

The male occupational structure of London 1700-1881: A complex picture of London's development

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London during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

During the early eighteenth century London was the most important economic centre in Britain, and one of the most important in the world. It was by far the largest centre of population in the nation, growing from c. 575,000 in 1700 to c. 675,000 in 1750. By 1801 London's population was c. 900,000, in 1851 it had reached 2.4 million, and in 1911 it was 5.0 million.¹ Establishing occupational structure is vital because it is *the* key factor in understanding economic development, as well as change in social structure.² In spite of its slow population growth over the first half of the eighteenth century, London retained its centrality to the national economy. As F.M.L. Thompson, Leonard Schwarz and Robert Allen all argue, London was so big and important that its growth was a major factor in national growth, indeed contributing to the first Industrial Revolution taking place in Great Britain.³ As E.A. Wrigley argues, early modern London was 'so constituted sociologically, demographically and economically that it could well reinforce and accelerate incipient change'.⁴ By the later nineteenth century London and its environs had the largest regional share of the United Kingdom's GDP; rising from 17.7 per cent

¹ L.D. Schwarz, 'London 1700-1840', in P. Clark, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, volume II 1540-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), table 19.1, p. 650.

² E.A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in changing English society and economy, 1650-1750', *Past and Present*, 37 (1967), 44-70; A. L. Beier and R. A. P. Finlay, 'Introduction: the significance of the metropolis', in *London 1500-1700: the making of the metropolis*, ed. A. L. Beier and R. A. P. Finlay (London and New York: Longman, 1986), pp. 1-33; R.O. Bucholz and J.P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1-32.

³ F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900* (London: Fontana, 1988), pp. 28-9; Schwarz, 'London 1700-1840', p. 670; R.C. Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁴ Wrigley, 'Simple Model', 54.

in 1861 to 20.1 per cent in 1911.⁵ This article deploys new evidence, which will show how London's male occupational structure changed over the first half of the eighteenth century.

In spite of its importance, London's occupational structure during the first half of the eighteenth century is still not well understood. A.L. Beier has used samples from fifteen London burial registers to show the significance of manufacturing in seventeenth-century London, but his study does not cover the West End – one of the fastest growing parts of the city.⁶ D. V. Glass' study from the 1690s using the Poll Tax and Marriage Duty Assessments is similarly limited by patchy geographical coverage.⁷ Indeed, given that marked occupational zoning characterized London's economic topography, it is arguable how valid conclusions drawn from a limited (and unrepresentative) geographical range of the metropolis can actually be. London's occupational structure during the nineteenth century has been the subject of more detailed study. Leonard Schwarz has used the 1851 Census as a vantage point from which to examine London's occupational structure since 1700. He suggests that manufacturing was the most important sector in London, but was perhaps in decline from a highpoint in the seventeenth century.⁸ Paul Johnson argues that once farming and mining are removed from the picture, Victorian London's occupational structure was not overwhelmingly different from the rest of Britain; rather, it distinguished itself by its large scale, transport and communications, and the fact it was fully monetised.⁹ Michael Ball and David Sunderland have used Census records to examine London between 1800 and 1914 concluding that 'London became less industrially specialized between 1800 and the early 1900s but, even so, over a third of its huge workforce remained employed in manufacturing, making it one of the largest manufacturing centres in the country'.¹⁰ Leigh Shaw-Taylor's work on London between 1817 and 1871, utilizing the Census and baptism records that

⁵ However, during this time GDP per worker did decline by around 15%. F. Geary and T. Stark, 'Regional GDP in the UK, 1861-1911: new estimates', *Economic History Review*, 68 (2015), tables 3 and 4, 130.

⁶ A.L. Beier, 'Engine of Manufacture: the Trades of London', in A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds., *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986), pp. 141-67

⁷ D. V. Glass, 'Socio-economic status and occupations in the City of London at the end of the seventeenth century', in P. Clark, ed., *The Early Modern Town: A Reader* (London: Prentice Hall Press, 1976), pp. 216-32.

⁸ L.D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation: Entrepreneurs, labour force and living conditions, 1700-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁹ P. Johnson, 'Economic development and industrial dynamism in Victorian London', *London Journal*, 21 (1996), 32.

¹⁰ M. Ball and D. Sunderland, *An Economic History of London, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 9-10.

specified the father's occupation, suggests there was a major shift in occupations from the secondary to the tertiary sector, much earlier than has been previously presumed.¹¹

London played a significant role within the national economy, firstly because of its vast size; indeed, Wrigley has estimated that from 1650 to 1750 one-sixth of the adult population of England had direct experience of living in London.¹² According to some historians, this did not translate to it being a major centre of manufacturing during the Industrial Revolution. Schwarz argues that much of the process of industrialization in England took place away from London, where raw materials were changed into semi-finished goods like bales of cloth or bars of iron. London then adapted to the availability of these new, increasingly cheap, goods not by building factories but by specialising in the 'downstream' end of manufacture, focusing on finished goods with high value-added content. Effectively, London became a place that imported goods from the Midlands and the North and converted them to their own use.¹³ In addition, the demand of London promoted better transport networks to decrease costs.¹⁴ London's importance to provincial industry increased over time. By the end of the nineteenth century the rise of large-scale retailing of mass-produced goods and products had undermined London's own craftsmen and artisans, meaning it relied on manufacturers located outside of the metropolis more than ever.¹⁵ As such, the demand of London (particularly its port and court) was an important stimulus for industries in other English cities (and indeed those further afield). John Styles suggests that London played a major role in the wave of innovations that characterised early modern England's material culture – it was there that new products were 'imported, invented, endorsed, Anglicized, copied, adapted, reformulated and marketed', because its large population meant there was huge scope for specialization and differentiation.¹⁶ The higher wages available in London meant its residents could afford to purchase goods that had previously been luxuries only available to the elite; this helped introduced new norms and patterns of consumption to the rest of the country, for example the use of shops as the main mode of retail and the

¹¹ L. Shaw-Taylor, 'A Hidden Contribution to Industrialization? The Male Occupational Structure of London 1817-1871', [www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/abstracts/paper3.pdf], accessed 13 March, 2014.

¹² Wrigley, 'Simple Model', 49.

¹³ Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation*, pp. 231-2.

¹⁴ Wrigley, 'Simple Model', 61.

¹⁵ Ball and Sunderland, *Economic History of London*, p. 142.

¹⁶ J. Styles, 'Product Innovation in Early Modern London', *Past and Present*, 168 (2000), 125, 128-30.

popularisation of consuming things like sugar, tea, and tobacco.¹⁷ Early modern London was also the chief destination for immigrants, who played a vital role in building up England's stock of human capital and skills, particularly in manufacturing where they introduced new techniques that stimulated growth in a wide range of industries such as glass-making, metal-work, new luxury commodities like jointed furniture, coaches, and clocks, and, most successfully, silk-making.¹⁸

The provisioning of London relied on a sophisticated set of institutions and activities,¹⁹ and therefore its growth provided a major stimulus for provincial agriculture and mining. Although up to the mid-eighteenth century it was surrounded by a ring of market gardens on its periphery, by the mid-seventeenth century London's food supply had extended far beyond the Home Counties, with its dairy supply extending as far north as Northumberland and East Anglia being a regular supplier of grain. In fact, London's growth from 1650 to 1750 may have led to increasing English per capita agricultural productivity by at least thirteen per cent.²⁰ By the beginning of the eighteenth century London had almost completely transitioned to coal from wood, and until around 1770 almost all of its supply of coal came from the vicinity of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Sunderland. London's demand stimulated the English coal industry, with knock-on consequences such as increasing investment in the steam engine and the railway, as well as leading to an expansion in English shipping capacity and the construction of more efficient vessels.²¹ The majority of coal in London was used for domestic heating purposes rather than industry – in fact the government's high taxes on the commodity (combined with anti-combination laws) may have made coal artificially expensive, therefore limiting industrial growth in the city.²²

Services came to dominate London's role in the English economy, which increased the price of land and labour. Therefore, as Schwarz argues, 'the greatest effect of the increased wealth that

¹⁷ Wrigley, 'Simple Model', 51.

¹⁸ L.B. Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London, 1500-1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 2-3.

¹⁹ Wrigley, 'Simple Model', 53-4, 61.

²⁰ F.J. Fisher, *London and the English Economy, 1500-1700*, ed. P.J. Corfield and N.B. Harte (London and Ronceverte: Hambledon Press, 1990), pp. 62-6; M. Thick, 'Market Gardening in England and Wales', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales volume V 1640-1750: II. Agrarian Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 503-32; Wrigley, 'Simple Model', 55-7.

²¹ Wrigley, 'Simple Model', 58-9.

²² W.J. Hausman, 'A Model of the London Coal Trade in the Eighteenth Century', *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 94 (1980), 1-2, 11.

industrialisation and Britain's role in the world brought to London was to strengthen the dominance of the service sector, where London led the world'.²³ London monopolized a wide variety of functions, which were often shared out amongst a larger number of cities in other countries; it was both the seat of government and the largest port, which led to the development of a financial market, conspicuous consumption, publishing, professions, and several other economic sectors.²⁴ London's most important role in the national economy came as a result of its large and extensive port – it was the main centre of trans-shipments in the country, and from 1500 grew from being on the periphery of an intra-European transportation system to the centre of a worldwide one, making it an international trading hub.²⁵ It was also the financial core of England; indisputably the centre of national wealth and a hub of all professions, whilst its banking facilities played a major role in financing agricultural and industrial change in the rest of the country.²⁶ The growth of the service sector in London made it a magnet for those from other parts of England seeking employment opportunities; from 1841 to 1911 over one-fifth of new jobs created in Britain were in services based in London and Middlesex.²⁷

The Fleet Chapels and Clandestine Marriage

This paper will use the marriage registers of the Fleet Chapels to examine London's male occupational structure. Fleet marriages were an important feature of metropolitan, and even English, life in the early eighteenth century. Their importance arose from changes in marriage practices and preferences. Starting in the early seventeenth century, increasing numbers of Londoners (as well as people from outside of the city, and some from even from outside of England) did not wish to be constrained by the regulations of marrying by banns (on Sundays) in their parish church. Instead, they married by license. This meant that banns did not have to

²³ Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation*, pp. 233-4.

²⁴ P. Earle, 'The economy of London, 1660-1730', in P.K. O'Brien *et al*, ed., *Urban achievement in early modern Europe: Golden Ages in Antwerp, Amsterdam and London* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001), pp. 82-3.

²⁵ Ball and Sunderland, *Economic History of London*, pp. 15-16, 56-7; B. Dietz, 'Overseas trade and metropolitan growth', in *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, ed. A.L. Beier and R.A.P. Finlay (Longman: London and New York, 1986), p. 133; N. Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 7, 280.

²⁶ Schwarz, 'London 1700-1840', p. 649; Wrigley, 'Simple Model', 62.

²⁷ R. Dennis, 'Modern London', in Martin Daunton, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, volume III 1840-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 121.

posted, and the marriage could take place on any day of the week and outside of one's home parish. Such unions were deemed to be 'clandestine marriages'.

During the seventeenth century, certain London parishes (particularly Holy Trinity Minories and St James Duke's Place) became centres of clandestine marriage. The passing of the Marriage Duty Act in 1695 saw an increase of marriage in parish churches, and the popularity of Holy Trinity Minories and St James Duke's Place as centres of clandestine marriage fell away. After the Marriage Duty Act, the chapels of the Fleet Prison and its rules, located near Farringdon Street just to the west of the Walls of the City, would enjoy a virtual monopoly on clandestine marriages in London (they were other less popular centres in Mayfair, the Southwark Mint, and the King's Bench Prison). The Fleet would enjoy this status until the Hardwicke Act came into effect in 1754. Fleet marriages were by no means unusual in eighteenth-century London. Jeremy Boulton suggests that by the 1740s around half of metropolitan marriages were being conducted at the Fleet.²⁸ The Fleet was not only a prison and place of marriage – it was also a popular recreational area with a coffee house, tap room, racket courts, and a kitchen.²⁹

Marrying (and visiting) at the Fleet was a commonplace act in early eighteenth-century London. In spite of this, Fleet marriages were associated with shady activity, and had a reputation for irregularity and attracting marginal and debauched figures, as well as bigamous unions.³⁰ However, marriages conducted there were legally binding. Marriages at the Fleet were not just for the poor and those of lower socio-economic status – in fact, the fees there were not much cheaper than marrying in a parish church.³¹ Marriage at the Fleet was quick and convenient – benefits that appealed to all socio-economic groups. Jacob Field has shown that people who married at the Fleet were 'generally no different from those who married anywhere else'. People from across London married at the Fleet during the first half of the eighteenth century, and that

²⁸ J. P. Boulton, 'Itching after private marryings? Marriages customs in seventeenth-century London', *London Journal*, 16/1 (1991), pp. 15-34; J. P. Boulton, 'Clandestine marriages in London: an examination of a neglected urban variable', *Urban History*, 20 (1993), pp. 191-210; R. L. Brown, 'The rise and fall of the Fleet marriages', in R. B. Outhwaite, ed., *Marriage and society: studies in the social history of marriage* (1981), pp. 117-36.

²⁹ R. L. Brown, 'The rise and fall of the Fleet marriages', in R. B. Outhwaite, ed., *Marriage and society: studies in the social history of marriage* (1981), p. 120.

³⁰ Bucholz and Ward, *London*, p. 343; J. White, *London in the eighteenth century: a great and monstrous thing* (London: The Bodley Head), pp. 497-8.

³¹ Boulton, 'Clandestine marriages in London', pp. 203-4.

the parochial origins of those who married there were closely correlated with the size of the parish. This suggests that the Fleet will be geographically representative of London's population structure.³² Even so, possible sources of geographical and occupational bias will be examined in this article to ensure that the data extracted from the Fleet is representative.

Despite their poor reputation, the Fleet parsons took considerable pains to make the ceremonies as solemn as possible, and their marriage registers recorded more detail than many contemporary parochial registers.³³ Crucially, the occupation of the groom was recorded very frequently. This is vital because such information is not commonly recorded in many parish registers in London – particularly in the West End. Furthermore, the Fleet might be more accurate than parochial registers because the groom himself reported his occupation to the parson, whereas in the parish it might be possible that it was written down by the officiating priest for him. Two three-year samples (1710-12, which will be referred to as c. 1711, and 1750-2, which will be referred to as c. 1751) were taken from the Fleet Registers held at The National Archives. Every marriage from the extant Fleet registers for these years was abstracted, although to save time nominal information was not recorded. This may not include all of the marriages that took place in the Fleet, as the records may be incomplete, but as will be shown, the information that was abstracted was enough to form a useful dataset. Duplicate entries are a possible source of error for this dataset, as marriages are occasionally recorded twice in different registers. To remedy this, the dataset was double-checked for potential duplicate entries (i.e. those that were seemingly identical - for example, if there were duplicate entries of a bachelor waterman from St Saviour Southwark married a widow from St Leonard Shoreditch on 1 April 1711). When a marriage was a potential duplicate entry, the marriage was checked in the manuscript to extract the nominal information and determine if indeed it was the same marriage recorded twice. If so, the duplicate entry was then deleted. Where they were given, the grooms' occupations (no occupations were recorded for brides) were coded to Wrigley's Primary, Secondary, Tertiary

³² J.F. Field, 'An Examination of Fleet Weddings, c. 1710-50: Who Married There?', *Continuity and Change*, 32 (2017), 349-77.

³³ T. Benton, *Irregular marriages in London before 1754* (2nd edition, London: Society of Genealogists, 2000), pp. 32-3.

System (PST), which ascribes occupational descriptors a numerical code.³⁴ This allowed for easy comparison between the two samples, as well as other occupational sources collected by the *Occupational Structure of Britain 1379-1911* Project.

Additionally, where they were given – the residences of the brides and grooms were coded to the Roger Kain and Richard Oliver’s digitized boundary map polygons to allow for mapping using GIS. Parishes that were split up into smaller units in the 1710s and 1720s, such as St Martin in the Fields (from which the parish of St George Hanover Square was created in 1724), were reconstituted into their original parish boundaries, so that the same geographical areas were being compared. Similarly, the City parishes that were united under the 1670 Second Rebuilding Act (for example, All Hallows Honey Lane, St Pancras Soper Lane, and St Mary le Bow) were joined together in the same mapping unit. ‘London’ was defined as the built up area covered by the map of the metropolis produced by John Rocque in 1746, digitized by the *Old Bailey Online* Project.³⁵ The aggregate figures for the data collected are set out in table 1. The numbers shown in table 1 broadly match Boulton’s estimates of c. 2,000 couples marrying at the Fleet per annum in 1700, rising to c. 4,500 by 1750.³⁶ Table 1 also shows that, with London’s population growing fairly slowly compared to later decades over the period considered here,³⁷ Fleet marriages increased in relative popularity, and also in the level of occupational and residential detail recorded for grooms.

The increase in residential information is due to the far higher numbers of grooms in the earlier period who gave their residence as a ship (and who therefore could not be assigned a geographical location). For the c. 1711 sample, 17.8 per cent of grooms gave their residence as a ship – falling to a negligible 0.04 per cent for the c. 1751 sample. This reflects both a change in recording as well as a spike in ships docked in London associated with the ongoing War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14).³⁸ Those grooms describing themselves as ‘gentlemen’ were not

³⁴ E.A. Wrigley, ‘The PST system of classifying occupations’, [www.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/occupations/Britain19cpapers/paper1.pdf], accessed 31 May, 2013.

³⁵ [www.oldbaileyonline.org/forms/formMaps/jsp], accessed 31 May, 2013.

³⁶ Boulton, ‘Clandestine marriages in London’, pp. 198-9.

³⁷ Schwarz, ‘London 1700-1840’, table 19.1, p. 650.

³⁸ The five ships that provided the most grooms in the 1710-12 Fleet registers were all Royal Navy ships of the line. The one that provided the most grooms (thirty-nine) was the HMS *Salisbury Prize* The HMS *Dunkirk* provided

counted as giving occupations – as it is a vague descriptor, and does not usually accurately represent the occupational group of the person using it.³⁹ Self-described ‘gentlemen’ were possibly slightly over-represented in the Fleet compared to the nation at large. They numbered 1.9 per cent and 2.4 per cent of the c. 1711 and c. 1751 samples, respectively.

Re-weighting for geographical population structure

Before the Fleet data can be used to examine London’s occupational structure, it needs to be checked to ensure that it matches metropolitan population structure. To accurately re-weight the data for population structure, parish populations need to be calculated. For this purpose, they do not have to be exact – they just have to reflect relative population proportions. Using metropolitan parish registers for this method is fraught with difficulty. Populations based on burials may be inaccurate due to mortality spikes due to disease. Also, there was a considerable traffic in corpses across London that varied over time, which would further distort populations using burial numbers.⁴⁰ The baptism registers are similarly problematic given variations in the sex ratio between parishes, as well as incidence of non-conformists. London’s marital practices, as have been explained above were also extremely varied and could produce inaccurate populations.

Field had used the counts of houses produced in 1739 by the historian and topographer William Maitland (c. 1693-1757) to create populations for London parishes.⁴¹ The overall population figure for London in 1739 calculated using this approach was around 600,000.⁴² This is an encouragingly similar figure to the estimate of metropolitan population in 1739 (based on an annual growth rate of 0.321 per cent between 1700 and 1750) of c. 651,604.⁴³ The relative population shares of each parish were then multiplied by this population figure for 1739 to give

thirty-four grooms, the HMS *Lenox* provided thirty-one grooms, the HMS *Swiftsure* provided twenty-seven grooms, and the HMS *Boyne* provided twenty-six grooms. In total there were 414 distinct ship names in the c. 1711 sample.

³⁹ The PST System codes ‘gentlemen’ as ‘5,65, 0, 4’, placing them in the tertiary sector.

⁴⁰ J.P. Boulton, ‘Saving the poor worms from starving? Traffic in corpses and the commodification of burial in Georgian London’, *Continuity and Change*, 29 (2014), 181-208; Field, ‘Examination of Fleet Weddings’, 349-77.

⁴¹ Thank you to Jeremy Boulton for providing this information. Maitland did not include information for All Saints Poplar, Greenwich, Deptford, and the united parishes of St Martin Pomeroy and St Olave Old Jewry. These were calculated using the population density of neighbouring parishes.

⁴² 599,767 to be precise.

⁴³ Schwarz, ‘London 1700-1840’, table 19.1, p. 650. Using this method the population in 1711 was c. 595,645 and the population in 1751 (based on annual growth rate of 0.716% between 1750 and 1801) was 679,830.

approximate individual parochial populations for this year. The next stage was to apply these relative shares of London's population for c. 1711 and c. 1751. During this period not all parts of London were growing in population. The City within the Walls, in particular, was stagnant. Across the early modern period suburban (i.e. outside of the Walls) growth was the major factor in London's overall population growth, and the City's overall share of the population declined over time.⁴⁴ So, whilst the City within the Walls' absolute population may not have fallen, in relative terms it was decreasing compared to other areas of London. Therefore, for example, applying the 1739 population shares to create our c. 1711 and c. 1751 without correction would lead to the City being under-represented in the earlier period and over-represented in the later period. Therefore, the absolute totals of the City within the Walls' population in 1739 were held steady for both c. 1711 and c. 1751 whilst assuming other areas of London were growing constantly over time according to our annual population growth rates, based on accepted totals for London's population between 1700 and 1801. Although it was probable that not all areas of London were indeed growing constantly over the eighteenth century, calculating accurate growth rates for each individual parish during this time is not possible given the issues with early modern metropolitan vital records detailed above. Furthermore, the aim of this exercise was not to calculate exact parish populations but give some idea of their relative share so that the Fleet could be re-weighted to more accurately reflect London's population topography.

The c. 1711 and c. 1751 estimated parish populations were compared to the number of Fleet grooms with occupations (excluding gentlemen) from each parish using Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient. This showed that the estimated parish populations were almost perfectly correlated with the Fleet in c. 1711 ($R^2=0.955$, $P<0.001$) and c. 1751 ($R^2=0.970$, $P<0.001$). This suggests that the Fleet registers broadly reflect the geographical population structure of London. Likewise, when the numbers of grooms from each parish from the c. 1711 and c. 1751 datasets were compared, there was also almost perfect correlation ($R^2=0.957$,

⁴⁴ R.A.P. Finlay and B. Shearer, 'Population growth and suburban expansion', in A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds., *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986), p. 44; J.P. Boulton, 'London 1540-1700', in P. Clark, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, volume II 1540-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 317; D. Keene, 'Growth, modernisation and control: the transformation of London's landscape, c. 1500-c. 1760', in P. Clark and R. Gillespie, eds., *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840* (London: British Academy, 2001), p. 8.

$P < 0.001$). This shows that the geographical make-up of the grooms marrying at the Fleet did not change significantly over the first half of the eighteenth century, meaning that the two datasets are more comparable. This helps to establish that the Fleet marriage registers are indeed an important, and representative, source for London's occupational structure – and indeed the only metropolitan-wide source until the early nineteenth century.

Even though the levels of correlation are very high, this is not to say that there are some important differences, reflecting biases in the socio-economic make-up of the grooms marrying at the Fleet. As table 2 shows, when the data is aggregated by region, differences emerge. Grooms from the City within the Walls are under-represented. This may be because these parishes were generally wealthier, and therefore their parishioners were less likely to use the Fleet. Once the City within the Walls is removed, the different regions of London are more comparable. However, the East End is still over-represented compared to its population in c. 1751. This is due to the high numbers of sailors from this area. The rise in proportion of grooms from the East End (from 25.3 per cent to 30.0 per cent) is an artefact of the c. 1711 sample systematically not recording the sailors' parishes, just their ships. This may also explain the rise (from 14.2 per cent to 16.7 per cent) in grooms from south of the River, where many involved in the maritime trade were resident. There are high numbers of grooms from the northern suburbs in the c. 1711 sample compared to population structure revealed by the populations based Maitland's figures. This may be due to the area's high numbers of craftsmen and manufacturers, groups possibly more likely to use the Fleet than others.⁴⁵ Given that there do appear to be some differences between a parish's population and the number of grooms from there who marry in the Fleet, re-weighting the data according to parochial populations will make it better represent London's occupational structure. The re-weighting will only be done once the dataset has been corrected for any possible occupational biases. This is to ensure that there is no over-reweighting by population if certain occupations are clustered in particular parishes.

Recalibrating for occupational structure

⁴⁵ T. Sakata, 'The growth of London and its regional structure in early modern period', *Keio Economic Studies*, 38 (2001), pp. 12-14.

An unusual feature of the dataset is the apparently high number of husbandmen residing in London, particularly for the c. 1751 sample. It is highly unlikely they were all involved in agriculture. Firstly, many of the ‘husbandmen’ came from wholly built-up parishes (i.e. not on the periphery of metropolis). For the c. 1711 sample over one-third of the ‘husbandmen’ were from such areas. This rises to half for c. 1751 (some were from entirely built up parishes – e.g. there were four husbandmen from the City parish of St Andrew by the Wardrobe). Parishes on the periphery of the metropolis (for example Lambeth), where some of their area is in non-built-up areas, could feasibly be home to husbandmen actually working in agriculture. However, most of the agriculture in these places was small market gardens growing fruit and vegetables. Larger farms were been rarer.⁴⁶ Accordingly (re-weighted by parish population), 1.1 per cent and 1.5 per cent of the c. 1711 and c. 1751 grooms, respectively, were gardeners. However, there were only negligible numbers of farmers (four in c. 1711, nine in c. 1751) and yeomen (one in both c. 1711 and c. 1751). Alongside these figures, the high numbers of ‘husbandmen’ appear very incongruous. It is more likely that the majority of those grooms who described themselves as ‘husbandmen’ in the Fleet registers were actually labourers. As such, in the later analysis, ‘husbandmen’ from the Fleet will be added to labourers.

To check that there is no systematic bias for or against certain occupations amongst grooms marrying at the Fleet, it is necessary to test its occupational structure against another source for male occupations. Some London parishes recorded the occupation of the father in baptism registers during the first half of the eighteenth century. There are fourteen such parishes dating between 1690 and 1729,⁴⁷ and six such parishes from 1740-69.⁴⁸ Their occupational structure will be compared to the Fleet. However, the figures from the Fleet and the baptism registers will both be re-weighted by the parochial populations in 1711 and 1751 calculated from Maitland to correct for any bias in the number of baptisms recorded or number of grooms per parish. The marriage register for the large East End parish of St Dunstan Stepney also included occupational

⁴⁶ Most market gardens around London at this time were two or three acres in size. Thick, ‘Market Gardening’, p. 512.

⁴⁷ They are: St Nicholas Deptford, St Andrew Holborn, St Dionis Backchurch, St Dunstan in the West, St Faith under St Paul’s, St Giles Cripplegate, St Mary Staining, St Mary Woolnoth, St Peter Cornhill, Poplar, St Paul Shadwell, St Leonard Shoreditch, St Olave Southwark, and St Saviour Southwark.

⁴⁸ They are: St John of Wapping, St Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, Greenwich, St Giles Cripplegate, St Olave Southwark (including St John Horsleydown), and St Saviour Southwark.

and residential detail for grooms during the early eighteenth century, and this will also be compared to the Fleet as an additional check on the source's reliability. As will be seen, this will prove important when assessing the numbers of mariners and sailors, an occupational group that married at the Fleet in relatively high numbers. The comparison between the Fleet and baptism registers is shown in tables 3 and 4.

This process further elucidated the problem of the 'metropolitan husbandman'. For the earlier period, 'husbandmen' made up 0.1 per cent of the occupational structure revealed by the baptism registers – compared to 1.0 per cent as shown by the Fleet. Similarly, for the later period, 'husbandmen' made up 0.2 per cent of the occupational structure revealed by the baptism registers – compared to 3.5 per cent as shown by the Fleet. These major differences (by a factor of more than ten) appear unlikely – particularly given the broadly comparable figures for other occupational groups tables 3 and 4 show. When 'husbandmen' are added to labourers for the Fleet grooms, the two sources show a higher level of similarity.

Although many occupational groups appeared to be relatively similar, this exercise revealed some important biases that appeared in the Fleet registers. For the earlier period, footwear, clothing, fishing, and 'services and professions' were all over-represented in the Fleet. Dealers, sellers, and 'transport and communication' were under-represented. For the later period, fishing, gardening, clothing and 'transport and communications' were over-represented in the Fleet and sellers and 'services and professions' were under-represented. All occupational groups will be more closely examined to determine where and why the bias arose, and what steps should be made to correct for it.

It is also useful to compare the Fleet Registers to another London parish marriage register. This is because some of the differences between the Fleet and the baptism registers may have arisen due to differences in the life cycle of the Fleet grooms and the fathers in the baptism records. Comparing two records of marriage should help to address this. If the same occupational groups are being over- or under-represented in the Fleet as were shown in table 4, then the differences are more likely to be due to an occupational bias in the Fleet, rather than one caused by

differences arising from comparing marriage and baptism records. Table 5 shows the comparisons between the occupational structure of the grooms in the Fleet Registers in c. 1711 and the grooms in the parish marriage registers of St Dunstan Stepney, a large parish in the East End, for the same period. Although this parish is far from being 'typical', having higher numbers employed in the maritime trade, its size meant it provided a high number of observations with which to compare to the Fleet. Importantly this register also included the additional detail of the grooms' home parish – so those who were not from St Dunstan Stepney could be identified and excluded. This marriage register continues to include grooms' occupations in 1750-2 but it was not compared to the Fleet sample for these years. This is because in the years between the Fleet samples were taken five new parishes were created from parts of St Dunstan Stepney; St Mary Stratford in 1719, Christchurch Spitalfields, St Anne Limehouse and St George in the East in 1729, and St Matthew Bethnal Green in 1743. As such, by c. 1751, it is impossible to determine if grooms in the Fleet giving their residence as 'Stepney' are referring to the new, smaller, parish – or the larger area covered by the parish before it was split up. Therefore, the St Dunstan Stepney marriage register cannot be reliably compared to the Fleet in the later period. Sample sizes are smaller than those in tables 3 and 4, so the findings for table 5 are not as robust, which may explain some of the wide variations between the sources for smaller categories (for example in fishing). Table 5 shows that the occupational structures revealed by both sources are broadly similar, although there are some differences between specific occupational groups. Firstly, the Fleet shows the same bias towards over-representation of grooms involved in footwear. Secondly, sailors and mariners were under-represented in the Fleet sample compared to the marriage registers (11.5 per cent compared to 17.8 per cent). This was due to sailors giving their residence as a ship rather than a parish.

Given the differences revealed in tables 3 and 4, it is clear that the Fleet figures must be adjusted to correct for their occupational biases. This recalibration will be based on the differences between the baptism register samples and the sub-set of the Fleet registers from the same parishes. Each occupational group will be examined in turn to show how this exercise was conducted. For the more diverse occupational groups (e.g. 'transport and communications') this will be particularly important. Occupational groups will be broken down into narrower subsets.

The sub-group must comprise more than 0.5 per cent of the sub-set. In total, there were thirty-four occupational sub-groups. Once the Fleet registers have been re-weighted by occupation, they will then be re-weighted to correct for geographical bias using the Maitland parish populations. Figures 1a and 1b show graphically the differences between the Fleet and baptism registers for c. 1711 and c. 1751. It is clear that there is a degree of correlation between the occupational breakdowns of the Fleet and the baptism registers for both periods,⁴⁹ although it is also evident that some occupational sub-groups differ widely.

*Primary (PST Code beginning 1,)*⁵⁰

For the subsets from the Fleet where there were baptism registers available for comparison, the majority of the primary sector were involved in agriculture or fishing (with a small handful employed in forestry and quarrying). Therefore this sector was broken down into land-based and water-based employment. For both periods fishing was over-represented in the Fleet compared to the baptism register. It appears that fishermen had the same propensity to marry at the Fleet that mariners did. The picture for the land-based primary sector differed. For c. 1711 this was under-represented in the Fleet but for c. 1751 it was over-represented. This suggests that over time this occupational group became more likely to marry at the Fleet, perhaps indicating its increasing popularity over the first half of the eighteenth century. A further refinement for agriculture concerns the parishes that were on the periphery of the metropolis, where only part of their territory was in London's built-up area. As this article defines 'London' by the perimeter of the built-up area, the rural parts of these parish should be excluded as much as possible. To do this, the proportion of grooms working in agriculture (excluding gardeners, as there were some very small market-gardens inside London's built-up area) from London's peripheral parishes will be fixed at the level there in the interior parishes. Although there would be other occupations that lived non-built areas of peripheral parishes, it would be too problematic and unreliable to try and exclude them.

Food and Drink Manufacture (PST Codes beginning 2,1, 2,2, and 2,3)

⁴⁹ For c. 1711 $R^2=0.672$ and for c. 1751 $R^2=0.696$.

⁵⁰ For the Fleet registers this does not include husbandmen (PST Code 1,1,1,3), who will be included with labourers.

The overall difference between the two sources was minimal in this sector. For the purposes of re-weighting, this sector was broken down into drink manufacturers (who were all involved in production of alcoholic drinks), baking (including milling), and those involved in meat, fish, and vegetable products (including tobacco). Taking each of these sub-groups in turn, drink manufacturers were slightly over-represented in the Fleet in c. 1711 and under-represented in c. 1751 (ratios of 1:0.9 and 1:2.0, respectively). Baking was over-represented in the Fleet for both periods (ratios of 1:0.6 and 1:0.9, respectively). Finally, meat, fish, and vegetable products were under-represented in the Fleet in c. 1711 but virtually identical by c. 1751 (ratios of 1:1.6 and 1:1.0, respectively). This exercise and the differences within food and drink manufacture already shows the importance of breaking down occupational sectors into smaller sub-groups for the re-weighting exercise.

Clothing Manufacture (PST Code beginning 2,10)

The bias towards this sector was fairly constant over the first half of the eighteenth century – being consistently over-represented in the Fleet. The sector was broken down into makers of clothes (mostly those who described themselves as tailors) and those involved in the manufacture of hats, gloves, stockings, and other accessories. After sub-division, both of these sub-groups were still over-represented in the Fleet.

Footwear Manufacture (PST Code beginning 2,15,)

The vast majority of those in footwear were involved in shoemaking (although there were a handful of slipper and clog-makers), and it was not broken down into smaller sub-groups. Footwear appears to have been very over-represented in the Fleet, particularly in the c. 1711 period.

Textiles Manufacture (PST Code beginning 2,20,)

Overall, this sector was slightly over-represented in the Fleet in c. 1711 and c. 1751. There was not enough consistent detail in either the Fleet or baptism registers to break this down to the type of textiles being made (e.g. cotton, silk, or wool), as most grooms or fathers did not specify this in either set of registers. Therefore, it was broadly broken down into ‘weavers’ and ‘dyers’. The

dyers were consistently over-represented in the Fleet compared to the baptism registers (ratios of 1:0.7 for both periods). For weavers the differences between the Fleet and the baptism registers were less pronounced – indeed, the proportions were virtually identical. In c. 1711 weavers were over-represented in the Fleet but by c. 1751 they were slightly under-represented (ratios of 1:0.9 and 1:1.0, respectively).

Woods Manufacture (PST Code beginning 2,25,)

Wood manufacture was over-represented in the Fleet in c. 1711, but under-represented in c. 1751. This sector was broken down into timber processing and wood-working (mainly sawyers and carvers), furniture-makers, and ‘other wood-workers’ (mostly coopers and makers of baskets, laths, and boxes). Once the sector was disaggregated, differences emerge. For c. 1711 furniture-makers and timber-processors were over-represented in the Fleet (with ratios of 1:0.3 and 1:0.7, respectively). However, ‘other wood-workers’ were under-represented in the Fleet compared to the baptism registers with a ratio of 1:2.1. For c. 1751 the differences between the Fleet and the baptism registers were less pronounced across the different sub-groups. Timber-processors and ‘other wood-workers’ were under-represented in the Fleet with ratios of 1:1.1 and 1:1.3, respectively. Furniture-makers were virtually identical across both sources, with a ratio of 1:1.0.

Metals Manufacture (PST Codes beginning 2,50, 2,61, 2,62, and 2,65)

This sector was slightly under-represented in the Fleet in c. 1711 and c. 1751. It was broken down into: workers in precious metals and jewellery, iron and steel manufacture and production, non-ferrous metal (in this case, tin, bronze, and copper) manufacture and production, and makers of machines and tools. For the earlier period these sub-sets were all under-represented in the Fleet, with the exception of non-ferrous metals, which was over-represented. For the later period only precious metals were under-represented in the Fleet. The other sub-sets of metals manufacture were all over-represented.

Building and Construction (PST Codes beginning 2,80, and 2,81,)

This sector was under-represented in the Fleet at virtually the same level for both periods. Building and construction was broken down into bricklaying and related trades (including masonry, roofing, and paving), carpentry (including joiners), and ‘other builders’ (plasterers, plumbers, and glaziers). There were slight differences in the how under-represented each sub-group was in the Fleet. For c. 1711 the proportions for carpentry were virtually identical, whilst for bricklayers and other builders the ratio between Fleet and baptism registers was 1:1.6 for both. By c. 1751 the differences between the sources for each sub-group were fairly similar.

Other Manufactures (All other PST Codes beginning 2,)

This group was slightly over-represented in the Fleet in c. 1711, but in c. 1751 it was marginally under-represented. This was the most diverse of the sub-divisions in the secondary sector. It was divided into instrument makers, workers using leather and other animal products (including bone, fur, and hair), pottery and glass workers, vehicle-makers, and ‘minor manufactures’ (which included printers and makers of paper, soap, combs, pipes, and pens). For c. 1711, instrument-makers, leather-workers, and vehicle-makers were over-represented in the Fleet. However, pottery and glass makers were under-represented. This picture changed for the later period where instrument makers, leather-workers, and vehicle-makers were under-represented in the Fleet, whilst pottery and glass makers and ‘minor manufactures’ were both over-represented.

Dealers and Sellers (PST Codes beginning 3, and 4.)

There was insufficient detail to further sub-divide this group by the commodities being dealt – mostly because many grooms and fathers were simply described as ‘merchant’, ‘factor’, or ‘dealer’ with no further information being given. This generally high-status occupational group is under-represented in the Fleet registers, although at a higher level in c. 1711 than in c. 1751.

Similarly to dealers, this group could not be further sub-divided because of the large numbers of imprecise occupational descriptors such as ‘shopkeeper’ and ‘chandler’. As with dealers, this group was under-represented in the Fleet, but more so in c. 1751 than c. 1711. Due to so many of these terms being vague and seemingly interchangeable, an aggregated re-weighting figure for dealers and sellers will be used for this group.

Services and Professions (PST Codes beginning 5,)

This sector was over-represented in the Fleet in c. 1711, but under-represented in c. 1751. This sector was sub-divided into: providers of food, drink, and accommodation, domestic servants, financial, commercial, and administrative services, and professionals and government employees. Food, drink, and accommodation services were under-represented in the Fleet compared to the baptism registers for both c. 1711 and c. 1751, at ratios of 1:1.2 and 1:2.6, respectively. The same was true for financial, commercial, and administrative services (mostly clerks) – although the under-representation in the Fleet was smaller; at a ratio of 1:1.0 in c. 1711 and 1:1.3 in c. 1751. Domestic servants were the only group in this sector that were over-represented in the Fleet, at a ratio of 1:0.2 in c. 1711 and 1:0.6 in c. 1751. This fits in with the long-term decline in the importance of domestic servants in England throughout the eighteenth century. At the same time it was becoming more feminised, with the process happening earlier in London.⁵¹ For the great majority of early modern domestic servants in England, employment in the sector was associated with life cycle, with most shifting out of the occupation as they aged.⁵² Clearly, the grooms in the Fleet would be generally younger than the fathers in the baptism registers, so it is unsurprising domestic servants are so over-represented in the former source. Professionals and government employees, a generally higher status occupation, were under-represented in the Fleet – with a ratio of 1:1.6 in c. 1711 and 1:2.5 per cent in c. 1751. This subgroup included members of the armed forces. In the Fleet registers, many grooms who were soldiers gave a regiment rather than a geographical location (just over four per cent of the total number of *all* grooms in both c. 1711 and c. 1751), leading to their under-representation in this source.

Transport and Communications (PST Code beginning 6,)

This sector displayed a great deal of variation between c. 1711 and c. 1751 in terms of how different it was when comparing the Fleet to baptism registers. For the earlier period it was

⁵¹ L. D. Schwarz, 'English servants and their employers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Economic History Review*, 52 (1999), 236-56.

⁵² S.M. Cooper, 'From family member to employee: aspects of continuity and discontinuity in English domestic service, 1600-2000', in A. Fauvre-Chamoux, ed., *Domestic service and the formation of European identity: understanding the globalization of domestic work, 16th-21st centuries* (New York and Oxford: Peter Lang, 2004), p. 279.

under-represented, but in the later period it was over-represented. Transport and communications was broken into three sub-groups: road transport (also including messengers), inland navigation (mostly watermen and lightermen), and sea transport (the bulk of which were mariners, sailors, and seamen). Road transport was the polar opposite; over-represented in the Fleet compared to the baptism registers in c. 1711 but in c. 1751 it was under-represented (with ratios of 1:0.9 and 1:1.4, respectively). However, the under-representation in the later period was due to the high numbers of fathers from parishes like St Giles without Cripplegate, St Olave Southwark and St Saviour Southwark where the carrying trades were a major part of the economy. This disproportionately over-weighted road transport so therefore no recalibration factor will be used for this sub-group. Inland navigation was under-represented in c. 1711 but over-represented in c. 1751 (with ratios of 1:1.4 and 1:0.9, respectively). The greatest proportional differences were shown in sea transport. Sailors had a reputation for frequently marrying at the Fleet.⁵³ As has been discussed above, due to the War of the Spanish Succession and changes in the way mariners gave their residence, in c. 1711, sailors did not appear in the sample in high numbers because they gave a ship as a residence. For the earlier period sea transport was under-represented in the Fleet compared to the baptism registers at a ratio of 1:1.6 but in the later period, once sailors generally stopped giving their ship as a residence, the ratio was 1:0.5.

Labourers (PST Codes 1,1,1,3⁵⁴ and 90,0, 0,30)

For c. 1711 labourers were slightly under-represented in the Fleet. However, by c. 1751 they were over-represented.

Once the adjustments for geographic biases in the Fleet, based on the comparison to the Maitland parish populations, had been applied to the overall dataset, it was then further readjusted for any occupational biases based on the occupational figures derived from the sub-set of parish baptism registers that included occupations. Table 6 shows the impact of the various re-weighting and recalibration exercises. Table 7 and figure 2 show London's changing male occupational structure over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Figure 3 shows male occupational change during this period in absolute terms. The data for the early nineteenth century is based on Shaw-

⁵³ Field, 'Examination of Fleet Weddings', 354.

⁵⁴ For the Fleet only – for the baptism registers husbandmen were included with agriculture in the primary sector.

Taylor's work using a sample of 169 London baptism registers for 1813-20 (referred to as c. 1817).⁵⁵ 'London' is defined by the built-up area of the metropolis as shown in John Greenwood's 1827 map of London. The 1851, 1881, and 1911 figures are based on the occupational information collected in the London registration district in the census taken those years.

There was always a large pool of unskilled and casual labour available in London.⁵⁶ The proportion of males described as 'labourers' increased throughout the eighteenth century, peaking at 7.5 per cent in c. 1817 and remaining at around seven per cent for the rest of the nineteenth century. Labourers went into decline from 1881 to 1911. Much of this may be due to changes in reporting for the 1911 Census, with more detail given in the returns.

The total primary sector is small, and virtually stagnant (between one and two per cent of male Londoners) from c. 1711 to 1911. Gardeners comprised around one percent of males in London during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, before declining to 0.6 per cent in 1911. The apparent increase of other men working in agriculture between c. 1711 and 1851 was due to semi-rural parishes being included as part of 'London'. During the second half of the nineteenth century these areas became part of London's built-up environment, and so the proportions working in agriculture declined. Fishing was a minor employer of male Londoners during the first half of the eighteenth century, but by the later nineteenth century it had almost entirely disappeared. Neither quarrying nor forestry was ever significant in London's male occupational structure.

Manufacturing was in relative decline over the period, falling, on average, by 1.7 per cent every decade from c. 1711 to 1911. Manufacturing still employed over half of males in London until c. 1817, and was still at around forty per cent by 1911. In absolute terms (given that in c. 1700 London's population was c. 575,000 and according to the 1911 Census it was 5.0 million), the number of men employed in manufacturing grew by around five times over the eighteenth and

⁵⁵ Shaw-Taylor, 'Hidden Contribution'.

⁵⁶ C.H. Lee, *The British Economy Since 1700: A Macroeconomic Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 140.

nineteenth centuries. This supports Schwarz's suggestion that although manufacturing was the largest employer in London during the first half of the nineteenth century (employing one-third of the labour force for both men and women), this was a retreat from higher levels in previous centuries.⁵⁷ Beier's work on the later seventeenth century suggests that around sixty per cent of male Londoners were employed in manufacturing at that time.⁵⁸ The Fleet data shows that in c. 1711, a similar proportion (58.4 per cent) was employed in manufactures. The diversity of manufacturing in London was unparalleled in any other urban area in Britain – in the metropolis there was no single dominant industry – this broad base of employment protected London from the boom and bust cycle that characterized cities with a more narrowly-focused economy.⁵⁹ By the late Victorian period the structure of London's manufacturing also differed from other cities – although it had some large-scale industrial suburbs that housed factories and large works, small-scale workshops tended to be the norm.⁶⁰

Most of the major manufacturing sectors in London either declined or remained stagnant – although in some areas, such as Southwark, it remained consistently important until the later nineteenth century.⁶¹ Ranulph Michie argues that many industries (for example, silk-making and watch-manufacturing) started in London, and then migrated to lower cost provincial areas once production techniques had been perfected,⁶² whilst the availability of cheaper coal and iron in the provinces was also crucial.⁶³ Earle suggests that this trend began to gather pace after around 1730, but was limited beforehand.⁶⁴ It is also likely that London-based artisans would have provided the finishing touches to wares for which the initial stage of production was carried out elsewhere.⁶⁵ Even so, by the later nineteenth century it was clear that the secondary sector in London was losing its previous importance – leading Charles Booth to comment, 'the transfer of manufactures from London to the provinces cannot be regretted ... compensation for the passing

⁵⁷ Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation*, pp. 11-13, 23.

⁵⁸ Beier, 'Engine of Manufacture', pp. 147-50.

⁵⁹ D.R. Green, 'The nineteenth-century metropolitan economy: a revisionist interpretation', *London Journal*, 21 (1996), 10.

⁶⁰ Dennis, 'Modern London', p. 109, 121; Porter, *London*, pp. 238-9.

⁶¹ J.F. Field, 'Economic Change in a London Suburb: Southwark, c. 1601–1881', *London Journal*, 43 (2018), 243-66.

⁶² R.C. Michie, 'London and the progress of economic growth since 1750', *London Journal*, 22, 1 (1997), pp. 63-90.

⁶³ R. Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Penguin, 1994), pp. 228-9.

⁶⁴ P. Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730* (London: Methuen, 1989), p. 18.

⁶⁵ Fisher, *London and the English Economy*, p. 197.

misery in London will be found in the growth of healthy manufacturing communities such as we now see planting themselves in the Midland and Northern countries, and indeed in all parts of England where conveniences of rail or river are found'.⁶⁶

The decline in manufacturing in London was not uniform. Textile and clothing manufacture experienced the largest relative declines, falling from a combined total of 16.0 per cent in c. 1711 to 3.8 per cent in 1911.⁶⁷ This was a further decline from the seventeenth century, when, according to Beier, the textiles and clothing sector accounted for around one-fifth of male employment in London.⁶⁸ Silk-making in London experienced a precipitous decline, falling from 0.5 per cent of the male workforce in c. 1711 to 0.02 per cent in 1911. This was partly due to foreign competition (particularly from France) as well as domestic (for example from Coventry, Macclesfield, Manchester, Stockport, and Essex).⁶⁹ Some occupations disappeared because of changes in fashion. During the first half of the eighteenth century around two per cent of male Londoners were involved in wig-making. By c. 1817 none were – reflecting the broader decline of wig-making in England. George Rudé argues that by the mid eighteenth century London was losing its pre-eminence as a manufacturing centre to provincial centres, using the flight of shoemaking to Northamptonshire as an example.⁷⁰ Table 7 supports this – footwear manufacture's share of male occupations declined by 2.6 per cent per decade from c. 1711 to 1911. Although metal manufacture remained constant at around six per cent, this masks a decline in iron and steel manufacture from 3.8 to 1.4 per cent (this was compensated for by growth in machine and tool-making). This supports Ball and Sunderland's argument that industries that consumed coal in bulk (such as iron and steel-making and textiles) tended to be relatively absent in London.⁷¹ In addition, watch-making experienced a similar decline, falling from 0.6 per cent in c. 1711 to 0.2 per cent in 1911.

⁶⁶ A. Fried and R.M. Elman, eds., *Charles Booth's London: A Portrait of the Poor at the Turn of the Century Drawn From His Life and Labour of the People in London* (London: Penguin, 1971), p. 172.

⁶⁷ However, as table 8 shows, for women in London clothing manufacture was still important in 1911, accounting for nearly one-fifth of their employment (textile manufacture remained low amongst women as well).

⁶⁸ Beier, 'Engine of Manufacture', pp. 147-50.

⁶⁹ Ball and Sunderland, *Economic History of London*, pp. 308-9; D. Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution: A Revisionary History 1775-1825* (London: Tauris, 1998), pp. 55-7.

⁷⁰ G. Rudé, *Hanoverian London, 1714-1808* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003 edition), p. 28.

⁷¹ Ball and Sunderland, *Economic History of London*, pp. 15-16.

Building and construction consistently employed around ten per cent of male Londoners from c. 1711 to 1911. As almost no women worked in construction, as table 8 shows, this suggests that David Barnett's assertion that one in seven Londoners worked in construction may be a slight over-estimate.⁷² The contraction of the sector over the first half of the eighteenth century reflects the fact that the population was virtually stagnant during this period, which would have suppressed demand for builders. The consistent importance of construction is unsurprising given London's population more than doubled over the long eighteenth century, which would have provided a major stimulus to the sector, as would have the gradual improvement of London's infrastructure. Within building carpentry declined from 4.5 per cent in c. 1711 to 1.4 per cent by 1911, reflecting the long-term shift away from wood to brick in London. Amongst the 'other manufactures' group, there was a great deal of variation. Brick and tile manufacture; earthenware and potteries; glass-making; tobacco-processing; and leather and bone industries experienced decline over the period. Some other manufactures did grow across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – no doubt encouraged by London's large and wealthy consumer market, diverse supply of skilled labour, and central position in transport networks.⁷³ Employment in chemical and soap-making grew by more than 800 per cent. Printing and paper-making more than doubled, reflecting that the number of books published annually in the British Isles nearly trebled over the eighteenth century.⁷⁴ Finally, furniture-making increased from 0.3 per cent of males in c. 1711 to 1.8 per cent in 1911 (this was the only part of wood manufacturing that experienced proportional growth over this period).

The male tertiary sector grew steadily over the period in both absolute and relative terms and by 1881 had overtaken the secondary sector (although if both males and females are included, the tertiary sector was larger by 1851). Much of this was due to London's huge size, which generated a strong locational pull for people to work in serving this vast population.⁷⁵ By the second half of the eighteenth century London's shops were considered the 'wonder of the

⁷² Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p. 221.

⁷³ Ball and Sunderland, *Economic History of London*, pp. 56-7.

⁷⁴ J. Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: Britain and the Industrial Revolution, 1700-1850* (London: Penguin, 2009), table 3.1, p. 47.

⁷⁵ Ball and Sunderland, *Economic History of London*, p. 16.

world'.⁷⁶ There was a slight increase in the proportion of Londoners involved in dealing and selling from c. 1711 to c. 1817, and it remained consistent at around ten per cent of the male workforce until 1911 (in the 1851 and 1881 censuses around four per cent of women in employment were in retail, increasing to 7.8 per cent in 1911). As Richard Dennis has pointed out, ultimately the London economy depended more on consumption and retailing than production and manufacture.⁷⁷

The biggest growth in the tertiary sector, according to table 7, was amongst services and professions. Providers of food, drink, and accommodation consistently employed around five per cent of men from c. 1711 to 1881, before increasing to 7.6 per cent in 1911. Employment in the armed forces more than quadrupled from 0.5 per cent to 2.8 per cent from c. 1711 to c. 1817 – unsurprising, given that Britain's ongoing involvement in the Napoleonic Wars (by 1911 the percent of male Londoners employed in the armed forces had declined to 1.1 per cent). Male domestic service in England declined over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The exception to this rule was London,⁷⁸ where the proportion of males in domestic service increased from 1.5 per cent in c. 1711 to 2.4 per cent in 1911. Employment in financial services, such as clerks, brokers, and revenue collectors, increased from 0.6 per cent to 9.7 per cent between c. 1711 and 1911. Services were an even larger employer of London women, accounting for around half of adult females in work from 1851 to 1911. This was mainly due the large numbers of London women engaged in domestic service.

'Transport and Communications' (which employed a negligible proportion of women) did not experience the same consistent proportional growth. It declined from c. 1711 to c. 1817. Its growth during the nineteenth century was due to the rise of the railway, which accounted for nearly three per cent of male Londoners' employment by 1911. In addition 'communications' (mostly postmen and messengers) went from being nearly non-existent in the eighteenth century to 5.7 per cent by the early twentieth century. Road transport remained consistent at around six per cent. There was rapid decline in the percentage of male Londoners in water transport.

⁷⁶ Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, p. 129.

⁷⁷ Dennis, 'Modern London', p. 125.

⁷⁸ Schwarz, 'English servants', 241.

Employment in inland navigation decreased from 3.2 per cent in c. 1711 to just 0.3 per cent in 1911. This was due to the increase in river crossings over the Thames from the mid eighteenth century, which made watermen and lightermen mostly superfluous.⁷⁹ The percentage of males involved in sea transport declined from just under six per cent during the first half of the eighteenth century to 2.6 per cent in 1911. This proportional fall is somewhat surprising, as many historians place London's port and overseas trading, as central to the progress of English economic growth and the Industrial Revolution. Boulton states that 'shipping, port services, and related activities' may have employed one-quarter of the workforce in the early eighteenth-century London.⁸⁰ On first sight, this appears to be an over-estimate. According to the dataset used for this article the figure is around eleven per cent in c. 1711 and around eight per cent in c. 1751. These proportions should be regarded as minima, as they only take into account occupations that can definitively be tied to shipping and the port (for example, mariners, ship carpenters, and sail makers). Significant numbers of other occupations such as warehousemen, porters, carpenters, and smiths may have also been involved in shipping. Further, many 'labourers' may have been employed in the Port of London.

Conclusions

This paper has shown that it is possible, using a combination of several sources, to paint a long-term picture of occupational change in London over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It confirms that the secondary sector declined steadily, in relative terms, across this period, and was gradually overtaken by the tertiary sector in importance. However, in absolute terms the picture looks somewhat different – it was really only in the later nineteenth century that growth in manufacturing began to slow, whereas growth in service jobs carried on growing at a steady rate.

⁷⁹ Until the completion of Westminster Bridge in 1750 London Bridge was the only bridge across the Thames in London (in 1729 a wooden bridge connecting Putney and Fulham was opened, although this was not part of the built-up area of the metropolis at that point). In 1769 Blackfriars Bridge opened, followed by Battersea Bridge in 1773. London's rapid growth in the nineteenth century led several new iron bridges opening; Vauxhall Bridge in 1816, Waterloo Bridge in 1817, Southwark Bridge in 1819, Hammersmith Bridge in 1827, a new London Bridge in 1831, Hungerford Suspension Bridge in 1845, and Tower Bridge in 1894.

⁸⁰ D. Acemoglu, S. Johnson, and J. Robinson, 'The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change, and Economic Growth', *American Economic Review*, 95 (2005), pp. 546-79; Allen, *British Industrial Revolution*; Boulton, 'London 1540-1700', p.320.

Table 1: The Dataset Used, number of grooms at the Fleet, 1710-12 and 1750-2

	Total no. grooms	% with occupation (excl. gents^a)	% with identifiable residence	% from London	% from London with occupations (excl. gents)
1710-12	7,548	84.6	65.2	46.7	39.5
1750-2	13,949	90.3	84.6	57.3	53.3

Source: The National Archives, Fleet Chapels Marriage Registers, 1710-12; RG7/7, 10, 18, 20, 23-9; 1750-2: RG7/216, 224-5, 229-30, 233, 239-41, 245-7, 249-53, 255-7, 260-2, 264-8.

Note: For the c. 1711 sample there were 143 grooms who described themselves as ‘gentleman’, comprising 1.9 per cent of the dataset. Of these, 101 were from London. For the 1750-2 sample there were 330 grooms who described themselves as ‘gentlemen’, comprising 2.4 per cent of the dataset. Of these, 206 were from London.

^a In c. 1711 there were three ‘gentlemen of the Temple’ and in c. 1751 there were three ‘gentlemen of the Temple’ and one ‘gentleman of Gray’s Inn’. These grooms were not counted as gentlemen for coding purposes, but as lawyers.

Table 2: The Geographical Breakdown of Fleet Grooms from London with Occupations, 1710-12 and 1750-2 (%)

	Approx. 1711 Population	Fleet c. 1711	Approx. 1751 Population	Fleet c. 1751
City within the Walls	15.5	9.6	13.6	7.5
Eastern	23.3	25.3	23.9	30.0
Northern	14.9	19.0	15.2	16.2
Southern	16.0	14.2	16.3	16.7
Western	30.3	31.9	31.0	29.6
Total	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	595,645	2,985	679,830	7,441

Source: See Table 1.

Table 3: Occupational Structure of Grooms in the Fleet Marriage Registers compared to Fathers in Baptism Registers from the same parishes, 1710--12 (%)

	Baptisms, c. 1690-1729	Fleet, c. 1710-12	Ratio Fleet Baptisms (Fleet=1) :
Agriculture (excl. gardeners)	0.7 (0.7)	0.2 (0.3)	3.2
Gardeners	0.9 (1.1)	0.5 (0.6)	2.0
Fishing	0.4 (0.3)	1.4 (1.1)	0.3
Forestry	0.0 (0.0)	-	-
Quarrying & Mining	-	-	-
Primary Total	2.1 (2.1)	2.1 (2.1)	0.9
Food & Drink	6.5 (6.4)	7.0 (7.2)	0.9
Clothing	6.3 (6.6)	8.0 (7.5)	0.8
Footwear	4.7 (4.6)	7.1 (8.0)	0.7
Textiles	10.6 (12.3)	11.7 (12.6)	0.9
Woods	4.3 (4.2)	5.4 (5.1)	0.8
Metals	6.8 (6.6)	6.3 (6.9)	1.1
Building & Construction	6.5 (6.6)	5.1 (5.2)	1.3
Other manufacturing	9.9 (9.9)	10.5 (10.3)	0.9
Secondary Total	55.6 (57.2)	61.1 (62.8)	0.9
Dealers	2.8 (2.8)	1.2 (1.0)	2.4
Sellers	6.1 (5.5)	4.7 (4.2)	1.3
Services & Professions	10.3 (9.8)	12.3 (12.4)	0.8
Transport & Communications	18.3 (17.5)	14.1 (13.0)	1.3
Tertiary Total	37.5 (35.6)	32.2 (30.6)	1.2
Labourer	4.8 (5.0)	4.6 (4.7)	1.1

<i>(Husbandmen*)</i>	0.1 (0.1)	1.0 (1.0)	0.1
Total	100 (30,217)	100 (709)	-

* For the Fleet grooms, the husbandmen are included in the total for labourer; for the baptismal registers, they are included with agriculture.

Source: See Table 1.

Note: The samples were re-weighted by parish according to their populations in 1711 as calculated using the Maitland population shares. The un-re-weighted percentage is given in parentheses.

Table 4: Occupational Structure of Grooms in the Fleet Marriage Registers compared to Fathers in Baptism Registers from the same parishes, 1750-2 (%)

	Baptisms, c. 1740-69	Fleet, c. 1750-2	Ratio Fleet Baptisms : (Fleet=1)
Agriculture (excl. gardeners)	0.4 (0.5)	0.2 (0.3)	1.6
Gardeners	1.4 (1.8)	2.2 (1.9)	0.6
Fishing	0.9 (1.1)	1.5 (1.3)	0.6
Forestry	-	-	-
Quarrying & Mining	0.0 (0.0)	-	-
Primary Total	2.7 (3.4)	3.9 (3.5)	0.7
Food & Drink	5.8 (5.7)	5.0 (5.0)	1.2
Clothing	5.0 (4.8)	6.8 (6.4)	0.7
Footwear	6.4 (5.4)	7.3 (7.9)	0.9
Textiles	5.7 (5.8)	5.8 (6.0)	1.0
Woods	6.2 (6.1)	5.4 (5.4)	1.2
Metals	8.4 (8.0)	8.2 (8.5)	1.0
Building & Construction	6.6 (6.7)	5.2 (5.4)	1.3
Other manufacturing	12.5 (12.6)	12.3 (12.4)	1.0
Secondary Total	56.7 (55.0)	55.9 (56.9)	1.0
Dealers	1.2 (1.3)	1.0 (1.0)	1.2
Sellers	4.4 (4.3)	1.3 (1.5)	3.2
Services & Professions	9.8 (9.7)	5.3 (5.4)	1.9
Transport & Communications	20.8 (21.6)	26.7 (26.0)	0.8
Tertiary Total	36.2 (36.9)	34.4 (33.9)	1.1
Labourer	4.4 (4.7)	5.8 (5.6)	0.8

<i>(Husbandmen*)</i>	0.2 (0.3)	3.5 (3.4)	0.1
Total	100 (16,201)	100 (1,191)	-

* For the Fleet grooms, the husbandmen are included in the total for labourer; for the baptismal registers, they are included with agriculture.

Source: See Table 1.

Note: The samples were re-weighted by parish according to their population in 1751 as calculated using the Maitland population shares. The un-re-weighted percentage is given in parentheses.

Table 5: Occupational Structure of Grooms in the Fleet Marriage Registers compared to Grooms in the St Dunstan Stepney Parish Marriage Registers, 1710-12 (%)

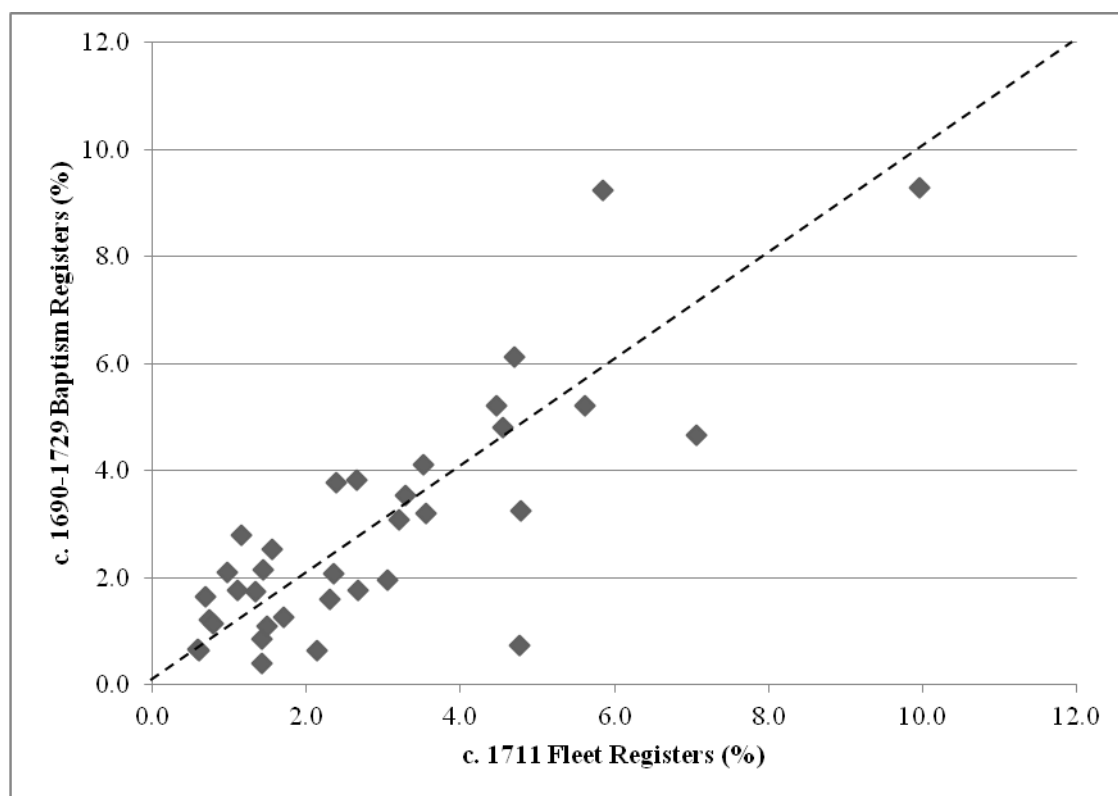
	Parish Marriage Register, c. 1710-12	Fleet, c. 1710-12	Ratio Fleet : Baptisms (Fleet=1)
Agriculture (excl. gardeners)	1.7	0.4	4.3
Gardeners	1.2	0.8	1.5
Fishing	0.7	-	-
Forestry	-	-	-
Quarrying & Mining	-	-	-
Primary Total	3.5	1.2	2.9
Food & Drink	3.3	2.7	1.2
Clothing	5.0	6.5	0.8
Footwear	1.7	5.4	0.3
Textiles	41.0	36.3	1.1
Woods	2.3	3.1	0.7
Metals	3.2	3.1	1.0
Building & Construction	7.2	3.4	2.1
Other manufacturing	7.0	6.1	1.1
Secondary Total	70.7	66.4	1.1

Dealers	0.8	-	-
Sellers	1.0	2.3	0.4
Services & Professions	3.5	8.4	0.4
Transport & Communications	18.6	16.4	1.1
Tertiary Total	23.9	27.1	0.9
Labourer	1.8	5.3	0.3
<i>(Husbandmen*)</i>	<i>1.2</i>	<i>1.5</i>	<i>0.8</i>
Total	100 (598)	100 (262)	-

Source: See Table 1.

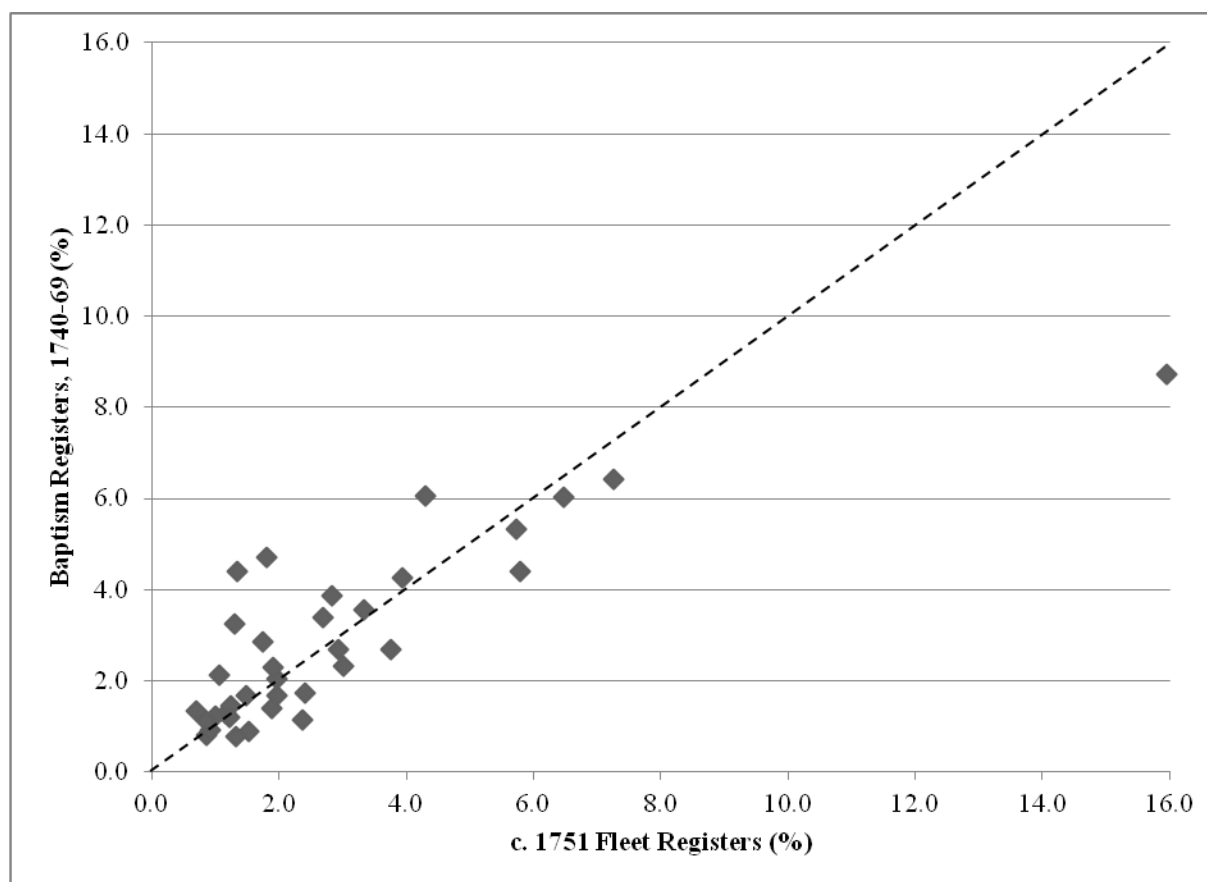
* For the Fleet grooms, the husbandmen are included in the total for labourer; for the marriage registers, they are included with agriculture.

Figure 1a: Comparison of occupations recorded in baptism registers, c. 1690-1729, to the same parishes in the Fleet, c. 1710-12



Source: See Table 1.

Figure 1b: Comparison of occupations recorded in baptism registers, c. 1740-69, to the same parishes in the Fleet, c. 1750-2



Source: See Table 1.

Table 6: The Impact of Re-Weighting the Fleet Dataset, 1710-12 and 1750-2 (%)

	<i>c. 1711</i>			<i>c. 1751</i>		
	<i>Raw</i>	<i>Re-weighted for occupational biases</i>	<i>Re-weighted for occupational and population biases</i>	<i>Raw</i>	<i>Re-weighted for occupational biases</i>	<i>Re-weighted for occupational and population biases</i>
Agriculture*	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.7	1.1	1.0
Fishing	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.4
Primary Total	1.8	1.7	1.6	2.3	1.5	1.4
Food & Drink	5.8	6.5	6.0	5.2	6.1	6.0
Clothing	8.5	6.3	6.8	7.3	5.3	5.3
Footwear	7.6	5.0	5.3	7.3	6.1	6.0
Textiles	11.3	10.3	9.2	10.0	10.0	9.3
Woods	4.6	5.4	5.5	5.4	5.9	5.9
Metals	6.1	6.6	6.1	5.7	5.9	5.8
Building & Construction	7.3	9.4	9.4	6.8	8.1	8.1
Other manufactures	9.8	9.7	10.2	9.5	9.6	9.6
Secondary Total	61.0	59.2	58.4	57.3	57.0	56.1
Dealers & Sellers	4.7	7.2	7.2	3.8	8.7	8.8
Services & Professions	16.1	12.8	13.7	8.6	13.1	13.4
Transport & Communications	12.0	14.7	14.7	20.3	14.1	14.6
Tertiary Total	32.9	34.7	35.6	32.7	35.9	36.8
Labourers**	4.3	4.5	4.4	7.8	5.6	5.7
Total	100 (2,985)	100 (2,985)	100 (2,985)	100 (7,441)	100 (7,441)	100 (7,441)

* Excludes husbandmen. ** Includes husbandmen.

Note: There were no grooms involved in forestry, mining, or quarrying in either c. 1711 or c. 1751.

Source: See Table 1.

Table 7: London's Male Occupational Structure, c. 1711-1911 (%)

	<i>c. 1711</i>	<i>c. 1751</i>	<i>c. 1817</i>	<i>1851</i>	<i>1881</i>	<i>1911</i>
Agriculture*	1.3	1.1	1.5	2.2	1.5	0.8
Fishing	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
Forestry	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Quarrying & Mining	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Primary Total	1.6	1.4	1.7	2.4	1.6	0.9
Food & Drink	6.0	6.0	4.9	5.1	3.9	3.1
Clothing	6.8	5.3	4.6	5.0	3.2	3.2
Footwear	5.3	6.0	5.0	4.5	2.9	1.4
Textiles	9.2	9.3	3.9	2.3	0.7	0.6
Woods	5.5	5.9	5.5	4.9	4.2	3.5
Metals	6.1	5.8	5.7	6.0	6.0	5.4
Building & Construction	9.4	8.1	9.8	10.0	11.9	8.8
Other manufactures	10.2	9.6	10.6	9.5	11.1	12.4
Secondary Total	58.4	56.1	50.2	47.2	43.8	38.4
Dealers & Sellers	7.2	8.8	10.4	9.0	8.9	11.1
Services & Professions	13.7	13.4	19.4	22.6	24.5	27.7
Transport & Communications	14.7	14.6	10.9	11.6	14.2	18.9
Tertiary Total	35.6	36.8	40.6	43.1	47.6	57.8
Labourers**	4.4	5.7	7.5	7.3	7.0	2.9
Total	100 (2,985)	100 (7,441)	100 (245,990)	100 (604,220)	100 (951,273)	100 (1,410,787)

* Excludes husbandmen for c. 1711 and c. 1751. ** Includes husbandmen for c. 1711 and c. 1751.

Note: For 1851, 1881 and 1911 only people over 20 included. Source: See Table 1.

Table 7a: Even More Detailed Occupational Structure of All Grooms in the Fleet, c. 1711-1911 (%)

		<i>c. 1711</i>	<i>c. 1751</i>	<i>c. 1817</i>	<i>1851</i>	<i>1881</i>	<i>1911</i>
Primary	<i>Agriculture (excl. Gardening)</i>	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.9	0.4	0.2
	<i>Gardening</i>	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.4	1.1	0.6
	<i>Fishing</i>	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
	<i>Forestry</i>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	<i>Quarrying & Mining</i>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Food & Drink	<i>Baking</i>	1.1	1.4	2.3	1.6	1.1	1.0
	<i>Drink</i>	1.3	2.5	0.4	1.1	0.4	0.4
	<i>Meat, fish, veg.</i>	3.7	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.3	1.8
Clothing	<i>Clothing</i>	4.6	4.2	3.4	4.2	2.3	2.6
	<i>Gloves, stockings, accessories</i>	1.5	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4
	<i>Hat-maker</i>	0.7	0.4	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.2
Footwear		5.3	6.0	5.0	4.5	2.9	1.4
Textiles	<i>Dyer</i>	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.1	0.0
	<i>Weaver</i>	8.4	8.7	3.2	2.0	0.5	0.6
Woods	<i>Furniture</i>	0.3	1.3	1.9	2.2	2.2	1.8
	<i>Timber</i>	1.3	2.2	1.6	1.4	1.1	1.1
	<i>Other wood</i>	3.8	2.4	2.0	1.3	0.9	0.6
Metals	<i>Iron & Steel</i>	3.8	2.6	2.6	2.1	1.9	1.8
	<i>Machines &</i>	1.0	0.6	0.9	1.6	2.3	2.5

	<i>Tools</i>						
	<i>Non-ferrous</i>	0.6	1.0	1.4	1.5	1.1	0.8
	<i>Precious metals</i>	0.7	1.4	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.4
Building & Construction	<i>Bricklaying</i>	2.7	1.9	1.6	2.9	3.1	2.8
	<i>Carpentry</i>	4.5	4.1	4.7	3.5	3.6	1.4
	<i>Other building</i>	2.2	2.1	3.5	3.6	5.1	4.6
Other manufactures	<i>Gas & electric</i>	0	0	0	0.3	0.6	2.0
	<i>Instrument making</i>	0.7	1.9	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.0
	<i>Leather</i>	2.5	3.1	1.6	1.3	1.3	1.1
	<i>Minor manufactures</i>	1.2	1.0	1.4	0.6	2.3	1.7
	<i>Printing & paper</i>	1.2	0.7	2.2	2.6	3.0	3.8
	<i>Soap & chemicals</i>	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.7	0.5	0.8
	<i>Stone & Mineral</i>	2.3	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.5
	<i>Vehicle-making</i>	2.1	2.3	3.2	1.8	1.5	1.6
Dealers & Sellers	<i>Dealer</i>	2.3	2.8	2.9	3.6	2.9	4.7
	<i>Seller</i>	5.0	6.0	7.5	5.4	6.1	6.4
Services & Professions	<i>Domestic Service</i>	1.5	2.5	4.3	3.2	2.3	2.4
	<i>Financial Service</i>	0.6	0.9	3.1	3.2	7.9	9.7
	<i>Food, Drink, Accommodation</i>	5.7	5.4	4.7	4.4	5.0	7.6
	<i>Professions</i>	5.3	2.9	4.5	9.7	7.8	6.8
	<i>Armed forces</i>	0.5	1.7	2.8	2.0	1.4	1.1
Transport & Communications	<i>Communications</i>	0.0	0.0	0.3	2.6	2.6	5.7

	<i>Inland Navigation</i>	3.2	2.6	1.6	0.8	0.6	0.3
	<i>Rail</i>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.3	2.7
	<i>Road</i>	5.5	6.1	5.4	4.1	6.1	7.6
	<i>Sea</i>	5.9	5.8	3.6	3.4	2.6	2.6
Labourers		4.5	5.7	7.5	7.3	7.0	2.9
Total		100 (2,985)	100 (7,441)	100 (245,990)	100 (604,220)	100 (951,273)	100 (1,410,787)

Source: See Tables 1 and 6.

Note: Only people over 20 included for 1881.

Table 8: Comparison of male and female occupations in London, 1851-1911

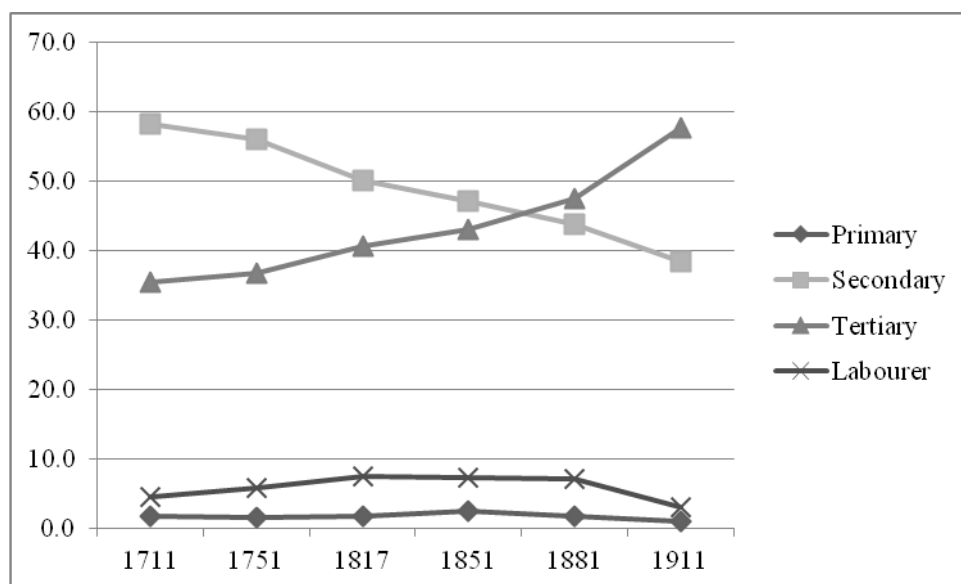
	1851			1881			1911		
	Men	Wome n	Men & Wome n	Men	Wome n	Men & Women	Men	Wome n	Men & Women
Agriculture	2.2	0.7	1.7	1.5	0.3	1.1	0.8	0.0	0.5
Fishing	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Forestry	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Quarrying & Mining	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Primary Sector	2.4	0.7	1.7	1.6	0.3	1.2	0.9	0.0	0.6
Food & Drink	5.1	1.2	3.7	3.9	1.1	3.0	3.1	2.3	2.8
Clothing	5.0	20.6	10.7	3.2	23.2	9.6	3.2	17.9	8.6
Footwear	4.5	5.2	4.7	2.9	1.0	2.3	1.4	0.5	1.1
Textiles	2.3	3.0	2.6	0.7	1.2	0.8	0.6	1.3	0.9
Woods	4.9	0.7	3.4	4.2	1.3	3.3	3.5	1.2	2.7
Metals	6.0	0.2	3.9	6.0	0.3	4.2	5.4	0.8	3.7
Building & Constructio n	10.0	0.0	6.4	11.9	0.2	8.1	8.8	0.0	5.6
Other manufacture s	9.5	1.4	6.5	11.1	4.6	9.0	12.4	7.8	10.7
Total Secondary Sector	47.2	32.4	41.8	43.8	32.9	40.3	38.4	31.9	36.0
Dealers & Sellers	9.0	3.7	7.1	8.9	4.2	7.4	11.1	6.9	9.6
Services & Professions	22.6	63.0	37.4	24.5	62.1	36.6	27.7	59.9	39.5
Transport & Communica tions	11.6	0.1	7.4	14.2	0.3	9.7	18.9	1.3	12.5

Total Tertiary Sector	43.1	66.8	51.8	47.6	66.7	53.7	57.8	68.1	61.5
Labourers	7.3	0.1	4.6	7.0	0.1	4.8	2.9	0.0	1.9
Total	100 (604,2 20)	100 (349,2 92)	100 (953,5 12)	100 (951,2 73)	100 (448,8 01)	100 (1,400,0 74)	100 (1,410.7 87)	100 (813,0 07)	100 (2,223,7 94)

Source: See Tables 1 and 6.

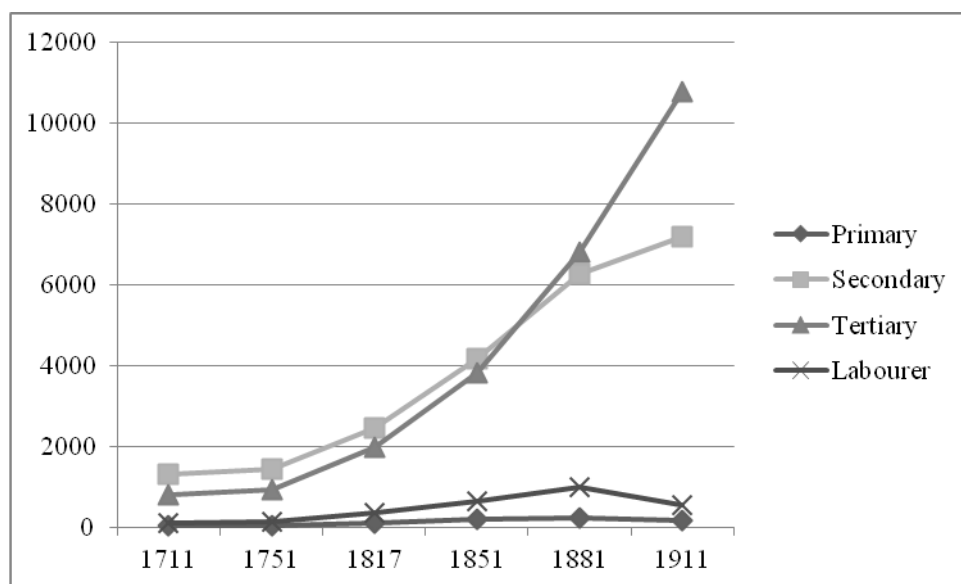
Note: Only people over 20 included for 1881.

Figure 2: London's Male Occupational Structure, c. 1711-1911 (%)



Source: See Tables 1 and 6.

Figure 3: London's Male Occupational Structure, c. 1711-1911 (absolute terms, labourer in c. 1711=100)



Source: See Tables 1 and 6.