6

Hanoverian London: The Making of a Service Town[1]

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UNTIL THE NINETEENTH CENTURY London had two geographical poles, the Court and the Port. Economically both these poles were defined primarily by their relationship to what a subsequent age would call the service sector. They were of course very different. The Court is taken here as a convenient shorthand that includes the government, parliament, the aristocracy and the Court's allies in the professions. The Port includes the City of London, the suburbs along the Thames and shipbuilding, as well as the financial sector that developed to finance trade and would also finance governments. The categorisation of Port and Court omits much, especially the enormous manufacturing sector that made eighteenth-century London the largest manufacturing town in the Western Hemisphere, if not the world. But in the last resort much of London's manufacturing sector was defined by the Court and the Port. These had an enormous influence on the capital's demand for labour and were largely responsible for the high level of prices, particularly the price of land. They bore responsibility for London's wages being higher than elsewhere and were a very important, often dominant source of demand for the capital's manufactured goods, especially of course for its luxury goods. It was not accidental that so many of the largest cities in Europe combined the roles of Port and Court, and were noted on the one hand for their poverty and casual labour and on the other hand for their high prices and highly skilled, well organised and relatively well-paid skilled artisans. A town that combined Port and Court would also have highly seasonal rhythms of production: the London Season did much to define the seasonality of production in the West End, while the trade winds dominated much of the life in the East End.

This chapter will seek to outline some of the characteristics of this sector, particularly in Westminster. Westminster was the quintessential 'service town' of the eighteenth century, but it is obviously impossible to isolate Westminster from the rest

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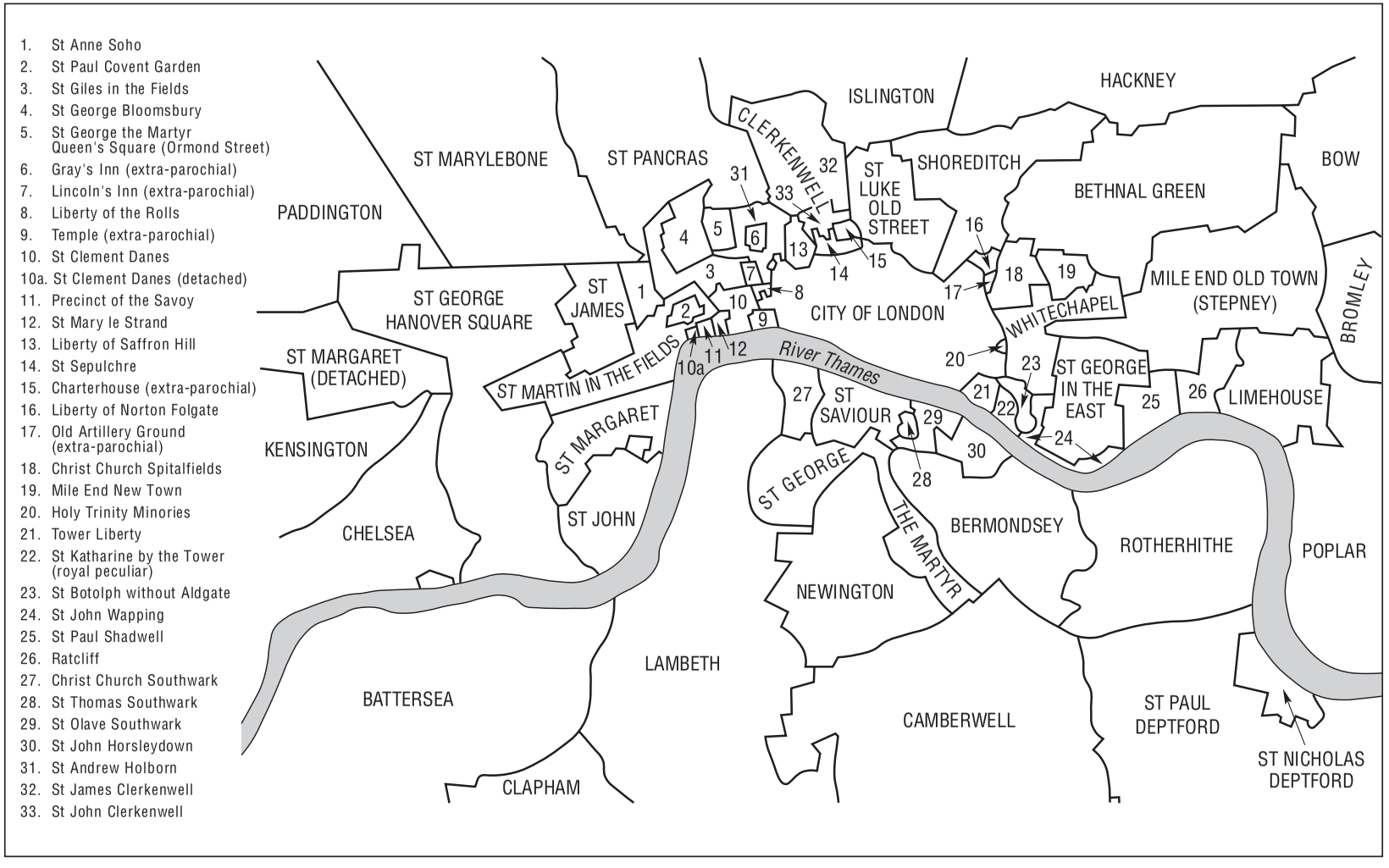

Figure 6.1. Map of London parishes outside the City, 1763.

of London, so a wider area will be discussed. The first section compares the occupational structure of eighteenth-century Westminster with that of the mid-nineteenth century; this is developed into a discussion of the extent to which Westminster's characteristics extended into a 'metropolitan region' outside London. The second section discusses an aspect of Adam Smith's belief that those towns that depended upon the revenues of services generated very different labour forces from towns that depended upon manufacturing: not precisely his belief that 'wherever capital predominates, industry prevails; wherever revenue, idleness',[2] but whether the age and net migration patterns of the population in Westminster and central London were significantly different from those of other parts of the capital. It will do this by analysing the return of ages in the 1821 census—a pattern unlikely to be very different from the later eighteenth century—to see how far the characteristics of the western parts of London were reflected in a particular structure of age and migration patterns. The final section aims to provide a conclusion.

I

Close proximity to manufacturing was one of the characteristics of an eighteenth-century service centre. It is no exaggeration to say that Westminster, was, by definition, as near to being a 'service town' as was possible for a central part of a large multi-functional capital city during the eighteenth century and for much of the nineteenth century. However, until well into the nineteenth century Westminster was also one of the largest manufacturing 'towns' in England. Services were very important but they did not overwhelm. The parliamentary constituency of Westminster contained a particularly large electorate and the occupations of these electors have recently been analysed by Harvey, Green and Corfield, using electoral returns between 1749 and 1818. The Booth–Armstrong classification suggests that the dealing and manufacturing sectors were of roughly comparable size, at about one-third of the electorate. A different classification—according to the final destination of goods and services—concludes that over forty per cent of the voters produced what the authors call luxury goods (household provisions, household goods, apparel) while over a third produced specialist services (entertainment, culture, government, professional, mercantile), and the authors conclude that it was these latter functions that made Westminster special. 'Nowhere else in England was there anything approaching this concentration of occupations dedicated to the business of government, the professions, and the entertainment industry'.[3]

[2] Adam Smith, *Wealth of nations*, ed. R.H. Campbell, A.S. Skinner, B. Todd (Oxford, 1976), Bk 2, ch. 3, p. 338.

[3] C. Harvey, E.M. Green, P.J. Corfield, 'Continuity, change and specialization within metropolitan London: the economy of Westminster, 1750-1820', *Ec.HR*, 2nd ser., 53 (1999), 478-80. There is no need to reiterate the often meaningless distinction between manufacturing and retail, especially in a small workshop economy. Obviously these proportions are intended as indicative.

In addition to this, nowhere else in England was there the same concentration of servants. Westminster's 6,062 taxable manservants in 1780 formed some fifteen per cent of its adult male population of that year; its 1,939 employers of taxable manservants should be compared with 1,209 such employers in the City, 335 in Bath, 151 in Bristol, 139 in Newcastle or 127 in Norwich.[4] This is not very surprising. More significant was the role of female servants. Harvey, Green and Corfield have deduced some 21,000 female servants in Westminster in 1801, out of its total female population of 84,000. Applying the 1821 age census to their estimates of Westminster's population, these would have formed about thirty per cent of the adult women in 1780 and a quarter of the adult women in 1801. Of course they would have formed a much higher proportion of a more restricted age group.[5] The figure of 21,000 may be exaggerated, but the proportion was undoubtedly high. At a later stage in this chapter it will be suggested that a very high figure is entirely consistent with what can be deduced about the characteristics of migration to Westminster.

Considering the stability of the occupational structure of Westminster between 1749 and 1818 it is doubtful if this had changed very drastically by 1851; it is therefore likely that the 1851 census is indicative of the situation towards the end of the eighteenth century. This is also the situation for London as a whole, a megalopolis so large that its larger occupational contours were not fundamentally different from the later eighteenth century, whatever may have happened to individual areas, particularly those on the periphery.[6] Table 6.1 compares Westminster with the rest of London.[7]

Westminster in 1851 was not yet a central business district. Its manufacturing sector, employing a quarter of its adult male population, was proportionately smaller than that of the rest of London, which stood at 33 per cent (itself proportionally smaller than for the rest of England), but a quarter of the adult male population of Westminster was a considerable number. There were more men involved in manufacturing than in the professions, the transport sector was half as large again as the *rentiers* and property owners, and the building trades employed a tenth of the adult male labour force. Domestic servants, at 13 per cent of the adult male population, formed a

[4] Leonard Schwarz, 'Residential leisure towns in England towards the end of the eighteenth century', *Urban History*, 27 (2000), 51–61.

[5] Harvey, Green and Corfield, 'The economy of Westminster', p. 477. If women aged 15–59 formed the same proportion of the total male and female population in 1780 that they formed of the population who gave their ages in 1821, then there were some 44,000 women aged 30–59 in 1780 and 54,000 in 1801. Those aged 15–29 formed approximately half this number. What is known of the age distribution of maidservants suggests that the figure of 21,000 must therefore be too high, but even if excessive it still indicates an extremely high proportion of the younger female population employed as maidservants.

[6] Leonard Schwarz, *London in the age of industrialisation* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 7–73.

[7] The boundaries of London are as defined in the 1851 census. For more details see Table 6.11. In 1851 Kensington was beginning to show signs of competing with Westminster in terms of status, but at this time Kensington was not yet large by London standards, still had a relatively large agricultural population, was expanding rapidly so had a large number of builders, had significantly fewer servants and a smaller proportion of professional men, a difference that remains even when the figures are adjusted to remove agriculture.

Table 6.1. Westminster and London: employed male population aged 20 and over, 1851 census, as percentage of adult male population (Armstrong–Booth classification).*

	Per cent of adult males	
	Westminster	London excluding Westminster
Agriculture	2.46	3.16
Building	10.30	9.47
Dealing	13.19	13.61
Domestic service	13.22	4.24
Industrial service: professional	1.61	2.53
Industrial service: general labour	5.27	6.91
Mining	0.37	0.58
Manufacturing	25.33	33.16
Property-owners and *rentiers*	4.89	3.83
Professional	16.25	11.02
Transport	7.11	11.49
TOTAL %	100	100
Numbers	59,202	681,298

*The classifications are those put forward by W.A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', in E.A. Wrigley, ed., *Nineteenth-century society* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 255–310. It restricts itself to males aged 20 and over, excluding scholars, sons, nephews and grandsons.

similar proportion to what was deduced earlier for 1780. Westminster's dealing section was also smaller than the rest of London. This result, at first sight surprising, is to some extent a statistical artefact, because percentages must add up to one hundred and there were many more professional men and domestic servants in Westminster than elsewhere. Nevertheless, it reflects the situation in 1797, when a survey of assessed taxpayers (roughly the wealthier half of the population) showed that about half of those in Westminster were shopkeepers, whereas in the City or Tower Division shopkeepers distinctly outnumbered the other assessed taxpayers. Westminster's smaller proportion of shopkeepers reflected its greater wealth.[8] However, a more refined geographical analysis is called for, and this has been provided by David Green.

Dividing London into seven districts—west, north, central, City, east, inner south and outer south—Green finds that 'whilst manufacturing was still the single largest category of male employment in the west, north and south suburbs, it was the presence of a relatively large number of professional men, and considerable numbers of both male and female domestic servants, that were the defining characteristics'. He points out that in 1851 the outer districts, with 57 per cent of London's officially employed female population, accounted for nearly 70 per cent of its female servants, while in the

[8] Leonard Schwarz, 'Social class and social geography: the middle classes in London at the end of the eighteenth century', *Social History*, 7 (1982), 169.

western and northern suburbs the total number of domestic servants exceeded those employed in manufacturing.[9] In addition, while half the employed adult male population lived in these districts, over 70 per cent of professional men lived there. In fact, as far as male employment was concerned, the metropolitan district with the greatest similarity to Westminster was the outer south. Table 6.2 demonstrates this, comparing the west, north and outer south. It also defines these districts. The north had more manufacturing and fewer professional men. Only the west boasted so many servants. This geography is also evident with the women domestic servants, who comprised 70 per cent of those with occupations in the west, 63 per cent in the north and 61 per cent in outer south, compared with 31 per cent in the east. The north, west and south of London formed a large arc, increasingly professional. Eighteenth-century Westminster had indeed spilled out.

But as early as 1780, it had already spilled out in one important respect. The inhabitants of Westminster were nearly five times as likely to employ manservants as the rest of England. The inhabitants of the City were more than four times as likely to do this, while with the rest of Middlesex the figure stood at 1.68, in Hertfordshire at 1.86 and in Essex and Surrey at 1.54 times the national average. This was still reflected in the 1851 census, where Table 6.2 shows that an eighth of the adult males in west London were employed in domestic service, a figure double that of north London, treble that of

Table 6.2. London: employment structure for males aged 20 and over, 1851 census, as percentage of total.

	Per cent of adult males		
	West*	North*	Outer south*
Manufacture	24.4	29.0	25.2
Professional	15.7	12.9	19.1
Building	12.5	13.7	11.4
Domestic service	12.3	6.65	3.7
Food trade	9.1	9.4	9.6
General labour	8.6	8.3	10.0
Transport	7.6	8.2	7.45
Retail and distribution	4.9	7.4	6.4
Agriculture	4.8	4.5	7.2
TOTAL %	100	100	100
Number	96,510	115,829	93,506

*The west consisted of Chelsea, Kensington, St James Westminster, St John and St Margaret, St Martin in the Fields and St George Hanover Square. The north comprised Hackney, Hampstead, Islington, Marylebone and St Pancras. Outer south was Camberwell, Greenwich, Lambeth, Lewisham and Wandsworth. Green, *Artisans to paupers*, p. 253.

[9] David R. Green, *From artisans to paupers: economic change and poverty in London, 1790–1870* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 155.

outer south London and more than six times that of east London. More interesting from the point of view of this chapter is the extent to which servant-keeping in 1780 stretched into Middlesex and Surrey, far beyond the outer south.

Some ten years ago Borsay and McInnes discussed the question of leisure towns in eighteenth-century England.[10] Since then the matter has been left in abeyance. The manservant data provide one possible way forward, that has been developed in a recent article. Taking an admittedly arbitrary definition—the presence of a minimum of thirty employers of manservants as the threshold—of a 'leisure town', it is possible to map such towns. Excluding Middlesex and Surrey, England had 53 of them, 36 south of the Severn–Trent line, many of them relatively large county towns. Even in the south of England it was rare to have more than one or two per county. But the area around London was different, as Table 6.3 shows.

Moving well beyond the immediate metropolitan built-up area, Middlesex had 25 such towns or townships, Surrey 21 and Essex 13.[11] Even Hertfordshire had 12 of them. It is notoriously difficult to decide where to put the boundaries of London—Table 6.3 includes places such as Kensington, very close to the contiguously built-up area, and others such as Enfield, Croydon or Dulwich that were clearly separated from it, not to mention Guildford, which was considerably further away. What is significant is that manservant-keeping was a metropolitan pastime not indulged in so much outside a wider metropolitan region, but the boundaries of this region were not clear and extended deep into the counties adjoining London. The 1780 data point to an immense 'service conglomerate' in what would later be referred to as the home counties, with Westminster at its heart. Nor can it be safely assumed that this was new in the eighteenth century.[12]

Table 6.3. Employers of manservants in Middlesex, Surrey and Essex, 1780.*

	Middx	Surrey	Essex	TOTAL
Number of places	25	21	13	59
Number of employers	714	571	446	1731
Employers per place	28.6	27.2	34.3	29.3

*Data from PRO, T47.8. The accuracy of this document is discussed in L. Schwarz, 'English servants and their employers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Ec.HR*, 52 (1999), 236–56.

[10] P. Borsay, 'The English urban renaissance: the development of provincial urban culture, *c*.1680–1760' in P. Borsay, ed., *The eighteenth-century town* (London, 1990), pp. 159–87, and at more length in P. Borsay, *The English urban renaissance: culture and society in the provincial town, 1660-1770* (Oxford, 1989); A. McInnes, 'The emergence of a leisure town: Shrewsbury, 1660-1760', *Past and Present*, 120 (1988), 53–87; P. Borsay, 'The emergence of a leisure town: or an urban renaissance?', *Past and Present*, 126 (1990), 189–96.

[11] By 'township' is strictly speaking meant an area defined by the collectors of assessed taxes. These did not usually confine themselves to single parishes, as the list of these townships shows.

[12] See L. Stone and J. Fawtier Stone, *An open elite? England, 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1984), p. 254, for a description of the influence of London.

II

A town that combined the roles of Port and Court would attract and create a disproportionate amount of casual labour, some legal, some illegal. In the *Wealth of Nations* Adam Smith made various attempts to categorise towns. Size, which permitted the division of labour, was obviously an important criterion. But he also had another classification.

> Our ancestors were idle for want of sufficient encouragement to industry . . . In mercantile and manufacturing towns, where the inferior ranks of people are chiefly maintained by the employment of capital, they are in general industrious, sober and thriving; as in many English, and in most Dutch towns. In those towns which are principally supported by the constant or occasional residence of a court, and in which the inferior ranks of people are chiefly maintained by the spending of revenue, they are in general idle, dissolute, and poor; as at Rome, Versailles, Compiegne, and Fontainbleau. If you except Rouen and Bordeaux, there is little trade or industry in any of the parliament towns of France; and the inferior ranks of people, being chiefly maintained by the expence of the members of the courts of justice, and of those who come to plead before them, are in general idle and poor . . . In a city where a great revenue is spent, to employ with advantage a capital for any other purpose than for supplying the consumption of that city, is probably more difficult than in one in which the inferior ranks of people have no other maintenance but what they derive from the employment of such a capital. The idleness of the greater part of the people who are maintained by the expence of revenue, corrupts, it is probable, the industry of those who ought to be maintained by the employment of capital, and renders it less advantageous to employ a capital there than in other places. There was little trade or industry in Edinburgh before the union. When the Scotch parliament was no longer to be assembled in it, when it ceased to be the necessary residence of the principal nobility and gentry of Scotland, it became a city of some trade and industry. It still continues, however, to be the residence of the principal courts of justice in Scotland, of the boards of customs and excise, &c. A considerable revenue, therefore still continues to be spent in it. In trade and industry it is much inferior to Glasgow, of which the inhabitants are chiefly maintained by the employment of capital . . .
>
> The proportion between capital and revenue, therefore seems every-where to regulate the proportion between industry and idleness. Wherever capital predominates, industry prevails: wherever revenue, idleness.[13]

This of course was consistent with Smith's view of the unproductive labour of 'menial servants' whose service 'perishes in the very instant of its production', a category in which he included all the members of the government as well as 'churchmen, lawyers, physicians, men of letters of all kinds; players, buffoons, musicians, opera-singers, opera-dancers', although he did admit that some of these might be useful and necessary.[14]

What is important to Smith in this analysis is the need to accumulate capital, without which 'our ancestors were idle for want of a sufficient encouragement to

[13] Smith, *Wealth of nations*, Bk 2, ch. 3, pp. 335–8.
[14] *Ibid*., Bk 2, ch. 3, p. 331.

industry'.[15] His distinction between capital and revenue is not now considered a particularly useful method for analysing urban development. To modernise his vocabulary, Smith was suggesting that towns with large service sectors—although he might have preferred the term 'administrative cities'—had backward-sloping supply curves of labour. Their labour forces worked irregularly, had high leisure preferences and did not need to earn much before ceasing to work. In manufacturing towns, the labour force had more regular employment, had fewer bad examples of idle manservants and court ushers to tempt them, and accordingly valued leisure less and goods more. More pay produced more labour and the curve sloped forward. However, historians now agree that any systematic distinction between parasitic and productive towns is very difficult to make with regard to eighteenth-century England. It is impossible to make in London. It was palpably not the case that the Court, parliament, Whitehall and the law courts crowded out productive activities, nor were the services unproductive.[16] During the nineteenth century, this aspect of Smith was set aside and backward-sloping supply curves of (legal) labour were attributed to the undeserving poor, whose failure to 'improve' their consumption patterns (less leisure, more goods) might be attributed to their background or to their psychology but was not usually attributed to the urban economy in which they needed to make a living.[17]

Smith's dichotomy does however suggest a further question. How different was the labour force in the service sector from that in manufacturing? As has been made clear, Westminster did not fit any strict definition of a 'service town'. But, as has also been suggested, it was as near a service town—or 'administrative city' if the term is preferred—as was possible for the central part of a large multi-functional capital city during this period. Given the essential stability of the occupational structure of London as a whole, the 1821 age census can be used to compare the age structure of Westminster with other parts of London and to draw some conclusions both about Westminster's demographic position within London as well as about the patterns of migration within the various parts of London.

A preliminary analysis suggests that Middlesex was divided into a number of fairly distinct areas, whose age structures tended to cluster. The figures are reproduced in Table 6.11. A simple analysis produces four principal districts. 'Rural' Middlesex was one such district, though 'rural' is a misnomer and 'sub-urban' in its original, archaic sense would be more suitable. With 74,000 people in the 1821 age census it comprised

[15] *Ibid*., Bk 2, ch. 3, p. 335.

[16] See, for instance, Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the professions in Britain, 1700–1850* (London, 1995).

[17] A celebrated exception that did so was Beveridge's discussion of casual labour in *Unemployment: A problem of industry* (London, 1909), where the casual labour of the Port of London produced a labour force that was too large for the employment at hand. A simple model of the demand for labour of London householders for cleaning and carriage would produce a similar effect, although mainly for women. However, the peak of seasonal demand lasted for only a few months in the year, while the labour force migrated around the town. In addition, much manufacturing was seasonal.

eight per cent of the population of Middlesex. North London, meaning in this case the Hundred of Finsbury, with a population of 120,000 and thirteen per cent of the population of Middlesex, was a second district. The Tower Division in the east, with a population of 214,000, or nearly a quarter that of Middlesex, was a third district. The City, Holborn and Westminster (centre and west in Green's analysis) were sufficiently similar to be considered as a fourth district. This was enormous, with a population of 470,000, over half that of Middlesex. As far as age structure was concerned, there was no significant difference between the City and Westminster, despite the former depending largely on trade and the latter to a large extent on government and aristocracy. Kensington, with only four per cent of the county's population and 34,000 people was unique: in some respects similar to rural Middlesex, in some respects similar to Westminster. It is an interesting area, and has been mentioned earlier, but it was small when compared with the other districts of London.[18] A reader of Adam Smith might therefore expect differences between the centre and west and the other parts of London.

An analysis of the age structure and the migration patterns of London in 1821 is hindered by the census of that year failing to distinguish between those in their early and late twenties. As is well known, and as Table 6.4 demonstrates, there was a large net migration of 15–19 year olds into London. In England the national male 15–19 cohort stood at 84 per cent of the 10–14 cohort. In Sussex, a county much of whose younger population emigrated, it was only 77 per cent. However, in urban Middlesex it stood at 93 per cent, just over 10 per cent higher than the national average. The third column of Table 6.4 accordingly gives a figure of 110. The equivalent female cohort was 24 per cent higher than the national average and is returned as 124 in the fourth column of

Table 6.4. Cohort aged 15–19, as percentage of 10–14 cohort, 1821 census.*

	% of 10–14		% average	
	M	F	M	F
Rural Middx	72	89	85	95
Urban: north	92	113	109	120
Urban: east	77	98	91	104
Urban: centre & west	107	132	126	140
Urban: Kensington	61	89	72	94
Urban Middx	93	117	110	124
Sussex	77	82	91	87
West Riding	85	91	101	96
Eng. excl. Middx	84	93	99	98
Eng. incl. Middx	85	94	100	100

*All percentages take the national average as 100.

[18] See above, n. 7.

Table 6.4. But the high rate for urban Middlesex was not the result of migration to all parts of it. Men did not come to east London, which has a figure similar to Sussex, suggesting that young men left that part of London. Some women did migrate there, but the figure was only 4 per cent higher than the national, though allowance must of course be made for a higher death rate. Where young men and women migrated in large numbers was to the centre and west of London, though a significant number of young women also came to north London. This is consistent with what is known about employment patterns, particularly the lack of large-scale demand for maidservants in east London. It is, however, remarkable because the east was one of the fastest-growing areas of London during the twenty years before 1821.

Table 6.5 reveals the same pattern for 20–29 year olds, although less so. Numbers are given as percentages of the national average. The west and centre—that is to say the City, Westminster and Holborn—were persistently the districts with the highest net immigration; the Tower Division in the east was no longer a district of net emigration, but it took proportionately fewer net male immigrants than any other part of urban Middlesex and even fewer females. The north was between the two. While both sexes migrated to London in large numbers, it was now men who were more inclined to migrate than women, though the difference was not great and the figures are not precise.[19] For this older cohort there was also a net immigration into rural Middlesex.

The two right-hand columns of Table 6.5 merge the two tables by showing 15–29 as a percentage of the 10–14 cohort, given as percentages of the national average. This

Table 6.5. Cohort aged 20–29 as percentage of cohort aged 15–19, and cohort aged 15–29 as percentage of cohort aged 10–14, 1821 census.*

	20–29 as % of 15–19		15–29 as % of 10–14	
	M	F	M	F
Rural Middx	111	118	90	105
Urban: north	128	126	127	139
Urban: east	113	107	98	109
Urban: centre & west	147	142	161	177
Urban: Kensington	114	87	78	87
Urban Middx	135	128	133	146
Sussex	100	97	91	86
West Riding	94	89	97	90
Eng. excl. Middx	97	97	98	97
Eng. incl. Middx	100	100	100	100

*All percentages take the national average as 100.

[19] Among the possible factors, the differential death rate particularly needs to be taken into account, so only large differences can be taken as meaningful. See Table 6.10.

makes clear the characteristics of the centre and west district, standing at 61 per cent above the national average for men and 77 per cent above it for women. The north came next, a long way behind, at 27 and 39 per cent above the national average for men and women respectively, while the east remained around the national average: 2 per cent below it for men, 9 per cent above for women.

However, Table 6.6 shows that this pattern changed for those in their thirties. Men continued to migrate into Middlesex, both urban and rural, at a considerable rate, but women much less so and the booming districts were now the north and east. Perhaps this was the age when people in the West End moved to these parts of London. The ratios for most of London were fairly close to the national average, but in the east they were 30 per cent higher for men and 15 per cent higher for women. As London's death rate was not lower than the national average, and is generally considered to have been higher, this means that a degree of net immigration to the entire London region continued to take place, but it was much the greatest in the east.

Table 6.6. Cohort aged 30–39 as percentage of cohort aged 20–29, 1821 census.

	% of 20–29		% of national average	
	M	F	M	F
Rural Middx	80	72	102	101
Urban: north	90	73	114	101
Urban: east	102	83	130	115
Urban: centre & west	85	72	108	100
Urban: Kensington	85	87	108	121
Urban Middx	89	75	113	104
Sussex	75	71	96	98
West Riding	78	72	99	100
Eng. excl. Middx	78	72	99	100
Eng. incl. Middx	79	72	100	100

As a result of these diverse patterns, the sex ratio of the centre and west was more evenly balanced than the rest of urban Middlesex and for those in their thirties and over the ratio was more balanced than the rest of the country, as Table 6.7 shows. Kensington was totally different, but Kensington was small, by metropolitan standards.

Because of the high level of immigration, children in London formed a low percentage of the population, and this was particularly the case in the centre and west.[20] This is shown in Table 6.8, together with some other comparisons. Table 6.8 does not give the usual dependency ratios—which conventionally combine males and

[20] Again, the low population of Kensington must be stressed.

Table 6.7. Males per 100 females, 1821 census.

	% locally		% of national average	
	Age 15–29	Age 30–59	Age 15–29	Age 30–59
Rural Middx	85	90	95	102
Urban: north	75	93	84	105
Urban: east	73	94	82	106
Urban: centre & west	75	90	85	101
Urban: Kensington	212	236	238	266
Urban Middx	75	90	84	102
Sussex	97	105	109	118
West Riding	94	100	105	113
Eng. excl. Middx	89	95	100	107
Eng. incl. Middx	89	89	100	100

females, and give children together with old people as a proportion of the population of both sexes aged 15–59—but instead gives the number of children for every hundred males and every hundred females aged 30–59—a more useful indication in this case, as the migration patterns of males and females were different. In England excluding Middlesex there were 299 children for every 100 men and 284 for every 100 women. Middlesex stood at about two-thirds of this figure, East London at about four-fifths and North London at about seventy per cent. However the centre and west, with figures of 177 and 159 for men and women respectively, were little more than half the national figure or, if examples of counties are taken, Sussex or the West Riding.

This was not a part of London consisting of solid families with children. Rather, the centre and west took migrants aged 15–29 and, when these migrants wished to start a family, it appears that they often went to other parts of London. Urban Middlesex as a whole had a ratio of some two-thirds of the rest of the country. Historians have long known that cities attracted young migrants and had lower dependency ratios than elsewhere, but a figure of two-thirds is striking. Of course, one of the potential costs of immigration to the capital was a higher dependency ratio in the rest of southern England, a factor often overlooked when relating London's role in developing the economy and society of southern England and to which Wrigley did not draw attention in his classic article on the subject.[21] The dependency figures within London varied, but were all lower than the national average or, for comparison, Sussex or the West Riding. Within London, the centre and west district was particularly low, for both men and women. Nevertheless, a model that simply assumes that the dependency burden was displaced to rural parishes is too simple and ignores emigration from London in the

[21] 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.

Table 6.8. Children aged 0–14 per 100 adults aged 30–59, 1821 census.

	Children per 100	
	Males	Females
Rural Middx	289	261
Urban: north	216	201
Urban: east	237	223
Urban: centre & west	177	159
Urban: Kensington	100	235
Urban Middx	202	183
Sussex	321	336
West Riding	326	325
Eng. excl. Middx	299	284
Eng. incl. Middx	308	273

classic manner of young single migrants making their money and migrating back with it to their place of origin.[22]

The figures in Table 6.8 are not the same as the Gross Reproduction Rate (GRR), a technical demographic measurement which stood at 2.88 (at a national level) in 1821, but they are sufficiently near for the GRR to be indicative.[23] The crude indications of mortality used in Table 6.10, inevitably ignoring migration, nevertheless clearly indicate that any potential higher mortality in the various districts of the metropolis was not sufficiently above the national trend to account for this, and neither does Landers' work on London mortality.[24] Inner London had exceptionally low reproduction rates. These might perhaps be related to a small extent to its lower nuptiality or age-specific birth rates—though this must remain very hypothetical—but were strongly related to net migration patterns. Nevertheless, between 1801 and 1821 the population of most parts of London grew more than the rest of England; and although the centre and west was a little behind, it was not by very much and far less than Table 6.8 might have suggested.

[22] I owe this point to Prof. Penelope Corfield.

[23] E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen, R.S. Schofield, *English population history from family reconstitution* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 614. But see *ibid.*, 532, where the GRR is 2.93.

[24] J. Landers, *Death and the metropolis* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 175, gives the national Crude Death Rate during the 1820s as 23.8 per thousand and that of London within the bills of mortality as 26.7 per thousand. Landers' conclusions of the patterns of spatial variations in mortality in chapter 8 of *Death and the metropolis* are consistent with suggesting that these are unlikely to have made very significant differences to the net migration statistics derived from 1821.

III

All these figures must be set into the context of the growth of the capital's population during the two decades before 1821, which are given in Table 6.9. The most rapidly expanding districts of London were the north, the east and Kensington. The centre and west were growing at less than the national average, and were largely built up by this time, so had less scope for population growth. Nevertheless, the net migration patterns of these districts were very different and need to be broken down by age. There was a considerable degree of immigration of both males and females aged 15–29 to the centre and west, some to north London, much less to other parts of London. For the 15–19 cohort, women were more likely to be immigrants than men. A female bias was still evident among those in their twenties, but it was much less strong. The appeal of the capital to potential servants is obvious; for the female 15–19 cohort, the appeal of the centre and west was unequalled. Rural Middlesex and east and north London were the greatest gainers from the migration of those in their thirties. For this age group, males predominated. The west and centre had an average net retention rate of those in their thirties, slightly below the rest of London. Kensington, having had rather little net immigration of men and women in their twenties, had a large net influx of older women.

Table 6.9. Population growth rates, 1801–21.

	Male	Female	Male & Female
Rural Middx	138	139	139
Urban: north	168	160	164
Urban: east	161	148	154
Urban: centre & west	129	126	127
Urban: Kensington	175	173	174
Urban Middx	143	137	140
TOTAL	143	137	140
Eng. excl. Middx	137	132	134
Eng. incl. Middx	137	133	135

As a result of these various flows, the sex ratio of urban Middlesex was unbalanced for the 15–29 cohort, but in all the major parts of London it had become relatively balanced for those aged 30–59. However, this masked an exceptionally low dependency ratio in west and central London, with a low reproduction level and a suggestion of a low nuptiality rate, even though the local sex ratio was not particularly unbalanced. This was no small matter for a part of London with a population of nearly half a million, roughly equivalent to the combined population of Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester and Bristol in 1821. Anybody walking through Westminster, particularly during the few months of the London Season, would have been struck by the large

numbers of servants of both sexes. They would have noticed fewer children. They might have enquired whether the nuptiality rate was lower in Westminster than elsewhere. They would have noticed a large, temporary living-in population, often highly seasonal: the prostitutes, the criminals, the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the wealthy.

The shops were full of goods; the temptations to spend were great. Contrary to what the inhabitants of Westminster and the City thought of each other, one would not have found matters very different in the City, especially if one had compared the City with the rest of the country. It looked very different from north or east London. Adam Smith had a point: the large service district of the west and centre of London did have distinct demographic characteristics, and a higher leisure preference for a society with a low dependency ratio cannot be ruled out. But the hint of a backward-sloping supply curve for labour was deceptive. The net turnover of those in their twenties may not have been very great, but the gross turnover must have been considerable and the net figures do suggest a tendency for recently married couples to leave Westminster and settle down in the manufacturing suburbs that Smith so admired.

This was not the inner city that Sharlin postulated for pre-industrial Europe: an inner core of a town where, he suggested, lived the more prosperous settled inhabitants, the latter enjoying relatively low birth and death rates (the death rate perhaps being lower than the birth rate) and surrounded by a large periphery of migrants with low birth and high death rates.[25] Given the weakness of guild controls, such a situation was *a priori* improbable in eighteenth-century London, and Landers is able to conduct a large-scale investigation of London mortality between 1670 and 1830 without a formal discussion of Sharlin.[26] Native-born Londoners came into early contact with London's enormous reservoir of infections and very many of them died; migrants encountered these infections later in life and were likely to die then.

The inner City did have a low reproductive regime, but the reasons were more complex. Its migration was considerable, but the patterns were complex and related to the local employment and housing patterns. The centre and west did have their own characteristics but many of these had spread out to other parts of London. For instance, the conspicuous consumption of male servants and the large-scale employment of female servants was imitated in much of rural Middlesex and Surrey, and beyond; nevertheless, inner London attracted a large, young and mobile labour force, many of whom might stay there for a decade or so, but many of whom left before then. These people were usually unmarried and childless. Living in close contact with the largest display of commercially available leisure in the world, the temptations for them to spend must have been great. Pleasure gardens and pubs were visited and doubtless

[25] A. Sharlin, 'Natural decrease in early modern cities: a reconsideration', *Past and Present*, 79 (1978), 126–38. For a discussion of this, see J. de Vries, *European urbanization, 1500–1800* (London, 1984), pp. 180–97.
[26] Landers, *Death and the metropolis*. Sharlin's article is in Landers' bibliography but not in his index.

money was spent to fuel the consumer revolution. Nevertheless the temptations were contained, if not entirely withstood: the young people saved their money and when they could afford it they married and set up their own households, often in other parts of the town or outside London entirely. The migration patterns of the 1821 census make this clear, and when combined with other material they provide an approach for analysing the different parts of London in a manner rarely done by historians and one which should be pursued, both in the case of London and for other towns.

Appendix

Table 6.10. Age cohort 'survival rates', 1821 census.

	Age 5–9 as % of 0–4	Age 10–14 as % of 5–9	Age 10–14 as % of 0–4
Middx rural	95	84	79
Urban: north	79	82	64
Urban: east	80	84	67
Urban: centre & west	72	86	61
Urban: Kensington	105	91	96
Urban Middx	76	85	65
Sussex	90	84	75
West Riding	84	86	72
Eng. excl. Middx	88	85	75
Eng. incl. Middx	88	85	75

Table 6.11. Age structure, 1821 census.

	Males: percentage in each age group						Females: percentage in each age group						Males and Females	
	0–14	15–29	30–59	60+	Number	% of Middx	0–14	15–29	30–59	60+	Number	% of Middx	Number	% of Middx
Rural Middx (Hundreds)														
Edmonton	43.8	21.8	27.5	6.9	11891	2.8	37.1	27.2	28.2	7.5	13018	2.7	24909	2.7
Elthorne	39.4	24.5	28.3	7.9	8474	2.0	38.1	25.6	28.6	7.7	8351	1.7	16825	1.8
Gore	43.8	25.9	23.9	6.4	4444	1.0	36.2	26.6	29.7	7.5	4186	0.9	8630	0.9
Isleworth	40.3	24.2	28.3	7.3	5735	1.4	34.9	27.1	29.8	8.2	6550	1.3	12285	1.3
Spelthorne	37.8	25.2	29.5	7.5	5629	1.3	35.6	26.7	30.3	7.4	5996	1.2	11625	1.3
Rural Mx total	41.3	23.8	27.7	7.2	36173	8.5	36.6	26.7	29.0	7.7	38101	7.8	74274	8.1
Urban Middx (Hundreds)														
North: Finsbury	36.2	25.3	33.4	5.2	56212	13.3	31.9	30.0	31.8	6.3	63480	13.0	119692	13.1
East: Tower	39.2	21.8	33.3	5.7	100701	23.8	35.5	26.8	31.5	6.3	113100	23.2	213801	23.4
West & Centre:														
City Within	25.9	35.0	34.7	4.5	27505	6.5	24.3	35.9	34.5	5.3	28423	5.8	55928	6.1
City Without	29.5	28.3	37.3	4.9	30848	7.3	29.0	31.1	33.7	6.2	32586	6.7	63434	7.0
Holborn	33.0	26.5	36.0	4.5	106617	25.2	30.0	31.2	33.6	5.1	137248	28.1	243865	26.7
Westminster	28.8	29.9	36.6	4.6	50385	11.9	26.2	33.2	35.4	5.3	56017	11.5	106402	11.7
West & Centre total	30.6	28.7	36.1	4.6	215355	50.8	28.4	32.2	34.1	5.3	254274	52.1	469629	51.5
Kensington	41.8	22.2	28.0	7.9	15260	3.6	36.3	25.0	31.2	7.5	19178	3.9	34438	3.8
Urban Mx total	34.1	26.1	34.7	5.1	387528	91.5	31.0	30.2	33.0	5.8	450032	92.2	837560	91.9
Middx Total	34.7	26.0	34.1	5.3	423701	100.0	31.4	29.9	32.7	5.9	488133	100	911834	100.0
Sussex	42.7	23.7	26.0	7.6	105212		42.1	25.2	25.6	7.1	102280		207492	
West Riding	42.9	24.8	25.9	6.4	342393		41.3	26.4	25.8	6.5	343815		686208	
Eng. excl. Middx	41.1	24.4	27.0	7.5	4385197		38.4	26.4	27.5	7.7	4533430		8918627	
Eng. incl. Middx	38.4	26.4	27.5	7.7	4808898		37.7	26.8	28.0	7.6	5021563		9830461	

List of Abbreviations

APC	*Acts of the Privy Council*
BL	British Library
CARD	*Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, ed. J.T. and R.M. Gilbert, 19 vols (Dublin, 1889–1944)
CLRO	Corporation of London Record Office
CJ	*House of Common Journals, England*
CSP	*Calendar of State Papers*
Ec.HR	*Economic History Review*
HCJI	*Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*
GL	Guildhall Library
HMC	*Historical Manuscripts Commission*
Lambeth PL	Lambeth Palace Library
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
PRONI	Public Record Office, Northern Ireland
RCB	Representative Church Body Library, Dublin
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
WAC	Westminster Archives Centre