can for as much as he can get is good policy for him, with precisely the same limitations as those that govern the trading of the retail merchant, tormented with the conflicting necessities of overcharging and underselling."1

The quotation from Sturt conveys the gradual and inexorable process of change in rural society, for contrary to popular belief, life in rural England was not static. The rural social structure was slowly being redefined, craftsmen and small holders were disappearing; those who were the "...depositaries of the village

1 Sturt, G. (pseudonym Bourne, G.) Change in the Village. 1912, The Reader's Library, Duckworth & Co, 1920 edition, pp.146-47.

traditions,"[2] were abandoning their villages. Indeed, just as the social structure was in a state of transition, so too was the population, with migration playing a crucial role in the new life-style adopted by the villagers. There was a great turnover of population which saw some workers leaving for other rural areas, and others for urban and industrial destinations. Hunt writes that although the volume of migration prior to 1840 is uncertain, there is evidence which allows a certain amount of generalisation, namely the rejection of the notion that "...labour was generally immobile in the second half of the nineteenth century. Migration rates then were greater than those of the eighteenth or early-nineteenth century..."[3] He attributed the increase in mobility to changes in the poor law, in attitudes to emigration, in industrial location, and in transport. For example, the concentration of industry in specific parts of the country served to maintain regional wage variations, by increasing the demand for labour in a few districts. Consequently non-industrial areas, with their expanding labour supply were left with a 'surplus' which was encouraged to move. While the majority of such movement was still over short distances, the railways increasingly encouraged long distance migration. According to Hunt, rising mobility between 1830 and 1860 was due in part to the fact that "...an increasing proportion of children attended school for long enough to have their expectations significantly raised and to learn something of opportunities elsewhere."[4] While not all the turnover of population can be explained by economic factors, statistics for net migration present a clear picture of population flows towards higher wage areas and areas with greater employment opportunities.

2 Hardy, T. Tess of the d'Urbervilles. 1891, Macmillan, 1971 edition, p.395.

3 Hunt, E.H. 1973, p.265.

4 Hunt, E.H. 1981, p.151.

This thesis has explored a neglected aspect of English socio-economic history, namely the rural community in transition in mid-nineteenth century, with special emphasis on the transiency of the population. The southern agricultural county of Kent was selected for the study, and Brenchley, a parish located within the reputedly pauperised Weald of Kent, received analysis at the micro-level. The detailed examination of a single parish not only facilitated the reconstruction of rural life which is unmanageable at a county level, but also served an important theoretical function, for only by going from the general to the particular can the historian assess theories about social development in a historical context.

This study has been concerned with investigating the relationship between economic and demographic change, and, more specifically, with the rural labour market and migration. It has entailed the exploration of a number of aspects of the rural social structure at an advanced state of capitalist development, including the primary determinants of population mobility, the complementarity of the needs of sending and receiving districts and the roles played by internal and international migration. It has also sought to show the value of integrating qualitative and quantitative sources in a way which is frequently recommended but seldom practised by historians schooled in different styles of historical research. Furthermore, the thesis attempted to transcend the numerous intellectual boundary lines which not only divide social science subjects one from another, and from History, but which abound in the form of specialist sub-fields within History itself.

Initially, the preparation of this thesis took the form of an examination of pertinent literature, both contemporary and modern. This centred on three themes:-

Firstly, distress among the rural poor, with special reference to the debate on surplus population which ran at its height in 1815-33 before the PLAA, but was not

silenced for years afterwards. The origins of 'surplus population' (especially the rural 'surplus'), and its possible cure were the subject of dispute between Malthus and his opponents. Malthus, for his part, preached the pessimistic gospel of the power of population to outstrip the capacity of the earth to produce sufficient means of subsistence. Some of his opponents argued that increased food production or good government would prevent any imbalance between population and the means of subsistence; others denied the existence of any such 'surplus' altogether. Malthus's principal remedy for excess population were his "preventive" checks, yet a vociferous lobby urged emigration as the cure not only for redundant hands at home, but also for the corresponding shortage in the British colonies.

Secondly, the more modern debate has been set within the framework of the role of population in industrialisation. The literature which has emerged on the subject has approached the relationship between economic and demographic change through the exploration of issues such as whether population growth produced industrialisation or vice versa; how were alterations in mortality, nuptiality and fertility related to changing economic circumstances. Like their predecessors, modern students have failed to achieve a consensus on these issues though the most recent work suggests that economic processes clearly affected nuptiality and fertility. One further aspect of the relationship between economic and demographic change which has been explored, and the one central to this thesis, is the effect of changing economic circumstances on population movement. The subject of migration has traditionally been divided into that of internal and international migration. Agricultural historians have observed how the very nature of the rural and urban labour market necessitated internal, seasonal movement. There was seasonal migration from rural to rural and rural to urban areas during the course of the year,

with a temporary exodus from the towns of the country in the summer. Another form of internal migration of a more permanent nature consisted of a drift from the countryside to the towns, as rural workers were 'pushed' out by the comparatively meagre diet, housing, wages and employment opportunities in the villages. There was also a substantial flow of population overseas to the British colonies and the USA where rural and urban workers believed (more often than not correctly) that they would gain an improvement in living standards.

Thirdly, studies of conditions in nineteenth century rural England and the colonies have shown how the continued advancement of agrarian capitalism served to further polarise the rural social structure by threatening the existence of the small farmer, how it undermined the livelihood of the agricultural labourer, precipitated the extinction of the farm servant, and produced large scale unemployment. Here again there is a lack of consensus amongst historians and many have argued that industrial and agrarian capitalism did not produce a deterioration of workers' living standards and that in fact there were labour shortages in the countryside after mid-century, the new cry of 'rural depopulation'. According to this view, it was the shortage of labour which hastened the introduction of machinery, rather than the introduction of machinery which displaced labour.

The applicability of these perspectives to rural social structure and transiency in the county of Kent was examined and, due to the much wider data sources which became available from the mid 1830s, it was decided to concentrate upon this period. The distribution of the population, population growth, net gains/losses by migration, natural increase for each RD was examined, alongside the nature and location of jobs. This revealed a coincidence of economic and demographic boundaries: the north and eastern RDs of Kent, which were the heart of Kentish industry, experienced population growth and the most substantial gains of

population by net migration. In contrast, the south and eastern areas of Kent, and especially the Kentish Weald, had very little industry, agriculture being the mainstay of their economy. In these areas population grew more slowly (if at all), for they were more likely to be losing population by net migration. The buoyancy of the labour market was gauged by an examination of statistics for poor relief. Again a geographical divide became apparent, in which areas with a high percentage of the adult population engaged in industrial pursuits had the lowest outlay on expenditure. Poverty was not spreading in the county though the persistence of high poor relief levels in agricultural areas suggests the continued presence of a labour surplus. Although the relationship between demographic and economic change is very complex, the data for Kent pointed to a regional divide in demographic and economic terms: there were factors at work in industrialised northern and eastern Kent which promoted population growth. Gains by net migration contributed to this growth as these areas attracted labour from other, presumably agricultural, areas.

It was far easier to explore the relationship between areas sending and receiving labour by examining all Kentish persons in the wider labour market, that is, in the other counties of England and Wales and the colonies. Although Kent was a gainer of population by net migration, many of the Kentish-born were found in an increasing percentage in the other counties of England and Wales. As was the case with the Brenchley-born, the Kentish-born also tended to move over short-distances: the percentage of Kentish-born migrants in other counties decreased as distance from Kent increased; the majority were in intra-metropolitan Middlesex and Surrey. However, here again, distance per se was not the crucial factor in determining movement: a disproportionate percentage of the Kentish-born were found in Lancashire and Yorkshire. There was also the prospect of steadier employment for all members of the family, a better diet

and leisure facilities. The same would apply to other occupational groups which could better themselves by a move to London or the north.

The fact that most migrants travelled short distances made it inevitable that Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex, all popular destinations for the Kentish-born, should also make substantial contributions to Kent's population. However, these 'foreigners' gravitated towards the northern and eastern industrial areas, not the comparatively pauperised rural areas of the south and east. These latter districts attracted labour on a more seasonal basis, during the fruit and hop-picking months. When the exchange of population between Kent and the other counties was examined, an even clearer picture of the relationship between Kent and the various counties emerged. Kent was gaining population from the majority of the counties, especially the agricultural counties of Somerset, Huntingdonshire, Herefordshire and Westmorland, and losing on balance particularly to Lancashire, Surrey, Middlesex, Yorkshire and Wales, all of which offered industrial employment.

On the county level it was only possible to identify the general characteristics of the economy. Therefore in order to examine more closely the interplay of economic and demographic factors, Brenchley was examined in great detail. Using four manuscript censuses for 1841, 1851, 1861 and 1871, and other local sources such as the Tithe Award, we were able to identify with greater precision the nature of, and changes in, Brenchley's economy. An examination of landownership and landholding revealed that land was owned by a few persons. There was during the period a decline of the under 100 acre holder while the over 100 acre farmer increased as a percentage of all heads of house occupying land. Furthermore an increasing proportion of the parish was covered by land holdings of over 100 acres. Clearly the consolidation of land into larger (if not necessarily large) units was still in progress. The implications of changes in landownership and landholding

were that the parish's social structure became increasingly polarised; the labourer's chances of becoming a small holder decreased; there was no allotment system to act as compensation for this loss; and the ratio of agricultural labourers to farmers increased.

The agricultural workers were under further pressure because of the lack of alternative employment in the parish, or opportunity for social mobility. Living-in continued to decline (for all employees, not just those hired by farmers), so too did payment in kind, and shorter hiring periods were introduced: all these changes were prompted by economic considerations. In comparison with England and Wales, and Kent, Brenchley's farmers employed an above average number of men, but although the numbers of agricultural labourers increased substantially according to the census returns, the employers' returns indicate that employment was increasing, less for men than for boys. However, Brenchley's wages matched the Kent average which was not low. For those in regular employment this wage level was clearly beneficial, but with the spread of daily or weekly hiring arrangements to more and more farm workers, the labourers had no guarantee of receiving any wage. Naturally there were bad years when the demand on the poor rates was high, and Brenchley's level of expenditure exceeded the county average. However expenditure on real relief fell from the 1830s and showed little fluctuation thereafter. Despite this, the authorities frequently showed concern over the position of the agricultural labourer; there was no corresponding reference to other workers. We can speculate that the position of the agricultural labourer explains the high level of relief expenditure in Brenchley.

Thus, a picture emerged of a parish in which a majority of the population were in a vulnerable position. How did the workforce react to the changes occurring within their community? In terms of net migration, (until the last decade studied), Brenchley was a loser of population, like so many rural parts of England and Wales. Persons

coming into the parish were overwhelmingly short-distance migrants, usually originating from neighbouring parishes. We are here confronted with the question regarding the relationship between areas sending and receiving labour. While some came for a temporary visit to participate in the fruit and hop harvest, the fact that Brenchley had, on balance, more characteristics of an 'open' than a 'close' parish, (while some of its neighbours appeared to be more 'close' than 'open'), would have encouraged settlement in the parish. Many must have come because even Brenchley offered greater opportunities than their 'home' rural area. The turnover of population in the parish itself was brisk: almost two-thirds of the population disappeared between one census and the next, and a similar percentage changed their address within the parish itself. Those who moved within the parish exhibited no upward mobility, reinforcing the picture of inertia. Consequently the only means of upward mobility was through migration.

When the characteristics of the 'persisters' and 'migrants' were examined, it became apparent that the Brenchley-born were the most persistent, with persistency decreasing as the distance of the migrant's parish of birth increased. However, birthplace per se exerted no independent influence on persistency. A survey of the occupational characteristics of the persisters and migrants revealed clear groupings: the 'persisters' were predominantly Brenchley-born or from close by and tended to be of the labouring class, while the 'migrants' were largely those originating from further afield and tended to be professional persons. It appeared that separate labour markets were operating: areas sending the most persistent in-migrants were of a similar economic structure to Brenchley (that is, agricultural parishes), while persons who were less persistent came from further afield and from a variety of settlement types. Even when labourers and

professionals originating from the same parish were examined, the labourers were more persistent. Thus, movement was defined more by occupational characteristics than by geographical boundaries. Furthermore, occupation overrode other variables such as age and marital status. We would have expected persistency to increase with age, but young agricultural labourers did not have the lowest persistency rate of all the age groups, and in the period 1861-71 their persistency actually increased. Similarly, single marital status (usually associated with a high degree of mobility) did not produce this effect in the case of single agricultural labourers.

Accordingly, occupation emerged strongly as the most important factor in determining mobility: persistency was consistently higher amongst agricultural workers, farmers and tradesmen, and lowest amongst professional, domestic and commercial persons. The nature of their work made commercial persons very mobile, those in domestic service were aware of better opportunities in the towns, while professionals would have found little scope for their work in a place such as Brenchley. So in effect, the most disadvantaged stayed behind. Craftsmen in all rural areas were experiencing competition from the towns and we might therefore have expected them to be mobile, yet the security of their (and other tradesmen's) businesses depended on establishing and maintaining contact with the parishioners. Similarly, farmers were tied to Brenchley by their land. Amongst farmers, persistency varied with the size of holding, the least mobile being those with the largest acreages. There is a strong implication that the small farmers who were being forced out by the consolidation of holdings, left the parish. While the persistency of agricultural labourers must not be exaggerated, (after all, two-thirds were migrants), nevertheless they remained the least mobile of all occupational groups and the only one whose persistency increased (albeit fractionally) between 1861-71.

It is initially difficult to comprehend the persistency of agricultural labourers as, of all the occupational groups,

they seemed to have the most to gain from a move. Yet when we examine their options more closely, any move for the sake of economic betterment necessitated a long journey to either a northern rural or industrial area, or to London. Such a move could be costly, they would lose any tied cottage in their possession, and having left, they might be forced to return if they became unemployed and chargeable on the poor rates. Perhaps they did not relish the thought of changing their occupation and therefore viewed the prospect of moving to a town with mixed feelings. It has become clear that migrants were affected by opportunities in both their place of origin and destination. For example, domestic servants knew about the better opportunities in towns, which would be more certain, no doubt, than the prospects of a labourer uprooted from a Kentish parish. The actual tracing of Brenchley's out-migrants is extremely difficult, though the limited sources available indicated that most travelled only a short-distance or to London.

There was clearly a substantial economic element in the decisions made by the migrants moving to and from Brenchley and Kent. This internal movement spilled over-seas: just as the rural surplus served in the early nineteenth century to build up the urban centres (though they also grew as a result of natural increase), so too the Kentish authorities need to rid themselves of their surplus complemented the need for such workers in the colonies. Governmental agencies such as the CLECs and the PLCs assisted the removal of the rural surplus to the colonies, in one move seeking to build up the Empire and avert unrest at home. The Colonial Governments themselves made great efforts to attract to their respective colonies the types of workers they required, usually agricultural labourers and craftsmen. However it must be noted that these assisted emigrants were definitely a minority, most emigrants moving independently.

While the characteristics of the proposed emigrants

inevitably reflected to some degree the policies of the organisers, the source of emigrants was never specified. It was therefore very interesting to find that the area in Kent supplying the majority of emigrants for the CLECs was the Weald of Kent. Moreover, the numbers of applicants for the CLECs, PLCs and the New Zealand Company's schemes peaked during bad years at home which usually coincided with the loudest call for labour by the colonies. Most applications came from agricultural labourers, followed by a variety of craftsmen, and amongst the women, domestic servants.

We have already identified the 'push' factors in operation in Kent. What was the 'pull' of the colonies? In terms of wages and prices there was little difference between Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Wages were higher than in Kent, and although the cost of provisions fluctuated, there was a tendency for food to be cheaper and manufactured goods to be more expensive. On the whole, emigrants achieved a higher standard of living in a more egalitarian society.

Yet the emphasis on the interplay of 'push' and 'pull' factors should not be allowed to submerge the personal motives which were involved in the decision to leave Kent. It is easy to fall into the trap of treating people as 'calculating' beings responding mechanically to economic forces. Since personal documentation relating to internal migrants could not be found, this aspect of population movement had necessarily to be explored in the context of overseas movement. No claim is made for the representativeness of the letter writers but they do make a valuable contribution to our understanding of emigration. In particular, being first-hand accounts of the emigrants' experiences in their new homelands, they are an integral part of a comprehensive picture of the emigration process, and incidentally, correct the impression often given by official accounts that emigrants invariably bettered themselves. In this manner, the letter writers serve to demonstrate that the use of quantitative sources like the

census, should be complemented by qualitative sources; the historian who has mastered the computer must also be able to master the statistics it generates and write a history of real people.

This study has argued that occupational differentials played the most crucial role in determining movement, and that the volume of migration fluctuated with employment opportunities in the migrants' place of origin and that of their destination. It is suggested, therefore, that in order to understand the rural social structure, the labour market, and in this case the demographic behaviour of the population, the historian must first study the economic organisation of a particular community, where every aspect of the parishioners' employment can be explored. Migrants' motivations for moving became clearer when they were traced either to the place where they had come from, or to where they were going. The respective opportunities could then be compared and evaluated.

In the course of the research several points of interest emerged for future researchers in this area. First of all, the line of research followed in this thesis raised a number of problems, some of which could perhaps have been foreseen. A major difficulty was the range of disciplines involved in the research. Such diverse fields of historical inquiry as agricultural, economic, social, demographic and colonial history were fundamental to the thesis, and expertise in all of them was required. It is impossible for an individual to acquire such a breadth of expertise; one can only hope that a sufficient level of proficiency has been attained. In contrast, collective and intra-disciplinary research between historians with diverse specialisms would provide an effective basis for a comprehensive inquiry into the effect of agrarian capitalism on the rural sector of the economy. In scientific research such group studies have long been an accepted practice; in history, they are not a common occurrence at this level. The need for collaboration in studies of this kind is reinforced by the nature of the

many tasks that comprise them. The search for personal and other detailed documentation with which to complement official sources was a time-consuming one especially as it expanded into the international arena, and was one for which there was no guarantee of reward. Additionally, the coding and analysis of the census data was a painstaking and lengthy undertaking.

In this thesis, the limitation of working individually meant that I was unable to investigate a number of factors that were logically demanded by the research task. In particular the destinations of Brenchley's internal migrants and the origins of Brenchley's in-migrants were far from fully established. Further difficulties raised by studies such as this stem from their reliance on the sophisticated computer techniques necessary to analyse the census and other quantitative data. For the historian initially ignorant of these techniques, it is not easy to establish a rapport with computer programmers, to inform them of the particular problems encountered by historians and be informed by them of their methods and concerns. Nor does the blame lie with the programmers; historians have only relatively recently begun to engage in the sophisticated numerical analysis that requires complex computer programming. Consequently those who venture into the Computer Centre may encounter a barrage of incomprehensible computer jargon, which will diminish only as contact and mutual understanding between programmers and historians grows. Furthermore, popular computer packages are not designed for historical research. For example, although SPSS is ideal for the analysis of survey data and adequate for the identification of the characteristics of a given parish, it does not deal with individuals. Consequently, a special and unique Fortran programme had to be written to cope with the census linkage. Fortunately the subject of the thesis appealed to a scientist who was willing to spend many hours learning about population turnover in the nineteenth century and how this could be measured. Only because of this was the Fortran Match Programme written. Such matters should not

be left to chance. Now that historians are increasingly working at a micro-level, they are more frequently encountering data such as the census, and more often finding themselves in need of the computer to pursue their inquiry. In the short term, appropriate help should be available either in History Departments or Computer Centres, and in the longer term training all students of history in the use of the computer might be a goal towards which we should aim.

In the light of the above, what course should future research projects in this area follow? A number of proposals, each wider than the one before and building upon it can be suggested. In Brenchley, as in most community based studies, emigrants disappear to destinations unknown - a problem in North American as well as British studies - inducing bias since the 'persisters' are more readily studied.

The prospects of similar studies 'in reverse', are particularly intriguing. For example, it might be possible to start with immigrants from Kent (or Dorset etc.) resident in London to form a base population whose places of origin might then be traced and mapped in detail. Such an exercise might draw attention to concentrations of immigrants from particular communities and be followed up by intensive work on the relevant parochial records to bring out the 'push' factors involved. Or, it might bring out the importance of particular road or railway links. Likewise, one can envisage a study of Kent-born persons in, say, Lancashire, which might be a more practicable task in view of the smaller numbers involved. As we have seen, there is little reason to suppose that the Kent-born in that county would have been found in the Lancashire agricultural labour force. On the contrary, the frequently observed relationship between long-distance internal migration and high social status might lead one to expect a concentration of Kent-born persons in the Lancashire commercial, entrepreneurnal or professional classes. Traced back to their origins and fathers'

occupations, a flood of light might be thrown on the extent to which long-distance movements were associated with 'betterment' migration and social mobility.

These are, of course, ambitious suggestions. At a more local level, there is much to be said for analysing population turnover in neighbouring parishes. In the context of the present thesis there is no doubt that more could have been made of the relationships between Brenchley and its neighbouring parishes, particularly its close links with the developing spa town of Tunbridge Wells. Had Brenchley been the main focus of this thesis, a more extensive trawl for migrants throughout East Sussex and western and northern Kent would undoubtedly have been justified. However, choices have to be made and in this case it was decided to pursue a variety of related migratory flows all of which, in their different ways, throw light on the workings of the mid-nineteenth century labour market. Furthermore with its clearly defined methodology this thesis has made it possible for others to produce work which can be compared without the usual reservations regarding incompatible methodology. Therefore the duplication of this type of study would also produce a more comprehensive picture of population movement in any particular area.

As we have seen, in the nineteenth century the physical redistribution of the population was seen as the panacea for the problem of surplus population and in general it cannot be denied that both internal and external migration did serve to alleviate poverty. However, "shovelling out paupers" was not the whole of the answer because there are many factors contributing to human adversity. For example, sickness, infirmity, old age, make it impossible for numerous individuals to improve their prospects by migration while others cannot improve their lot due to ignorance or the weight of dependents. These latter factors severely inhibit even the fit from responding

to disparities in economic opportunities in the way economic theory would predict. This was true in the past for impoverished labourers and it is as true today as ever it was, and it is a matter for regret that those concerned with steering social policy seem to have so little regard for the lessons of the past. We must examine closely, as we did in Brenchley, why such a 'surplus' came into being and why it persists. At a time when over three million people are unemployed, "getting on your bike" is not the ultimate solution to the problem of 'surplus labour'.

APPENDICES

1. Fortran Match Programme.

For a copy of the programme see enclosed print-out.

* * *

Files (censuses) had to be matched using variables which would not change over time, and which had been recorded regularly and reliably.

(1) Source: This variable must obviously be different for any matched pair as we are tracing individuals from one census to the next (otherwise we may be attempting to link people within the same census).

(2) Sex: Of all the variables recorded by the census, that of 'sex' is subject to least debate being a variable which cannot change for any one individual. Respondents could not plead ignorance of their sex, nor would they have had cause to report it falsely. Accordingly it was essential that the sex variable contained within any two records being considered for a match be identical.

(3) Age: All researchers working with record linkage point to the perils involved in using age data for matching individuals from different censuses. Individuals may not know their age, or they may have cause to falsify it. The census itself was not necessarily compiled exactly ten years after the preceding census, and so a person's age could legitimately increase from between 9-11 years. Katz[1] found that of all his 'truly linked' pairs, only 25% had an age on the second census exactly 10 years greater than that on the first. Most linked pairs had an age which was either five years above or below the expected figure.

Unfortunately, due to the method of coding adopted at the beginning of this thesis, an even wider range for age had to be allowed. Ages had been coded in groups of five years, for example, all those aged 0-5 received the same age code. So in order to facilitate linkage, age categories wide enough to include an increase in age for all those in the 0-5 age group had to be written into the programme. So conditions for a match would be met if, for example, a child coded 0-5 on the first census, was coded 6-10, 11-15 or 16-20 on the second census.

1 Katz, M. 1975.

(4) Marital Status: This variable was only evaluated by Katz in relation to females. However as the marital status of all persons was recorded regularly, and as it was a piece of information which would be known by all (unlike age), it was included as an essential condition, As marital status could change in one of three possible directions - single to married, married to widowed, and widowed to married - the programme allowed for one of these changes to occur between the taking of the first and second census without disqualifying any pair of records being matched.

(5) Name: Except in the case of married women, surnames were not subject to changes over time, while the initial of the first name would never change for either sex. Katz found that surname compressed by Soundex matched exactly for 91.9% of his truly linked pairs, while the initial matched exactly for 89.1%. The surnames of all Brenchleyites had been coded using Soundex, to which a code was added to represent the initial of the first name. The reliability of the initial was never in doubt as the enumerators always wrote out the first name of any individual in full. The only pitfall lay in the possibility of individuals reporting their first name differently from census to census, for example, William John could well become John William. Although there was no solution to this problem, the loss of women through marriage was minimised by a subsequent search through Brenchley's marriage registers. Consequently 'name' was considered to be an essential condition for a match. It should be noted that designating 'name' as an essential condition greatly facilitated the linkage programme.

(6) County of Birth: Katz's project dealt with a different population to that found in Brenchley and so his observations were of varying application to this project. Birthplace was not only an unchanging factor, but was regularly recorded giving details of both parish and county of birth (except in the 1841 census). Boundary changes were Katz's greatest problem, as an immigrant might report him/herself as being born in 'Bavaria' on one census, and then 'Germany' on the next. This problem was not applicable to the Brenchley data, especially when the accuracy of the information could always be checked against the information relating to 'parish of birth'.

Thus variables 1-6 were deemed to be 'essential conditions' for a match. Variables selected as 'non-essential' conditions (7-10 below) were those potentially subject to change over time. It was decided to make use of these by means of a scoring system whereby points were added for agreement and subtracted for disagreement. Variables which Katz found to have a high percentage of agreement were given an average plus score, but a heavy penalty in the event of disagreement. Variables with a low

percentage of agreement were scored highly if agreement was found, and penalised lightly if disagreement was found. Out of a possible maximum score of +17, or a minimum score of -13, a score of +2 was deemed the minimum for a match. (For Katz the comparable scores were +25 and -29, and a score of +4 was deemed sufficient for a match).

(7) Place of residence in the parish: Little is known about the movement within English parishes. Again referring to the work of Katz, we find that of all truly linked pairs, 95.2% had their wards matching exactly on two censuses. Our data relate to a smaller unit than a ward but units such as hamlets can be seen as the rural equivalent to an urban ward. Consequently Katz's scores for this variable were adopted.

(8) Trade: This variable proved a difficult one to evaluate. Katz found that of all his truly linked pairs only 56.7% shared the same occupation on two census. However, he found that if synonymous occupations also qualified for a plus score, the percentage rose to 92. In the coding of the Brenchley data this problem was kept in mind, and synonymous occupations were given the same code. For example, carrier/carter/waggoner, or teacher/schoolmistress/governess/lecturer.

When the age of a person at the time of the first census was 15 and under, an exact match at the next census was highly unlikely, as these young people would have been entering the labour market in the inter-censal period. Consequently their code on the first census might have been that of 'child no stated occupation', or 'scholar', while on the second census they may have been described by one of a large number of trades. So a person recorded as 'scholar' on the first census may well have been a 'grocer' on the second, or 'woman no stated occupation'. With this factor written into the programme, the 'trade' variable was considered to be a very reliable one, especially given the limited employment opportunities in a parish like Brenchley where half of the male labour force were agricultural labourers.

It could be argued that true links were missed by 'woman no stated occupation' becoming, for example, a 'laundress'. However, had we included in the programme a provision for 'woman no stated occupation' to change to any other occupation this would have made the linkage too wide. The risk of error was not worth taking since only 17% of all adult women in Brenchley were gainfully employed.

(9) and (10) Parish and Union of Birth: 'Parish of birth' was a question put by the enumerators (and answers were received for 97.7% of the population), information regarding the 'union of birth' was inferred from the 'parish of birth' and inserted at the time of coding. It was included to allow future analysis of geographical units larger than the parish. It could be argued that as the 'union of birth' variable was not an original question, it should not have been included at all. However, a case can be made to the contrary. The 'parish of birth' variable was subject to a problem not dissimilar to

that found by Katz when utilising birthplace statistics. It was possible that an individual could record his/her village of birth on one census, and the nearest town on the next. The advantage of using the 'union' variable lay here. It was highly possible that such a village, parish or even town would lie in the same union, and so even if the village or parish (the two are not necessarily synonymous) was misreported, it minimised the possibility of a true match being missed. For these two variables Katz's scoring system was again adopted.

To summarise the match programme:

Stage 1. Essential Conditions for a Match.

1. Source must be different on both files (censuses).
2. Sex must be identical on both files.
3. Age must be one, two or three categories higher on the second file.
4. Marital condition must only change from single to married, married to widowed, or widowed to married.
5. Name (surname compressed by Soundex and initial of first name) must be identical on both files.
6. County of birth must be identical on both files.

Potentially matched pairs having successfully passed the first stage are then tested further. They are tested using four variables which are not essential in order for a pair to be deemed truly matched. The only requirement is that a potential match must achieve a certain score on the basis of these variables to be a true match.

Stage 2. Non-Essential Conditions for a Match.

	agree	dis-agree	missing
7. Place of residence in parish on both files:	+3	-4	0
8. Adults' trade on both files:	+4	-3	0
Persons aged 15 and under, trade on files:	+4	+4	0
9. Parish of birth on both files:	+3	-3	0
10. Union of birth on both files:	+3	-3	0

A score of +2 had to be obtained on the non-essential variables for a pair of records to be deemed 'truly linked'. Thus to summarise, before any two records can be said to be truly linked they must first satisfy all six essential conditions for a match. Having passed that test they must then, in addition, achieve a minimum score of +2 with regard to the non-essential conditions. Only then is there a true match.

It must be added that the accuracy of this programme was tested. All surnames beginning with the letter 'A' on the 1851 census were matched against those beginning with the letter 'A' on the 1861 census, both by the computer and then by hand. Then persons deemed to be a match or non-match by the computer or hand method were checked using all known characteristics of the individuals concerned, for example, name of wife, sex, age, names of offspring. Obviously some of the children's names would not match as new offspring arrived or older ones left, but a sufficient number persisted to make this method worthwhile. These checks confirmed the accuracy of the programme, the computer programme having made no false matches, and only a few of the truly linked pairs being omitted due to coding errors.

TWO CENSUSES WERE TO BE LINKED; THEY WERE SORTED BY NAME AND SEX AND STORED AS RAW DATA ON TAPE.

MATCH PERSONS FROM THE TWO CENSUSES USING VARIABLES ESSENTIAL FOR A MATCH:

NAME, SEX, COUNTY OF BIRTH, AGE AND MARITAL STATUS.

No

THOSE NOT MATCHED ON ESSENTIAL OR NON-ESSENTIAL VARIABLES, WRITTEN TO A 'NON-MATCHERS' FILE.

YES

IF MATCH FOUND ON ESSENTIAL VARIABLES, CHECK IF THESE POTENTIALLY MATCHED PAIRS SCORE ADEQUATELY ON NON-ESSENTIAL VARIABLES: UNION & PARISH OF BIRTH, PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN PARISH AND OCCUPATION.

NO

YES

PERSONS ACHIEVING A SUFFICIENT SCORE OR WOMEN MATCHED UP USING THE MARRIAGE REGISTER ARE WRITTEN TO TAPE AS A RAW DATA 'PAIRS' FILE

DEATH REGISTERS SORTED BY NAME AND SEX AND STORED AS RAW DATA ON TAPE.

PERSONS ON 'NON-MATCHERS' FILE CHECKED AGAINST DEATH REGISTERS TO SEE IF THOSE PRESENT AT FIRST CENSUS DIED BEFORE SECOND CENSUS.

YES

THOSE WHO DIED REMOVED FROM FURTHER ANALYSIS.

No

THE AGES OF THOSE REMAINING ON 'NON-MATCHERS' FILE CHECKED TO SEE IF THE FACT THAT THEY WERE BORN AFTER THE FIRST CENSUS ACCOUNTS FOR NO MATCH BEING FOUND.

YES

THOSE NEWLY BORN REMOVED FROM ANY FURTHER ANALYSIS

No

PERSONS NOT NEWLY BORN OR NEWLY DEAD, WRITTEN TO A 'SINGLE' FILE.

FROM PERSONS REMAINING ON 'SINGLE' FILE, WOMEN WHO WERE SINGLE AT THE TIME OF THE FIRST CENSUS AND THOSE WHO WERE MARRIED AT THE SECOND CENSUS WERE SELECTED TO SEE IF THEY WERE A NON-MATCH DUE TO A NAME CHANGE THROUGH MARRIAGE.

MARRIAGE REGISTER SORTED BY NAME AND SEX AND STORED AS RAW DATA ON TAPE

ALL SINGLE WOMEN AT THE TIME OF THE FIRST CENSUS CHECKED FOR A MATCHING MAIDEN NAME ON MARRIAGE REGISTER

No

YES

WOMEN WITH MATCHED MAIDEN NAME HAVE THEIR MARRIED NAME AS STATED ON MARRIAGE REGISTER CHECKED AGAINST THE NAMES OF UNMATCHED WOMEN WHO WERE MARRIED AT THE TIME OF THE SECOND CENSUS.

No

YES

WOMEN WHO STATED AS BEING SINGLE IN FIRST CENSUS AND MARRIED IN SECOND CENSUS SUBSEQUENTY MATCHED USING MARRIAGE REGISTER AND THE VARIABLES, COUNTY AND UNION OF BIRTH, AND AGE TO SEE IF A MATCH OCCURRED.

YES



2. Location of all Kentish RDs.

3. Kent, net gains and losses by migration (absolute numbers).

	1841-46[1]		1855-61		1861-71
RDs gaining					
Greenwich	8,240	Lewisham/Greenwich	14,571	Lewisham/Greenwich	7,653
Medway	3,370	Elham	2,811	Bromley	7,083
Lewisham, Bromley, Dartford	3,212	Medway	2,558	Thanet	6,958
Dover	287	Tenterden	1,237	Tunbridge	4,273
Elham, Bridge	267	Canterbury	1,142	Dartford	3,176
Gravesend, North Aylesford, Hoo	193	Sheppey	1,046	Gravesend	137
		Tunbridge	569	Milton	89
RDs losing					
Maidstone	234	Dover	72	Hoo	304
Canterbury	584	Gravesend	93	Faversham	432
East Ashford, West Ashford, Hollingbourne	1,928	Milton	142	Dover	647
		Hoo	233	Maidstone	859
		Bromley	274	Romney Marsh	865
Romney Marsh, Tenterden, Cranbrook	2,214	Romney Marsh	321	Medway	972
Thanet, Eastry	2,950	Dartford	422	Blean	1,062
Malling, Sevenoaks	3,213	Faversham	461	Canterbury	1,297
Tunbridge	5,069	West Ashford	671	West Ashford	1,301
Milton, Sheppey, Faversham, Blean	5,463	Maidstone	853	Elham	1,325
		Bridge	894	East Ashford	1,562
		Malling	1,091	North Aylesford	1,593
		East Ashford	1,103	Cranbrook	1,684
		North Aylesford	1,127	Hollingbourne	1,717
		Cranbrook	1,279	Sevenoaks	1,714
		Hollingbourne	1,470	Tenterden	1,814
		Eastry	1,543	Bridge	1,876

Appendix 3 cont...

1841-46[1]		1855-61		1861-71
	Thanet	1,644	Eastry	2,100
	Sevenoaks	2,025	Malling	2,276
	Blean	2,707	Sheppey	3,847

1 For the period 1841-46, births and deaths were recorded by the Registrar General in his Annual Reports in groups of contiguous RDs.

source: RGARs, 1841-46, 1855-71; census, 1841-71.

4. Kent, net Gain/Loss by Migration as a percentage of the Population of each RD.

	1841		1855		1861
RDs gaining, %					
Greenwich	10.2	Elham	12.8	Bromley	34.8
Medway	9.2	Tenterden	11.1	Thanet	21.8
Lewisham, Bromley Dartford	5.0	Lewisham/Greenwich	9.5	Tunbridge	12.5
Dover	1.2	Canterbury	7.6	Dartford	9.8
Elham, Bridge	1.0	Sheppey	6.8	Lewisham/Greenwich	4.2
Gravesend, North Aylesford, Hoo,	0.6	Medway	5.5	Gravesend	0.7
		Tunbridge	1.9	Milton	0.6
RDs losing, %					
Maidstone	0.7	Dover	0.2	Medway	1.9
Canterbury	3.9	Gravesend	0.5	Dover	2.0
Thanet, Eastry	5.3	Milton	1.1	Maidstone	2.2
East Ashford, West Ashford, Hollingbourne	5.3	Dartford	1.4	Faversham	2.3
Romney Marsh, Tenterden, Cranbrook	7.5	Bromley	1.5	Elham	4.9
Malling, Seven-oaks	8.0	Maidstone	2.3	Blean	6.6
Milton, Sheppey, Faversham, Blean	10.5	Faversham	2.6	Sevenoaks	7.8
Tunbridge	21.3	West Ashford	4.8	Canterbury	7.8
		Thanet	5.2	Eastry	8.1
		Malling	5.4	North Aylesford	8.3
		Romney Marsh	5.8	West Ashford	8.6
		North Aylesford	6.4	Hoo	10.6
		Eastry	6.1	Malling	10.6
		Bridge	8.0	Hollingbourne	12.6
		Hoo	8.2	Cranbrook	12.6

Appendix 4 cont...

1841		1855		1861
	East Ashford	9.1	East Ashford	12.7
	Sevenoaks	9.2	Romney Marsh	15.2
	Cranbrook	9.7	Tenterden	16.6
	Hollingbourne	10.7	Bridge	16.6
	Blean	17.7	Sheppey	20.8

In other words, in the period 1855-61, Elham, for example, gained by net migration 12.8% of its 1855 population. The years 1841, 1855 and 1861 are the base populations.

source: RGARs, 1841-46, 1855-71; census, 1841-71.

5. Kent, comparison of natural increase (a) to gross increase (b).

RDs with natural increase substantially greater than gross increase

RD	(a)	(b)
	1841-46	
Milton, Sheppey, Faversham, Blean,	7,838	2,375
Thanet, Eastry	3,740	790
Canterbury	133	-451
East Ashford, West Ashford, Hollingbourne	3,099	1,171
Romney Marsh, Tenterden, Cranbrook,	2,426	212
Tunbridge	7,435	2,366
Malling, Sevenoaks	3,979	766
	1855-61	
North Aylesford	2,027	1,531
Hoo	243	10
Malling	2,212	1,121
Sevenoaks	1,991	-34
Tunbridge	2,867	3,436
Maidstone	2,397	1,544
Hollingbourne	1,370	-100
Cranbrook	1,485	206
West Ashford	1,765	1,094
East Ashford	1,299	196
Bridge	985	91
Blean	2,078	900
Thanet	1,682	38
Eastry	1,986	443
	1861-71	
North Aylesford	4,033	2,440
Medway	8,317	7,345
Malling	4,212	1,936
Sevenoaks	3,937	2,223
Maidstone	4,206	3,347
Hollingbourne	2,180	463
Cranbrook	2,277	593
Tenterden	1,738	-76
West Ashford	2,894	1,593
East Ashford	2,292	730
Bridge	1,699	-177
Canterbury	1,164	-133
Blean	3,170	2,108
Sheppey	3,918	71
Eastry	3,429	1,329

Appendix 5 cont...

RD	(a)	(b)
Dover	4,325	3,678
Elham	4,143	2,818
Romney Marsh	1,237	372

Natural increase and gross increase equivalent (+/- 500)

1841-46

Gravesend, North Aylesford, Hoo	1,447	1,640
Dover	1,615	1,902
Elham, Bridge	1,884	2,151
Maidstone	2,128	1,894

1855-61

Bromley	1,913	1,639
Dartford	3,414	2,992
Gravesend	1,382	1,289
Faversham	1,771	1,310
Milton	1,791	1,649
Dover	2,020	1,948
Romney Marsh	484	163

1861-71

Gravesend	2,346	2,483
Hoo	586	283
Faversham	3,911	3,479
Milton	4,353	4,442

Natural increase less than gross increase

1841-46

Medway	354	3,724
Lewisham, Bromley Dartford	4,463	7,675
Greenwich	944	9,184

1851-61

Lewisham/Greenwich	15,400	29,971
Elham	2,078	4,889
Medway	2,847	5,405
Tenterden	1,038	3,436
Canterbury	384	1,526
Sheppey	2,019	3,065

Appendix 5 cont...

RD	(a)	(b)
	1861-71	
Bromley	4,733	11,816
Dartford	6,852	10,028
Tunbridge	6,124	10,397
Thanet	3,309	10,267
Lewisham/Greenwich	33,733	107,583

source: RGARs, 1841-46, 1855-71; census, 1841-71.

6. Registrar General's classification of occupations, 1871 census.

CLASSES

1. Professional Class
2. Domestic Class
3. Commercial Class
4. Agricultural Class
5. Industrial Class
6. Indefinite and Non-productive Class

sub-orders

1. Professional Class:

Officers of National Government
Officers of Local Government
Officers of East India and Colonial Government
Army
Navy
Clergymen, Ministers, and others connected with Religion
Lawyers and law stationers
Physicians, Surgeons, and Druggists
Authors, Literary Persons and Students
Artists
Musicians
Actors
Teachers
Scientific Persons

2. Domestic Class:

Wives and others mainly engaged in Household Duties[1]
Wives assisting generally in their Husbands' Business
Engaged in Board and Lodging
Attendants (Domestic Servants etc)

3. Commercial Class:

Mercantile Persons
Other General Dealers
Carriers on Railways
" Roads
" Canals and Rivers
" Seas and Rivers
Engaged in Storage
Messengers and Porters

1 - The only exceptions to this classification made in the Brenchley census were that of 'women no stated occupation' who were placed in Class 6. To this Class was also added the category of 'pauper, parish support', and 'journeyman'. There were also a few additional occupations given in the Brenchley census, for example, postmen, and these were incorporated into the appropriate categories.

Appendix 6 cont...

4. Agricultural Class:

Agriculturalists
Arboriculturists
Horticulturists
Persons engaged about Animals

5. Industrial Class:

Workers and Dealers in Books
" " Musical Instruments
" " Prints and Pictures
" " Carving and Figures
" " Tackle for Sports and Games
" " Designs, Medals and Dies
" " Watches and Philosophical instruments
" " Surgical Instruments
" " Arms
" " Machines and Tools
" " Carriages
" " Harness
" " Ships
" " Houses and Buildings
" " Furniture
" " Chemicals

" " Wool and Worsted
" " Silk
" " Cotton and Flax
" " Mixed Materials
" " Dress
" " Hemp and Other Fibrous Materials

" " Animal Food
" " Vegetable Food
" " Drinks and Stimulants

" " Grease, Gut, Bones, Horn, Ivory and Whalebone
" " Skins, Feathers and Quilts
" " Hair

" " Gums and Resins
" " Wood
" " Bark
" " Cane, Rush and Straw
" " Paper

Miners
Workers and Dealers in Coal
" " Stone, Clay
" " Earthenware
" " Glass
" " Salt
" " Water
" " Gold, Silver and Precious Stones

Appendix 6 cont...

"	"	Copper
"	"	Tin and Quicksilver
"	"	Zinc
"	"	Lead and Antimony
"	"	Brass and Other Mixed Metals
"	"	Iron and Steel

6. Indefinite and Non-Productive Class

General Labourers
Other Persons of indefinite Occupations
Persons of Rank or Property not returned under any Office or Occupation
Scholar and Children not engaged in any directly Productive Occupation

For a fuller definition of these sub-orders see PP.1873.LXXI.Pt.II. At this point it is appropriate only to provide more information regarding the 'Agricultural Class' who were as follows:
land proprietor (so returned), farmer, grazier, farmer's son, brother, grandson, nephew, farm bailiff, agricultural labourer, shepherd (outdoor), farm servant (indoor), land surveyor, estate agent, land drainage service, agricultural machine proprietor, attendant, others engaged in agriculture;
woodman;
nurseryman, seedsman, florist, gardener, others engaged in horticulture;
horse proprietor, dealer, horse breaker, horsekeeper, groom, jockey, farrier, veterinary surgeon, cattle, sheep, pig, salesman, drover, gamekeeper, vermin destroyer, dairymaid, fisherman, others engaged about animals.

Appendix 7. Brenchley, percentage of HOH in each Occupational Category having employees 'Living-in'.

occupation	1851 no	1851 %	1861 no	1861 %	1871 no	1871 %
farmer	32	48.5	11	20.0	9	16.4
plumber & glazier	1	100.0	1	100.0	-	-
butcher	2	100.0	1	50.0	1	16.4
grocer & draper	4	50.0	3	25.0	3	8.8
blacksmith	1	14.3	1	7.7	-	-
bricklayer/maker	1	14.3	1	14.3	-	-
cordwainer	1	8.3	-	-	-	-
miller	1	33.3	1	33.3	-	-
wheelwright	1	25.0	-	-	-	-
waggoner, carter	3	75.0	1	4.3	-	-
nurseryman	1	25.0	1	33.3	1	14.3
tailor	1	12.5	-	-	1	2.2
sawyer	1	20.0	-	-	-	-
land surveyor	-	-	1	100.0	-	-
carpenter	-	-	1	7.1	-	-
saddler	-	-	-	-	1	33.3
doctor (gp)	-	-	-	-	2	100.0
vet	-	-	-	-	1	50.0
total	50		26		19	

source: Brenchley census, 1851-71. The 1841 census was not included as it gave no information on relationship to head of house.

Appendix 8. Estimate of Kentish-born persons resident in England and Wales and abroad.

In order to estimate the numbers of Kentish-born persons resident in England and Wales and abroad, a complex calculation was tried. The census returns (birthplace tables), and the RGARs (returns of births) were examined for the period 1851-71. The nature of the sources limited us to a study of the movement of the Kentish-born only since there is no information available for all persons leaving Kent. For example, a person born in Sussex, resident in Kent, and having left Kent for Lancashire in 1850, would be recorded in the census of 1851 as "Sussex-born, resident in Lancashire", the Kentish 'origin' would not be recorded. As will be seen from the calculation, it is crucial to know how many migrated internally from Kent in order to establish the number who emigrated. Those of the Kentish-born who migrated internally are identified by means of the birthplace tables. This means that the estimated figures for the Kentish-born migrants and emigrants only reveal part of the out-flow from the county.

The census birthplace tables include statistics for the Kentish-born in England and Wales, and the birthplace of the residents of Kent generally. Consequently we can identify the origins of Kentish in-migrants, and establish the flow of population between Kent and the other counties of England and Wales. Although the calculation cannot be conducted for the period 1841-51, the net gain/loss by migration of the Kentish-born for subsequent decades may be gauged.

The calculation of the out-migration from Kent of the Kentish-born to destinations in England and Wales and elsewhere was conducted in the following manner:

1. We take the Kentish-born population living in Kent (as revealed by the census), for the year 1851. We then subtract the deaths of this population over a ten year period, 1851-61, using a crude death rate (cdr) calculated on the basis of Life Table No.3.

2. Then the births occurring in Kent in this period are counted (using RGARs), and pruned for deaths using Life Table No.3. The resultant figure is added to the Kentish-born survivors as in (1).

3. From the census of 1861 we take the figure for the de facto Kentish-born population living in Kent in 1861.

4. We compare the figure found in (2) with the de facto figure for the Kentish-born population living in Kent in 1861 as found in (3). Our calculation in (2) will presumably indicate a greater population than found in (3), and we can conclude that the discrepancy between the two figures indicates the volume of out-migration of Kentish-born persons from Kent in the period 1851-61.

We wish to estimate what portion of these out-migrants stayed in England and what portion moved abroad.

5. We take the 1851 census figures for Kentish-born persons living outside of Kent but in the counties of England and Wales.[1] This figure is trimmed using a cdr as in (1). This gives the expected number of Kentish-born persons living outside of Kent in 1861 (we do not add in the births which occurred to these migrants as these births would not be classified as Kentish).

6. From the census of 1861 we take the figure for the number of Kentish-born in England and Wales.

7. The discrepancy between (5) and (6) will indicate whether any additional Kentish-born persons have migrated in the period 1851-61. If the census figure (6) is larger than our figure (5) this will indicate that there had been additions to the migrant population in the period 1851-61. If the census figure is lower this will suggest that some of the Kentish-born migrants who were living in England in 1851 had either returned to Kent or had emigrated by 1861.

1 referred to from now on as "Kentish-born in England and Wales".

8. The number of Kentish-born persons who migrated in the period 1851-61 is subtracted from the figure found in (4). This gives the number of Kentish-born persons who had emigrated to destinations outside of England and Wales in 1851-61. Should the census figure for Kentish migrants (6) be lower than (5) we could take the difference between the two and add it to the number found in (4). This will give the total emigration of Kentish-born persons, though it could conceal a return migration to Kent as referred to in (7).

9. The same steps are repeated for 1861-71.

This calculation developed in the following manner for the period 1851-61:

1.	Kentish-born living in Kent in 1851	-	462,502
	deaths of this population 1851-61 using cdr 24, 21, 20, 20, 20, 21, 21, 21, 21, 21	-	88,445 -
	Survivors in 1861	-	374,057
2.	Births in Kent 1851-61, male	-	112,000
	" " , female	-	106,742
	Deaths of these children 1851-61 male	-	28,564
	female	-	24,419
	Births minus Deaths	-	165,759
	Kentish-born survivors from (1)	-	374,057 +
	Estimated Kentish-born population in 1861	-	539,816
3.	De facto Kentish-born living in Kent in 1861	-	505,900
4.	Estimated population in 1861	-	539,816
	De facto population in 1861	-	505,900 +
	Estimated out-migration of the Kentish-born from Kent 1851-61, all destinations	-	33,916
5.	Kentish-born in England and Wales but not in Kent in 1851	-	132,560
	Deaths of this population 1851-61	-	25,350 -
	Estimated survivors in 1861	-	107,210
6.	De facto Kentish-born living outside of Kent but in England and Wales in 1861	-	158,695
7.	De facto Kentish-born migrants in 1861	-	158,695
	Estimated " " "	-	107,210 -
	Estimated Kentish-born who had migrated from Kent to other counties in England and Wales, 1851-61	-	51,485

Unfortunately it proved to be impossible to carry this calculation on to step (8) since the estimated number of Kentish-born migrants in England and Wales (51,485) was larger than the number for the estimated total Kentish-born migrants for all destinations (33,916), in the period 1851-61. The calculation was carried out for the period 1861-71, with the same problem arising. Some further thought was then given to possible refinements of these calculations, taking account of certain observations advanced by D.E. Baines in his article 'Birthplace Statistics and the Analysis of Internal Migration,' (in Lawton, R. (ed) 1978, 146-164),

One of the problems discussed by Baines concerns the administrative units relating to the statistics for birthplace. In 1851, the'Kentish-born' refer to those born in the registration county of Kent, while in 1861 and 1871 the Kent referred to is the civil county, or county proper. The former unit is a larger unit of population than the latter, and so the 1861 and 1871 figures for the Kentish-born both in Kent and elsewhere are in fact too small when compared to 1851. To compensate for this, a new figure was produced to represent the Kentish-born both in Kent and in England and Wales in 1861 and 1871. All the birthplace figures would now correspond to the registration county of Kent.

Baines identified two further hazards. The first of these, noted initially by Glass (Glass, D.V. 'A Note on the Under-Registration of Births in Britain in the Nineteenth Century,' PS, 5, no.1 (1951), 70-88), was that births were under-recorded by 4% in the 1850s, and 2% in the 1860s. As a result the number of births in Kent was inflated to compensate for this.

The final problem referred to by Baines concerns the death rate used to prune the Kentish-born migrants in England and Wales in the period 1851-61 and 1861-71 (pruning which is carried out in order to estimate the number of such emigrants who would be living in England and Wales in 1861). According to Baines, age structure is one of the most common migration differentials, and needs to be taken into account when pruning migrants. A population with a disproportionate percentage

of either the very young or very old would need unique pruning. The information about both the sex[2] and age structure of the migrants found in the census, though limited, did not warrant a rejection of the death rates calculated on the basis of the life table. The Kentish-born in England and Wales, over the years, gave rise to a not untypical pyramidical age structure.

Similarly there was no imbalance between the sexes. For example the ratio of those 'under 20' to those 'over 20' in 1861 was 36:100 (0.3:1), while the sex ratio of males to females was 82:100 (0.8:1).

The new statistics for the Kentish-born and the new birth totals were calculated in the described manner, and the calculation now produced the following figures:

1851-61

1.	Kentish-born living in Kent in 1851 (reg county)	- 464,502
	minus deaths produces survivors in 1851	- 374,057
2.	Births in Kent inflated by 4%, males	- 116,480
	, females	- 111,012
	minus deaths of these infants produces survivors in 1861 , males	- 84,829
	, females	- 83,857
	Kentish-born survivors from (1)	- 374,057
	infant survivors	- 168,686 +
	Estimated Kentish-born in Kent, 1861	- 542,743
3.	'De facto'[3] Kentish-born in Kent, 1861	- 509,218
4.	Estimated population in 1861	- 542,743
	'De facto' population in 1861	- 509,218 -
	Estimated out-migration of Kentish-born from Kent 1851-61, all destinations	- 33,525

2 sex is also an important variable in constructing death rates, as female rates are lower than the male. For example, in the 1860s the male death rate averaged 24 per 1,000, while the female averaged 21 per 1,000. See Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P. op. cit.

3 This new figure was produced by subtracting the total population of the civil county of Kent in 1861 from the registration county total population, which produced a figure of 4,812. As in 1861 the Kentish-born were 68.9% of the civil county's population, 68.9% of 4,812 was enough to compensate for the under-enumeration. This was 3,318 which added to 505,900 (the figure given in the census for the Kentish-born in the civil county of Kent), equalled 509,218.

5. Kentish-born in England and Wales, 1851		- 132,560
minus deaths produces survivors in 1861		- 107,210
6. 'De facto'[4] Kentish-born living in England and Wales in 1861		- 159,806
7. 'De facto' Kentish-born migrants in 1861		- 159,695
Estimated " "		- 107,210 -
Estimated Kentish-born who had migrated from Kent to other counties in England and Wales 1851-61		- 52,596

Unfortunately the gap which we found earlier was still present, and in fact had widened. Previously the estimated number of Kentish-born migrants in England and Wales was 51,485, migrants for all destinations 33,916. The new totals were 52,596 and 33,525 respectively.

Despite this discouraging result, the figures for 1861-71 were re-calculated, using all the conversions to ensure that the statistics represented the registration county; births were inflated by 2%.

1861-71

1. Kentish-born living in Kent in 1861		- 509,218
minus deaths produces survivors in 1871		- 411,839
2. Births in Kent 1861-71 inflated by 2%	, males	- 143,917
	, females	- 137,320
Minus deaths of these infants produces survivors in 1871	, males	- 107,048
	, females	- 105,758
Kentish-born survivors from (1)		- 411,839
Infant survivors		- 212,806 +
Estimated Kentish-born in Kent 1871		624,645
3. 'De facto' Kentish-born in Kent 1871		- 581,335
(This figure was produced in a similar fashion to that in the calculation for 1851-61)		
4. Estimated population in 1871		- 624,645
'De facto' population in 1871		- 581,335 -
Estimated out-migration of Kentish-born from Kent 1861-71		- 43,310

4 This new figure was calculated by assuming that the gap between the total population of the civil and registration county of Kent in 1861 paralleled the gap between Kentish-born migrants from both units. The gap between the populations of the two administrative units was 4,812. As 4,812 was 0.7% of the total population of the civil county of Kent in 1861, it was decided to inflate the figure for the migrants by 0.7%, which brought their number up to 159,806.

5. Kentish-born in England and Wales in 1861	- 159,806
minus deaths produces survivors in 1871	- 129,246
6. 'De facto' Kentish-born living in England and Wales in 1871 (This figure was produced in a similar fashion to that in the calculation for 1851-61)	- 192,931
7. 'De facto' Kentish-born migrants in 1871	- 192,931
Estimated " "	- 129,246
Estimated Kentish-born who had migrated from Kent to other counties in England and Wales 1861-71	- 63,685

The gap remained, migrants in England and Wales for 1861-71 outnumbering the total estimated out-migration of the Kentish-born from Kent, 63,685 to 43,310 respectively. Since this calculation gave results which were somewhat ambiguous, it was not used in the main text of this thesis, where we had to utilise a more traditional method for studying population turnover on the county level; the net gain/loss of population by migration both for the Kentish-born population of Kent, and the entire population of the county (see Chapter 6, pp.310-312). Nevertheless it would be interesting to try this method on other counties and study the results obtained, and it is for this reason that details of these calculations are included here; they may be of value to other researchers.

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		1861	-	RG.9.496
		1871	-	RG.10.935
"	Horsmonden	1851	-	HO.107.1615
		1861	-	RG.9.496
		1871	-	RG.10.936
"	Pembury	1851	-	HO.107.1615
		1861	-	RG.9.496
		1871	-	RG.10.936
"	Tudely	1851	-	HO.107.1615
		1861	-	RG.9.495
		1871	-	RG.10.934
"	Tonbridge/ Tunbridge Wells	1851	-	HO.107.1614-15
		1861	-	RG.9.492-94
		1871	-	RG.10.927-33

b. Colonial Office:

Settlers to the Cape of Good Hope, 1819,
CO.48.41

Settlers Sailing Lists - Returns of Heads of Parties, South Africa, 1819,
CO.48.47

Settlers to the Cape of Good Hope, 1820,
CO.48.52

Albany Settlers, Reports, 1823-25,
CO.48.76

New South Wales and Van Diemens Land Settlers, 1828,
CO.201.199

New South Wales and Van Diemens Settlers applications and letters, 1831-33,
CO.201.237

New South Wales, Colonial Land and Emigration Office, correspondence, 1848, 1850, 1851, and 1853,
CO.201.406/436/447/472

Register of Applications for land in the settlement of Nelson, 1841,
CO.208.257-8

Register of Cabin Passengers, New Zealand Company Ships, 1839-50,
CO.208.269-71

Emigrant Labourers Applying for free passages to New Zealand, 1839-42, nos. 1 to 5378,

CO.208.272

Emigrant Labourers Applying for free passages to New Zealand, 1842-50, 5379-7067,

CO.208.273

Forms of Applications for free passage to New Zealand, 1839-42,

CO.208.274

Register of Applicants for free passages with the New Zealand Company,

CO.208.275/276

List of emigrants maintained, New Zealand Company ships, 1839-42,

CO.208.278

Receipts of Payments to emigrant labourers, agreements of service for the New Zealand Company, 1841-44,

CO.208.240

Applications for Land, New Zealand Company, 1839-50,

CO.208.254

Numerical register of secondary applications for land, Nelson, New Zealand Company, 1841-2,

CO.208.258

Applications for land in the Nelson settlement, New Zealand Company, 1849-50,

CO.208.261

Applications for Land in the New Plymouth Settlement, New Zealand Company, 1843-50,

CO.208.263

Scrapbook of Newspaper Cuttings, New Zealand Company, 1840-58,

CO.208.291/295

Relationship with the New Zealand Company, Colonies, misc., 1840-45,

CO.325.43

North American Settlers, English and Scotch Applicants, 1827,

CO.384.15

North American Settlers, correspondence of the Secretary of State, 1837-38,

CO.384.51

Australian Register of forms and circulars sent to intending emigrants, 1831-3,

CO.385.3/4

Register of Emigrant Labourers applying for a free passage to South Australia, nos. 1 - 9422, 1836-1841,
CO.386.149/150/151

Applications of Convicts' families for passages, Van Diemens Land, New South Wales, South Australia, and Western Australia, 1843-73,
CO.386.154

Australia, Register of Immigration Statistics, 1854-83,
CO.386.162-163.

c. Home Office

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HO.40.17

Kent, civil and military reports, disturbances, 1838, 1839,
HO.40.36/43

Kent, Request for forces to avert riot between English and Irish Immigrant Labourers. Disturbance papers, various, 1851,
HO.45.34720

Kent, Riots between foreign navigators and English labourers. Disturbance papers, various, 1866,
HO.45.7853

d. Ministry of Health

Eastry Union, 1834-61 MH.12.4988.4998

Tenterden Union, 1840-76 MH.12.5333-5338

Tunbridge Union, 1840-77 MH.12.5372-5378

Cranbrook Union, 1834-76 MH.12.4911-4917

Colonial Office and Poor Law Correspondence, 1834-70,
MH.19.5-9

Emigration correspondence of the PLC and Poor Law Board, 1836-76,
MH.19.22 &
MH.19.177-182

Cane, Poor Law Inspector, correspondence, 1855-71,
MH.32.9

Corbett, Poor Law Inspector, correspondence, 1862-76,
MH.32.13

Hall, Poor Law Assistant Commissioner & Inspector, correspondence, 1840-57,
MH.32.36-37

Henley, Poor Law Inspector, correspondence, 1867-75,
MH.32.45

Pigott, Poor Law Inspector, correspondence, 1851-64,
MH.32.62

Tufnell, Poor Law Assistant Commissioner, correspondence, 1835-42,
MH.32.69-71

Walsham, Poor Law Inspector, correspondence, 1848-68,
MH.32.82-84

Wodehouse, Poor Law Inspector, correspondence, 1863-71,
MH.32.90

Report of Richard Hall, Esq., Poor Law Inspector, on the condition of the Labouring classes in his district, 1850,
MH.32.118

Head, Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, register of correspondence, 1834-46,
MH.33.3

e.Tithe

Tithe Award, Brenchley, 1842, IR/29/17/49

" Map " 1844, IR/30/17/49

(also available in the KAO where the Tithe Award and Map references are:
CTR 45A)
CTR 45B)

(x) Sandwich Local History Society.

Journal of Peter Harrisson, Kentish emigrant, 1822.

(xi) State Archives of Victoria, Melbourne Australia.

Lists of Assisted Immigrants, 1840-69.

(xii) Personal Records.

Letters/diaries of the following Kentish emigrants:
Archer, David
Aveling, Robert
Brittenden, Edward
Brittenden, Frederick
Brooker, Stephen
Carnell, Ellen

Deal boatmen
Dyason, Joshua
Jenner, Rebecca
Moulden, Joseph
Ottaway, Thomas
Sharp, John
Thurstun, Annie
Thurstun, Ettie

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MATCH PROGRAMME: THREE-WAY LINKAGE, 1851 to 1861 to 1871.

```
      PROGRAM MATCH(INPUT,OUTPUT,BCDOUT=/200,PAIRS=/200,SINGLE=/200,
     *BABIES,MARIED=/200,DEAD=/200,TAPE5=INPUT,TAPE6=OUTPUT,TAPE7=BCDOUT
     *,TAPE9=SINGLE,TAPE10=BABIES,TAPE11=MARIED,TAPE12=DEAD,TAPE99=/200,
     *TAPE1=/200,TAPE2=/200,TAPE3=/200,TAPE8=/200,TAPE18=PAIRS)
C     THIS PROGRAM ATTEMPTS TO MATCH PEOPLE BETWEEN DIFFERENT CENSUSES
C     THE MATCHING PROCESS COMPARES ESSENTIAL AND NON-ESSENTIAL VARIABLES
C     DEPENDING ON THE VALUES OF THESE VARIABLES COUNT IS EITHER
C     INCREMENTED OR DECREMENTED. IF THE INDEX OF SIMILARITY IS GREAT
C     ENOUGH IT IS REASONABLE THAT THEY ARE A MATCHED PAIR.
C     THE REMAINING NON-MATCHERS ARE THEN FILTERED SO THOSE PEOPLE WHO
C     DIED ARE OMITTED ALONG WITH THOSE NEWLY BORN. ANY FEMALES REMAINING
C     ARE TESTED TO SEE IF THEY MARRIED BETWEEN THE CENSUSES - IF THEY DID
C     MARRY THEY ARE THEN INCLUDED WITH THE ALREADY KNOWN MATCHERS
      IMPLICIT INTEGER (A-Z)
      REAL PERCNT,PERCNT2,PERCNT3,PERCNT4,TOTALPC
      DIMENSION NEXTP(3,25)
      COMMON/LABELD/ CENSUS,PERSON(40,3,25)
      COMMON/ ALSO /GOOD,BAD,LAST,FIRST,DEADS,YOUNG,SPINST,WEDDS
      COMMON/ WORK /WORKA(600,5)
      COMMON/ MRSS / MRS(600,3,25)
      LEVEL 2, MRS
      DATA SOURCE/1/,NAME/2/,SEX/3/,COUNTY/4/,UNION/5/,PARISH/6/,AGE/7/,
     *MARCON/9/,OCCUP/10/,FLAG/25/,RESPAR/8/
C     INITALISE ARRAYS AND VARIABLES WITH ZEROS
      GOOD=0
      BAD=0
      NUMB=0
      EOFLAG=0
      DO 10 I=1,40
      DO 15 K=1,3
      DO 20 J=1,25
      PERSON(I,K,J)=0
20    CONTINUE
15     CONTINUE
10    CONTINUE
      DO 35 K=1,3
      DO 30 I=1,25
      NEXTP(I,K)=0
30    CONTINUE
35     CONTINUE
C     READ IN CENSUS COMPARISON NUMBER FROM INPUT
      READ(5,5)CENSUS
5     FORMAT(I1)
C     READ IN FIRST PERSONS DETAILS
      READ(7,50)  ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
      PERSON(1,CENSUS,FLAG)=0
      IF(EOF(7).NE.0.0) GO TO 98
      NUMB=NUMB+1
C     FILL UP REMAINS OF PERSON WITH DETAILS OF PEOPLE WITH SAME NAME
45    DO 40 II=2,40
C     THERE ARE I PEOPLE WITH THE SAME NAME
      I=II-1
      READ(7,50)  ((PERSON(II,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
50    FORMAT(6X,I2,6X,A6,6X,I1,6X,I2,6X,I3,6X,I3,6X,I3,6X,I3,6X,I1,6X,
     *I3,6X,I1,6X,I6,,I2,I1,3I2,4I1)
      PERSON(II,CENSUS,FLAG)=0
      IF(EOF(7).NE.0.0) GO TO 64
```



```
      NUMB=NUMB+1
      IILESS1=II-1
C     TEST FOR SAME NAME
      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,NAME).EQ.PERSON(IILESS1,CENSUS,NAME))
     * GO TO 40
C     JUST READ IN A PERSON WITH DIFFERENT NAME, PUT INFO INTO NEXT PERSON
      DO 61 K=1,CENSUS
      DO 60 J=1,25
      NEXTP(K,J)=PERSON(II,K,J)
      PERSON(II,K,J)=0
60    CONTINUE
61    CONTINUE
      NEXTP(CENSUS,FLAG)=0
      GO TO 65
40    CONTINUE
64    EOFLAG=1
65    CALL MATCHER(I)
      IF(EOFLAG.EQ.1) GO TO 98
C     PUT NEXTP-ERSONS DETAILS INTO THE FIRST PERSON WITH A NEW NAME
      DO 71 K=1,CENSUS
      DO 70 J=1,25
```

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```
                      PERSON(1,K,J)=NEXTP(K,J)
   80           70    CONTINUE
                71    CONTINUE
                C     REINITALISE THE REST OF THE ARRAY PERSON WITH ZEROS
                      DO 80 II=2,I
                       DO 85 K=1,CENSUS
   85                 DO 90 J=1,25
                      PERSON(II,K,J)=0
                90    CONTINUE
                85     CONTINUE
                80    CONTINUE
   90           C     GO TO READ IN THE NEXT PERSON WITH A NEW NAME
                      GO TO 45
                C     END OF FILE ENCOUNTERED, CHECK COUNTS ECT, AND TERMINATE PROGRAM
                98    CALL DIED(NREC,DEAD5,DEAD10)
                      CALL NEWBORN
   95                 CALL WEDDING
                      GOOD2=GOOD*(CENSUS+1)
                      IF(CENSUS.GT.1) GO TO 95
                      IF((GOOD2+BAD).NE.NUMB) WRITE(6,99)
                99    FORMAT(///"   ***ERROR*** CASE MATCHING NOT CORRECT***")
  100                 GO TO 96
                95    IF((GOOD*CENSUS)+BAD.NE.NUMB) WRITE(6,99)
                96    PERCNT=(100*GOOD2)/NUMB
                      PERCNT2=(100*YOUNG)/NUMB
                      PERCNT3=(100*DEADS)/NUMB
  105                 NUMB2=NUMB-(DEADS+YOUNG)
                      PERCNT4=(GOOD2*100)/NUMB2
                      TOTALPC=PERCNT+PERCNT2+PERCNT3
                      NSINGLE=BAD-(DEADS+YOUNG)
                      WRITE(6,100)NUMB,GOOD,GOOD2,PERCNT,BAD,DEADS,PERCNT3,DEAD5,DEAD10,
  110                *YOUNG,PERCNT2
                      WRITE(6,102) NSINGLE
                      WRITE(6,101) TOTALPC,PERCNT4
                100   FORMAT(//"    ** TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES READ=",I6,/
                     *       "    ** TOTAL MATCHED PAIRS=",I6," THIS IS",I6," CARDS",

PROGRAM MATCH      76/76   OPT=2  PMDMP                    FTN 4.8+508      24/04/81  14.58.28      PAGE     3

  115                *" OR ",F5.2," PERCENT"/
                     *       "    ** CASES NOT MATCHED=",I6,"  OF THESE ",I3,2X,F5.2,
                     *" DIED.  - ",I3," BEFORE THE AGE OF 5, AND ",I3," BETWEEN THE AGE
                     *OF 5 AND 10"/I6,
                     *" WERE BORN BETWEEN THE 2 CENSUSES.  THIS IS ",F5.2," PERCENT")
  120           102   FORMAT("    NUMBER OF SINGLES=",I6)
                101   FORMAT(//"    ** TOTAL PEOPLE ACCOUNTED FOR = ",F5.2," - ADJUSTED P
                     *ERCENT = ",F5.2)
                      STOP
                      END

  SUBROUTINE MATCHER    76/76   OPT=2  PMDMP                    FTN 4.8+508      24/04/81  14.58.28      PAGE     1

    1                 SUBROUTINE MATCHER(I)
                C     THIS SUBROUTINE CHECKS ALL DETAILS TO SEE IF PEOPLE MATCH
                      IMPLICIT INTEGER (A-Z)
                      COMMON/LABELD/ CENSUS,PERSON(40,3,25)
    5                 COMMON/ ALSO /GOOD,BAD,LAST,FIRST,DEADS,YOUNG,SPINST,WEDDS
                      COMMON/ WORK /WORKA(600,5)
                      COMMON/ MRSS / MRS(600,3,25)
                      LEVEL 2, MRS
                      DATA SOURCE/1/,NAME/2/,SEX/3/,COUNTY/4/,UNION/5/,PARISH/6/,AGE/7/,
   10                *MARCON/9/,OCCUP/10/,FLAG/25/,RESPAR/8/
                C     COUNT IS A COUNT OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE 2 PEOPLE
                      COUNT=0
                      IF(I.EQ.1) GO TO 40
                      IMINUS1=I-1
   15           C     DO LOOP 10 TESTS EACH PERSON WITH SAME NAME (II)
                      DO 10 II=1,IMINUS1
                C     IF PERSON MATCHED (FLAG-GED) DO NOT CONSIDER AGAIN
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,FLAG)  .EQ.1) GO TO 10
                      IIPLUS1=II+1
   20           C     DO LOOP 20 TESTS ALL THE OTHER PEOPLE (JJ) WITH EARLIER PEOPLE (II)
                      DO 20 JJ=IIPLUS1,I
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,FLAG)  .EQ.1) GO TO 10
                      IF(PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,FLAG)  .EQ.1) GO TO 20
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,SOURCE).NE.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,SOURCE)-1)
   25                *GO TO 20
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,SEX)   .EQ.9  .OR.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,SEX)
                     *.EQ.9) GO TO 22
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,SEX)   .NE.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,SEX))    GO TO 20
                22    IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,COUNTY).EQ.99 .OR.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,COUNTY)
   30                *.EQ.99) GO TO 24
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,COUNTY).NE.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,COUNTY)) GO TO 20
```

```
                24    IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,MARCON).EQ.9  .OR.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,MARCON)
               *.EQ.9)  GO TO 26
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,MARCON)-PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,MARCON).EQ.-1)
35             *GO TO 26
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,MARCON).EQ.3 .AND.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,MARCON)
               *.EQ.2) GO TO 26
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,MARCON).NE.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,MARCON)) GO TO 20
                26    IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,AGE).EQ.999) GO TO 29
40                    IF(PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,AGE).EQ.999) GO TO 28
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,AGE).EQ.119) PERSON(II,CENSUS,AGE)=120
                      IF((PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,AGE)-PERSON(II,CENSUS,AGE)).GE.1.AND.
                     *(PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,AGE)-PERSON(II,CENSUS,AGE)).LE.3) GO TO 27
                      GO TO 20
45              27    IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,AGE).EQ.120) PERSON(II,CENSUS,AGE)=119
                29    IF(CENSUS.EQ.1) GO TO 28
                      C=CENSUS-1
                      IF(PERSON(II,C,AGE).EQ.999) GO TO 28
                      IF(PERSON(II,C,AGE).EQ.119) PERSON(II,C,AGE)=120
50                    IF((PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,AGE)-PERSON(II,C,AGE)).GE.3.AND.
                     *    (PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,AGE)-PERSON(II,C,AGE)).LE.5) GO TO 227
                      GO TO 20
                227   IF(PERSON(II,C,AGE).EQ.120) PERSON(II,C,AGE)=119
                C     ESSENTIAL DETAILS MATCH.  COUNTS SUBROUTINE ADDS VALUES TO COUNT IF
55              C     PARISH, UNION, RESPAR, OCCUP ARE THE SAME
                28    CALL COUNTS(I,II,JJ,COUNT)
                      IF(COUNT.LT.2) GO TO 20

  SUBROUTINE MATCHER    76/76   OPT=2  PMDMP                    FTN 4.8+508        24/04/81  14.58.28       PAGE     2

                C     IF THE COUNT VALUE IS HIGH ENOUGH THE MATCHED PERSONS ARE WRITTEN
                C     TO TAPE 8
60                    WRITE(8,4)  ((PERSON(II,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS),
                     *(PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,J),J=1,24)
                4     FORMAT(3(I2,1X,A6,1X,I1,1X,I2,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I1,1X,I3,
                     *1X,I1,1X,I6,1X,4I2,I1,3I2,4I1))
                C     FLAG PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN OUT SO THEY WONT BE COMPAIRED AGAIN
65                    PERSON(II,CENSUS,FLAG)=1
                      PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,FLAG)=1
                      GOOD=GOOD+1
                C     START LOOKING AT DIFFERENT PERSON FOR PURPOSES OF MATCHING
                20    CONTINUE
70              10    CONTINUE
                C     MATCHED PEOPLE WRITTEN TO 8, WRITE NON-MATCHERS TO TAPE 99
                40    DO 50 J=1,I
                      IF(PERSON(J,CENSUS,FLAG).EQ.1) GO TO 50
                      BAD=BAD+1
75                    WRITE(99,60)((PERSON(J,K,KK),KK=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                60    FORMAT(I2,1X,A6,1X,I1,1X,I2,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I1,1X,I3,
                     *1X,I1,1X,I6,1X,4I2,I1,3I2,4I1)
                50    CONTINUE
                      RETURN
80                    END


CARD NR. SEVERITY  DETAILS    DIAGNOSIS OF PROBLEM

     62    I      37 CD 63  TOTAL RECORD LENGTH IS GREATER THAN 137 CHARACTERS.  IT MAY EXCEED THE I/O DEVICE CAPACITY.

   SUBROUTINE COUNTS     76/76   OPT=2  PMDMP                    FTN 4.8+508        24/04/81  14.58.28       PAGE     1

 1                    SUBROUTINE COUNTS(I,II,JJ,COUNT)
                C     II IS THE PERSON WE ARE CURRENTLY USING TO SEE IF THERE IS A MATCH
                C     JJ IS BEING LOOKED AT TO SEE IF HE MATCHES PERSON II
                      IMPLICIT INTEGER (A-Z)
 5                    COMMON/LABELD/ CENSUS,PERSON(40,3,25)
                      COMMON/ ALSO /GOOD,BAD,LAST,FIRST,DEADS,YOUNG,SPINST,WEDDS
                      COMMON/ WORK /WORKA(600,5)
                      COMMON/ MRSS / MRS(600,3,25)
                      LEVEL 2, MRS
10                    DATA SOURCE/1/,NAME/2/,SEX/3/,COUNTY/4/,UNION/5/,PARISH/6/,AGE/7/,
                     *MARCON/9/,OCCUP/10/,FLAG/25/,RESPAR/8/
                C     COUNT IS A COUNT OF SIMILARITY ON NON-ESSENTIAL VARIABLES
                      COUNT=0
                C     ALWAYS ASSUME A NON-MATCH THEN IF MATCHES MAKE AN ALLOWANCE
15                    IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,PARISH).EQ.999.OR.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,PARISH)
                     *.EQ.999) GO TO 21
                      COUNT=COUNT-3
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,PARISH).EQ.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,PARISH))
                     *COUNT=COUNT+6
20              21    IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,UNION) .EQ.999.OR.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,UNION)
                     *.EQ.999) GO TO 23
```

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```
                      COUNT=COUNT-3
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,UNION) .EQ.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,UNION))
                     *COUNT=COUNT+6
25          23        IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,RESPAR).EQ.999.OR.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,RESPAR)
                     *.EQ.999) GO TO 25
                      COUNT=COUNT-4
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,RESPAR).EQ.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,RESPAR))
                     *COUNT=COUNT+7
30          25        IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,AGE)    .LE.113) GO TO 27
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,OCCUP) .EQ.999.OR.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,OCCUP)
                     *.EQ.999) GO TO 29
                      IF(PERSON(II,CENSUS,OCCUP) .NE.PERSON(JJ,CENSUS,OCCUP))
                     *COUNT=COUNT-7
35          27        COUNT=COUNT+4
            29        RETURN
                      END

  SUBROUTINE DIED        76/76   OPT=2  PMDMP                    FTN 4.8+508        24/04/81  14.58.28       PAGE     1

 1                    SUBROUTINE DIED(NREC,DEAD5,DEAD10)
            C         THIS SUBROUTINE SELECTS ALL PEOPLE NOT SO FAR MATCHED THAT
            C         CORRESPOND WITH INFORMATION ON THE DEATH REGISTER, SO THEY ARE
            C         REMOVED FROM ANY FURTHER ANALYSIS.  THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE THAT DIED
 5          C         BETWEEN THE AGE OF 0-5 AND 5-10 ARE COUNTED
                      IMPLICIT INTEGER (A-Z)
                      COMMON/LABELD/ CENSUS,PERSON(40,3,25)
                      COMMON/ ALSO /GOOD,BAD,LAST,FIRST,DEADS,YOUNG,SPINST,WEDDS
                      COMMON/ WORK /RIP(600,5)
10                    COMMON/ MRSS / MRS(600,3,25)
                      LEVEL 2, MRS
                      DATA SOURCE/1/,NAME/2/,SEX/3/,AGE/7/
                      DATA RIPNAME/3/,RIPAGE/4/,RIPSEX/5/,RIPFLAG/6/
                      READ(5,60) INFO
15          60        FORMAT(A6)
                      IF(INFO.NE.6HDIED  ) WRITE(6,70)
            70        FORMAT("   ***ERROR IN DATA, DEATH REGISTERS DO NOT BEGIN WITH A
                     *CARD CONTAINING DIED, RESULTS MAY BE INCORRECT***")
                      REWIND 99
20                    READ(99,20) LAST
            20        FORMAT(I2)
                      DO 10 I=2,40
                      READ(99,20) FIRST
                      IF(FIRST.EQ.LAST) GO TO 10
25                    LAST=MAX0(FIRST,LAST)
            10        CONTINUE
            C         LAST CONT THE HIGHEST SOURCE VALUE
            C         FIRST CONT THE LOWEST SOURCE VALUE
                      FIRST=LAST-CENSUS
30                    REWIND 99
                      DEADS=0
                      NREC=0
                      DEAD5=0
                      DEAD10=0
35                    II=1
                      DO 5 I=1,600
                      NREC=I-1
                      READ(5,90) (RIP(I,J),J=1,5)
            90        FORMAT(A6,A2,A6,4X,I3,8X,I1)
40                    IF(RIP(I,1).EQ.6HMARRIE) GO TO 41
            5         CONTINUE
            41        BACKSPACE 5
            C         THERE ARE NREC PEOPLE ON THE DEATH REGISTER
                      DO 40 I=1,BAD
45                    NBAD=I+1
                      READ(99,50) ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
            50        FORMAT(I2,1X,A6,1X,I1,1X,I2,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I1,1X,I3,
                     *1X,I1,1X,I6,1X,4I2,I1,3I2,4I1)
                      IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,SOURCE).EQ.LAST) GO TO 80
50          110       IF(RIP(II,RIPNAME).GT.PERSON(1,CENSUS,NAME)) GO TO 80
                      IF(RIP(II,RIPNAME).LT.PERSON(1,CENSUS,NAME)) GO TO 100
                      IF(RIP(II,RIPSEX) .NE.PERSON(1,CENSUS,SEX))  GO TO 80
                      IF(RIP(II,RIPAGE) .NE.PERSON(1,CENSUS,AGE).AND.
                     *   RIP(II,RIPAGE) .NE.PERSON(1,CENSUS,AGE)+1) GO TO 80
55          C         PERSON DIED
                      WRITE(12,50)((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                      DEADS=DEADS+1

  SUBROUTINE DIED        76/76   OPT=2  PMDMP                    FTN 4.8+508        24/04/81  14.58.28       PAGE     2


                      IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,AGE).EQ.111) DEAD5=DEAD5+1
                      IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,AGE).EQ.112) DEAD10=DEAD10+1
60                    II=II+1
                      IF(II.GT.NREC) GO TO 120
```


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```
                      GO TO 40
                80    WRITE(1,50) ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                      GO TO 40
65              100   II=II+1
                      IF(II.GT.NREC) GO TO 115
                      GO TO 110
                40    CONTINUE
                      GO TO 140
70              115   WRITE(1,50) ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                120   IF(NBAD.EQ.BAD) GO TO 140
                      BADD=BAD-NBAD
                      DO 130 I=1,BADD
                      READ(99,50) ((PERSON(I,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
75                    WRITE(1,50) ((PERSON(I,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                130   CONTINUE
                140   WRITE(6,200) NREC,DEADS
                200   FORMAT(//"   THERE WERE ",I3," PEOPLE ON THE DEATH REGISTER. OF TH
               *ESE ",I3," PEOPLE HAVE BEEN MATCHED")
80                    RETURN
                      END
```

SUBROUTINE NEWBORN 76/76 OPT=2 PMDMP FTN 4.8+508 24/04/81 14.58.28 PAGE 1

```
1                     SUBROUTINE NEWBORN
                C     THIS SUBROUTINE COUNTS HOW MANY PEOPLE WERE BORN BETWEEN THE 2 CENSUSES
                      IMPLICIT INTEGER (A-Z)
                      COMMON/LABELD/ CENSUS,PERSON(40,3,25)
5                     COMMON/ ALSO /GOOD,BAD,LAST,FIRST,DEADS,YOUNG,SPINST,WEDDS
                      COMMON/ WORK /WORKA(600,5)
                      COMMON/ MRSS / MRS(600,3,25)
                      LEVEL 2, MRS
                      DATA SOURCE/1/,AGE/7/
10                    YOUNG=0
                      REWIND 1
                      BADD=BAD-DEADS
                      DO 50 I=1,BADD
                      READ(1,40)  ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
15              40    FORMAT(I2,1X,A6,1X,I1,1X,I2,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I1,1X,I3,
               *1X,I1,1X,I6,1X,4I2,I1,3I2,4I1)
                C     TEST FOR NEWBORN (UNDER 5 YEARS) AND FROM LATTER (LAST) CENSUS
                      IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,AGE).LE.111.AND.PERSON(1,CENSUS,SOURCE)
               *.EQ.LAST) GO TO 60
20                    WRITE(2,40) ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                      GO TO 50
                60    WRITE(10,40)((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                      YOUNG=YOUNG+1
                50    CONTINUE
25                    RETURN
                      END
```

SUBROUTINE WEDDING 76/76 OPT=2 PMDMP FTN 4.8+508 24/04/81 14.58.28 PAGE 1

```
1                     SUBROUTINE WEDDING
                C     THIS SUBROUTINE SELECTS WOMEN FROM THE NON-MATCHERS THAT COULD
                C     HAVE GOT MARRIED BETWEEN THE CENSUSES. IT ALSO SELECTS WOMEN WHO
                C     WERE MARRIED AT THE TIME OF THE LATTER (LAST) CENSUS
5                     IMPLICIT INTEGER (A-Z)
                      COMMON/LABELD/ CENSUS,PERSON(40,3,25)
                      COMMON/ ALSO /GOOD,BAD,LAST,FIRST,DEADS,YOUNG,SPINST,WEDDS
                      COMMON/ WORK /WORKA(600,5)
                      COMMON/ MRSS / MRS(600,3,25)
10                    LEVEL 2, MRS
                      DATA SOURCE/1/,SEX/3/,AGE/7/,MARCON/9/
                      REWIND 2
                      SPINST=0
                      WEDDS=0
15                    BADD=BAD-DEADS-YOUNG
                      DO 10 I=1,BADD
                      READ(2,20)  ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                20    FORMAT(I2,1X,A6,1X,I1,1X,I2,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I1,1X,I3,
               *1X,I1,1X,I6,1X,4I2,I1,3I2,4I1)
20              C     SELECT ALL THOSE WHO COULD HAVE GOT MARRIED FROM THE FIRST CENSUS
                      IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,SOURCE).NE.LAST.AND.PERSON(1,CENSUS,SEX)
                     *.EQ.1.AND.PERSON(1,CENSUS,AGE).GT.111.AND.PERSON(1,CENSUS,MARCON)
                     *.EQ.1) GO TO 30
                C     SELECT ALL THOSE WHO WERE NEWLY MARRIED FROM THE LAST CENSUS
25                    IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,SOURCE).EQ.LAST.AND.PERSON(1,CENSUS,SEX)
                     *.EQ.1.AND.PERSON(1,CENSUS,MARCON).NE.1) GO TO 50
                      WRITE(9,20) ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                      GO TO 10
                30    WRITE(3,20) ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
30                    SPINST=SPINST+1
                      GO TO 10
```


Croxley business forms by John Dickinson

```
                50      WEDDS=WEDDS+1
                        DO 51 K=1,CENSUS
                        DO 52 J=1,24
35                      MRS(WEDDS,K,J)=PERSON(1,K,J)
                52      CONTINUE
                51      CONTINUE
                10      CONTINUE
                        CALL MARRY(NMARIED)
40                      RETURN
                        END
```

SUBROUTINE MARRY 76/76 OPT=2 PMDMP FTN 4.8+508 24/04/81 14.58.28 PAGE 1

```
 1                      SUBROUTINE MARRY(NMARIED)
                C       THIS SUBROUTINE TAKES THE SPINSTERS AND MARRIED WOMEN OBTAINED VIA
                C       SUB WEDDING AND ATTEMPTS TO MATCH THEM USING INFORMATION FROM THE
                C       MARRIAGE REGISTER.  IF A MATCH IS FOUND THEY ARE INCLUDED WITH THE
 5              C       ALREADY KNOWN PAIRS OBTAINED VIA SUBS MATCHER AND COUNTS
                        IMPLICIT INTEGER (A-Z)
                        DIMENSION SPLIT(3,24)
                        COMMON/LABELD/ CENSUS,PERSON(40,3,25)
                        COMMON/ ALSO /GOOD,BAD,LAST,FIRST,DEADS,YOUNG,SPINST,WEDDS
10                      COMMON/ WORK /REGSTR(600,5)
                        COMMON/ MRSS / MRS(600,3,25)
                        LEVEL 2, MRS
                        DATA MADEN/3/,MARRYN/4/,FLAG/5/,MRSFLAG/25/,NAME/2/
                        DATA COUNTY/4/,UNION/5/,AGE/7/
15                      READ(5,10) INFO
                10      FORMAT(A6)
                        IF(INFO.NE.6HMARRIE) WRITE(6,20)
                20      FORMAT("   ***ERROR IN DATA, MARRIAGE REGISTERS DO NOT BEGIN WITH
                       $A CARD CONTAINING MARRIED,RESULTS MAY BE INCORRECT***")
20                      REWIND 3
                        NMARIED=0
                C       READ IN MARRIAGE REGISTER AND PUT IN ARRAY REGSTR
                        DO 5 I=1,600
                        NREGS=I
25                      READ(5,90) (REGSTR(I,J),J=1,5)
                90      FORMAT(A6,A2,A6,A6,9X,I1)
                        IF(EOF(5).NE.0.0) GO TO 30
                5       CONTINUE
                30      REGSTR(NREGS,MARRYN)=6HZ99999
30                      REGSTR(NREGS,MADEN)=6HZ99999
                        REGSTR(NREGS,FLAG)=0
                        NMRS=WEDDS+1
                        MRS(NMRS,CENSUS,MRSFLAG)=0
                        II=1
35              40      READ(3,50)  ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                50      FORMAT(I2,1X,A6,1X,I1,1X,I2,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I1,1X,I3,1X
                       *,I1,1X,I6,1X,4I2,I1,3I2,4I1)
                        IF(EOF(3).NE.0.0) GO TO 60
                41      IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,NAME).LT.REGSTR(II,MADEN)) GO TO 48
40                      IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,NAME).GT.REGSTR(II,MADEN)) GO TO 45
                C       MADEN NAMES ARE EQUAL. SEE IF MARRIED MAMES ARE ALSO EQUAL
                        HALF=NMRS/2
                        L=NMRS/2
                42      IF(MRS(L,CENSUS,MRSFLAG).EQ.2) L=L+1
45                      IF(REGSTR(II,MARRYN).GT.MRS(L,CENSUS,NAME)) GO TO 46
                        IF(REGSTR(II,MARRYN).LT.MRS(L,CENSUS,NAME)) GO TO 47
                C       SEE IF ESSENTIAL DETAILS MATCH
                43      IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,COUNTY).NE.MRS(L,CENSUS,COUNTY)) GO TO 487
                        IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,UNION) .NE.MRS(L,CENSUS,UNION))  GO TO 487
50                      IF((MRS(L,CENSUS,AGE)-PERSON(1,CENSUS,AGE)).GE.1.AND.
                       *   (MRS(L,CENSUS,AGE)-PERSON(1,CENSUS,AGE)).LE.3)   GO TO 49
                        GO TO 487
                C       NAMES AND ESSENTIAL DETAILS MATCH - PERSON GOT MARRIED
                49      WRITE(8,4)  ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS),
55                     *(MRS(L,CENSUS,J),J=1,24)
                4       FORMAT(3(I2,1X,A6,1X,I1,1X,I2,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I3,1X,I1,1X,I3,
                       *1X,I1,1X,I6,1X,4I2,I1,3I2,4I1))
```

SUBROUTINE MARRY 76/76 OPT=2 PMDMP FTN 4.8+508 24/04/81 14.58.28 PAGE 2

```
                        REGSTR(II,FLAG)=2
                        MRS(L,CENSUS,MRSFLAG)=2
60                      NMARIED=NMARIED+1
                        GO TO 40
                C       PEOPLE NOT THE SAME AS ESSENTIAL DETAILS DIFFER
                C       GO BACK TO THE START OF MRS WITH SAME NAME
                487     LL=L
65              488     LL=LL-1
                        IF(LL.EQ.0) GO TO 44
                        IF(MRS(L,CENSUS,NAME).EQ.MRS(LL,CENSUS,NAME)) GO TO 488
```


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```
                44      LL=LL+1
                489     IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,COUNTY).NE.MRS(LL,CENSUS,COUNTY)) GO TO 455
70                      IF(PERSON(1,CENSUS,UNION) .NE.MRS(LL,CENSUS,UNION))  GO TO 455
                        IF((MRS(LL,CENSUS,AGE)-PERSON(1,CENSUS,AGE)).GE.1.AND.
                *     (MRS(LL,CENSUS,AGE)-PERSON(1,CENSUS,AGE)).LE.3)   GO TO 49
                455     LL=LL+1
                        IF(MRS(L,CENSUS,NAME).EQ.MRS(LL,CENSUS,NAME)) GO TO 489
75              C       END OF PEOPLE WITH SAME NAME AND NO MATCH FOUND
                        GO TO 48
                45      II=II+1
                        GO TO 41
                46      L=L+HALF
80              C       NO MATCH FOUND WITH THE MARRIED WOMEN
                        IF(HALF.EQ.0) GO TO 48
                        HALF=HALF/2
                        GO TO 42
                47      L=L-HALF
85                      IF(HALF.EQ.0) GO TO 48
                        HALF=HALF/2
                        GO TO 42
                48      WRITE(9,50) ((PERSON(1,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                        GO TO 40
90              60      IF(NMARIED.EQ.0) GO TO 75
                        GOOD=GOOD+NMARIED
                        BAD=BAD-(NMARIED*2)
                        N2=NMARIED*(CENSUS+1)
                        WRITE(6,70) NMARIED,N2
95              70      FORMAT(/I5," WOMEN(",I5,"CARDS) WERE MARRIED BETWEEN THE CENSUSES.
                *  THESE ARE INCLUDED IN THE TOTAL MATCHED PAIRS")
                        NMRS=NMRS-1
                        DO 100 I=1,NMRS
                        IF(MRS(I,CENSUS,MRSFLAG).EQ.2) GO TO 100
100                     WRITE(9,50) ((MRS(I,K,J),J=1,24),K=1,CENSUS)
                100     CONTINUE
                        CALL RESORT
                        REWIND2
                        UNIT=2
105                     GO TO 76
                75      UNIT=8
                76      REWIND 8
                        C=CENSUS+1
                80      READ(UNIT,4) ((SPLIT(I,J),J=1,24),I=1,C)
110                     IF(EOF(UNIT).NE.0.0) GO TO 110
                        WRITE(18,50)((SPLIT(I,J),J=1,24),I=1,C)
                        GO TO 80
                110     ENDFILE 18
                        RETURN
```

SUBROUTINE MARRY 76/76 OPT=2 PMDMP FTN 4.8+508 24/04/81 14.58.28 PAGE 3

```
115                     END
```

CARD NR. SEVERITY DETAILS DIAGNOSIS OF PROBLEM

56 I 37 CD 57 TOTAL RECORD LENGTH IS GREATER THAN 137 CHARACTERS. IT MAY EXCEED THE I/O DEVICE CAPACITY.

SUBROUTINE RESORT 76/76 OPT=2 PMDMP FTN 4.8+508 24/04/81 14.58.28 PAGE 1

```
1                       SUBROUTINE RESORT
                C       IF ANY MARRIED WOMEN ARE INCLUDED WITH THE ALREADY KNOWN PAIRS,
                C       THE PAIRS FILE WILL HAVE TO BE RESORTED.  MARRIED WOMEN WHO CHANGED
                C       THEIR NAME ARE SORTED ON THEIR MARRIED NAME
5                       IMPLICIT INTEGER (A-Z)
                        COMMON/LABELD/ CENSUS,PERSON(40,3,25)
                        COMMON/ ALSO /GOOD,BAD,LAST,FIRST,DEADS,YOUNG,SPINST,WEDDS
                        COMMON/ WORK /WORKA(600,5)
                        COMMON/ MRSS / MRS(600,3,25)
10                      LEVEL 2, MRS
                        NAME=4+(65*CENSUS)
                        SEX=11+(65*CENSUS)
                        AGE=24+(65*CENSUS)
                        MRL=65*(CENSUS+1)
15                      REWIND 2
                        REWIND 8
                        CALL SMSORT(MRL)
                        CALL SMFILE("SORT","FORMATTED",8)
                        CALL SMFILE("OUTPUT","FORMATTED",2)
20                      CALL SMKEY(NAME,1,6,0,"DISPLAY","DISPLAY")
                        CALL SMKEY(SEX,1,1,0,"DISPLAY","DISPLAY")
                        CALL SMKEY(AGE,1,3,0,"DISPLAY","DISPLAY")
```


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```
                          CALL SMEND
                          RETURN
      25                  END

   THERE WERE 297 PEOPLE ON THE DEATH REGISTER. OF THESE  60 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN MATCHED

   17 WOMEN(   51CARDS) WERE MARRIED BETWEEN THE CENSUSES. THESE ARE INCLUDED IN THE TOTAL MATCHED PAIRS


   ** TOTAL NUMBER OF CASES READ=  4292
   ** TOTAL MATCHED PAIRS=   349 THIS IS  1047 CARDS OR 24.00 PERCENT
   ** CASES NOT MATCHED=  3594  OF THESE  60   1.00 DIED.  -   0 BEFORE THE AGE OF 5, AND   3 BETWEEN THE AGE OF 5 AND 10
   568 WERE BORN BETWEEN THE 2 CENSUSES.  THIS IS 13.00 PERCENT
   NUMBER OF SINGLES=  2966


   ** TOTAL PEOPLE ACCOUNTED FOR = 38.00 - ADJUSTED PERCENT = 28.00

**** 7000 SCOPE 2.1.5  LVL  512C  APR 1981         24/04/81      81114

SYS DEVICES 819/ 4/PF FLS=200K FLL=764K MXS=164K MXL=413K MXB=413B

HH.MM.SS  CPU SECOND  ORIGIN
          14.53.39.MFH. **     LONDON UNIV. NOSBE  L481-F     MAR  81   CYBER72.
14.54.54  00000.016 LOD.      -JOB(GSSS006,J9,T120,LC5000,M7600,SN) KIBBLE
14.54.55  00000.023 USR.       COMMENT. JOB IN  14.53.06. 24/04/81  CYBER72.
14.55.02  00000.040 MFZ.      -ATTACH(BCDOUT,CENSUS121314,ID=IGUSE)
14.55.04  00000.045 MFZ.         PF254 - CYCLE    1 ATTACHED FROM SN=SYSTEM
14.55.04  00000.046 JOB.      -ATTACH(DEATH,SORTED DEATHS)
14.55.04  00000.050 MFZ.         PF254 - CYCLE    1 ATTACHED FROM SN=SYSTEM
14.55.04  00000.051 JOB.      -ATTACH(MARRIED,SORTED MARRIAGES)
14.55.04  00000.056 MFZ.         PF254 - CYCLE    1 ATTACHED FROM SN=SYSTEM
14.55.04  00000.057 LOD.      -COPYR(INPUT,DISC,2)
14.55.05  00000.064 USR.         UT030 - COPY COMPLETE
14.55.05  00000.065 USR.         UT035 -     EOR - 2
14.55.05  00000.066 LOD.      -COPYR(DEATH,DISC,297)
14.55.06  00000.118 USR.         UT030 - COPY COMPLETE
14.55.06  00000.119 USR.         UT035 -     EOR - 297
14.55.06  00000.119 LOD.      -COPYR(INPUT,DISC,1)
14.55.06  00000.126 USR.         UT030 - COPY COMPLETE
14.55.06  00000.127 USR.         UT035 -     EOR - 1
14.55.06  00000.128 LOD.      -COPYR(MARRIED,DISC,151)
14.55.07  00000.158 USR.         UT030 - COPY COMPLETE
14.55.07  00000.159 USR.         UT035 -     EOR - 151
14.55.07  00000.160 LOD.      -REWIND(DISC)
14.55.07  00000.163 LOD.      -RETURN(DEATH,MARRIED)
14.55.08  00000.169 JOB.      -STAGE(PAIRS,VSN=M3460V,PRE,E)
14.55.08  00000.172 LOD.      -COPYP(PAIRS,JUNK,8)
14.55.08  00000.179 MFZ.         JM260 - STAGE NT IN  LFN=PAIRS VSN=M3460V
            14.58.01 MFA.        14.54.55.VSN(PAIRS=M3460V)
            14.58.01 MFA.        14.56.22.REQUEST(PAIRS,NT,PE,US,NORING,U,E,S,VSN=M3460V)
            14.58.01 MFA.        14.56.22.( NT 075 ASSIGNED)
            14.58.01 MFA.        14.56.22.-SP- PRE STAGING
            14.58.01 MFA.        14.56.22.NT75 VOLUME SERIAL NUMBER IS  M3460V
            14.58.02 MFA.        14.57.41.NT75 BLOCKS READ- 000814
            14.58.02 MFA.        14.57.41.NT75  BLOCKS READ 000814
            14.58.02 NTS.         JM511 - WORDS  READ-     1453103B
14.58.28  00007.909 USR.         UT030 - COPY COMPLETE
14.58.28  00007.910 USR.         UT035 -     EOR - 19412          EOS -          0    EOP - 8
14.58.28  00007.910 LOD.      -UNLOAD(PAIRS)
14.58.28  00007.914 LOD.      -REWIND(JUNK)
14.58.28  00007.918 LOD.      -FTN(SL)
14.59.35  00010.017 USR.            2.094 CP SECONDS COMPILATION TIME
14.59.35  00010.018 JOB.      -STAGE(PAIRS,VSN=M3460V,POST,N)
14.59.35  00010.019 LOD.      -COPYP(JUNK,PAIRS,8)
14.59.56  00017.463 USR.         UT030 - COPY COMPLETE
14.59.56  00017.466 USR.         UT035 -     EOR - 19412          EOS -          0    EOP - 8
14.59.56  00017.467 JOB.      -LDSET(MAP=B/ZZZZZMP)
14.59.56  00017.468 LOD.      -LGO(DISC)
15.00.44  00017.758 MFZ.         LD610 - FLS REQUIRED TO LOAD - 0014616 OU.COG
15.00.46  00017.760 MFZ.         LD603 - EXECUTION INITIATED OS.EXP
15.00.46  00017.760 USR.       FORTRAN LIBRARY 518              31/10/80
15.03.10  00063.417 USR.         SORT -  OBJECT LIBRARY CY512
15.03.10  00063.569 USR.
15.03.10  00063.569 USR.         ** INSERTIONS DURING INPUT    *********0
15.03.10  00063.569 USR.         ** DELETIONS DURING INPUT     *********0
15.03.10  00063.570 USR.         ** TOTAL RECORDS SORTED       *******349
15.03.10  00063.570 USR.         ** INSERTIONS DURING OUTPUT   *********0
15.03.10  00063.570 USR.         ** DELETIONS DURING OUTPUT    *********0
15.03.10  00063.570 USR.         ** TOTAL RECORDS OUTPUT       *******349
15.03.13  00065.391 USR.            STOP
15.03.13  00065.391 USR.            045000    FINAL EXECUTION FL.
15.03.13  00065.392 USR.            47.628 CP SECONDS EXECUTION TIME.
15.03.13  00065.392 LOD.      -UNLOAD(BCDOUT)
```


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```
15.03.13 00065.400 MFZ.          JM261 - STAGE NT OUT LFN=PAIRS VSN=M3460V
         15.18.46 MFA.        15.13.54.VSN(PAIRS=M3460V)
         15.18.46 MFA.        15.17.25.REQUEST(PAIRS,NT,PE,US,RING,U,N,S,VSN=M3460V)
         15.18.46 MFA.        15.17.25.( NT 076 ASSIGNED)
         15.18.46 MFA.        15.17.25.-SP- POST STAGING
         15.18.47 MFA.        15.17.27.NT76 VOLUME SERIAL NUMBER IS  M3460V
         15.18.47 MFA.        15.18.25.NT76  BLOCKS WRITTEN -000831
         15.18.47 NTS.          JM513 - WORDS  WRITTEN-  1473434B
15.18.49 00065.406 MFZ.          JM166 - MAXIMUM USER SCM          55000B WORDS
15.18.49 00065.407 MFZ.          JM167 - MAXIMUM USER LCM        1300000B WORDS
15.18.49 00065.407 MFZ.          JM170 - MAXIMUM JS+IO LCM           114B BUFFERS
15.18.49 00065.407 MFZ.          RM770 - MAXIMUM ACTIVE FILES                  15
15.18.49 00065.407 MFZ.          RM771 - OPEN/CLOSE CALLS                     152
15.18.49 00065.408 MFZ.          RM772 - DATA TRANSFER CALLS               148,269
15.18.49 00065.408 MFZ.          RM773 - CONTROL/POSITIONING CALLS             118
15.18.49 00065.408 MFZ.          RM774 - BM DATA TRANSFER CALLS              7,662
15.18.49 00065.408 MFZ.          RM775 - BM CONTROL/POSITIONING CALLS          292
15.18.49 00065.409 MFZ.          RM776 - QUEUE MANAGER CALLS                 1,193
15.18.49 00065.409 MFZ.          RM777 - RECALL CALLS                          526
15.18.49 00065.409 MFZ.          SCM                1 024.630  KWS
15.18.49 00065.410 MFZ.          LCM                2 184.800  KWS
15.18.49 00065.410 MFZ.          I/C                    2.125  MW
15.18.49 00065.410 MFZ.          RMS                   56.260  MWS
15.18.49 00065.410 MFZ.          USER                  44.331  SEC
15.18.49 00065.411 MFZ.          JOB                   65.412  SEC
15.18.49 00065.411 MFZ.          DIO                2 788.124  KW
15.18.49 00065.411 MFZ.          SIO                  839.007  KW
15.18.49 00065.411 MFZ.          USAGE                 10.960  7600 UNITS
15.18.49 00065.412 MFZ.          CHARGED               10.960  7600 UNITS
15.18.49 00065.412 MFZ.          SC050 -    163 SC/LC SWAPS
15.18.49 00065.412 MFZ.          COST AT AUG 1981 RATES          11.377  UNITS
GS9S0Q6.   704 LINES PRINTED.53
15.18.50.  24/04/81  LONDON UNIV. NOSBE  L481-F     MAR  81   CYBER72.
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