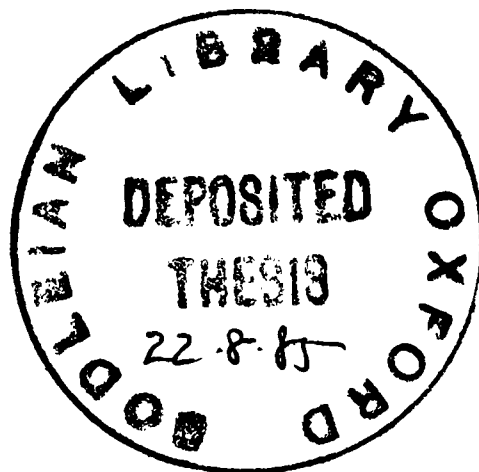


Bristol Society in the Later Eighteenth Century
with Special Reference to the Handling by
Computer of Fragmentary:Historical Sources /



Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil,
Hilary Term, 1985

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St. Hugh's College,
Oxford.

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There has been little interest in eighteenth century urban history in England and particularly in the significance of patterns of urban social structure during the transition from a traditional to a modern society. One reason for this is the intractable and fragmentary nature of the sources for this pre-census period. In this study three types of source, a town directory, a Parliamentary Poll Book and the city rate and national tax returns for Bristol in 1774/5, were collated using nominal record linkage techniques to give a body of information which covered 80% of the city's heads of household. With the use of this database and various computer techniques occupation, sex, wealth, place of residence and voting allegiance were analysed. The results suggest that a professional or leisured suburban group was by this date well established in distinct areas of the city. The supremacy of the traditional ~~elite~~, the overseas merchants, was challenged by this group, although the merchants themselves were in part joining the suburban dwellers. Poorer Bristolians still concentrated in dockside parishes and in parts of the city which were becoming increasingly unfashionable and homogeneous as the richer men moved out, though this process was not very far advanced and there was still a degree of mixing in the older city parishes. The economic structure of the city was changing with increased emphasis on services, professions and distribution. This increased disparities in wealth within the city and between the city and its hinterland and gave the ability to the rich to further their isolation from the poor by moving to the suburbs. The 1774 election pointed to the continuing importance of traditional influences (here of religion) in society, but also confirmed suggestions that the professions and distributors were drawing away from the mass of the populace. A revision of previous interpretations of the nature of Bristol society is necessary to accommodate this growing and important group - the emergent middle class. The thesis shows that a comprehensive computer-based study can make usable dubious sources (in particular fiscal records) and use them to revise interpretations of English urban communities at this date.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	30
List of Tables	4
List of Figures	11
Introduction	130
1. Community and Society in Eighteenth-Century England	15
2 Bristol Society in the Later Eighteenth Century: A Review of the Literature	36
3 Sources and Methods	70
i) Guides and Directories	70
ii) Poll Books	77
iii) Assessed Taxes: Local Rates and the Land and Window Taxes	85
iv) Nominal Record Linkage	119
v) Overlap of Sources	129
4 The Occupational Structure of Bristol in 1775	135
5 The Distribution of Wealth in Bristol in 1774/5	272
6 The General Election of 1774	325
7 Land Use in Bristol in 1775	370
8 Final Assessment of Sources	386
9 Conclusion	395
Appendices	402
Bibliography	420

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LIST OF TABLES

1:1	The Population of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century	31
3:1	Rate and Tax Returns Used	87
3:2	Statistical Description of the Fiscal Data	102
3:3	Distribution of the Fiscal Data	103
3:4	The Incompatibility of "Rent" Values	106
3:5	Frequency Table of Original Fiscal Data	110
3:6	Frequency Table of Fiscal Data after First Stage of Missing Value Estimation	113
3:7	Comparison of "Rent" Values for Streets of Inhabitants with Known Levels of Wealth	116
3:8	Information Available from Sketchley's Directory, the 1774 Poll Book and the Rate and Tax Returns	121
4:1	Classification 1: Raw Materials	139
4:2	Classification 2: The Nature of Work	143
4:3	Classification 3: Status	147
4:4	The Concordance of the " <u>General Description</u> " and Campbell's " <u>London Tradesman</u> "	153
4:5	Classification of Occupations in Sketchley's directory and the Poll Book under Scheme 1.	156
4:6	Classification of Occupations in Sketchley's directory and the Poll Book under Scheme 2	161
4:7	Classification of Occupations in Sketchley's directory and the Poll Book under Scheme 3	165
4:8	Classification of Occupations under Scheme 1: the Origin of the Data	169
4:9	Classification of Occupations under Scheme 2: the	

Origin of the Data	171
4:10 Classification of Occupations under Scheme 3: the Origin of the Data	175
4:11 The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes Classified under Scheme 1.	
i) Number in each class	180
ii) Per cent in each class	182
4:12 The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes Classified under Scheme 2	
i) Number in each class	190
ii) Per cent in each class	191
4:13 The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes Classified under Scheme 3	
i) Number in each class	196
ii) (a) Per cent in each class	197
(b) Per cent of those classified in each class	198
4:14 The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes Classified under Scheme 1; the Information from Sketchley's directory	
i) Number in each class	205
ii) Per cent in each class	207
4:15 The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes Classified under Scheme 1: the Information from the Poll Book	
i) Number in each class	209
ii) Per cent in each class	211
4:16 The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes Classified under Scheme 2: the Information from Sketchley's	

directory:

i). Number in each class	213
ii) Per cent in each class	214
4:17 The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes Classified under Scheme 2: the Information from the Poll Book	
i). Number in each class	215
ii) Percent in each class	216
4:18 The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes Classified under Scheme 3: the Information from Sketchley's directory	
i). Number in each class	217
ii) (a) Per cent in each class	218
(b) Per cent of those classified in each class	219
4:19 The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes Classified under Scheme 3: the Information from the Poll Book	
i) Number in each class	220
ii) (a) Per cent in each class	221
(b) Per cent of those classified in each class	222
4:20 The Wealth of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 1.	
i). Number in each class	223
ii) Per cent in each class	224
4:21 The Wealth of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 2	
i). Number in each class	229

ii) Per cent in each class	230
4:22 The Wealth of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 3	
i) Number in each class	231
ii) Per cent in each class	232
4:23 The Wealth of those in the Three Sources	
i) Number in each class	234
ii) Per cent in classes 1, 2, 3 and 4	234
4:24 The Occupations of Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex Classified under Scheme 1	236
4:25 The Occupations of Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex Classified under Scheme 2	238
4:26 The Occupations of Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex Classified under Scheme 3	
a) All cases	240
b) Per cent of those classified	240
4:27 The Status of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 1	243
4:28 The Status of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 2	245
4:29 The Status of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 3	246
4:30 Multiple Occupations Classified under Scheme 1	250
4:31 Multiple Occupations Classified under Scheme 2	255
4:32 Multiple Occupations Classified under Scheme 3	257
4:33 Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex without Occupations	260
4:34 The Parish of Residence of those without Occupations	261
4:35 The Parish of Residence of those without Occupations:	

the Origin of the Information	264
4:36 The Wealth of those Without Occupations	265
4:37 The Wealth of those Without Occupations: the Origin of the Information	266
5:1 Measures of Central Tendency in Rateable Values for Bristol in 1774/5	273
5:2 Measures of Dispersion of Rateable Values for Bristol in 1774/5	275
5:3 Mean, Mode and Median Rateable Values for Bristol Parishes in 1774/5	277
5:4 Measures of Dispersion in Rateable Values in Bristol Parishes in 1774/5	289
5:5 The Classification of Rateable Values in Bristol Parishes 1774/5	
i) Number in each class	298
ii) Per cent in each class	299
5:6 Exemption from the Rates in Bristol in 1774/5	305
5:7 Distribution of the "Poor" in Bristol in 1774/5	307
5:8 The Proportion of Men and Women Ratepayers and those of Unknown Sex	310
5:9 Distribution of Rateable Values for Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex	311
5:10 Classification of Rateable Values for Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex	
i) Number in each class	314
ii) Per cent in each class	314
5:11 Men and Women Ratepayers and those of Unknown Sex in	

Bristol Parishes in 1774/5	316
5:12 The Wealth of Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex by Parish: Measures of Central Tendency	319
6:1 The Result of the 1774 Election in the Constituency of Bristol	328
6:2 Voting Patterns of Bristol Residents Only	328
6:3 Votes Cast in the Election of 1774	329
6:4 Bristolian Plumpers, Splitters and Straight Party voters in the Election of 1774	330
6:5 The Voting Patterns of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 1	
i) Number in each class	334
ii) Per cent in each class	335
6:6 The Voting Patterns of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 2	
i) Number in each class	337
ii) Per cent in each class	337
6:7 The Voting Patterns of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 3	
i) Number in each class	339
ii) (a) Per cent in each class	340
(b) Per cent of those classified in each class	340
6:8 Voting by Status in the 1774 Election	341
6:9 The Wealth of Bristol Voters in 1774	343
6:10 The Level of Wealth of Bristol Voters	
i) Number of votes in each class	344
ii) Per cent of votes in each class	345
6:11 Election Results by Parish	

i). Number of votes	348
ii) Per cent of votes	349
6:12 Political Allegiance of Overseas Merchants	364
6:13 Political Allegiance of the Whole Bristolian Electorate	364
6:14 Political Allegiance of the Corporation	365
6:15 Political Allegiance of the Anglican Clergy	365
6:16 Political Allegiance of Customs and Excise Officers	366
6:17 Political Allegiance of those with no Occupation	367
7:1 Building Classification	370
7:2 Land Use in Bristol in 1774/5	
i). Number in each class	373
ii) Per cent in each class	374
7:3 Building Types Recorded in Bristol Rate Returns: distribution by Parish	
i). Number in each class	379
ii) Per cent in each class	380
7:4 Building Types Recorded in Sketchley's Directory: distribution by Parish	
i). Number in each class	382
ii) Per cent in each class	383

LIST OF FIGURES

3:1	Overlap Amongst the Sources	131
4:1	Occupation Structure of Bristol Parishes in 1775	203
5:1	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values for the city of Bristol	274
5:2	Comparison of Parish and City Mean Rateable Values	279
5:3	Comparison of Parish and City Modal Rateable Values	280
5:4	Comparison of Parish and City Median Rateable Values	281
5:5	The Wealth of Bristol Parishes After Slack (1977)	285
5:6	The Wealth of Bristol Parishes After Ralph and Williams (1968)	286
5:7	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in All Saints Parish	291
5:8	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in Castle Precincts	291
5:9	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in Christ Church Parish	291
5:10	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Augustine's Parish	291
5:11	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Ewen's Parish	291
5:12	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. James City Parish	292
5:13	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. John's Parish	292
5:14	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Leonard's Parish	292

5:15	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Mary le Port Parish	292
5:16	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Mary Redcliff Parish	293
5:17	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Michael's Parish	293
5:18	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Nicholas's Parish	293
5:19	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Peter's Parish	294
5:20	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in SS Phillip and Jacob Parish	294
5:21	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Stephen's Parish	294
5:22	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Thomas's Parish	295
5:23	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in St. Werburgh's Parish	295
5:24	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in Temple Ward	295
5:25	Frequency Diagrams of Rateable Values in St. James Outparish	296
5:26	Frequency Diagrams of Rateable Values in Trinity Ward	296
5:27	The Wealth of Bristol Parishes	303
5:28	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values for Men	312
5:29	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values for Women	312
5:30	Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values for those of Unknown Sex	312
6:1	The Support for Candidates in Bristol Parishes in 1774	351

INTRODUCTION

The eighteenth century has been a neglected period in urban history and historical geography. Urban studies abound for both the early modern period (e.g. Clark, 1976; Clark & Slack, 1972 & 1976; Patten, 1978) and for the nineteenth century (e.g. Armstrong, 1974; Foster, 1974; Stedman Jones, 1971); but the eighteenth century has far fewer historians. Exceptions are, for example the work by Rudé (1960, 1962 & 1971), Neale (1981), Wilson (1971), Money (1977) and Ellis (1984); for Scotland Devine (1975 & 1978) and for Ireland Butlin (1965) and Clarkson (1978a & b). There are general texts by Corfield (1982) and Walvin (1984); but such works are in general few in number. This lack of research is even more striking when compared with the many studies of American cities (e.g. Countryman, 1976; Pencak, 1979; Smith, 1981) and French towns (e.g. Daumard & Furet, 1961; Furet, 1961; and titles in Roche, 1980) in the revolutionary period.

In particular there has been little interest in the divisions within eighteenth-century urban society and in the contribution of eighteenth-century urbanisation to the change to a class society. The contrast with America and France is again pronounced. Issues such as the polarisation of wealth in pre-revolutionary cities in America (e.g. Ball, 1976; Main, 1977) and the relation of wealth divisions to traditional social divisions in French urban society (e.g. Bois, 1963; Garden, 1964) contribute importantly to knowledge of the eighteenth-century city and of the path of change in society as a whole.

Ellis suggests that there is controversy within English

eighteenth-century social history as to whether social relations were orderly and harmonious or unstable and divided. She concludes that by the later eighteenth century:

"the quickening pace of economic change...particularly in the great commercial and manufacturing towns, eventually tipped the balance towards disc_ord and confrontation, as relative inequalities of income and status became more pronounced and rising consumer expectations were frustrated by the uneven and unpredictable course of 'progress'" (1984,192).

There is, however, a dearth of research on the inequalities and conditions of life within specific towns and cities on which to base such a generalisation.

The following study attempts to contribute to the general debate by examining the society in the city of Bristol in the later eighteenth century. It seeks to establish the theoretical context for discussion of the modernisation of society (Chapter 1); to examine current knowledge of Bristol society at this date (Chapter 2); to suggest that, although source difficulties are an obstacle to research, these can be overcome (Chapter 3); to present a cross section of the economy and society of Bristol in 1774/5 (Chapters 4,5,6 & 7); and finally to fit this picture in to the background of the national move to a class society (Chapters 8 & 9). The sources and methods used have been seen to be of great importance and much space is given to their examination and assessment in the hope that this study make some contribution to our knowledge of eighteenth-century urban society both through the presentation of a case study and in suggesting methods for further research.

Chapter 1.

COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

The eighteenth century has long been recognised as a phase of transition in English economic and social history. It was one in which society underwent a succession of far-reaching and often rapid changes which have been described in theoretical terms as the process of modernisation or the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft transition. The characteristics of modernisation are summarised by Wrigley (1972). In a modern society men act "rationally"; they are motivated by self-interest, where advantage is defined as pecuniary gain accruing to the individual or to the nuclear family. Men are recruited to discharge specific roles on criteria of achievement rather than ascription; these roles are increasingly sharply differentiated from one another, as the division of labour progresses and economic efficiency increases concomitantly. The existence of a stable government, which defends the equality of all citizens before the law, allows men to predict future conditions and hence to evaluate rationally the benefits of various courses of action. The government also encourages rationality, for example, by removing restrictions on the use of private property or by allowing labour to be treated simply as a production factor, or, more actively, by creating demand through the maintenance of a standing army (Wrigley, 1972, 229-234).

This description closely parallels that of the Gesellschaft of Tönnies in his Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (1887) and Geist der Neuzeit (1935). The Gemeinschaft is based on Wesenwille

(natural or integral will) and people associate together within it, for example as friends do, because they think the relation valuable as an end in and of itself. The Gesellschaft is based on Kurwille (rational will) and people come together regardless of personal sympathy or antipathy to attain a definite goal (Tönnies, 1955, xv). The structure of society is a theme of long standing interest: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft is only one of many interpretations and codifications; subsequent treatments include notably Durkheim's dichotomy of solidarité organique and solidarité mécanique (Tönnies, 1955, xviii).

Complementary to these views is E.P. Thompson's idea of the transition in eighteenth-century England from a "moral" to a "market" economy with the associated change from a community based to a class based society (Thompson, 1963, 1971, etc.). In decline is the moral economy, the traditional society marked by "mutuality", an awareness of the responsibilities inherent in patriciate rights and a readiness on the part of the "crowd" or the "plebs" to extract their part of the bond, should this not be freely given in time-honoured fashion. In the ascent is the market economy with its corresponding class relations where actions are justified by appeal to profit rather than to custom and where obligation is defined by the narrow limits of contract rather than by the nexus of paternalism. The parallels of this specific description of England in the eighteenth century with the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft and modernisation theses are obvious, despite E.P. Thompson's doubts as to the conceptual value of the latter thesis (Thompson, 1978, 133).

In these analyses modernisation, the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft and moral-market economy transition, and hence the transition in progress in eighteenth-century England, is not equated with industrialisation per se. In contrast to Marx who regarded technology as the "cutting edge" of economic and hence social change, Tönnies considered large scale trade involving the desire for the profitable use of money the prime mover of the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft transition (Tönnies, 1955, xii). He therefore sees the emergence of a capitalist, not necessarily a capitalist-industrialist, society as the key change, as does E.P. Thompson whose market economy is one with capitalist but not fully industrial production structures and workplace relationships. Others (e.g. Brown, 1972, for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America) clearly see industrialisation and modernisation as distinct and Wrigley is at great pains to distinguish the two. He considers that industrialisation is always associated with major and continuing changes in material technology, including the tapping of new sources of energy and suggests further that industrialisation may be said to occur in a given country when real per capita incomes begin to rise steadily and without apparent limit (Wrigley, 1972, 226). (This is rather controversial and takes us back to the "Standard of Living" debate (see summary of debate in Taylor, 1975), but it is obviously true in the long term.) Whilst industrialisation and modernisation often have occurred simultaneously, the one is not necessarily entailed in the other, as is seen in the frequently cited example of modern but not industrial Holland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see e.g. Dhondt and

Bruvier,1973). This has clear implications for the study of commercial rather than industrial Bristol.

Within English history, the theoretical distinction between industrialisation and modernisation goes some way towards enabling us to make sense of studies which show that "moral economy" attitudes lingered on in industrial areas well into the nineteenth and even into the twentieth centuries. In many Victorian factory towns paternalistic, deferential society thrived, fostered in the workplace where factory owners employed families as distinct entities in their workforce, and gave employment "as of right" to members of those families (Joyce,1980). Similarly in the Duke of Bridgewater's industrial estates in the nineteenth century children of estate workers were found employment whether this was economically justifiable or not. The Worsley family applied the same paternalism to men in their coal mines and canals as an exemplary rural squire to his farm workers (Mathur,1970). In nineteenth-century industrial South Shields feelings of class affiliation or struggle were subsumed under sectional trade interests evident in tightly knit neighbourhoods, each with its dominant occupation (Foster,1974). Lancashire factory owners and their employees could share in a mode of production which was radically new, yet which operated within traditional social mores (Boyson,1972).

Conversely, there could be modernisation without industrialisation and old social structures could survive, albeit in degraded or even travestied form. In nineteenth-century London the absence of factory industry was reflected not in the

existence of a united, stable society, but in the progressive "marginalisation" of large sectors of the labouring poor, as work patterns and hence ways of life became increasingly "casualised" and unstable (Stedman Jones, 1971). In the eighteenth century, where traditional workplace structures survived without immediate threat from the factory, relationships could be characterised by a level of degradation far removed from the ideal of mutuality, whether in London's sweated trades (George, 1966) or for the famous handloom weavers (e.g. Bythell, 1969; Foster, 1974; Thompson, 1964). Freidrichs sees in Noerdlinge and other German cities in the eighteenth century the development of a Kleinbürgertum as a distinct social stratum. Being a journeyman was not now a temporary step towards independence as a master, but had become a permanent condition of hired labour. The traditional guild organisation had not disappeared, but had been degraded and, as in nineteenth-century London, the result was the alienation and marginalisation of large numbers of men whose interests were not served by the old social structures, but who were united by no new social bonds.

The distinction between modernisation and industrialisation does not, however, entirely remove the confusion surrounding such "anomalous" cases, since this has a number of causes. Firstly there is a confusion of ideal types with observed social entities. The dichotomous pairs traditional/modern, Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft and moral/market are to be recognised as conceptual polarisations (as, for example, are Weber's "ideal types" (Runciman, 1972, 34-48)). Tönnies was explicit on this point and described Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft as normal

Begriffe (normative concepts) (Tönnies,1955,xiv). As such they can be used to describe both stages of historical development and also the differences between groups at any one time. Thus both the family and the Middle Ages, whilst not being Gemeinschaften, can be said to have Gemeinschaft-like characteristics (Tönnies,1955,xix). It is therefore unremarkable to find Gemeinschaft-like social structures in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English towns which showed many Gesellschaft-like features or Gesellschaft-like features in earlier societies.

The distinction between theoretical construct and reality is not always made so clearly in the substantive literature which tends to present stereotyped views of Gemeinschaft-like pre-industrial village communities, where local ties bind all men together in a "vertical" social structure or, conversely, of the capitalist/industrial nineteenth-century city, where class consciousness is established if not mature, community feelings are "horizontal", and issues bind classes irrespective of place. This confusion of concept and reality extends to the theoretical literature too. Calhoun remarks of Macfarlane's suggestion that we abandon the search for "community" and concentrate instead on "action sets" or "social networks" that he "treats concepts as holes in the ground to be filled with data" (Calhoun,1978,364).

The confusion between concept and reality results at least in part from the persistent inability to define "community" either theoretically or empirically (see e.g. Calhoun,1978,1980 & 1982; Macfarlane,1972,1977a & b; Dennis & Daniels,1981.etc.). Calhoun readily admits this but says "simply because we cannot

define a "community" does not mean the concept is empty of empirical reference" (1978,370). For Calhoun it is internal organisation which may make a community out of a mere aggregate of individuals. He recognises that this leaves us only marginally closer to being able to define "community", but feels we must not abandon our studies since "without the search for community social history would be emasculated" (Calhoun,1978,372). In this he is entirely correct. This "particularly contentious concept" (Dennis & Daniels,1981,7), however elusive, remains both an end and a means in research; it is both a pressing historical question and an important organising framework for study. Perhaps the way out of the difficulty is provided by Popper:

"science does not use definitions in order to determine the meaning of its terms, but only in order to introduce handy shorthand labels. And it does not depend on definitions; all definitions can be omitted without loss to the information imparted. It follows from this that in science, all the terms that are really needed are undefined terms....Aristotelianism and related philosophies have told us for such a long time how important it is to get a precise knowledge of the meaning of our terms that we are all inclined to believe it.....[but] not only does this concentration on the problem of meaning fail to establish precision; it is itself the main source of vagueness, ambiguity and confusion.

In science, we take care that the statements we make should never depend upon the meaning of our terms. Even where the terms are defined, we never try to derive any information from the definition, or to base any argument upon it. This is why our terms make so little trouble. We do not overburden them. We try to attach to them as little weight as possible. We do not take their 'meaning' too seriously. We are always conscious that our terms are a little vague (since we have learned to use them only in practical applications) and we reach precision not by reducing their penumbra of vagueness, but rather by keeping well within it, by carefully phrasing our sentences in such a way that the possible shades of meaning of our terms do not matter"

(Popper, 1966, 18-19, author's italics).

This lucid explanation justifies our search for community in general and in the particular context of eighteenth-century Bristol, though we remain unable to define "community" (or for that matter "town" (see e.g. Patten, 1978, 21-28 for a discussion of the meaning of "town")).

A second reason for confusion in the literature is that we may often set out with too narrow a preconception of "community". This is obviously linked to the confusion between concept and reality, as the existence of a community may be denied simply because the social reality does not exhibit all the characteristics of the theoretical community; but it is worth restating in the face of such comments as "However one defines 'Community', there was relatively little of it about in the (thirteenth- to eighteenth-century English) villages we were studying" (Macfarlane, 1978, 5). In his review of Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft Durkheim wrote:

"Gesellschaft is supposed to be characterised by a progressive development of individualism, the dispersive effects of which can only be prevented for a time and by artificial means, by the action of the state. It is seen essentially as a mechanical aggregate; what there is that remains of truly collective life is presumed to result, not from an internal spontaneity, but from the wholly external stimulus of the state.... Now I believe that the life of large social agglomerations is just as natural as that of small groupings. It is no less organic and no less internal. Outside of these purely individual actions there is a collective activity in our contemporary societies which is just as natural as that of the smaller societies of previous ages. It is certainly different; it constitutes a distinct type, but however different they may be, there is no difference in nature between these two varieties of the same genus" (Durkheim, 1972, 146-7).

This is surely a more sensitive view than that of Macfarlane and one which accords more readily with studies which show the vigour, resilience and integrity of communities in our present "mass society" (see e.g. Hoggart, 1958 on twentieth-century working class culture).

A third reason for confusion in the literature is that there is a mistaken feeling that by the late eighteenth-century a fairly uniform culture should have emerged and that "anomalies" should not occur. Calhoun's work (1982) on the origins of class struggle forces a timely review of the over-simplified dichotomy of rural/agricultural Gemeinschaft and urban/industrial Gesellschaft. We are reminded that local and sectional (i.e. trade) interests did not disappear with the emergence of the first traits of capitalism and that local community bonds were not rapidly replaced by a national class consciousness. He emphasizes that England at this time was not one unified economy, but a collection of regional economies (see also Patten, 1979, 11. and Langton, 1984 on this point). This attention to regional difference is reinforced by the revival of the traditional geographical idea of the distinctiveness of each pays (Vidal de la Blache and his school); by the rediscovery of emotional attachment to place by historians such as John Barrell (see e.g. Barrell, 1972); and by the current historical interest in the regional novel. In eighteenth-century England, within the pattern of regional economies, some areas were becoming increasingly divergent as they developed radically new production sectors. As communities develop or disappear in response to some functional

demand made on individuals, rather than just "being" in some existentialist sense, there is thus every reason to expect a variety of community forms to have existed in eighteenth-century England.

Blum points out that the classic village community was so close-knit precisely because it (i.e. the place of the village) was the setting for the operation of a number of different functional communities, with, for example, economic, juridical religious and social roles (Blum, 1980, 542). Joyce's or Boyson's Gemeinschaften in factory towns, too, were functioning communities. They existed not in spite of the new industrial workplace relations, but because of them. The common bonds that workers developed in the factory, through the sharing of leisure time with works holiday clubs and outings as well as the daily contact in the factory, were reinforced by the bonds of neighbourhood, as families occupied housing round the works provided by the factory owner.

The Gesellschaft degradation of London's sweated trades or of the handloom weavers existed not in spite of the fact that the trades were not industrialised, but precisely because the technical level of production forced individuals to compete with one another and allowed masters to whittle down piece rates. In London, a fragmented residential structure and a fragmented production structure again reacted upon each another to hasten the demise of the Gemeinschaften and force the development of a new kind of functioning institution (that of the house-of-call based journeymen's association, for example) to fill a new need. For the handloom weavers, however, the existing village bonds

were strengthened by the rapid deterioration in economic conditions and the old community form acquired a new function, that of the defence of the workers' standard of living. Like the tradesmen of Wigan who clung on to their guild traditions in the face of unprecedented social upheaval during industrialisation (Langton, 1974; 21), the handloom weavers turned to their existing communities, which offered both stability and the possibility of defence in rapidly changing circumstances, and imbued these communities with new functions and hence new life.

It would therefore be perverse to expect one pattern of social relations to which we could point as being somehow typical of the period; rather we must assess how the underlying economic processes operated in each place to give a distinctive pattern of society and community life. It would be idle to pretend that the emergent economic structures were not all basically capitalist and that, in the long run, they tended to produce a fairly homogeneous society; but equally it would be wrong to overlook the principle that one process acting on different material can produce very different end results, so that the same economic trends could in the short term re-inforce and re-invigorate old community structures in one place just as they could destroy them by removing their raison d'être in another.

We must then be sensitive to local variation in society; but to what extent can we go further and regard neighbourhood and place of residence themselves as shaping these social groups? Abrams (1981) and Diamond (1941) warn us against the "fetishism of space" as the Marxists have it. They stress that place is

simply a locus for change, a "container" in which processes operate but which can of itself do nothing. Soja (1981) and Pred (1984), however, contend that space exists in dialectic relation with society, not just passively defined by it, but also actively constraining and shaping it. "Space" in this sense clearly means something very different from Abram's or Diamond's "space"; here it is "relative" or "social" space and the ideas that society gives space its significance and that space is important in defining society qua society rather than just a collection of individuals are current in anthropology, geography and archaeology and are not too lightly to be dismissed. Verdon (1980) suggests that residential communities are not mere by-products of other structures (economic, religious, etc.), but rather that residential propinquity must be regarded as a process in its own right. Tönnies regarded shared habitation as one of the three Gemeinschaft ties, the others being blood (kinship) and mind (friendship). He stated

"The Gemeinschaft of blood denoting unity of being is developed and differentiated into Gemeinschaft of locality which is based on common habitat.....Gemeinschaft of locality may be conceived as a community of physical life" (Tönnies, 1955, 48-9).

The Gemeinschaft of locality is based on proximity of habitation and the intimate knowledge one of the other that arises from that proximity. The "face-to-face contact" and familiarity that come of common residence are widely accepted as indicative of "closeness" (Calhoun, 1980, 111), and it is no accident that the word "neighbour" should give rise to the epithet "neighbourly", with all its overtones of community solidarity.

It is clear then that the eighteenth century was a phase of transition which can be characterised not so much as a shift from agriculture to industry, but from traditional to modern society, Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft, moral to market economy. This broad generalisation must not lead to a confusion between concept and empirical reality, nor give an expectation of a rapid or uniform change. On the other hand, inability to define community precisely must not lead us to deny the existence of communities or suggest we abandon the search for them. Rather there must be an examination of the ways in which large scale processes shaped societal change in each locality, given the particular conjunction of phenomena in each and a readiness to interpret broadly the notion of community.

It remains to see how groups and divisions within society are to be apprehended and to decide how to analyse divisions and communities in eighteenth-century Bristol, and perhaps particularly the question of the extent to which residential propinquity was an integral part of or irrelevant to social divisions and group cohesion? Within the limitations imposed by historical sources one potentially fruitful approach would be to investigate the occupation, wealth, political behaviour and, given our interest in geographical variation and the extent to which neighbourhoods were communities, place of residence. The distance between the identification of groups of men with similar occupations, levels of wealth and so on (i.e. "communities" in the sense of individuals with common attributes) and the apprehension of "experienced" communities is great. E.P. Thompson rejects the

"endless stupidities of quantitative measurement of classes...{and} sophisticated Newtonian Marxism in which classes and class fractions perform their planetary or molecular evolutions" (1978b,149)

and Hesse criticises

"Ihr behandelt die Weltgeschichte wie ein Mathematiker die Mathematik, wo es nur Gesetze und Formeln gibt, aber keine Wirklichkeit, kein Gut und Böse, keine Zeit, kein Gestern, kein Morgen, nur eine ewige, flache, mathematische Gegenwart"(1979,179).

Clearly any study of class or community based on the examination of the external attributes of individuals (their occupation, wealth, place of residence and so on), even if it goes beyond the simple recording and measurement of those attributes to discuss their significance and meaning for contemporaries (Pooley,1984), cannot provide a complete picture of any social group. The importance of investigating "experienced" or "effective" communities has been shown by radical historians (e.g. E.P.Thompson,1963,1971,1975 etc.; Booth,1977; Malcolmson,1980; Hobsbawm & Rudé,1969) in their examination of riots, struggles and protests, as well as by more traditional historians in their attention to the bonds of religion, to links amongst merchant families and to institutions such as guilds and clubs.

Such a quantitative approach is not, however, to be rejected so simply, nor is the gap between it and non-statistical surveys of specific groups unbridgable. E.P.Thompson stresses that he does not "suppose that the formation of class is independent of objective determinations (or) that class can be defined simply as a cultural formation" (Thompson,1978,149). Katz, too, whilst he

understands class as " not a thing but a relation.....seen in the activities of people, and refracted in the way that they view the world", states that "class does have an objective expression, an embodiment that can be located and described or it means nothing" (Katz,1981,604). Burke underlines the secondary nature of class relationships when he describes them as "social relationships to which societal inequalities give rise" (Burke,1980,61,my italics). It is then the divisions and differences in society, discernible through the quantitative study of men's external attributes, which give shape and cohesion to its classes and communities. Perhaps we should do as the social anthropologist and consciously recognise the need for and the excitement of the "imaginative leap" between analysis of statistical data and the intuitive understanding of communities (Macfarlane,1977,650).

A largely quantitative study investigating such variables as occupation, wealth, electoral behaviour and place of residence, seems then a realistic, if not wholly satisfactory, starting point for a study of the divisions and bonds within society. Underlying both cultural expressions of inequality and the broad patterns of the economy of any one place is a structure of productive relations revealed fundamentally in the patterns of action and interaction of individuals. It is then at the individual level and not at the aggregate level that our quantitative study must be made to reconstruct the conditions of daily life for the individual in the style of the histoire quotidienne, Alltagsgeschichte or the "new social history"

school.

The point of interest is not simply first the inequalities in wealth, then differences in political allegiance, then neighbourhood groups, but the extent to which these things co-varied - how far it was specific occupations which made men rich and whether such men then chose to live together and had common political leanings. It is thus vital that the study involve the linking of different pieces of material relating to the same man so that we have as complete a picture as possible of all the relationships of a man with all others in society.

Before starting this quantitative study using linked data it remains to hypothesise the pattern of social relationships which might have been evident in Bristol. There is reason to expect both change and stability, given the character of the underlying economy of the city at the end of the eighteenth-century. Change in society is suggested by Bristol's sustained growth in population. There are few reliable calculations of Bristol's population in the eighteenth century. The only firm figures are those of the 1696 Marriage Tax returns, which show a population of some 20,000 at this date (Holman, 1979, 87; Ralph and Williams, 1968, xx), and of the 1801 census which shows a population of 63,645. The best estimates for the intervening period are those of Little (1954, 327) which are based on adjusted baptismal counts (Table 1:1).

Table 1:1: The Population of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century

1700	27,400	*
1720	45,500	
1740	46,500	
1760	55,200	
1780	54,100	x
1800	62,400	

Notes:

* cf. Holman and Ralph & Williams 20,000 and Pugsley (1921,paperI) 25,000.

x cf. Pugsley 38,000 for the ancient city, based on Sketchley (1775).

Little's calculations produce estimates which accord very well with the firm figures for 1696 and 1801 and this suggests that they are fairly reliable, despite apparent mid-century anomalies. They are generally regarded as the best current estimates for Bristol and are widely quoted (see e.g. Law, 1972, 23; Daunton, 1978, 247). Bristol had kept its place amongst the five largest cities of the nation from the seventeenth century until into the nineteenth. The only other city able to maintain its position in this way was London; all the other provincial capitals, like York, Norwich and Exeter, had fallen back by the time of the first census to be replaced by the new generation of great towns like Birmingham and Liverpool (Daunton, 1978, 247). The sustained development of Bristol contrasts with the examples of decay and decline cited by Clark and Slack (1972 & 1976) who suggest that expansion was the exception rather than the rule in early

modern and eighteenth-century English towns. Significant increase in population, especially when concentrated in a relatively short period, can of itself strain and thus force a change in existing social structures, a fact evinced in many of the present burgeoning cities in underdeveloped countries. Population increase in Bristol, a response to commercial success, could itself have become an independent variable in social change.

Expansion is not synonymous with change, but the economy of Bristol and that of the south west region as a whole (outside Devon and Cornwall) had seen the development of distinctly different and unequivocally capitalist production structures. The area was one of fairly advanced commercial agriculture and enclosure was almost complete in many parts by 1800, though some parts of the Cotswolds remained significant exceptions. New crops were grown in complicated rotations and agriculture and dairying were increasingly geared to supply the needs of Bristol, Bath and the Gloucestershire textile towns, as well as the London market (Walker, 1962, 195-206). The textile industry in the area had long been organised on "modern" lines. By 1800 the use of machinery was more widespread here than in any other part of England and, in contrast to the Yorkshire textile area with its tradition of independent masters, relatively few masters controlled a highly developed putting-out system and employed up to one thousand wholly dependent craftsmen each (Mann, 1956; 1964; 1968 & 1971). (See Defoe, 1724-6; Letters IV: & VI for developments at the beginning of the century.) The sustained growth of Bristol itself was accompanied by increasing dependence

on distant markets, within England and also abroad, as she developed as an important entrepôt and commercial centre for commodities, manufactures and semi-finished goods. Dependence on long distance trade is a critical stage in the loss of independence of the craftsman, who could not now own and assemble his raw materials, work on them and finally market his products.

With the setting up of glasshouses, potteries, sugar bakeries and soap boiling and tobacco making plants larger scale industry became established in Bristol by the early eighteenth century. In addition, iron foundries and the first brass foundry in Britain (Baptist Mills works, completed in 1703) were located here, demanding as did the industries cited above, substantial investment and relatively large fixed capital, bringing demand for industrial products such as Kingswood coal and creating new work-place relationships for men and masters.

The sustained growth in overseas trade brought remarkable wealth to a few powerful merchants, as well as to the city as a whole. The polarisation of wealth within the city which this encouraged was further emphasised by the growth of the Hotwells spa and Clifton suburbs. The leisured inhabitants of these areas were cut off from the existing production structures of the city (except in as much as they created demand for new and established services), but they helped to mould new consumption patterns. The importance of change in consumption habits and the emulation of fashion in bringing about a decline of the "leisure preference" and the creation of new attitudes to and incentives for work is well documented (see e.g. Fisher (1948), Wrigley:(1967), Pawson

(1979) and Daunton (1978).

The commercial expansion and the spa development brought with them increased demand for Customs and Excise officials, insurance brokers, lawyers, doctors and so on. This "professional middle class" might well be expected to have distinctly different social values from those members of traditional Bristol society.

There is thus reason to expect significant change to have taken place in Bristol society and to find some explicitly Gesellschaft traits within it. These expectations are tempered however by the many examples cited above of Gemeinschaften existing in a capitalist age and there are conversely many reasons for expecting social stability. The economy was still commercial as it traditionally had been: signs of heavier industrial development were limited and confined to a narrow range of trades, often themselves dependent on colonial trade. The development at Clifton was rapid only after 1790 and had a profound impact on the city only in the nineteenth century. The Hotwells spa was small and largely outside the effective city area. If the merchants were growing increasingly wealthy, the gulf between their wealth and the poverty of most artisans was hardly a new phenomenon.

There are then grounds for expecting both change and stability in the city. With this knowledge and within the context of the overall move to a modern class society, it remains to examine the impression of social inertia or modernisation in Bristol presented to date in the literature before carrying out that comprehensive study of the city which, it was suggested, could form the basis of a reappraisal of social structure within

the city.

Chapter 2

BRISTOL SOCIETY IN THE LATER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Some of the theoretical characteristics of traditional and modern societies and some theoretical reasons for expecting both change and stability in Bristol society have been suggested in the Chapter 1. It is necessary now to review the literature on Bristol's economy and society at this time to see whether the prevailing impression is one of a modernising or still basically traditional society and also to identify gaps in our knowledge which prevent a fuller understanding of social change in the period.

The discussion is necessarily rather disparate. The aim was to give as complete a view as possible of current literature and this is very diverse in both subject matter and approach. Sources for Bristol as everywhere are limited and fragmented: as a result research concentrates on particular and widely differing social groups in and economic features of the city. These diverse studies have to some extent been drawn together, but the discussion is inevitably rather disparate.

Bristol's overseas trade and commerce in this period have been thoroughly researched, (see e.g. Minchinton, 1954; 1957 & 1972; MacInness, 1939 & 1955 etc.), in particular with regard to its colonial connections with mainland America and with the West Indies. The slave trade has inevitably attracted a disproportionate amount of notice (see e.g. MacInness 1939 & 1963; Savadge, 1951, 51-87), but it was undeniably important both

for the profit it produced per se and for its role in sustaining the whole colonial economy, as it was obviously a critical factor in the production of those other colonial goods (sugar and tobacco) on which Bristol flourished before, during and after her participation in the trade in slaves themselves.

The city's home manufacture is by contrast only patchily documented (e.g Hall, 1925, 1949a & b, for sugar; Josephs, 1977, for glass; Jenkins, 1942, for copper), though general accounts of Bristol's economic development are provided firstly, by Pugsley's 1921 thesis, secondly, by Walker's and Lobel and Carus-Wilson's summaries (1972 & 1975) and most importantly by Minchinton's outstanding paper of 1954. Minchinton's view of Bristol as the "metropolis of the West" is by now firmly established, although she had probably by this time passed her zenith in the face of the sustained supremacy of London and, most notably, the rapid growth of Liverpool and indeed of the whole south-west Lancashire area.

This eclipse, though justly emphasised in the literature, must not be allowed to obscure her continued absolute if not relative growth, war years apart, and the economic dominance she continued to enjoy over the surrounding region. During and after the eighteenth century Bristol dominated the internal as well as the import and export trade of the whole south-west region, as the point upon which traffic routes increasingly tended to converge, as the centre from which business was conducted and financed and as an important and importantly specialised manufacturing centre. In the production of such goods as glass, soap, brass and copper and in the processing of colonial goods

such as sugar, tobacco and chocolate Bristol was unrivalled in the region (Minchinton,1954).

Bristol's social history is less coherently documented. Its political history has received much attention, for example in the sustained and scholarly discussion of the 1774 election and Burke's connection with the city (see e.g. Underdown 1948, 1955,1958 & 1961; Savadge, 1951); of the political impact of the American war (see e.g. Marshall,1977) and of the abolition of slavery (Marshall,1968 & 1975; Minchinton,1963).

Two of the very few attempts at a general discussion of Bristol society are those of Marcy (1964 & 1966) and James (1955). Marcy summarises his findings thus:

"Bristol, like London, was essentially a two and not a three class society in ordinary eighteenth-century terms. There was a middle class and a lower class, but the city could not boast of a noble or aristocratic class." (1966,29):

"Her middle class...was thought impolite, void of cultural attainment, devoted to the pursuit of wealth, and puritanical." (1964,92).

and he concludes his thesis:

"The conservatism, the dullness, and the mediaeval institutions of the 'Bristol Hogs' can be viewed as the reason for their relative decline." (1964,175).

This thesis is reinforced by James's paper (1975) which wittily, but not altogether fairly, pokes fun at Bristol's eighteenth-century cultural and educational institutions. James comments that Bristol's

"economic triumph had been won precisely by eschewing the fooleries of Bath. The values that her merchants prized were those inculcated by trade - hard work, honesty, alertness, seriousness

of purpose. Hers, in short, was a Puritan society, and the hackles of any honest Bristol man instinctively rose at the sight of some trifling idler from Bath tiptopping round the docks and warehouses, holding his nose against the honest smells of industry. Contempt for luxury and leisure had been pushed to the point where any concession to civilized living was suspect." (1955,231).

The view that Bristol lacked a polite and cultivated class has been propounded at least since the time of the Bristol historian Latimer who suggested, for example, that the paucity of endowments for educational purposes reflected the lack of interest in education and culture by the city's patriciate (Latimer,1893,11 & 80)..

There are then two arguments here; the first that Bristol society was Puritanical and vulgar (the thesis of Marcy, James and others including Latimer); the second that as such it lacked an aristocracy (Marcy alone).. These views have remained substantially unchallenged and have, I think, detrimentally coloured subsequent discussion: Marcy, for example, is quoted by Holman (1977,88) as an established authority.

Marcy's thesis can be criticised I think on four grounds. First it is internally inconsistent. He bases his argument on contemporaries' comments that in contrast to cultured and aristocratic London, Bristol society is vulgar and unrefined. He then concludes that like London Bristol lacked a polite aristocratic class. Bristol society is held to be simultaneously the antithesis of and directly analagous to London society.

A second criticism is that Marcy misunderstands the nature of the sources - travellers' reports, visitors' letters and diaries and so on - on which he bases his argument. He fails to

examine critically contemporary literary and social conventions and in so doing misinterprets the literary genre. He takes at face value, for example, the reports of London wits, who went to the provinces to satirise the natives and appear urbane and polished at their expense. He accepts uncritically the letters home of American Loyalist exiles who naturally compared Bristol less than favourably with their home towns which they expected never to see again, but he overlooks the more pertinent fact that many of the Loyalists chose to remain in Bristol for the rest of their lives (Marshall, 1976; 215). He quotes Thomas Chatterton as a disinterested commentator, failing to remind the reader of the deep-seated resentment with which Chatterton, albeit justifiably, regarded his fellow Bristolians. Finally he accepts without contextual comment remarks from, for example, Defoe whose criticism of such matters as the state of the roads can hardly be accepted as unbiased report. In short the literary conventions of the time are insufficiently well understood to enable the critical separation of fact and literary licence.

A third criticism is that Marcy seems to have misunderstood the nature of contemporary London society, when he states that London lacked an aristocracy. First of all it is unclear whether "London" is intended to mean the City of London, the city of Westminster or both. Westminster certainly had an aristocracy at this time: English royal and noble life was centred upon the court of St. James and this was of profound local as well as national significance. Aristocratic influence was most noticeable in building, fashion, manners and so on, and complex patterns of

dependency and deference developed, revealing themselves notably in the voting patterns of domestic servants and those tradesmen who were entirely dependent on the aristocracy for their livelihood (Rogers,1973). In the City of London the "aristocracy" was less formally constituted but existed nonetheless. By this time many City aldermen, increasingly of bourgeois and not gentle stock, had fortunes of £100,000 and were sometimes millionaires (Rogers,1979,443,440). Links with the aristocracy had been established at an early stage through intermarriage and through the buying of landed estates. This trend slackened off in the later eighteenth century, but Rogers suggests that by this time the aristocracy had accommodated itself so far to the bourgeois mentality that the "big bourgeoisie" no longer had to conform to erstwhile aristocratic standards. Noble standards had changed so much that a City of London merchant who followed the path from trade to land would often have lost political leverage and social influence (Rogers,1979,451). "The peerage was esteemed but within a society whose dominant ethos was bourgeois and plutocratic" (Rogers,1979,454).

There appears then to have been an aristocracy in both cities of London and if Marcy does not consider the nobility noble "in normal eighteenth century terms" this is perhaps because he fails to appreciate the internal changes which the aristocracy had undergone. The British aristocracy certainly had not the exclusiveness which makes the French aristocracy so easy to categorise, but it existed nonetheless.

As a final criticism one might take issue with Marcy's

expectation that a three- rather than a two-class society was the norm. E.P.Thompson in his "Class struggle without Class" suggests that English society was at this time a pre-class society in which the "plebs" and the "patriciate" coexisted in a moral economy marked by patterns of deference and mutuality enshrined in a nexus of traditional rights and responsibilities (Thompson,1978). His cogent argument forces a re-examination of Marcy's assumptions first that classes existed and second that there were three of them.

The theses that Bristol lacked an aristocracy and that it was devoid of polite society must now be reviewed in the light of our knowledge of Bristol society. In discussions of eighteenth-century educational, social and cultural institutions it is easy to be unfairly harsh, misinterpreting the altogether coarser and ruder habits of the period. It is, however, important to acknowledge that much of Bristol's polite culture was centred on the Hotwell's spa outside the city walls and was thus the product of exogenous influence, not of indigenous development; that it at no time reached the degree of refinement shown in nearby Bath (James,1955,231); and that, although its influence did spread into the city proper, showing itself for example in the demand for a permanent theatre, it did not completely transform Bristol society. It is perhaps significant that the Hotwells enjoyed only a short period of success (Waite,1960,12), with its heyday between 1760 and 1785 (Little, 1976,174) and, as the chief diversions of the visitors had been walks, rides and boat trips (James,1955,235-6), they gave rise to rather few permanent

cultural institutions within the city.

However there were some developments. The two Assembly Rooms, one in the Hotwells spa, the second that which opened in Prince Street in 1756 (Little, 1954,181), offered opportunities to meet for cards and dancing (James,1955,235). There were the pleasure gardens of Sarah Drewittt and "the Ostrich" (Little,1954,101) and the Vauxhall Gardens (Marcy,1964,107) which offered public breakfasts with music and dances, concerts and firework displays (James,1955,235).

The first theatre in Bristol opened outside the city limits in Clifton in 1729 (Little,1976,178) and most of its patrons were from the spa, that is not native Bristolians. In 1766 the theatre in King Street opened to succeed this first house and there was some objection to this, especially from Quakers (Little,1976,219; James,1955,239). Marcy, in his attempt to show that Bristol's leading citizens were concerned solely with making money, suggests that this protest was made "perhaps less on grounds of morality than on those of the utilitarian effects on trade" (1964,101). This criticism and that of James surely miss the point that industry and diligence were integral parts of Quaker morality and that economic success was considered a sign of God's favour; trade and morality cannot be separated in this way, nor the protest construed as a mere concern with moneymaking. It is also important that the promoters of the theatre were not all from the Hotwells spa, but included native Bristolians. Marcy himself acknowledges that of the original promoters of the theatre, five had previously been mayor of the city and a number of others were members of the Common Council

(Marcy,1964,104). The project was thus actively supported by Bristolians and the objections of its opponents stemmed from genuine religious grounds, not from Philistinism.

The Bristol theatres certainly lacked the professionalism of the twentieth-century theatre and James provides an entertaining account of performers "in full war paint" rushing round behind the Jacob's Well theatre to get from one side of the stage to the other in the absence of the necessary backstage passage, and of the locals who inevitably gathered outside to see the sport and encourage the actors with "loud cheers and helpful suggestions" (James,1955,239). The playgoers in this and in the second King Street theatre arrived late, left early and talked throughout the performance, both amongst themselves and to the actors, and were, on occasion, rowdy; but in criticising these habits one must not suggest that eighteenth-century playgoers in other cities behaved differently. Standards and expectations of both players and public are too far removed from those of today to allow comparison. Contemporaries were obviously impressed by the King Street theatre: Garrick called it "the most complete theatre in Europe" (James,1955,239). The Bath and Bristol theatres were soon under joint management (Barker,1961,73), and this suggests that Bristol's theatrical standards were those of cosmopolitan Bath. The visits of notable London actors (James,1955,240) and the granting of the Royal Patent (Barker,1961,71) also suggest a fairly high level of performance. The standards of the Bristol theatre then, as well as the role of native Bristolians in founding it, are not to be belittled.

Public musical entertainment existed in the city, but was very limited. There were occasional festivals of music in the Cathedral or in the Assembly Room. Professional concerts were sometimes organised, but the attempt to arrange subscription concerts to alternate with the Assemblies in Prince Street died for lack of support (James,1955,240).

The Bristol City Library was reputedly the oldest public library in England (Marcy,1964,116). In 1772-3 the Bristol Library Society was formed by a group of wealthy citizens as a private subscription library. Little suggests that this was a venture to support the civic library:(Little,1954,204); although he concedes that later the Society became politically influential, allied to the Council and decidedly Tory, he argues that in the early days it was open to all and included many of the intellectual educated men now found amongst the merchant class (Little,1954,204). Marcy criticises this development as only those able to afford the high subscription fees were now able to use the library (1964,117). This criticism seems justified, but since the library had in fact been virtually closed to the public since 1613 (James,1955,240), the founding of the Society, though far from enabling universal access, allowed some improvement and at least shows renewed interest amongst the elite, who were reluctant now to have the city's library left entirely for the private use of the librarians. In addition to this Society there were at least six circulating libraries in Bristol and many booksellers also lent out books (Marcy, 1964,117). The Bristol Philosophical and Literary Society in Park Street was an important addition to cultural provision in

the city (Little,1954,204) .

There was a large number of weekly and daily newspapers, amongst them "The Bristol Journal", the "Oracle", "Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal" and "Felix Farley's Bristol Journal". The papers had very varied lifespans, though ownership within the hands of Bonner and Middleton and of the Quaker Farley family in all its ramifications remained fairly constant. These newspapers cannot be regarded as evidence of a flourishing high culture within the city, but they nonetheless suggest an interest in national, international and colonial affairs, both political and commercial, and an awareness of the manners and fashions of the capital which contradict the picture of the provincial backwardness and insularity of Bristolians. In the period before the American war, for example, Bristol newspapers carried letters from American colonists so that Bristolians had access to and presumably interest in detailed discussions of the opinions and conditions of life of the colonists (Savadge,1951,210).

Educational provision in the city was less than adequate; as has been stated, Latimer remarks on the lack of endowments for educational purposes (1893,11 & 80) and Little rapidly dismisses the eighteenth century as a unmemorable period for Bristol schools (Little,1954,203). The Bristol Grammar School, founded in 1532, had a somewhat chequered history in the eighteenth century. In 1750 it had 100 boys, but by 1790 none at all (Marcy,1964;114-115). It may in any case be of more use to examine the number of boys who went on to institutions of higher education outside the city; a grammar school education could fit

a boy for a life in trade, but attendance at the University was confined almost wholly to actual or prospective members of the gentle and leisured classes. Holman suggests that relatively few Bristol boys of wealthy parentage were sent to the University or to the Inns of Court; most were apprenticed as merchants, in shop trades or to sea. He concludes that "the Bristol gentleman was not the gentleman that King had in mind" (1977,88) and considers that the evidence supports Marcy's thesis that Bristol lacked an upper class. It seems true that Bristol's patriciate were not great supporters of higher education and that this reflects their lack of interest in attaining both the social and intellectual heights which such an education could bring. Holman rightly points out that up to 25% of Bristol's population at the time were Dissenters (Holman,1977;97) who could not have gone to the University even if they had wanted to. He does not investigate attendance at Dissenting Academies or at the Scottish Universities. It would be interesting to compare the attitudes of Bristol's élite in this regard to those of the patriciates of the City of London or, particularly, of Norwich to discover whether Bristol was singular in its commitment to trade rather than leisure.

There seems much evidence from the plethora of private schools (Marcy,1964;115) and of persons willing to teach dancing, languages, drawing, fencing and so on (Sketchley,1775) of a desire to maintain bourgeois standards, even if few wanted or were able to strive for aristocratic goals.

It may readily be conceded that in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Bristolians in the main did not

aspire to and certainly did not attain the goal of refined living, but by the later eighteenth century the city was not a cultural waste. Marcy himself acknowledges that some progress was made in the latter half of the eighteenth century, but he does not think much headway was made against the ingrained vulgarity of the natives (Marcy, 1964, 110). James, too, comments "One is conscious that Bristol had not perhaps changed very greatly by 1800" (1955, 241); perhaps Savadge's remark that the "broadening of [Bristol's] social horizons....has in large part escaped the attention of earlier historians" still obtains (1951, 89). Savadge describes not only the many improvements to the fabric of the city and its increasing number of cultural institutions, but also the broadening of its mental and intellectual climate (1951, 12-13). His views are shared by Lobel and Carus-Wilson who comment on the new refinement of taste of the later eighteenth century (1975, 25-26).

Bristol then had changed by 1800, but it is patently unreasonable to expect high culture to have influenced the mass of the populace and it is therefore entirely to be expected that "the arts stirred very few" (James, 1955, 240); that sports such as cockfighting and brutal forms of boxing survived (Marcy, 1964, 112-113) and that some devotees of these practices, including the Dean of Bristol who had his own private cockpit (James, 1955, 234), were wealthy; and that many "middle-class entertainments seem to have been only marginally different from those offered to the masses" (Holman, 1977, 97). Yet our judgement of eighteenth-century Bristolians must be made by eighteenth- and not

twentieth-century standards; and it must not be coloured by our knowledge of the polite society of Bath. Just because that city was only twelve miles distant, there seems to be some expectation that Bristol should have shared its standards (see e.g. James, 1955, 231) and this is clearly unreasonable. Eighteenth-century Bristolians were certainly not models of culture and refinement, but there seems no reason to judge them greatly more barbarous than any of their contemporary provincial peers.

It seems erroneous, too, to equate attention to business and commerce with dullness and, by inference, with backwardness, as though the leisured classes were somehow the most innovative within society. Savadge suggests that the rapid rise of so many newcomers to the city, both English and foreigners, and their acceptance by the Bristol civic and economic establishment show that Bristol

"despite its strong marks of oligarchy and tradition, was fully representative of the flexible and vigorous commercial organisation which characterised at that time the commercial capitalism of the most advanced trading communities of western Europe and the rising ones of North America" (1951, 115).

During a period of rapid and energetic commercial expansion, merchants had to be innovative and adaptable and hence their apparent cultural conservatism is deceptive. The visitors to the spa formed a bourgeois leisured class which may well be considered a new development within society, but this is not to say that individuals within it were innovative, nor that those in traditional groups were stolid followers of custom.

The case that Bristol society was uncivilised and backward, whilst certainly containing more than a grain of truth, has then

been unhappily overstated and often poorly argued. It remains critically to examine the corresponding views of the organisation of society. McGrath's statement that "the social structure of eighteenth-century Bristol has not as yet been investigated in any depth" (1975,97) is still true; but there is some information against which to measure Marcy's and James's viewpoints. Marcy, as has been stated, considers Bristol to lack an aristocracy (1966;29) and James reinforces the point:

"Certainly the organization of society here was commercial, not aristocratic" (1955,232).

But whilst Marcy judges there to have been only two classes (1966;29), James considers there to have been three:

"At (society's) head stood the oligarchy of great merchants, rich, uncouth, and apart from the minimum requirements of business substantially illiterate, but dominating the government and the economic and social life of the city. Then came a middle class of shopkeepers and small tradesmen with a few allied professional men like attorneys. Below was a huge and disorderly mob of labourers, artizans, street traders, dockers, seamen, and the criminal element." (1955,232).

Of these groups that which has attracted the most attention is unquestionably that of the overseas merchants (see e.g. Latimer,1903; Savadge,1951; McGrath,1952,1955 & 1975; Minchinton,1963; Rogers,1983; etc.), who are generally considered to form all or part of the top tier in society. The merchants of Bristol and the Society of Merchant Venturers of the city of Bristol were not one and the same thing. The Society contained between 90 and 100 members at this time (Savadge,1951,105) and as there were probably about two hundred merchants in Bristol during the eighteenth century it seems that then, as always, a sizable

number remained outside the Society (Minchinton,1955,xvi). The Society had failed to establish a monopoly on overseas trading (McGrath,1955,ix), but it nonetheless regarded itself in some way as the representative of and spokesman for all merchants. This was justifiable in that under its authority were the city's docks, wharves and cranes; it collected certain dues on all ships (Pugsley,1921,II:n.p.) and it appointed officials to enforce its rights.

The Society probably enjoyed its greatest economic and political successes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It petitioned the Commons on numerous occasions to defend its own trading privileges or to challenge those of others (McGrath,1952; Minchinton,1963). It subscribed to no particular economic theory, but was motivated purely by the interests of its members and of the Bristol trading economy as a whole, and could be as vociferous in its calls to uphold mercantilist monopolies as in those to remove obstacles to free trade (McGrath,1952,x1).

That the Society and the City Corporation or Common Council were closely linked is by now a commonplace. Merchant Venturers often dominated the Common Council; they usually held the key positions of mayor, chamberlain and sherrifs and furnished a majority of the aldermen and hence the J.P.s (McGrath,1955,xxv). The two bodies were also administratively and financially linked; for example, whilst the City owned the wharves, the Society enjoyed the receipts of the wharfage dues and the rents from individuals operating the cranes, but it had to contribute from them towards various city levies (Savadge,1951,103). The point must not be taken too far however; there could be

disagreement between the two, especially when feelings ran high as in the American dispute (Savadge,1951,417-8) and after the 1793 Bridge Riot, the first in which the Common Council took a firm stand against the rioters, but in which the Society as a body stood aloof (Jones,1980,91).

The Society was and indeed still is noted for its philanthropy. It fulfilled its "moral economy" responsibilities both to those who had in some way served it and to the community at large (Latimer,1903,282; McGrath,1975,200-215). It maintained the Merchants' Almshouse and Colston's Almshouse and through the Seamen's Hospital fund helped distressed sailors (McGrath,1975,202-203). It maintained Colston's School, its own school for poor boys and the new Navigation or Mathematical school (McGrath,1975,211 & 215). Through these and other charities and through help to individuals it spent between L100 and L200 per annum during the seventeenth century and in the subsequent century its philanthropy increased (McGrath,1975,207;209).

During the seventeenth century the Society's interests "were probably more closely identified with that of the community than at any other period" (McGrath,1975,89). In the eighteenth century, although philanthropic donations increased, the merchants were perhaps motivated less by charity than by desire for patronage and greater personal prestige (McGrath,1975,209). It was at this time, too, that membership began to decline: after 1737; the year in which there were the most admissions and existing members, numbers fell (Minchinton,1955,xxiii). Also in

the eighteenth century:came the Society's notorious failure to improve the city's docks. This was not due to negligence, as is often suggested, as there was a succession of plans and projects (Latimer,1903,205-214; McGrath,1975,150-169); but they were largely ineffectual and the Society proved itself unable to cope with the planning and financial needs of the late eighteenth century. Indeed at the very end of the century:it acknowledged that it could not finance the building of a new floating dock and it thus relinquished another of its traditional responsibilities (McGrath,1975,242).

With the extension of its property ownership and philanthropic commitments, the Society became less single minded and less able to provide the commercial leadership required in a new age (McGrath,1975,196). During the eighteenth century many bodies were set up to complement the work of the Society; the Bristol Branch of the Africa Company and the West Indian Club were two such bodies. This meant, however,

"that some of the merchants thought they could better achieve their objectives outside the Society and this meant that the Hall could not claim to speak for the whole merchant community" (McGrath,1975,237).

It may readily be conceded that by the later eighteenth century the merchants in general and the Society of Merchant Venturers in particular had passed their zenith in terms of relative wealth and of political and social influence; but it is doubtful whether there was really the disunity suggested by Quilici in his thesis "Turmoil in a city and an empire: Bristol factions 1700-1775" (1976). He explains the merchants' failure to present a united and active front in the period leading up to

the American war in terms of familial and denominational strife; for example:

"The favourite tactic of the Yate-Elton faction of finepayers and dissenters was the admission of their participants through fines and apprenticeships. The Hart-Day faction of old families and Anglicans employed similar methods but also attempted to restrict the growth of its opponents" (1976;167).

Later on a third faction emerged so that a High Church party, a set of "compromise men" and the Lewin's Mead or Dissenting party existed until:

"With at least three factions vying for position plus a fringe of independents, the Common Council and Aldermen of Bristol entered the 1770s in as disorganised and diffused state of opinion as had been the case since the first decade of the century" (1976;228).

This is a rather colourful argument and is difficult to reconcile with the traditional view of the merchants as a close-knit oligarchic body, united by common trade interests (McGrath,1952; Minchinton,1963), by business partnerships, and by the personal ties of friendship and marriage (McGrath,1955,xiii-xiv).

Savadge suggests that

"The party alignments within Bristol illustrate to the full the difficulty in arriving at any distinction valid for more than a short period between the Whig and the Tory traditions and the further difficulty of stating that any centre or class within that centre can be safely labelled as adhering to either party over the century as a whole" (1951,126).

Given this difficulty, he points to the merchant body as one of the two whose political allegiance during the eighteenth century was relatively consistent (the majority of the more important

merchants tended to be Whig, whilst the Anglican clergy were Tory almost to a man) (Savadge,1951,126). This tempers Quilici's assertions firstly that the merchants were split into factions and secondly that these factions can be readily categorised and became progressively more entrenched. There was certainly some disunity amongst the merchants and this was evident in their vacillation over the American war and the whole colonial issue; but this was only to be expected at a time when patriotic sentiment and commercial self-interest appeared to run directly contrary to one another.

The merchants seem to have formed a relatively cohesive body in the city, but the question as to whether they constituted an aristocracy remains. Clearly they were not aristocratic in the strict sense of the word. Their wealth derived from trade and whilst

"most big merchants and many others owned houses and land in the neighbouring counties as well as in Bristol, with occasional investment in Ireland or in the West Indies....with a few exceptions the merchants were not hastening to become country gentry. They bought land but remained business men" (McGrath,1955,xxiv).

They apprenticed their sons into trade and had no desire to see them lead the lives of gentlemen.

Nonetheless, James is right to regard the merchants as a third and top group in the social hierarchy - the city patriciate; they cannot simply be lumped together with all those who were not desperately poor in an amorphous "middle class" as Marcy proposes. They formed the ablest and richest group in the community (McGrath,1955,xxv), having benefited disproportionately in the trading boom which had brought wealth to the city as a

whole. As a traditional élite they dominated the City Corporation and were prominent in the Bristol Admiralty Court, in the Court of Orphans and in the Trained Bands and Bristol Volunteers (McGrath,1955,xxv-xxvi).

They formed a traditional urban patriciate and, although some had removed to the more elegant suburbs of Clifton and the edges of St. James's parish, most continued to live in the heart of the city (McGrath,1955,xxxi). The development at Queen Square, where many merchants lived, showed the traditional mixture of active participation in the life of the community, but at the same time an awareness of rank. Behind the houses on three sides of the square were docks and wharves and the square also contained the Customs House. The merchants here lived within sight, sound and smell of their work; there was no modern separation of workplace and home, since the houses frequently contained the merchants' counter and their lofts, cellars and outbuildings were used for storage (McGrath,1955,xiii). Yet the houses were fine and the square well laid out; care was taken that the residents should not be annoyed by noisome tradesmen who might rent outbuildings (Ison,1978,140-147). Many other merchants lived in St. Augustine's parish (Quilici,1976;75). Here again they lived in fine houses, but were still within a few hundred yards of the main docks and wharves.

In just the same way, although the merchants continued to participate in business by apprenticing out their own sons and taking on apprentices themselves, they would take only the sons of gentlemen or other merchants and took the same pains with

their own children (McGrath,1955,xi). They were active participants in the city's economy, but they participated as its acknowledged leaders, not as equals with the mass of mean traders in the city.

It was as a patriciate that they provided alms for the "impotent poor" at all times and made general grants of bread or corn in times of dearth. One such came immediately before the American war and the merchants and the city corporation acted with traditional paternalism to provide the poor with corn. In a petition in 1767 the Society made the old accusations against "Ingrossers and Monopolizers" for their supposed part in causing the shortage (quoted in Savadge,1951,330).

The merchants then were a patriciate if not an aristocracy and though they were losing their pre-eminence, it seems unlikely that they were riven by strife. It remains to be seen whether the loss of their pre-eminence was occasioned by changes in the economic world in which they traded, by challenge from another group within the city or simply by their own loss of impetus and direction. Perhaps the traditional economic and social order of which they were head was being superceded. It was not their place in it which was being challenged but rather the structure as a whole.

In contrast to the detailed work on the merchants and their Society, there is very little general literature on the rest of the population, the under strata of the social pyramid of which the merchants were head. The exception is research on some of the better known or more remarkable religious sects in the city, long famous for its Puritanism and religious extremi sm

(Raimo, 1974).

The Quakers had arrived in Bristol from the North of England in 1655 and at first courted persecution by, for example, disturbance at public worship (Davies, 1955, 286). By the later eighteenth century, however, they had become one of the most successful and respected groups in the community. Friends were prohibited from joining the Merchant Venturers until 1720 (Savadge, 1951, 107); but this did not prevent their active and successful participation in commerce and the Lloyd, Harford and Champion families were eminent in this field (Little, 1954, 195). Friends were involved, too, in manufacture and processing. Bristol was noted as a centre for brass, copper and zinc and these trades were almost wholly controlled by Quakers, especially William Champion (Little, 1954, 167-168). The porcelain manufactories, which were pioneers of the English hard paste porcelain technique, were owned by the Quakers Champion and Cookworthy and this manufacture was complemented by that of the Quakers Frank and Ring who made everyday ceramic and stoneware (Little, 1954, 222 & 224). Fry had begun to make chocolate (Sketchley, 1775, 34), but his business was as yet small (Little, 1954, 172). Mention has already been made of the Farley family, also Friends, who controlled a large number of Bristol newspapers. The Harfords were successful bankers and also owned iron works in the city (Little, 1954, 195).

In Bristol, as in so many other places, the Quakers had an economic effect disproportionate to their numbers. There were about 500 of them in 1700 (Tomkins, 1962, 28) and over 1,500 by

1740 (Raimo,1974,149) and ^{they} formed a tightly-knit body. They tended to hold similar political views and in fact they shared these with many other Dissenters and so formed a coherent political as well as religious and economic group within the city (Savadge,1951,400). They influenced public opinion, for example over the abolition of slavery. Some Friends had participated in the slave trade, but by 1785 it was established that no Quaker was involved. Through their example, through articles in their newspapers and through their committee work Quakers took an active part in the abolition controversy (Marshall,1966).

The Friends had their own workhouse with attached school and here and through outdoor relief helped fellow Friends who were in distress. They

"did not use their workhouse as a test for all applying for relief, but as a refuge for all who could not be more suitably provided for or helped to provide for themselves outside" (Tomkins,1962,28).

Accommodation in the workhouse was quite spacious, the diet was fairly liberal (Tomkins,1962,27 & 51) and work was never arduous. The Quakers did not avoid their responsibilities to the community at large; as Guardians of the Poor they helped to manage the city poorhouse and often donated money to it (Tomkins,1962,86). They also helped found the Bristol Infirmary in 1737 and acted as treasurer/financiers for the scheme (Little,1954,187). In 1793 Quaker philanthropists founded the Blind Asylum (Torvill,1955,302).

The Baptist congregation began in about 1630 in Broad Mead and there was now a second church in Pithay (Davies,1955,284). By the early eighteenth century they, like

the Quakers, had tempered their earlier extremism and thus suffered fewer prosecutions (Raimo,1974,165). The Baptists helped to provide for their own poor by maintaining an almshouse (Little,1954,186).

The Lewin's Mead congregation, variously described as Presbyterian and Unitarian, was for a short time an extremely influential body in the city. Nearly a quarter of the more important Bristol merchants engaged in the West Indian and American trades between 1750 and 1775 were members of the congregation (Savadge,1951,93) and in the 1780s it claimed that its worshippers included nearly all the Aldermanic bench. Its congregation of well educated and wealthy men was very influential, though this influence decreased as Unitarianism became a less fashionable belief (Little,1954,190 & 194). Like other sects they had their own school and almshouse to provide for their own needs (Little,1954,186).

Methodism in Bristol has attracted a great deal of attention by historians as the city was so important in the early successes of the movement. George Whitefield and John Wesley came to Bristol in 1739 (Raimo,1974,179-180) and by mid-century John and his brother Charles Wesley had a constant following of about a thousand (Little,1954,198). Much has been written of the extraordinary effect of Methodism which is said to have converted the wild miners of Kingswood and the mob of Bristol into quiet, godly men. Raimo suggests, however, that Methodism could have been regarded by contemporaries as just one in a long line of extreme religious sects within the city, as they attracted other

extremists like the French Prophets and their followers indulged in all sorts of excesses, now usually glossed over in Methodist histories. It was because of this that they attracted in general only the poorest in society, those who had no social position to lose (Raimo, 1974, 169, 222, 226 & 238).

The Moravian Church, formed in 1748 by one of Wesley's helpers, consisted of members of the Bohemian and Moravian Protestant community (Davies, 1955, 289). It contained many Central Europeans and Welsh, but increasingly recruited from Bristol tradesmen and its lower middle class. Its congregation never exceeded two hundred, but was nonetheless a very distinctive body (Little, 1954, 199-200). Other non conformist bodies which have attracted attention are the Congregationalists who began life as Independents on Castle Green in about 1650 (Davies, 1955, 284) and had a second tabernacle at Penn Street by this time. Less respectable were the French Prophets, families from the Cevennes region of France who sent missionaries to England. They had gathered a band of followers in Bristol where they indulged in fanatical prophecy and Millenarianism (Raimo, 1974, 165-166).

There were a few Roman Catholics in Bristol and numbers had increased in the early eighteenth century when Quakers engaged Catholic workers from the Rhineland and Austrian Netherlands to work in their brassworks at Baptist Mills. Catholic records begin in 1777 and show growing numbers of Irish which had its impact on poverty within the city, but there were probably only four or five hundred Catholics by 1800 (Little, 1954, 201).

There were a few French Catholics, but most French

immigrants to the city were Huguenots. They had come at the end of the seventeenth century and were mostly absorbed within the Anglican church. Many became successful merchants and the names Laroche, Daltera, Piguenit, Casamajor and Peloquin were highly respected in the city (Little, 1954, 200; see above on their acceptance in Bristol society).

The small Jewish community in Bristol had a rabbi at least by 1756; but their main revival came later and was associated with the success of the glassmaker Jacobs (Little, 1954, 200). In 1786 the community was large enough to buy the Hall of the decayed weavers' guild to use it as a synagogue (Josephs, 1977, 98).

The impression is given, then, of a large number of active and distinctive religious sects, but there exists so little literature on the population as a whole that it is difficult to put this information in context. Sources exist for these probably very atypical groups and the personal interest of historians prompts their use; but it is difficult to assess the sects' economic, social or political influence or their social cohesion given our very limited knowledge of the rest of the population.

One of the few papers which presents much general information is that of Slack (1977) on the local incidence of epidemic disease. He correlates ward by ward the poor rate ratio (numbers paying the rate cf. numbers receiving it) and subsidy assessments with the incidence of plague from 1540 to 1650. The central parishes of St. Mary le Port, All Saints and Christ Church were significantly wealthier and significantly less

troubled by plague than the suburban wards of Temple, St. James and especially St. Mary Redcliff. Smaller scale variations are very important and in Christ Church parish he identifies the familiar pattern of rich front and poor back houses (Slack, 1977, 52-55). His findings are for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and would undoubtedly have been modified by eighteenth-century rebuilding and suburban expansion, but they nonetheless provide an interesting base for later comparison.

Under 6 & 7 Wm. & M. c. 6 of 1694 a tax was levied on births, marriages, burials, bachelors of twenty-five years and upwards and childless widowers. Very few assessments made under it survive. Exceptions are those for Bristol, but surprisingly little use has been made of this rich source. Ralph and Williams (1968), in a Bristol Record Society publication of the 1696 assessments, substantiate suggestions that Bristol contained many wealthy burgesses but not rich aristocrats.

"No-one is listed as being of higher social status than a baronet, and the majority of surtax payers fall within the category of £600 personalty or £50 realty" (Ralph and Williams, 1968, xxii).

The top stratum of Bristol society was, as has been seen, bourgeois rather than aristocratic. There were marked differences in wealth amongst Bristol parishes: St. Augustine's and St. Werburgh's parishes had the overall wealthiest populations, whilst the more prosperous of the merchants and tradesmen lived in St. Nicholas, All Saints, St. Thomas and Castle Precincts. The poor congregated in SS Philip and Jacob, where one in nine of the inhabitants was in receipt of alms, and in Temple, where one in eighteen received relief. By contrast,

St. Augustine, St. Werburgh, Christ Church, St. Ewen, St. Leonard and St. Mary le Port have no poor listed in their parishioners. Slack's pattern of a rich, mercantile centre and a poor periphery is confirmed for this later period (Ralph and Williams, 1968, xxii-xxiii).

Use has been made of the 1696 assessments and other sources by Holman (1975, 1977 & 1979). He finds in 1696 a population of 20,157 living in parishes whose population varied from 156 in St. Ewen in the trading centre to 2,897 in the huge suburban parish of St. James. Of the city's 4,500 households, nearly three quarters were headed by a married couple, but widows headed nearly a fifth. Nearly a quarter of Bristol's children were orphans and these were to be found especially in the textile manufacturing parishes of Temple and SS Philip and Jacob and in the dockland parishes of St. Stephen and St. Thomas, the same parishes as had many households headed by widows (Holman, 1975, 41 & 43). Once again the contrast between the rich centre and the burgeoning but poor suburbs is apparent. In the period 1675-1726 about 250 children each year enrolled as apprentices.

For the eighteenth century, Quilici (1976) reconstructs in detail the fortunes of the inhabitants of St. Augustine's parish between 1722 and 1775. Many of his conclusions must be accepted only with reservations because of his failure to discuss the nature of the sources he uses. He refers for example to the "real estate tax" (1976;70), which is presumably based on the paving, lighting and scavenging rates which he mentions (1976;46), but it is unclear quite how. He does, however, present interesting findings which show a population of whom in

1722 50% were directly dependant on maritime commerce for their living, whilst only 13% were engaged in manufacturing (1976;54); where women, including many widows, headed one third of all households (1976;48) and where property changed hands frequently in the very unstable population (1976;50). He considers that the poor and the middle income groups "mingled at random with their wealthier neighbours" (1976;51); but this seems very doubtful given the known pattern of rich front houses and squalid back courts in pre-industrial cities. He suggests that by 1775 the parish was becoming increasingly stratified in terms of occupation and wealth (1976;65); that property turnover was becoming less rapid (1976;67); and that there was a decline in importance in the shipping trades and increasing numbers of merchants, gentry and Customs and Excise officials (1976;75 & 79). He does not link this to a general change in the social structure of the city, but if this change is found to be repeated in other suburban parishes, the impact on the city as a whole would be clear.

Of the poorest in the city very little indeed is known, beyond that they seem to have lived in the peripheral parishes and that many religious sects and the Society of Merchant Venturers as well as the City Incorporation of the Poor maintained almshouses or workhouses for them; this latter of course tells us as much about the nature of almsgiving as about poverty. The city parishes had been incorporated for poor relief purposes in 1696 and it was planned to provide a workhouse for the whole city. Even before this date the growing

industrial parishes of Temple, St. James and SS Philip and Jacob had received special contributions from the rich mercantile parishes in the city centre to help with the burden of the poor (Butcher,1972,2). There was much initial enthusiasm over the Incorporation, devised by the Bristol merchant and political theorist John Cary as a profit making scheme (Simpson,1926;220). Even after it was realised that the sale of goods produced in the workhouse would never show a profit, the Guardians continued in the main to be conscientious and assiduous in their work (Butcher,1972,20). They maintained between three and four hundred people in one or more workhouses in the eighteenth century, but by the early nineteenth century ten times this number were on outdoor relief (Butcher,1972,15). The large numbers of Irish labourers who came to Britain for summer work and then, leaving their wages behind to be sent on afterwards, claimed that they were destitute were a particular problem for the Guardians. Ships bound for Ireland from Bristol were obliged to take with them a quota of destitute Irish (Butcher,1972,18). A more general difficulty was shortage of funds. The Guardians were frequently in financial difficulties as the amount they could raise through the Poor Rate was limited by law (Tomkins,1962,77-79 & 86). Bristol was unusual, though not unique, amongst eighteenth-century cities in that rather radical institutional change was effected in response to the changing nature of urban poverty; but even this response was often inadequate.

The attitudes of these poor and of the mass of petty traders and artisans towards those who held power in the city are discussed in Jones (1980) in his treatment of the Bristol Bridge

Riot of 1793 and its antecedents. Offenders in earlier food riots, turnpike riots and invasions of the city had been treated fairly leniently and city officials had taken pains not to provoke the crowd (see also Malcolmson, 1980). In 1793 there was a distinct change in attitude and the rioters received no sympathy at the hands of the city officials (Jones, 1980, 91-92). He draws back from an explicitly suggesting a hardening of divisions in society along class lines, but it seems that the old patriciate-plebs attitudes and the traditional structuring of society were changing, even if it is not quite clear what was taking their place.

Beyond the assertion that a patriciate, if not an aristocracy, existed in Bristol in the later eighteenth century, the recognition that here as everywhere the problem of poverty was growing and some suggestions that in certain parishes at least there were signs of a new social order, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about divisions in society at this time. Very little is known of the non-patriciate, except in as much as they may have formed part of a religious sect and that they tended to live, by choice or obligation, on the edge of the city. In particular what might be termed the "rising professional class" of lawyers, doctors, Customs and Excise officials and the like has received remarkably little attention.

The fragmentation of source material and the particularity of research has directly influenced our perception of Bristol society at this time. The impression is first of all of a myriad of small, often religious, communities within the city. There is

a very ready test of such an impression: a more comprehensive survey would put these small studies in context and confirm the extent to which the groups they describe were distinct or atypical bodies of men. The second impression given is that society was still structured in rather traditional ways. The traditional group of the Society of Merchant Venturers and merchants in general left documents which invited research; it is the merchants' cohesion as a traditional body, their dominance of city institutions, their relation to other groups in society (through spectacular riots or sustained philanthropy) which are investigated and the impression gained is, unsurprisingly, one of a society structured on traditional lines.

Of new groups in society astonishingly little is known. The cultural developments at the spa are investigated only in as much as they affected the path of high culture in the city and to determine how far this high culture impinged on traditional social groups. The possibility of the emergence of new social groups in these areas is left unexplored. Instead it is again assumed that the traditional groups in society are important and the view that society was structured in traditional ways is directly or indirectly confirmed.

It was suggested that the impression of a society fragmented into tiny groups could be re-examined through a comprehensive study and the impression of a society structured on traditional lines can be similarly re-assessed. Such a study makes no prior assumptions as to the extent or nature of divisions within society and is necessary both to complement the work described above and perhaps to force a re-assessment of the

impressions given, explicitly or implicitly, by such work.

A comprehensive study must rely on relatively comprehensive sources. Those chosen for this study are a city directory, a Poll Book of a parliamentary election and rate and tax returns, all of which are discussed in the following chapter. These reveal those external characteristics of a man (his occupation, place of residence, wealth and voting behaviour) which it was suggested in Chapter 1 can be accurate indicators of his place in society and his relations to others in that society. It remains to present a comprehensive picture of Bristol in the later eighteenth century and to compare it with the impressions gained from the works reviewed above in order to move towards a fuller understanding of Bristol society at this time.

Chapter 3. SOURCES AND METHODS

i) GUIDES AND DIRECTORIES

The Nature and Use of the Source

There has been sustained methodological interest in guides and directories, printed lists of residents in one town or area, as historical sources: Goss (1932), Walker (1934), Norton (1950), Oliver (1964), Davies, Giggs and Herbert (1969), Law (1972), Page (1974), Duggan (1975), Shaw (1978 & 1984) and Corfield and Kelly (1984) are just some of the authors who discuss the nature of the sources and their usefulness for studies from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and in several countries including Britain, Canada and Germany.

It is unfortunate that this theoretical treatment does not seem to have been complemented by much empirical work, at least in this country. The equivalent Addressbuecher are standard sources in German urban history (see for example projects in progress at the Institut für vergleichende Städtegeschichte zu Münster), and Katz has made systematic use of directories in his work on nineteenth-century North American cities (Katz, 1972, 1981).

Little comparable work exists for English cities. Wild (1976) seeks to explore the potential of the directory in a study of Macclesfield, Leek and Congleton but the study is short and sketchy. Other authors use parts of directories to answer particular questions (e.g. McIntyre (1973 & 1981) on early watering places and Shaw's current work on early retailing (work

in progress), but they do not make comprehensive use of the source.

This neglect of directories is understandable for nineteenth-century England. Where censuses exist, the wealth of material they contain can make other sources redundant. The directories' main value for the eighteenth-century historian stems from their relative comprehensiveness and in the nineteenth century they are obviously eclipsed in this respect by other sources.

Ironically, the historian of the eighteenth century, who has no more comprehensive source to turn to, finds that the early directories cannot match those of the nineteenth century in terms of availability or completeness. Directories were produced for relatively few towns in the eighteenth century and only exceptional cities such as Bath have early eighteenth-century guides. These early guides were often small and sometimes ill-compiled. Although increasing numbers of guides appeared towards 1800, by no means all towns were covered.

However, both the enthusiasm of the methodological articles cited above and, more realistically, the dearth of alternative sources point to guides and directories as a potentially valuable source for eighteenth-century urban history. Because the difficulties posed by directories as historical sources are adequately discussed in the papers mentioned above, only specific problems affecting the use of Sketchley's Bristol Directory of 1775 are discussed below.

Sketchley's Bristol Directory of 1775

James Sketchley, a Bristol publisher, compiled and produced the first Bristol directory in 1775. He had already produced a directory for Birmingham and his Bristol guide testifies to his being comparatively experienced and reliable. Like other guides, this one was designed as a commercial venture, to be offered for sale to Bristolians and strangers to the city who needed details of the services offered by retailers, tradesmen, merchants, manufacturers and professional men and officials within the city.

The directory tells us the name (and hence sex), address (street and house number, with a numbering system devised by Sketchley himself and explained in the preamble) and, in most cases, occupation of those listed. Some individuals also have an indication of their social status, for example, "Gent.", "Esq." or "Widow". 4,231 people out of a population of about 55,000 (Little, 1954, 327) are represented; this is nearly 8% or 1:13 of the population, or between 1:2 and 1:3 of the heads of households for the city (see Corfield (1982, 129) for discussion of household size).

The directory obviously includes only selected Bristolians and lists relatively few women and the "meaner sort of person". Amongst the economically active it lists relatively many retailers, merchants and those with a specific skill (legal, medical, financial etc.) to offer the public.

The area covered by the directory includes the city parishes, the city outparishes and the "country parishes" of

Clifton and Bedminster; in other words the de facto rather than de jure extent of the city. The Hotwells spa area, . seasonally full of visitors to the city, is covered by the directory but it is apparent from the many cases of people offering lodgings in the area that only the Bristolian landlords and ladies and not their lodgers were included in the directory.

The information in the directory ^{is} taken to be accurate as from the preamble and the lists themselves there is evidence that Sketchley was conscientious and it would have been in his interests to be as accurate as possible. The name of a man listed is assumed correct, . subject to spelling errors and fluctuations. Similarly, his address is accepted as correct, although street names tended to vary. The directory is taken to be internally consistent in locating houses within streets, but comparison with rate books and tax returns showed that a property might be located in one street in the directory and in another in the rates returns. It was not possible to locate 33 out of 388 streets (8.5%) listed in the various sources Usually these were "courts", "alleys" or "lanes", for example "Blinkerd's Court", "Cherry Alley" and "Cock and Bottle Lane". Probably these were back houses either missed out entirely by Sketchley or the rate collectors or perhaps included in adjoining side or front streets with more established names. Most commonly, these seem to have been rather unsavoury areas, whose residents were not approached by Sketchley, but who received the attention of the rate and tax collectors.

Fiscal returns automatically show the parish or ward in which the street lies. There are some streets, however, which

appear only in Sketchley's directory; it is not immediately known in which parish they lie and it has not always been possible to find them on contemporary street maps. However, the untraceable streets normally have fewer than five residents listed, so the total number of individuals concerned is very small indeed.

The occupation listed in the directory is assumed to be an accurate description of a person's activity; there is no predetermined list of craft titles to which an individual must accommodate the description of his trade - a difficulty with many guild records - and the information was collected by Sketchley's "Personal application" (1775, Preface). The individuals questioned would presumably have wanted to give the public a true description of the service they offered, and they could state more than one occupation if they had more. Many people gave two or three occupations and one James Bazely even has five (see below). Of course, individuals, then as now, would have put the most graceful complexion on the nature of their work, being tempted to use an elegant title or not to state an unbecoming side occupation, but most must have known what they did and have realised that they stood to gain most custom if they described it fully and precisely.

The information given in directories is often out of date when a later edition is merely an unrevised reprint of an earlier one. Sketchley's 1775 directory was the first for Bristol so this difficulty cannot arise and he himself states that the information was gathered shortly before publication (Sketchley, 1775, Preface).

Data Collection Method

The existence of a facsimile reprint of Sketchley's directory (Kingsmead Press, Bath, 1971) allowed me to work directly from this source. The information from the directory was entered on an ICL 2988 computer as a PDS table. This, the Personal Data System, is a database package which allows the sorting and combination of data from various tables. Data from my other two sources were similarly formed into PDS tables (see below) with the possibility of extracting information, sorting it by various criteria and displaying it in various combinations, together with the opportunity to perform simple arithmetical functions such as counting and calculating sums and means.

Computer Coding of Sketchley's Directory

In a PDS table the information was entered thus;

Name	Sex	Occ	Occ	Occ	Occ	Occ	Status	Status	St	Nature of B'lding	St	Nature of B'lding
1.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	10	11

Notes;

1. Name; Surname, Christian name or names with "Sen" and "Jun" where stated
- 2 Sex; 1=Male, 2=Female
- 3+7: Occupation; Coded numerically (see Appendix 1)

One man in the directory has five occupations and other cases of double or multiple occupations exist. Space was thus allowed to record all occupation data. For the Poll Book, although each man has only one occupation given, this format of five columns of occupations was kept to for the sake of compatability.

8,9	Status;	Coded numerically (see Appendix 2)
10,12	Street	Coded numerically (see Appendix 3)
&	&	
11,13	Nature of Building	Coded numerically (see Appendix 4)

These final four columns are in two pairs so that, e.g. "Dwelling House, Stokes Croft; Compting House, Queen Square" could be sensibly accommodated.

Checks for typing errors were made at each stage to ensure correct coding of information from all sources.

Chapter 3

ii).

POLL BOOKS

The Nature and Use of the Source

The British Poll Books produced at parliamentary elections before the 1872 Secret Ballot Act are a well known source for social and political history: (see e.g. Vincent, 1969; Speck, 1970; Drake, 1970; Rogers, 1973; Morris, 1979 & 1984; Speck and Gray, 1981). They have been used particularly in analysis of voting patterns in the nineteenth century, when national rather than local issues came to dominate in Parliamentary elections and when the question of nascent or actual class consciousness prompts an interest in the political affiliations of men of various occupations and differing social ranks (e.g. Morris (1979) for nineteenth-century Leeds; Drake (1970) for mid-Victorian Ashford). They have been relatively neglected as a source for eighteenth-century history for a number of reasons.

Firstly, there has been less interest in social groupings and political affiliations at this level in the eighteenth than in the nineteenth century. This is not, of course, to belittle the very valuable work done in eighteenth-century political history as a whole, but there has been little work aimed at discovering the political inclinations of the individual voter at this time. Rudé's work on the Middlesex "Wilkite" elections stands out as an exception, but even here the central issue is that of the course of Wilkite radicalism, not *per se* that of groups with common political interests within the community:

(Rudé, 1960, 1962, 1964). Other exceptions are the excellent article by Rogers (1973) on Hanoverian London and the very brief introduction to the reprinted Poll Book in Speck and Gray (1981), together with work by Americans interested in pro-American feeling amongst English voters (e.g. Sainsbury, 1978; Bradley, forthcoming) and the recent general survey by Phillips (1982).

A second reason, and a good one, for the neglect of the Poll Books as a source for eighteenth-century history is that, of course, before the Great Reform Act the electorate in many places was too small, too easily persuaded or both to make its voting behaviour at all unpredictable or interesting. Candidates were often elected actually or virtually unopposed and choice was often dictated by local rather than national issues. However, national issues did sometimes intrude and elections could be lively, particularly if the electorate were sizeable. The Middlesex elections studied by Rudé are a clear example of this and the Bristol election of 1774, where Burke was elected in a contest in which 6,000 people voted, seems ripe for study. This and other work, such as the unpublished study by Serena Kelly on Norwich, where 2,000 people voted in the 1784 election, show that electorates were not always small, docile and interested only in purely local affairs. The Poll Books can thus contribute to a broader study of eighteenth-century political history, and, through their information on place of residence and occupation of the voters, to the general field of social history.

Bristol Poll Book for the General Election of 1774

Polling in this election took place from 7th October to 3rd November, 1774 and the Poll Book of the election records the name and trade of the voters, together with the way in which they voted and whether or not they were freeholders. The voters included many resident outside the city and some resident outside the country, but these are listed separately in the book and have been ignored for the purposes of this study. The remainder are listed by parish, except for the clergy and the city Corporation, who are listed under those headings.

The parts of the Poll Book referring to resident Bristolians contain 3,906 names as Bristol had a particularly large electorate for the period. The voters form about 7% of a population of about 55,000 (Little, 1954, 327) or, like those listed in Sketchley's directory, between 1:2 and 1:3 heads of households (see Corfield, 1982, 129 on household size). During the election campaign nearly 2,100 extra men are said to have been placed on the freemen's roll, the fees having been paid by the committees of the rival candidates (Latimer, 1893, 411).

Several problems must be considered in assessing the Poll Book as a source for this study. The first is the location of individuals within the parishes. The preamble to the book states that some voters "promiscuously" gathered together to vote and "so it is probable that some of their names may be set down in other parishes" (Poll Book, 1774, 10), i.e. in a parish other than the one in which they were normally resident. The degree of error is difficult to estimate, but the contemporary editor

clearly thinks the problem a relatively minor one ("it is probable that some..."), though significant enough to mention.

A further difficulty is the extent to which the stated occupation of an individual reflects his actual occupation. The preamble notes that occupation is given precisely as it was entered in the copy of the voter's freedom of the city Poll Book, (1774,10). There is clearly no guarantee that this has remained unchanged in the interim, but comparison with the directory, for which given occupation is presumed correct at the time of publication in 1775, offers an opportunity to check the information.

The voters of Bristol covered a wide social spectrum, ranging from those who are listed simply as "Gentleman" or "Esquire", to several who give their occupation as "Labourer", though it is not precisely clear what "Labourer" in this context means. The procedures for admission to the city freedom were clarified in 1607, but were in effect the normal routes of patrimony, matrimony, servitude and by a vote of the Council, with or without payment of a fine (Latimer,1900,34). Throughout the seventeenth century the city authorities had periodic purges of "foreigners", who were trading or practising their craft within the city; the last of these purges came in the early eighteenth century, following a by-law of 1696 (Latimer,1893,21). To balance the enforcement of these archaic statutes, the city had a liberal policy of admission to the freedom, often allowing men to become free without the payment of a fine, if there were no-one else in the city practising their particular trade. The

net result is that in 1775 there was an unusually large body of freemen in a wide variety of trades. Since in Bristol the admission to the freedom was unrelated to membership of a city company, men were entered on the Freemen's rolls, and hence in the Poll Book, under the trade they were in fact practising without being circumscribed by the fixed categories of a guild nomenclature. Thus, unless a man had changed his occupation since he became free, occupation given in the Poll Book can be presumed accurate.

The two thousand men made free during the election were admitted in very dubious ways; for example, many derived their right to become free by marrying daughters of freemen and separating immediately after the service (Latimer, 1893, 411). This does not invalidate information in the Poll Book which relates to them. If anything it will be more up to date and reflect actual occupation more accurately than that which relates to established freemen.

Despite the large numbers of voters and wide spectrum of trades and classes present, the Poll Book remains a socially selective source. The clarification of the rules of entry in 1607 stated that sons or daughters of freemen could become free, and freedom by apprenticeship was presumably open to both sexes (Latimer, 1900, 34); but women were not entitled to vote, and hence do not appear in the Poll Book. Despite the inclusion of many men in humble trades, it remains true that the poorest would have been unable to afford the entry fine for the freedom, would have been unlikely to marry advantageously into a freeman's family, would have had fathers who were unfree and would not have

served as apprentices, often because the premium would have been too high. Conversely, all those who voted by reason of their having freehold land within the city would be of a relatively high status, and this again reduces the proportion of poor voters. The coverage in social terms may well have been widened by the candidates' committees paying entry fines for those unable to pay for themselves.

Since tradesmen were no longer compelled to become free of the city before they could practise their craft in Bristol, an undeterminable number of potential freemen would be excluded from the study simply from their lack of interest in the traditional social customs or the political life of the city. There would also have been men qualified to vote, but who did not choose to do so or who were unable to do so. It is impossible to estimate the number and status of those thus affected, beyond pointing out that many sailors from this large port would have been at sea.

These provisos notwithstanding, the 1774 Poll Book is a useful source and relatively few problems arose in its use.

Note on "Freeholders"; After 562 names in the Poll Book the letters "Fr" appear. These men often have an occupation or are listed as "Esq." as well, but occasionally the "Fr" appears alone. The significance of this is not wholly clear. In a second publisher's version of the Poll Book (Anon, Bristol, 1774) this symbol appears as "Fr in (name of parish)". This was originally thought to distinguish the fact that the man held

freehold land in one parish but was voting in another; for example, in the list for the Parish of St. A might be "John Smith, Fr in St. B's parish" . However, this was subsequently found not to be the case as there were other examples where under St. C's parish a man might be listed as "William Brown, Fr in St. C's parish". "Fr" must stand for "Freeholder" - it cannot be "Freeman" or all the voters would be so distinguished - but it seems that not all freeholders were listed as such; for example, of the Corporation, neither the Mayor nor any of the Aldermen had this title. The entries, however, were noted and "Freeholder" entered under the status category, even though it seemed clear that some of those without this description would have been entitled to it.

Data Collection Method

The data were transcribed from the original edition of the Poll Book (printed by William Pine in Bristol, probably 1774 or 1775). Only the sections covering voters from city parishes and the outparishes of Clifton and Bedminster, together with the lists of Corporation members and the clergymen voters who held livings within the city and city outparishes were used. Sections showing voters from other parts of the country and from foreign countries were ignored.

Computer Coding of the Poll Book

In a PDS table information was recorded thus;

Name	Sex	Occ	Occ	Occ	Occ	Occ	Status	Status	Vote	Vote	Parish
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

Notes;

1	Name;	Surname, Christian name or names.									
2	Sex;	1=Male, 2=Female									
3+7	Occupation;	Coded numerically (see Appendix 1)									
8, 9	Status;	Coded numerically (see Appendix 2)									
10,11	Vote	1=Vote, 2=No Vote for each of the four candidates.									
12	Parish	Coded numerically (see Appendix 5) Temple Ward, the Clergy and the Corporation are treated as "parishes".									

Chapter 3

iii) ASSESSED TAXES: LOCAL RATES AND THE WINDOW AND LAND TAXES

The Nature and Use of the Source

Comparatively little is known of the worth of assessed taxes for historical research. There has been some discussion of local taxation in the literature, but the focus is generally not on the use of assessments as historical evidence. The Webbs (1906 & 1908) and Keith-Lucas (1980), for example, discuss the part the rating system played in local government, and Cannan (1912) considers the rates "in Relation to the Proper Distribution of the Burden of Taxation". Beckett (1980) examines in more detail the precise conditions under which they were collected and assessed, exact definitions of terms and so on. Ward's studies (1953 & 1963) form the standard reference works for the Window and Land Taxes, and they consider both the development of the taxation system and the use of tax returns as historical sources.

Little use has been made of rate and tax returns in eighteenth-century urban history. The tax most commonly used in urban history has been the seventeenth-century Hearth Tax, whose returns have been used by Butlin (1965) for Dublin; by Langton (1975) for Newcastle, Dublin and Exeter; by Power (1971 & 1972) for London; and by Hibberd (1981) for York amongst others.

The Poor Rate, the only rate levied in many areas, has been used to investigate the incidence of poverty, but mainly for the seventeenth (e.g. Slack, 1977 for Bristol) or the nineteenth centuries (e.g. Williams, 1981). An attempt to use other rates to

draw up "status areas" in Edinburgh is confined to the period 1855-1962 (George, 1971 & 1979).

Very little is known of the value of eighteenth-century rates and taxes as historical sources. Corfield states categorically that "the stereotyped nature of eighteenth-century tax assessments precludes use of fiscal data from national sources" in the study of eighteenth-century Norwich (1976;221); yet Rudé's studies of Hanoverian London and Middlesex, which take Land Tax and Poor Rate returns as their main fiscal sources, are widely respected (Rudé, 1960, 1962, 1964 & 1971). Similarly, Schwarz makes sensitive use of an 1810 Income Tax return in a study of late eighteenth-century London (1979). His statement, however, that for eighteenth-century rates and taxes "little is known beyond general impressions" (1979,80) still holds and the following discussion aims to clarify the situation a little.

Bristol City Rates

In Bristol there was a long-standing tendency on the part of the Corporation to obtain local Acts of Parliament which increased its own functions by the provision of amenities, such as bridges and sewers, and of services, such as street lighting and a night watch. These services were financed, sometimes unpopularly, not by the proceeds from municipal property, but by local rates comprising in 1774/5 a Lamping and Scavenging Rate (under 11 & 12 William III c.23, 1700); a Watching Rate (under 28 George III c.32, 1755); a Pitching and Paving Rate (also under 11

& 12 William III c.23, 1700); and a Bridge Tax (under 33 George II c.52, 1759). A Sewer Rate was levied on the 269 people served by a particular sewer. In addition, a Poor Rate was imposed under 7 & 8 William III c.32, 1696; which established an Incorporation of the Poor, in whom was vested the duty of caring for the poor of the entire city.

Many rate collectors' books are extant for the city parishes, the Liberty of Castle Precincts and Trinity and Temple wards. Unfortunately, no returns exist for Clifton before 1789 (and this only a Church Rate in which properties are not listed by street).

All extant city rate collectors' books for 1774-5, together with some additional books for other years have been examined (Table 3:1).

Table 3:1: Rate and Tax Returns Used

Rates & Taxes	Parishes																		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Poor	1		1	1	1	1	1	1							1	1			
Lamp	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1				1			
Pitch				1															
Watch	1	1			1				1	1					1	1		1	1
Sewer											1				1		1		
Widow ⁿ										1			1		1				
Land	1	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Notes;

Columns 1-19; These numbers refer to Parish codes (see Appendix

5). 1.= Rate or Tax return extant and used in study.

Information given includes the name of the person paying the rate; a "Real" or "Rent" value (essentially the rateable value of the property, but see later discussion); the amount of money collected and occasionally other information such as other rateable assets ("stocks" or "personal estate"); the nature of the property ("tenement", "stable", "loft"); the condition of the property ("ruined", "void", "under construction"); and information relating to the payer of the rate ("poor", "widow").

The use of the rate collectors' books as an historical source raises a number of questions. Firstly, does the basis for rate assessment and/or collection vary from one parish to the next? This is important as it is hoped to compare rates for different parishes. The rates were, it seems, administered by various bodies, but it is important to note that the city of Bristol was treated as a unit for all rating purposes; even the Poor Rate had been brought into line with the setting up of the Incorporation of the Poor in 1696. This contrasts with the position in many other cities where individual parish Vestries administered the Poor Rate. The total amount needed for a particular purpose (watching, lighting, etc.) for a year or half year was fixed and then expressed as a rate in the pound which, based on the previous year's assessments, would yield this sum. The rates were levied by city bodies, such as the Incorporation of the Poor, but assessed and administered locally by parish officials in the case, for example, of the Lamping and Scavenging Rate, or by ward officials, for example, the Chief Constable of

each ward, in the case of the Watching Rate. In practice, the collectors' books show that similar or even the same people collected all the rates except the Watching Rate, working parish by parish. (The Watching Rate caused some problems in computer storing of the information because of the overlap of wards and parishes, but see later discussion of this issue.)

The assessments were intended to be comparable from one area of the city to the next. 7 & 8 William III c.32 states that the Poor Rate is to be a "Taxation of every inhabitant and of all Lands, Houses, Tythes inappropriate, appropriation of tythes and all stocks and estates in equal proportion according to their respective worth and value". Similarly, 28 George II c.32 states that, to provide a watch, "an equal rate" is to be levied on occupiers of lands and properties, again suggesting comparability of assessments from various parts of the city.

Because the Acts instituting or amending rate collection are all eighteenth-century ones and often are very close to the study date of 1774/5, no complication arises from assessments having been fixed centuries earlier and not revised to reflect changing land values. Clifton in Bristol was a notorious example of this in its Land Tax assessments (Beckett, 1980, 24). These assessments had been fixed when the parish contained only agricultural land and they were not adjusted when it became an elegant residential area. The city rates appear to have been regularly revised so that assessments reflected current values in each parish and were comparable throughout the city.

A second question is this; what precisely was liable to be rated? The quotation from 7 & 8 William III c.32 above suggests

a formula common to many rates. In practice, the rating of stocks, presumably valuable in the case of many city merchants, was carried out under a separate heading of "stocks in trade" only in extremely isolated cases, and these have been ignored for the purposes of the study. Further complications however arise. 28 George II c.32 for the Watching Rate stipulates that the rate will be levied with "regard being had...as well to the abilities of the occupiers of such houses etc. as to the yearly value of them". The rateable value ceases, then, to be based solely on the quality of the property. One would expect the wealth of the occupants to be reflected in the rateable value of their house, but not for that wealth to contribute directly to the calculation of the rate. This problem is also raised under 11 & 12 William III c.23 (where pitching, paving and cleansing of the streets are to be paid for by a rate upon the inhabitants "according to their general abilities". 6 George III c.34 states that the Sewer Rate is to be levied "in proportion to the yearly rent or value of such houses etc." belonging to those served by the sewer in question, and thus returns to a strictly property-based assessment.

There is no way of telling precisely what was liable to be rated, but the returns make it clear that the rates were essentially based on the worth of a property, with considerations of "stocks" or the "general abilities" of the ratepayer being ignored or subsumed under a general category labelled "Rent" or "Real".

A third problem concerns the precise meaning of these terms

"Rent" or "Real", written at the head of the column under which assessments were noted. One would expect "Real" to mean "real estate" and to be an estimation of the worth of the property as a capital asset, whilst "Rent" might be expected to mean the amount per annum which the property could bring in "at rack rent". In fact, the two seem to be used interchangeably and may best be thought of as the rateable value of the property.

A fourth consideration is the nature of exemptions from payment. These, where made, were on strictly property-based grounds. 28 George II c.32 exempts from the Watching Rate dwelling houses under the value of L7 p.g. rack rent and tenements under the value of L10 p.g. rack rent. Other rate Acts make no exemptions; 22 George II c.20 for the Lamping Rate makes no mention of special treatment for the poor. The existence of these exemption clauses will, unfortunately, reduce information relating to the poor. However, many poor people are listed in the returns, sometimes with no information beyond that of address and the label "poor", but sometimes with an assessment and a note that the rate was not levied.

Beckett suggests that it was not always clear whether or not industrial buildings were exempted from the rates (Beckett, 1980, 24). In Bristol, however, notes indicating that buildings were "Glasshouses", "Mills", "Sulphur Houses", "Warehouses" and so on were frequently to be found. Land, too, was sometimes identified as being used for purposes other than domestic; "Yard", "Wharf", "Garden" (i.e. "market garden") are amongst those noted.

Evasion of the rates is, of course, another matter.

Beckett remarks that, as Bristol had so many small parishes, boundary anomalies resulted in "massive evasions" (Beckett,1980,20). Certainly, the collectors were not always sure where boundaries ran, but the final rate and tax file contains the names of 6,700 heads of households who were rated and/or taxed, compared with about 4,000 each in the Poll Book and directory, so that evasion cannot have been an overwhelming problem.

A final and extremely important consideration is whether it was a non-resident owner or the occupier of a property who paid the rate and thus who is listed in the Collectors' Books. Recourse to the Acts authorising levy of rates should clarify the point, but, as before, the wording in them is vague and often varies from Act to Act. 28 George III c.32 states that the Watching Rate is to be levied on "persons who inhabit, hold, occupy or enjoy land, house, shop, warehouse or other tenement" (my italics); this could equally well mean non-resident owner as occupier. 6 George III c.34 in its treatment of occupancy of houses for part-years makes it clear that it is the occupier of the property who shall pay the rate. It goes on to state that, when the occupiers have paid the rate, landlords shall deduct the amount paid from rent owing. Tenants, then, are to hand over money to the collectors (i.e. "pay" in our sense of being recorded as payer in the returns), whilst the landlords finally foot the bill, though their contribution is unrecorded. However, the Act adds to the confusion by stipulating that, if houses are empty, the owner is to pay the rate, and the wording is not at

all clear in its treatment of houses with many tenants, simply stating that the rate "shall be paid by one or more of the Tenants or Occupiers of such houses" (6 George III c.34). 33 George II c.52 states that the tenant or occupier is to pay the Bridge Tax, only half of which is recoverable against rent due; but, on the issue of multiple occupancy, it unhelpfully stipulates that "the whole house shall be charged with the whole rate" and that the tenants shall refund the payer accordingly. This last principle provides no clue as to who will be recorded as the payer.

It is clear, after examination of all the Acts and Collectors' Books, that it is in most cases the occupier rather than the owner who is recorded as the payer of the rate, although the two classes of "owner" and "occupier" are not mutually exclusive. This assumption is confirmed by the Land Tax Book of 1775 for St. James' Outparish. This gives the names of both the occupiers and the owner of each property; in the rate books, which cover the same streets and which list only one name, it is that of the occupier.

There are cases, however, where one name occurs a number of times, often within one street or in adjoining streets. Sometimes entries refer to different types of property, e.g. "Dwelling House", "Loft", "Coach House" etc., but sometimes no such explanatory details are given and it is not clear whether the ratepayer used all the buildings himself or merely owned them and was charged personally for the rates for unspecified reasons.

Sometimes the owner is recorded as the payer, and this is made clear with details such as "Mr. Jones for William Smith",

where Jones was the owner and Smith the occupier, or "Mr. Robinson's Tenements". Often one book gives just "Mr. Robinson's Tenements", but is complemented by another, obviously referring to the same building, which lists all the occupants separately (see below for fuller treatment of these two points). Where the tenant was too poor to pay it seems not to be the case that the owner is listed. Rather "Widow Roberts, Poor" appears, together with an assessment of "Rent" and a note that no payment was made.

If a property were empty the owner was charged and hence listed; a note "Void" or "Ruined" sometimes appears in these cases. Perhaps this is the meaning of entries such as "Smith, late Jones". This normally seems to imply that Jones was the previous occupier, Smith the current one, but it could conceivably mean that Smith, having previously let his house to Jones, paid the rate on his now empty house himself.

In short, one cannot say categorically that all names recorded were occupiers of the properties. This does, however, seem to be true in most cases and, where two names exist, the principles outlined above have been used to distinguish as far as possible the resident, whether owner or not. Neither those who drew up the Acts nor the rate collectors had a very precise idea of the procedures to be followed. A certain degree of confusion and vagueness is then inevitable and no amount of careful study can eliminate inherent inaccuracies: one can hope only to avoid creating further confusion.

National Taxes; the Window and Land Taxes in Bristol

The Land Tax was established under 4 William and Mary c.1. in 1693 and was designed as a general income tax. Apart from taxes on offices of profit, goods and stocks and so on, which were charged separately, all incomes from land were to be taxed at 4/- in the pound at the rack rent, without respect to repairs, taxes, parish duties or other taxes. The tax was to be paid by the tenant and deducted from rent due (Ward, 1953, 4, 6 & 7). This Land Tax proved very difficult to administer and it was agreed to fix quotas for each county (Ward, 1953, 22), so that the figure which appeared under the heading "Rent" in the returns would reflect not so much the economic rent of the property, but a proportion of a predetermined overall sum. Where the quota for a place was high, houses were charged at the rack rent and even empty buildings were charged; where the fixed quota was low, collectors were altogether more lenient (Ward 1953, 95).

It was notorious that some areas, even those where land values had changed significantly, had not had their quotas revised (Ward, 1953, 96). The anomalous assessments for Clifton in Bristol have already been mentioned, but these returns have not been used in the study.

Under the Window Tax, revised in 1747; cottages, i.e. houses exempt from Poor and Church Rates were not taxed. On other houses there was a basic charge of 2/- and then houses with 15-19 windows paid 9d. per window and those with more than 20 windows were to pay a shilling per window. Unlike the Land Tax, there was no quota system and the Window Tax assessments were in theory

up to date and comparable with others for different areas (Ward, 1963, 3 & 8).

Tales of corruption in the administration of the Window and Land Taxes were legion. The parish assessors were independent of Treasury appointment and had absolute discretion in deciding appeals and settling the rates. Corruption abounded with assessors reported to be excusing whom they chose or entirely failing to make surveys of the areas under their jurisdiction (Ward, 1963, 1-7).

In theory these taxes seem to be far less promising a source than the city rates. The Window Tax poses the fundamental problem that assessments are recorded in terms of number of windows, not "Rent". Whilst the worth of dwelling houses is roughly in proportion to the number of windows they have, the relationship breaks down in the case of industrial or commercial buildings, and the usefulness of the returns as historical sources is greatly reduced. The Land Tax, however, has proved on many grounds to be the best of the fiscal sources used in this study, despite the infamy it enjoyed in the eighteenth century as a fund-raising device and the suspicion with which it is regarded by most historians today.

Apart from the fact that it is far more comprehensive than any other rate or tax (see later discussion), the Land Tax in Bristol seems to have been collected more carefully and conscientiously than any other levy. Returns showed that the Land Tax Collectors had visited back courts and tenements and, even where their occupants were not liable for tax, their names

and condition (e.g. "poor", "poor widow") were noted. Where rate collectors simply wrote "Mr. Smith's 13 Tenements - under the rate", Land Tax Collectors recorded exact details. Similarly they sometimes gave details of both occupiers and owners of buildings, an important guide in the decision to regard payers as occupiers (see above), and further evidence of the conscientiousness of the Land Tax Officials.

As to misgivings over the meaning of "Rent" under a system where quotas were fixed years previously, comparison with rate assessments did indeed show the Land Tax to have generally lower "Rent" values for identical buildings. This, though, does not necessarily invalidate their use. There was enough variation in the "Rent" amounts to make it clear that "Rent" had not ceased to reflect the worth of the property, even though it was not current rack rent. Of course, if a quota is fixed for each place and thus "Rent" represents only a proportion of that fixed sum, comparison from one place to another should not be attempted. The city of Bristol, however, was treated as a unit for Land Tax purposes (Ward, 1953, 90 & 96), and so "Rent" values within it should be as comparable with one another as if they had actually represented rack rent.

Nominal Record Linkage of Rate and Tax Returns

This was done by hand from the original returns at the Bristol Record Office and caused comparatively few problems. The returns used are listed in Table 3:1. A schedule was drawn up for each street with rows for the ratepayers and columns for the amounts of "Rent" assessed under various taxes.

Collectors proved to have worked systematically and, though they sometimes moved in opposite directions along streets or crossed streets at different points, the order in which the names appear in the returns reflects this systematic approach. It was thus easy to identify individual properties and hence to devise procedures to cope with changing occupiers.

As can be seen from Table 3:1, the nearest extant return to 1774/5 for each rate in each parish was used, but some flexibility was necessary if a reasonable number of returns were to be used. A high turnover of population in many areas was to be expected and might have caused difficulties if, for example, one were attempting to record on the same schedule for Street S returns under a Poor Rate for 1774/5, a Lamping Rate for 1775 and a Pitching Rate for 1776: Because individual properties were readily identifiable, however, few problems arose. Thus if Charles A were recorded in 1774/5 as the occupier of house H, whilst a 1776 return showed a Jacob B living in the same house, the name Charles A was recorded as he was the resident at the 1774/5 study date. The "Rent" recorded under the 1776 return for the property was entered beside Charles A's name since it referred to the property in question.

The difference in dates of records caused other minor difficulties. Sometimes where a 1774/5 return showed "Jonn Smith", a 1775/6 return showed "Mrs. Smith, Widow of John". The name John Smith was recorded as being closer to the year in question. Similarly, where an entry read "Jones late Brown" the entry more representative of 1774/5 was chosen. Thus if this

entry were made in a 1774 return, "Jones" was recorded; if it were made in 1776; "Brown" was listed.

Other discrepancies amongst data were found. Occasionally, different assessments show different members of one family as the ratepayer; e.g., 1774/5 Poor Rate "William Jenkins"; 1774/5 Watching Rate "James Jenkins". Here both names were recorded, viz. "Jenkins, William and James". It was thought extremely unlikely that confusion amongst households would arise in this way; it was more probable that the collectors wrote down the person from whom they received payment and that this was sometimes a member of the household other than its head.

Some entries were adjusted to try to register the resident rather than the owner where two names were given. Thus "Mr. Jones for Robinson" was presumed to mean that Jones, the owner, was paying directly, in place of his tenant Robinson. This suspicion was supported by the use of the title "Mr." for the man assumed to be the landlord and the lack of any such courtesy title for the assumed tenant, and also by such clusters of entries as;

"Mr. Jones for X

Mr. Jones for Y

Mr. Jones for Z"

where it seems clear that Mr. Jones is the landlord and X, Y and Z his tenants. One cannot be sure that collectors invariably recorded the tenants' names where a non-resident owner paid the rate, but this seems often to have been the case.

After all rate and tax entries had been combined to give some 450 schedules, each referring to one street and recording assessment made under all the various rates and taxes, it was

discovered that some blocks of houses were assessed in one street for one rate and in another for a second. Sketchley's directory was used to combine such entries and assign them to one of the streets. More difficult were the cases e.g. St. Peter Street for which the same group of houses was assigned in one return to St. Mary le Port parish and in another to St. Peter's parish. Somewhat arbitrarily, but with the aid of contemporary maps, this and similar streets were assigned to one of the parishes named. It was realised that this might later affect statistics drawn up parish by parish and complicate matching with, for example, the Poll Book, which gives residence by parish, but it was felt to be the most sensible course of action. A note was kept of this and all other adjustments to the data.

Computer Coding of Rates and Tax Data

There was now a set of schedules for streets covering mutually exclusive blocks of houses for which all relevant "Rent" values had been noted. A file was then created on a VAX computer to allow statistical manipulation of the data and information was recorded thus;

Name	Sex	Occ	Sta	Sta	PR	LR	PR	WR	SR	WT	LT	Nature of B'ding	Nature of B'ding	St	Pa
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

Notes

1. Name Surname, Christian name or names
2. Sex 1=Male, 2=Female
3. Occupation Coded numerically (see Appendix 1).

4,5	Status	Coded numerically (see Appendix 2)
6	PR	Poor Rate or Poor Rate and Bridge Tax:
7	LR	Lamping and Scavenging Rate
8	PR	Pitching and Paving Rate
9	WR	Watching Rate
10	SR	Sewer Rate
11	WT	Window Tax
12	LT	Land Tax
		Columns 6-10 & 12 show amount of "Rent" in Ls i.e. 001.50 = L1 10/-. Column 11 shows number of windows listed.
13,14	Nature of Building	Coded numerically (see Appendix 4)
15	Street	Coded numerically (see Appendix 3)
16	Parish	Coded numerically (see Appendix 5)

The Nature of the Data

The VAX file was analysed to investigate the disposition of the data.

Table 3:2: Statistical Description of the Fiscal Data

1.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Label	No. Good Cases	% Good Cases	No. Missing Cases	% Missing Cases	Lowest Score	Highest Score	Mean	Stand. Dev.
Poor	1642	24.4	5093	75.6	1.00	500.00	10.63	15.02
Lamp	2844	42.2	3891	57.8	0.14	500.00	16.04	17.60
Pitch	285	4.2	6450	95.8	5.00	70.00	16.50	10.59
Watch	1590	23.6	5145	76.4	0.14	100.00	18.74	14.06
Sewer	269	4.0	6466	96.0	0.06	70.00	13.20	11.50
Window	643	9.6	6092	90.4	1	60	12.18	7.19
Land	3780	56.1	2955	43.9	0.00	100.00	6.84	8.52

Notes;

Column 2; Number of good cases i.e. cases in the file for which datum ("Rent" value or number of widows, as appropriate) is present.

Column 3; Number of good cases as a percentage of the total number of cases (6,735).

Column 4; Number of missing cases i.e. cases in the file for which datum ("Rent" value or number of windows, as appropriate) is absent.

Column 5; Number of missing cases as a percentage of the total number of cases (6,735).

Columns 6-9; Values are in pounds or number of windows, as appropriate.

Table 3:3: Distribution of the Fiscal Data

	Poor	Lamp	Pitch	Watch	Sewer	Window	Land
Poor	1642	679	231	215	16	185	659
Lamp	679	2843	265	537	161	427	1839
Pitch	231	265	285	0	11	1	1
Watch	215	537	0	1590	2	415	521
Sewer	16	161	11	2	269	5	156
Window	185	427	1	415	5	643	518
Land	659	1839	1	521	156	518	3780

The facts that strike one immediately from Tables 3:2 and 3:3 are firstly, the large total number of cases (6,735, that is 12% of the population of about 55,000 (Little,1954,327) or between 1:1.5 and 1:2 heads of households (Corfield,1982,129)), but secondly the large number of missing entries. Only the Land Tax has entries for over half the cases and the Pitching and Sewer Rates have entries for fewer than 5% of the cases.

Combined with the overall lack of data is their very uneven distribution in the file. In this respect the Pitching Rate is most at fault. Of its small total number of entries (285), almost all are for cases for which Poor Rate and Lamp Rate data are also present, but the overlap with the other taxes and rates is non-existent (Pitching /\ Watching) or virtually so (Pitching /\ Sewer, Pitching /\ Window and Pitching /\ Land). This is

because so few Pitching Rate books survive; the only extant book for the study date is for 1776 in St. Augustine's parish (Table 3:1), which has other records only for the Poor and Lamping Rates. That thirteen entries under the Pitching Rate for St. Augustine are found to overlap with rates or taxes for other parishes merely indicates uncertainty in the minds of collectors over parish boundaries.

Watching Rate returns were made for wards rather than parishes and it was difficult to match these returns with others. St. John's parish and Trinity ward overlap to a limited extent. Thus, despite a relatively high total number of entries (1,590), overlap with other returns is often problematically small. There are only 215 cases in the subset Watch / \ Poor, although there are 1,642 Poor Rate entries, and in the subset Watch / \ Land there are only 520 entries, despite the existence of 3,780 Land Tax entries.

Overall lack of coincidence with the Land Tax seems to be partly due to the different principles of collection (for example, a return exists for St. James Outparish whose inhabitants were not liable for the city rates); partly because returns have survived for otherwise ill-served parishes such as St. Leonard, St. Werburgh and St. Nicholas; and partly because more poor people are mentioned in the Land Tax books than in any others. This last is shown too in the range of values recorded in the returns (Table 3:2). For the Land Tax, whilst the highest assessment of L100 is high, the lowest assessment is L0 and the mean value at L6:84 is extremely low, nearly half as low as the

next lowest viz. the Sewer Rate with a mean value of L13.20. This statistical description confirms the impression gained from a reading of the returns; it was noticeable how many of those recorded in Land Tax books were "Poor" or living in "Tenements" or whose assessments were in shillings and pence rather than the normal pounds.

One must conclude that to use any one rate or tax as a wealth indicator would be unwise. The obvious choice would be the Land Tax which survives for 16 out of 20 parishes and lists 3,780 taxpayers. Yet this would be to discard the 2,955 cases for which we have data but no Land Tax returns, would skew the evidence in favour of the poor and would mean the use of the source of which one would a priori be most wary. It would, too, have been to ignore the opportunity which nominal record linkage gives for creating new sources from records which are individually useless but collectively usable.

The decision was made therefore to use all the rates and taxes except the Window Tax. This last was discarded as it had entries for the smallest number of cases (243 or 3.6% of the total) and recorded number of windows rather than "Rent". In short, whilst it had been a useful exercise to compare it with the other sources, the Tax appeared at this stage to create more trouble than it was worth and it ^{was} rejected.

Incomptability of the Data

It seemed desirable to use all available data, but it was necessary to check how far returns made under one rate or tax were comparable with those made under another. Each rate and tax

should have been consistent within itself, but it was important to determine whether "Rent" values remained constant or varied in constant proportion from one rate or tax to the next; that is whether the rates and taxes were consistent one with another.

This was manifestly not the case (Table 3:4).

Table 3:4: The Incompatibility of "Rent" Values

CASTLE STREET, CASTLE PRECINCTS

Name	Lamp and	Watching	Land Tax
	Scavenging	Rate	
	Rate		
	1774/5	1774/5	1775
Dagg, Abel	16'	14	6'
Chambers, Charles	12	12	5
Bray, Robert	16'	12	9
Lawson, Robert	21	20	9
Taylor, Thomas	14	14	6'

All figures represent "Rent" values in pounds.

It must be stressed that this is a particularly bad example or else one would feel entirely discouraged; but other entries are discrepant, if not quite so badly, and the fact remains that if we have a Mr. Jones for whom we have only a Poor Rate assessment we have no immediate way of comparing his "Rent" with that of Mr. Smith for whom we have only a Lamping Rate assessment.

Table 3:4 may have been discouraging, but, like the

preceding statistical analysis, it vindicates the decision to use all available data rather than deciding a priori that one source is more useful than the others. By showing the precise nature of the shortcomings in the data we are left with two alternatives; either to declare the data totally unreliable and discard them altogether, or to declare them potentially useful if carefully adjusted.

It was decided to persevere if a practicable and justifiable method could be found to adapt the data. That there is no alternative material and that the question of the distribution of wealth is an important one obviously influence the decision. The method of data substitution is described fully below to enable others to form their own judgement on whether this decision was the right one.

Estimating Rate and Tax Data

There exist 6,735 cases (i.e. rows in the matrix) such that there is a maximum of six possible entries (columns) for each case (row). In other words, the six thousand odd rateable and/or taxable properties within the city may have "Rent" values entered for one, two, three, four, five or six rates/taxes.

The object was to provide for each case one adjusted figure to allow comparison amongst cases. The adjusted figure was to be derived by the most statistically satisfactory means, bearing in mind that the vast amount of missing data and the non-random distribution of the data would make some desirable statistical procedures impossible.

BMDP

It was decided to run a programme under PAM from BMDP (Biomedical Computer Programs P-Series, 1977, University of California at Los Angeles). This programme is designed to describe the pattern of missing data and to replace missing values with estimated ones.

Available methods were, firstly, mean substitution whereby the mean of, for example, all Poor Rate entries would be calculated and substituted wherever an entry in this column was missing. This was rejected since it would have minimised differences amongst cases. As it was hoped later to investigate these differences, the chosen substitution method had to preserve variation amongst cases whilst reducing the lack of comparability within each case.

Second, a simple regression programme was offered. One variable could be declared the independent variable, all others could be regressed on it and the resultant regression equations used to generate values of the missing cases. The obvious choice as the independent variable would have been the Land Tax which has the most entries. The estimated values would then essentially have been corrected Land Tax figures. This was felt to be less than ideal since the selection of the independent variable would have been purely arbitrary and, given the overall lack of data and their patchy distribution, it seemed perverse not to use as many as possible to produce substitute values.

Finally, a multiple regression programme was run to regress all entries for one variable on all entries of all other

variables and to estimate missing values for all empty cells in the 6,735 x 6 matrix using the resultant step-wise regression equations. Under BMDP - PAM, however, the programme failed as there were insufficient data for some of the variables.

P-STAT

This, the Princeton Statistical System (1978), is a more flexible package which can handle large incomplete datasets, but multiple regression programmes have to be written and run in several stages outlined below. The BMDP package had the advantage that one command could have solved the problem, had the data not been so incomplete.

Step 1: A frequency matrix was drawn up such that 1=datum present, 2=datum absent. Columns were given values of 32, 16, 8, 4, 2 and 1 under a binary numbering system. 64 (2⁶) possible entry patterns exist and are numbered thus;

Pattern 1 = Array 0 0 0 0 0 1.

viz. cases with entries for Land Tax only

Pattern 5 = Array 0 0 0 1 0 1.

viz. cases with entries for the Watching Rate and Land Tax but for no other rate or tax

etc..

Table 3:5: Frequency Table of Original Fiscal Data File

1.	2a	2b	2c	2d	2e	2f	3:	4	5
Pattern Number	Poor	Lamp	Pitch	Watch	Sewer	Land	Freq.	No. of Entries	No. of Missing Entries
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	279	1674	1674
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1492	8952	7460
2	0	0	0	0	1	0	87	522	435
3	0	0	0	0	1	1	14	84	56
4	0	0	0	1	0	0	981	5886	4905
5	0	0	0	1	0	1	58	348	232
8	0	0	1	0	0	0	16	96	80
11	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	6	3
16	0	1	0	0	0	0	483	2898	2415
17	0	1	0	0	0	1	1160	6960	4640
18	0	1	0	0	1	0	10	60	40
19	0	1	0	0	1	1	139	834	417
20	0	1	0	1	0	0	79	474	316
21	0	1	0	1	0	1	257	1542	771
24	0	1	1	0	0	0	35	210	140
26	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	12	6
32	1	0	0	0	0	0	574	3444	2870
33	1	0	0	0	0	1	366	2196	1464
34	1	0	0	0	1	0	6	36	24
36	1	0	0	1	0	0	5	30	20
37	1	0	0	1	0	1	9	54	27
40	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	18	12
48	1	1	0	0	0	0	163	978	652
49	1	1	0	0	0	1	87	522	261
52	1	1	0	1	0	0	4	24	12
53	1	1	0	1	0	1	195	1170	390
55	1	1	0	1	1	1	2	12	2
56	1	1	1	0	0	0	220	1320	660
58	1	1	1	0	1	0	8	48	16
							6735	40410	30000

Notes;

Column 1; Pattern number derived from binary numbering system, i.e. columns given values of 32 (2), 16 (2), 8 (2), 4 (2), 2 (2), 1 (2) and 0.

Column 2a-f; 1 = Datum present, 0 = Datum absent.

Column 3; Frequency with which each pattern occurs. Total

(6,735) = total number of cases in the file.

Column 4; Number of entries accounted for by cases with this pattern i.e. Frequency in Column 3 x 6 (number of columns in file). Total (40,410) = number of rows in the file (6,735) x number of columns in the file (6) = total number of entries in the file.

Column 5; Number of missing entries accounted for by cases with this pattern i.e. number of entries "0" in Column 2 x Frequency in Column 3. Total (30,000) = total number of missing entries in file.

Table 3:5, the frequency table of the raw data file, shows that of the 64 possible entry patterns 29 actually exist, with a frequency of occurrence shown in column 3.

Step 2; Multiple regression programmes were run to produce equations subsequently used to generate estimated data. Regression of each variable on all others was not possible as too few common data existed. Table 3:3 of the coincidence of entries shows, for example, that there are no cases at all with entries for both Pitching and Watching Rates so clearly it is impossible to regress the one on the other. However, where coincidence was good, missing values were estimated by a 2+ or 3+ way regression.

e.g. for cases with entry pattern 52

1 1.0 1 0 0

(i.e. Poor, Lamping and Watching Rates present, Pitching and Sewer Rates and Land Tax absent),

missing Sewer Rate entries were estimated by regression runs on

all cases in the file with entries for Sewer and Lamping Rates
(no 3+way regression was possible in the case of Sewer Rates).

viz. 161 cases (Table 3:3) found in patterns with frequency

18	10
19	139
26	2
55	2
58	8

(see Table 3:5).

Missing Pitching Rate entries can be estimated by regression runs
on all cases in the file with entries for Pitching and Poor and
Lamp Rates in a 3+way regression.

viz. 228 cases (Table 3:3) found in patterns with frequency

56	220
58	8

(see Table 3:5).

And so on. By this means as many missing values as
possible (0 in Table 3:5) were filled with what is genuinely a
"best estimate", that is one produced by using all available data
in the most satisfactory way possible.

Step 3; Estimated values plus real values were shown in a second
frequency table (Table 3:6).

Table 3:6: Frequency Table of Fiscal Data File after First Stage of Missing Value Estimation

1.	2a	2b	2c	2d	2e	2f	3.	4	5
Pattern Number	Poor	Lamp	Pitch	Watch	Sewer	Land	Freq.	No. of Entries	No. of Missing Entries
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	279	1674	1674
11	0	0	1.	0	1.	1	1	6	3
31.	0	1.	1.	1.	1	1.	257	1542	257
53	1	1	0	1	0	1.	803	4818	1606
55	1.	1.	0	1	1	1	3635	21810	3635
58	1.	1.	1.	0	1.	0	288	1728	576
59	1	1	1.	0	1	1	260	1560	260
63	1	1	1	1	1	1	1212	7272	0
							6735	40410	8011

Notes;

Columns 1-4; See notes to Table 3:5.

Column 5; Number of missing entries accounted for by cases with this pattern i.e. number of entries "0" in Column 2 x Frequency in Column 3. Total (8,011) = total number of missing cases in file after first set of estimated figures added to real data.

1212 cases were now complete (6 entries). Gaps existed only where the distribution of the data had made regression and hence estimation impossible.

Step 4; New regression runs were made to calculate values for

cells in the matrix which remained empty using all the data in the new file, i.e. real plus estimated data. It would obviously have been desirable not to have had to have done this, but, because of the patchy distribution of the data, it was unavoidable.

Step 5; The final missing values were estimated using the second set of regression equations. The resultant datafile contains only patterns

0 (where the resident is named but has entries for no rate or tax) = 279 cases

63 (where each case has six entries, real or estimated) = 6,456 cases

To conclude;

The original file has

6,735 cases viz. 40,410 (6 x 6,735) entries of which
30,000 (74.24%) are missing
10,410 (25.76%) are present.

The final file has

6,735 cases viz. 40,410 (6 x 6,735) entries of which
10,410 (25.76%) are real values
21,989 (54.41%) are estimated using real data
8,011 (19.82%) are estimated using real and
estimated data.

The Final Assessment of Fiscal Data

The question remained; even given that this method did make the best possible use of the data available, is that "best" good enough? One is obviously encouraged to say "yes", given the enormous amount of time and energy invested so far; but the method was designed as an antidote to the lax approach of using data about which very little is known, putting in a disclaimer, but carrying on as if the data were perfectly acceptable. It would be ironic if, after going to great pains to show the gaps and inconsistencies in the data, I were to adopt the same cavalier attitude and carry on as if all were well.

One's first reaction to the statistical horrors of the data is to look for alternative sources, to use either as a substitute for the rate/tax data or as a measure against which they might be tested. There is none. The most useful tax records would be those of the Hearth Tax, but usable Chimney Books exist only for the seventeenth century. Excellent Poll Tax returns under 6' & 7' William and Mary c.6' (1694) exist for Bristol (Ralph & Williams, 1968), but these are then eighty years before the date of this study. Schwarz turns to early nineteenth-century Income Tax returns, but states that these give "only a very rough indication (of wealth) indeed since only those earning L60 p.a. and above were liable to pay income tax at all, so the working class escaped the net" (Schwarz, 1972, note to p100). Probate inventories have been widely used to estimate wealth, but these give out for Bristol, as elsewhere, in the first half of the eighteenth century (Ralph, 1971).

There remains the possibility of indirect checks. Since from other sources it is known that certain streets had large elegant houses and that other courts and alleys had squalid tenements, it can be seen whether, in broad terms, the given "Rent" values conform to our expectations. This is indeed the case (Table 3:7).

Table 3:7: Comparison of "Rent" Values for Streets of Inhabitants with Known Levels of Wealth

QUEEN SQUARE, ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH

Name	Poor	Lamp	Watch	Window	Land
	1775	1774/5	1774/5	1774/5	1775
Freeman, William	23	50	50	35	16
Harris, Thos. Esq.	16	30	32	32	12
Farrell & Jones	35	70	70	42	24
Masters, John	13	24		28	10
Davis, Gilbert	15	30	30	21	12

JOHN BALL'S LANE, St. MICHAEL'S PARISH

Name		Lamp	Land
		1775	1775
Hartland, Widow	Poor	4	2
Totten, John		6	3
Cahler, John	Poor	4	
Welsh, John	Poor	3	
Alford, Richard	Poor	4	1:10

All figures are "Rent" values and are in pounds and shillings, except those in the Window Tax Column where they refer to number of windows.

Given that the "Rent" values appear to be grounded in reality and given the statistically sound methods by which the estimated data were calculated, there seems to be no reason why the combined real and estimated data should not reflect, in broad terms, real differences in rateable value.

What questions then can be asked using the data and to what degree of accuracy can they be answered? The intention is to use the fiscal data in a combined file of information attributed to named individuals, in which they (the rate/tax data) will be the only direct indication of the wealth of the individuals. Using this data it is hoped to correlate place of residence, sex, status, occupation and political allegiance severally with wealth. It is clear that in these correlations one must look simply for broad patterns and general trends. One must resist being influenced by the comforting but spurious accuracy of computer printouts giving figures to four decimal places and speak instead of broad ranges of values over which conclusions appear to hold true.

By doing so, one may draw valid historical conclusions, couched in terms general enough for one to have confidence in them. Perhaps more importantly if the nature of the data and the methods employed are precisely and ingenuously set down the reader is in a position to judge for himself, with regard both to

this particular study and, more generally, to other studies using the same sources.

Chapter 3

iv) NOMINAL RECORD LINKAGE

There is essentially nothing new in nominal record linkage, which is, at its simplest, the collection of more than one piece of information referring to a certain individual identified by name. It has been used from the beginnings of historical scholarship to provide biographies of selected prominent individuals or groups of men. Since the 1950s, however, the term "nominal record linkage" has come to mean something rather particular; that is, the application of the established idea of nominal record linkage to large populations to break the old divide between the detailed examination of isolated individuals and the making of aggregate statements about large populations. As Wrigley says;

"the change from counting to linking, aggregating to articulating is of fundamental importance" (1976;114).

Research using the technique within history has tended to be concerned with the examination of parish registers, following the lead of Henry, Gautier, Fleury etc., and that of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population, but, although

"the use of a logic of nominal record linkage had its first big triumph in demographic questions.....the same logic, the systematic piecing together of data drawn from many sources, covering large samples of the population of a community often over several generations is likely to prove just as illuminating for more general historical investigations...Recent developments in historical demography seem likely to exert their

widest influence not because of any strictly demographic findings but by suggesting a new mode of approach to a wide range of questions, some of long standing, but many new to historical study."(Wrigley,1976;113+115).

The widest use of the nominal record linkage technique outside history is in medical research, where stress is precisely on that amalgamation of data gathered from widely differing sources to provide detailed case histories for all individuals in large populations.

Such a technique, "able to combine rigour with richness of detail" (Wrigley,1976;115), is greatly to be preferred to the making of aggregate statements about a population, but studies in English urban history where nominal record linkage has been used are rather rare. This is perhaps especially true of the eighteenth century when the problems of non-standard spelling and erratic recording associated with studies of earlier periods are combined with difficulties with the sheer size of populations common in nineteenth-century post-census studies.

It was decided to attempt a nominal linkage study, using as the basic sources Sketchley's Directory of Bristol for 1775, the Poll Book for the General Election of 1774 and all the extant Bristol City Rate and National Tax returns for the fiscal year 1774/5. The information contained in each of these sources is shown in Table 3:8.

Table 3:8: Information available from Sketchley's Directory, the 1774 Poll Book and Rate and Tax returns

Information	Source		
	Directory	Poll Book	Rate Returns
Surname	Yes	Yes	Yes
Forename	Yes	Yes	Usually
Sex	Yes	Yes	Usually
Occupation	Yes	Usually	Rarely
Status	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
Votes Cast	No	Yes	No
Street of Res.	Yes	No	Yes
Parish of Res.	No	Yes	Yes
Building Type	Sometimes	No	Often
Rateable Value	No	No	Yes

The potential for linking is immediately obvious. There is enough common information to allow matches to be made and enough material unique to each source to make the linking worthwhile. Wrigley comments that "population history is inevitably to do with a sweep of time rather than a point in time" (1976;109-110), and the problems of "horizontal" or synchronic analysis are widely known. In particular, if a synchronic analysis forms the whole or bulk of a study one has essentially no means of telling whether patterns revealed are semi-permanent or merely transitory, which elements are most liable to change and at what pace. E.P.Thompson rejects the synchronic approach because "each 'now'...[is] a moment of becoming, of alternative possibilities"

(1978,295). One has only a picture of ingredients giving the potential for future patterns, but no indications of the processes at work.

However, the idea of attempting to produce a "complete" picture, even one true only for an instant, is attractive, and it offers scope for identifying patterns over space and investigating phenomena such as residential communities which are evident "on the ground". In any case, given the technical problems involved in the study, a cross section seemed a practicable starting point. The advantages of automatic data-handling, particularly given the large datasets involved, made it advisable to use a computer from the outset.

The Technique

Winchester summarises the logic behind nominal record linkage thus;

"If for any predicate of individual A there corresponds an identical predicate for an individual B such that, as regards indentifying predicates, there is no way of distinguishing between A and B; then A and B are identical;
 $\emptyset(\emptyset A = \emptyset B) \rightarrow A = B$ " (Winchester, 1973, 25).

Problems arise, especially in historical studies, where predicates are not identical, or sometimes not even similar, but it is suspected nonetheless that $A=B$; for example, that A (a saddle maker) = B (a harness maker), or even that A (a saddle maker) = B (a carpenter), because of a third common predicate. Further problems arise over the use of the proper name as an

identifier; "in record linkage.....the proper name often functions as the most important and perhaps as a uniquely identifying item" (Winchester,1973,36). Philosophical doubts aside, variations in spelling make this critical identifying item unstable.

Most nominal linkage studies (e.g.Herlihy,1973) take the proper name of individuals as the key variable for linking and sophisticated methods of spelling standardisation and phonetic transcription have been developed to establish that $A=B$ if $\phi A = \phi B$ where ϕ of A is the same sound as ϕ of B (Winchester,1973,25). "SOUNDEX" and other codes were investigated to see if phonetic transcription of the data would be advisable but, although Winchester is optimistic as to the accuracy and speed of phonetically-guided computer links (Winchester,1970-1),the experience of Schofield (1972), Herlihy (1973) and others suggested that existing codes made false links and missed genuine ones to such an extent that they became positively misleading.

Wrigley and Schofield stress that problems of linking n files cannot be separated into $n-1$ two-file links, but that the final decisions on the formation of links must be postponed until the last feasible moment, so that they can be made in the light of the fullest array of information (Wrigley & Schofield,1973,146 & 97). In theory, the idea is to compare each record with all others to see if two or more refer to the same person; in practice, each record is compared with all others in a subset of the population, that is with those sharing a common identifying surname (Schofield,1972,1).

This stricture was not followed precisely. 406' street

schedules (i.e. a schedule for one street under one rate) were used in the study and these were linked in 405 separate two-stage links to produce a large file which contained data for all streets and for all rates/taxes and which was subsequently treated as a single entity in a one-stage link with the Poll Book and directory. Theoretically, this may be thought to have been undesirable, but in practice it proved a quick and accurate method. It was done on the spot at the Record Office and relatively few problems arose, a fact which suggests that no violence is being done to the material. The method also preserved an identifying predicate which would have been lost in a surname sort - that of the neighbours of an individual or the position of his property in the street in question. In the case below, for example;

Street S	Rate 1.	Rate 2
	John A	John A
	James B	James B'
	William Howfield	William Oldfield
	Robert C	Robert C
	Charles D	Charles D

it is obvious that the labels "William Howfield" and "William Oldfield" refer to the same individual, living in the same property and having the same neighbours. This link would have been lost under an alphabetic sorting, probably even with a phonetic (e.g. aspirate suppressing) transcription. It was the preservation of this useful "neighbour predicate", as well as the

speed and ease of the operation, which suggested that to perform the four hundred or so two-stage hand links of these fiscal records was the better method.

Final Link

This was done as follows:

- 1) Each record was given a unique identifier (e.g. SK1, PB2, RATES3) to identify the source in which it was found and its position in the file.
- 2) The three files were then merged and the rows sorted alphabetically by surname and forename in a PDS run.
- 3) Records which related to one individual rather than any other were identified thus:

i) Name "clusters" were formed of all records relating to individuals with similar names e.g.

Raxworthy Edward	Rates	2618)
)
Raxworthy Edward	Rates	2619)
)
Rexworthy Edward	Pollbook	268)
)
Roxworthy Edward	Sketchley	3224)

Randal	Sketchley	3233)
Randall Aminadab	Pollbook	2879)
Randall Benjamin	Rates	4042)
Randall Roger	Sketchley	3055)
)
Randall Roger	Rates	1840)

The last two entries are flagged together: "Randal" is checked with all "Randalls" for a possible link.

ii) Links within the cluster were then deleted in a precise way until the remaining link(s) passed the test-score of >9 and the two or more records were said to refer to the same person. The weighting procedure gave the following scores:

Identifier	Positive Match	No Data	Positive Non-Match
Surname	+3	0	-3
Forename	+3	0	-3
Sen./Jun.	+3	0	-3
Sex	+3	0	-3
Street	+2	0	-2
Parish	+1	0	-1
Occupation	+1.5	0	-1.5
Status	+1.5	0	-1.5

A positive match is held to occur not only if two pieces of information are identical but also if they are very similar e.g.

	Score
Raxworthy Edward)	+3
Roxworthy Edward)	
Occupation 310 Mariner)	+3
Occupation 37 Captain)	
Status 8 Mrs)	+3
Status 9 Widow)	

This degree of flexibility is clearly necessary if the number of true matches is not to be grossly underestimated. A match is not made where a score of >9 is attained, but all the records are from one and only one source. This occurs only with the Rates table, in which a person may have a number of entries. Links

were not made because identically named members of the same family might very well have lived in the same street. So for example:

Smith John	Street 17:	Parish 8'
------------	------------	-----------

Smith John	Street 17	Parish 8
------------	-----------	----------

were not matched though a score of 10.5 was achieved, unless a corroborating record from the Pollbook or directory existed to suggest the existence of just one John Smith. This practice was not adhered to in the case of business premises. So

Smith John & Co	Street 17:	Parish 8
-----------------	------------	----------

Smith John & Co	Street 17	Parish 8
-----------------	-----------	----------

were linked even in the absence of corroborative data from another source.

A definite cluster contained a minimum of two records and a potentially unlimited maximum number, since an individual could theoretically hold an unlimited amount of rateable property. In practice five or six records ascribed to one person was the normal maximum.

Where no definite link was made this means either that the records refer to different people or that, by our criteria, there is insufficient evidence to say that the records refer to the same person, although it may be suspected that they do. The method probably under-estimates the true number of links and this has the effects firstly of over-estimating the total number of individuals in the sample and secondly of under-estimating the overlap amongst the three sources. The degree of over- and under-estimation is impossible to calculate. It is particularly high in clusters of common names where, for example, a record

applying to a John Smith from Rates could be matched equally well with several John Smiths in the directory or Pollbook and as a result no match was made, though the Rates record in all probability did match with one of them. With unusual names this problem of possible multiple matches did not arise.

iii) Once all the links had been decided upon, the names in the three files were standardised. This involved alterations in spelling e.g.

Rexworthy Edward (Pollbook 268) became

Raxworthy Edward to match

Raxworthy Edward (Rates 2618) and Raxworthy Edward (Rates 2619)

or, where sets of records applied to people with the same name, the addition of numbers to the name e.g

Smith John 2

Smith John 3

Smith John 4

etc..

Each person thus had a unique name and all the records in the database which applied to one person could readily be assembled.

Chapter 3

v).

OVERLAP OF SOURCES

The Final Dataset

When the three sources had been linked there were 10,872 people in the final dataset. This compares with the total population of Bristol at this time of about 55,000 (Little,1954,327), so there is information for just under 20% of all inhabitants. More importantly, if those in the dataset are considered as heads of households, and if it is suggest that household size varied between four and five (Corfield,1982,129), there is information for just under 80% of all households. In some, albeit few, instances the data refer to more than one person per household, normally in the case of gentry, several of whom in one household might warrant inclusion in a source. It must further be repeated that the method of linking probably underestimated the real number of links and hence inflated the number in the final dataset. It must also be admitted that for some of the 10,872 people there is rather limited information. Nonetheless, it is gratifying to have so large a body of information on which to base findings. Investigating a whole population rather than a sample has the advantage that one can more easily identify and investigate residuals, deviations from the norm. Particularly with historical data about whose approximation to a normal distribution we can often only guess, it seems advantageous to use all rather than a sample of the data.

The degree to which the various sources overlapped was also

investigated (Figure 3:1).

Rates and Poll Book and Sketchley's Directory

Only 724 people were to be found in all three of the sources. This seems astonishingly low compared with the numbers contained in the three sources severally (6,711 in the rates returns, 3,906 in the Poll Book and 4,321 in the directory), with the number in the final dataset (10,872) and with the degree of overlap between the various pairs of sources (see below). Some reasons for this small number are suggested below with reference to the various pairs of sources.

The Pollbook and Sketchley's Directory

Of the 3,906 voters in the Poll Book and the 4,231 people in Sketchley's directory only 1,064 or fewer than 28% of the people in each source were to be found in the other as well (Figure 3:1). A far higher overlap was expected, as one would have imagined that the gentry, the well-to-do and powerful would have been well represented in each source, particularly as in Bristol, where freedom of the city was not limited to those in a small range of craft Companies, professional men, often absent from other Poll Books, could be included. This lack of coincidence confirmed the results of an earlier experiment in which the Poll Book and directory were linked without reference to rates data. This first link suggested that only 917 entries were common and so it was pleasing to find that, with the use of the rates data, another 147 links could be made.

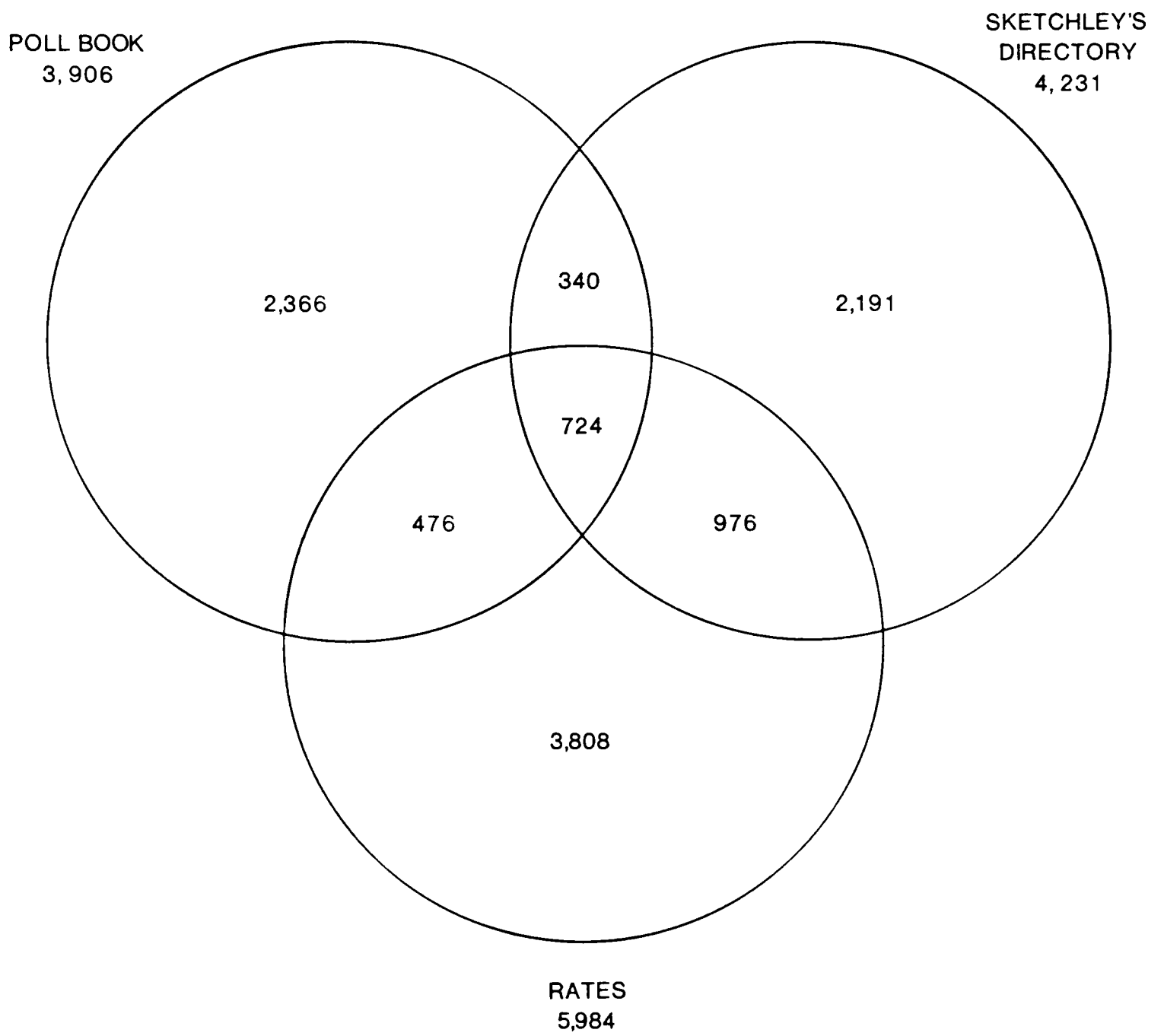


Figure 3:1 Overlap Amongst the Sources

It is well known that the sources do not cover the same subsets of the population. One obvious example is the case of women, who, of course, do not appear in the Poll Book, but of whom there were 754 or 17.8% in the directory. They form a substantial number of the gentlefolk, distributors and those in the food and drink and clothing trades and personal services which are comparatively over-represented in Sketchley's directory. However, it might well have been thought, given the relatively large size of each source and the fact that large sections of the "bottom end" of society would have been highly unlikely to have been included in either source, that the records would cover substantially similar sections of society.

Rates

Unlike the Poll Book and the directory, in which each person has only one entry (except in the directory in the very few cases where, by linking, a private individual has been identified as a partner in a business group) a person might appear several times in the rate returns. Thus the 6,711 rows in the rates table were found to refer to 5,984 people; that is 727 properties were charged to people who were already rated on another property. Normally these entries were stables, lofts and other such buildings attached to a house, or clusters of commercial or industrial buildings; but sometimes the nature of the building was not clear. These 5,984 people were then compared with those in the other sources to see to what extent they overlapped.

Poll Book and Rates

Surprisingly few people in the Poll Book were also to be found in the rates table. Only 1,200 people were in both sources; thus 30.7% of voters were to be found in the rates returns, whilst only 20.1% of the ratepayers were voters. Whilst it is not surprising to find that few ratepayers could vote, it is remarkable that so many of the voters, as respectable burghers of some standing in the city, should not be listed as ratepayers.

One reason for this may have been that the two thousand new freemen admitted under rather dubious circumstances during the election might not have been particularly reputable men. Other reasons concern the nature of the sources. The only common factor between the two sources other than name and sex was parish, except in the few cases where an indication of status or generation ("Sen." or "Jun.") was given. There were so many small and peculiarly shaped parishes in Bristol that the rate collectors were unsure of the boundaries and the citizens presumably had only a rather vague idea of which parish they lived in. They could quite conceivably have stated a false parish of residence at the time of voting and hence have been set down wrongly. A match with an entry in the Rates table would then not be made as the parishes given would differ, unless an entry from the directory with a street name could clarify matters. Another explanation is that the areas covered by the sources are not the same. The Poll Book includes voters from Clifton and the populous parish of Bedminster, for whose residents there are no usable rate or tax returns.

Sketchley's Directory and Rates

The degree of overlap between the sources was again surprisingly low. There were 1,700 common entries, so that 39.3% of people in the directory were also registered ratepayers and 28.4% of the ratepayers were also in the directory. One would have expected a higher proportion of people in the directory to be listed as ratepayers since many of them would have occupied substantial houses and rather few of them would have lived in the back courts and alleys which were difficult to rate. Unlike the Poll Book entries, those from the directory proved remarkably easy to match with those from the rates table, since most people knew the name of the street in which they lived. Like the Poll Book, however, the directory covers areas of the city such as Clifton and Bedminster for which there are no rate or tax returns, so the potential for coincidence of entries is reduced.

This lack of coincidence is, in one sense, an advantage. With fewer common entries, the sources together provide information about more people. Had the overlap been greater, the final dataset would have been correspondingly smaller. The lack of coincidence, however, emphasises the partiality of the sources and, although it is in a way dangerous to generalise from these findings since it is not known how representative the Bristol sources are in comparison with those for other places, they do vindicate the decision to use as many of the sources as possible and warn against the use of just one source where more are extant.

Chapter 4:

THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF BRISTOL IN 1775

The Classification of Occupations

Occupation Titles

The precise meaning of eighteenth-century occupation titles such as "Land Waiter", "Tide Waiter", "Anatto Maker", "Hot Presser" and "Grutt Maker" seems at first obscure. The titles are stated without explanation since their meaning was clear to contemporaries, particularly local contemporaries. Explanation is often to be found in such eighteenth-century volumes as Campbell's "The London Tradesman" (1747), the anonymous "A General Description of Trades; Digested in Alphabetical Order" (1747), Richard Rolt's "A New Dictionary of Trade and Commerce" (2nd edition 1761), Wynham Bèawes' "Lex Mercatoria Rediviva; or the Merchant's Directory" (4th edition 1783) and Samuel Johnson's "Dictionary" (6th edition 1785). Other classifications are also helpful, for example, that by Langton with additions by Hibberd (Hibberd, 1981, 461-465).

For the eighteenth century there are fewer problems than for earlier periods and, after reference to the works quoted above, apart from titles such as "Yeoman" which seem destined to remain a mystery (Lindert points out that this is as much a social label as an occupational title (1980, 687)) no difficulty remained and the terms were numerically coded (see Appendix 1) and classified.

Occupation Classifications

The problem of occupational classifications may be thought rather stale and overworked, yet it is still true to say that "few of the difficulties facing the local, regional or urban historian are as critical as those stemming from the need to classify occupational data" (Armstrong, 1974, 13). In reviewing the schemata used in other studies, one must bear in mind both the purpose behind each classification and the changing nature of the data being classified.

The crux of the problem in any classification of eighteenth-century occupation titles is that some of the most interesting and pressing questions (the relationship between retailing and wholesaling and that between production and distribution, the size of unit of production and so on) are precisely those whose answers are obscured by the terms used in the sources. To take the example of hats; six different descriptions are found in the Poll Book and Sketchley's directory, viz: "Hat Maker", "Hat Manufacturer", "Hatter", "Cap Maker", "Haberdasher of Hats" and "Milliner". In these it is impossible and indeed would be misleading to identify mutually exclusive categories of distributor and manufacturer, since specialisation was by no means this highly developed in the eighteenth-century economy.

The word "shop" is ambiguous and can be misleading. In the terms "grinder's shop" and "tin shop" and the like it refers to a workshop - primarily a place of production, from which the artisan could also sell his wares. In the terms "old book shop"

and "keeps a shop" it comes much nearer the "shop" or retail premises as we understand the term. The ambiguity of the term reflects the overlapping of production and distribution in the economy.

Similarly, there is overlapping between wholesaling and retailing. Some men actually called their trade wholesale, e.g., "Wholesale Linen Drapers". However, from this we cannot infer that all other linen drapers only retailed their goods, nor indeed that the former linen drapers sold exclusively wholesale.

This confusion of terms and low degree of specialisation of activity within the eighteenth-century economy make particular demands on a classification of occupations. Whilst a classification should be designed to investigate these and any other such divisions within the workforce, it must clearly not impose divisions where these did not exist.

The classification used in the 1861 census and that of the 1841 census with adaptations by Booth and Armstrong (Armstrong, 1974, 6-14) have been used many times (e.g. Armstrong (1974), Foster (1974)) and the use of one of them here would aid comparison with other studies. In these classifications each class contains persons "working *and* dealing" (my italics) in various substances; the determining factor is the nature of the substance, not the nature of the handling. Thus Category V.(11) groups "People working and dealing in textile fabrics and in dress"; category V.(14) groups "Persons working and dealing in vegetable substances" (1861 census, quoted in Hibberd, 1981, 461-465). This seemed at first to obviate the problem of production/dealing ambiguities. The same idea of classification

under the various branches of the economy is to be found, too, in many of the schemata reviewed by Patten (1977;308-9). These in the main group the craft workforce by "raw material" (e.g. leather, metal, wood and textiles), with additional categories for the poor and the gentry. Again, the use of any of these would facilitate comparison with other studies and they would perhaps be more appropriate than the mid-nineteenth-century schemata for the commercial rather than heavy industrial economy of Bristol.

In the classification of my data under the schemata in Patten (1977;308-9) devised for earlier periods it was extremely difficult to decide, for example, whether "Baker", "Brewer", "Confectioner" and "Butcher" should count as "Food and Drink" or "Distributive", since clearly they could fall into both categories. Similar problems arose under all the other headings ("Metal", "Wood" etc.). Closer inspection of the 1841 and 1861 census classifications proved them equally ambiguous in this respect: whilst orders 10-15 cover persons "working and dealing" (my italics) in various substances, there is also Order 6 for "Persons who buy and sell.....goods of various kinds".

The root of the problem was that one classification was being used to answer two questions; firstly, that of the structure of the economy, to find numbers of men employed in each sector, and secondly, that of the nature of work, the pattern of activity for the individual. It is because of this confusion that any attempt to use one of the classifications above runs into such difficulty and the assignment of occupations to classes

becomes so arbitrary. The solution, then, is either to adopt one classification in which the codes used allow the workforce to be grouped in different ways according to different criteria (e.g. that by Langton with addenda by Hibberd in Hibberd (1981,461-465)), or a similarly flexible scheme (e.g. Ellis,1984), or to use a number of different classifications, each with a different end. Armstrong (1974) uses two different classifications, firstly to discover the "general contours" of the economy, and secondly to investigate rank or class (1974,6-14): in this study three classifications are used.

Classification 1 Raw Materials

Table 4:1: Occupation Classification 1.

Purpose; To show the various branches of the city's economy.

Code	Class
------	-------

A	<u>Gentry and Professional</u>
---	--------------------------------

Accomptant/Bookkeeper; Apothecary; Army Officer; Attorney, etc.; Auctioneer; Banker; Bridewell Keeper; Broker; Clerk; Coroner; Custom House Officer; Doctor of Medicine; Druggist/Chemist; Governor of Hospital; Insurance Broker; Mayor's Officer; Measurer (Sworn); M.P.; Merchant (overseas); Reverend Minister; Sheriff; Statuary and Architect; Surgeon; Surveyor.

B	<u>Personal Services</u>
---	--------------------------

Barber/Hairdresser; Chimney Sweep; Clearstarcher/Laundress; Cryer; Dancing Master; Lodging and Boarding House Keeper; Lottery Office Keeper; Music Master; Night Constable; Nurse; Painter of Miniatures; Postman; Schoolmistress; Sexton; Shopkeeper; Teacher

of French etc.; Undertaker; Writing Master..

C Textiles

Calenderer; Clothier; Clothworker; Colourman/Anatto Maker; Draper; Dyer; Felt Maker; Flax Dresser; Haircloth Maker; Hair Merchant; Lace and Fringe Maker; Linen Draper; Linen Draper (wholesale); Mercer; Packer; Presser; Sack Weaver; Silk Merchant; Trimming Maker; Twine Spinner; Upholsterer; Whitener of Woollens; Weaver; Woolcomber; Wool Stapler; Wool Hall Keeper.

D Earthenware; China; Glass

Bottle Wholesaler; China Dealer; China Maker; China Wholesaler; Earthenware Maker; Earthenware Shop; Earthenware Wholesaler; Gallipot Maker; Glass Dealer; Glass Maker; Glass Wholesaler; Glass Cutter; Looking Glass Manufacturer; Pipe Maker; Potter..

E Wood

Basket Maker; Brush Maker; Cabinet Maker; Cabinet Wholesaler; Chairmaker; Cooper; Coach Maker; Cork Cutter; Crate Maker; Joiner; Mop Maker; Picture Frame Maker; Sawyer; Timber Merchant; Trunk Maker; Turner; Wheelwright; Wooden Toy Maker.

F Metal

Bell Founder; Blacksmith; Brass Worker; Brazier; Bucklemaker; Copper Company; Copper Worker; Cutler; Engraver; Farrier; Filecutter; Founder; Goldsmith; Guilders; Hooper; Iron Merchants; Iron Founder; Ironmonger; Old Iron Shop; Nail Shop; Pewterer; Pin Maker; Shot Maker; Silversmith; Smith; Tin Man; Wiredrawer..

G Leather

Book Binder; Breeches Maker; Bridle Cutter; Currier; Furrier; Glove Dealer; Glover; Gluemaker; Harness Maker; Leather Cutter;

Leather Wholesaler; Parchment Maker; Saddle Maker; Shoe and Saddle Wholesaler; Shoemaker; Shoe Shop; Skinner; Tanner; Whipmaker; Whitawer.

H Food and Drink

Bacon Maker; Baker; Brewer; Butcher; Butter Dealer; Butter Seller; Cheesemonger; Chocolate Maker; Cider Merchant; Coffee House Keeper; Confectioner; Cookshop; Corn and Malt Wholesaler; Corn Shop; Distiller; Fishmonger; Flour Seller; Fruit Merchants; Gingerbread Baker; Greenshop; Grocer; Grocer (wholesale); Grutt Maker; Hop Merchant; Innholder; Maltster; Miller; Mustard Maker; Poulterer; Salt Merchant; Salt Refiner; Snuff Maker; Snuff Seller; Snuff Wholesaler; Spirit Seller; Sugar Refiner; Tea Dealer; Tobacconist; Tobacconist (wholesale); Tobacco Roller; Vinegar Maker; Vinegar Wholesaler; Water Seller; Wine Maker; Wine Merchant.

I Glue; Wax etc.

Blue Maker; Comb Maker; Drysalter; Ivory Turner; Oilman; Sells Oil, Wax & Candles; Soap Boiler; Soap Chandler; Starchmaker; Tallow Chandler; Turpentine Warehouse.

J Clothing

Button Maker; Embroiderer; Haberdasher; Hat Maker; Hosier; Lace Dealer; Mantua Maker; Merchant Taylor; Pattern Maker; Peruke Maker; Pump Maker; Rag Shop/Old Clothes dealer; Slop Seller; Stay Maker; Stay Wholesaler; Stocking Maker; Stocking Shop Keeper; Taylor.

K "Mixed Materials" (Tools, etc)

Bellows Maker; Clock Maker; Gun Maker; Gun Wholesaler; Hour Glass Maker; Instrument Maker; Instrument Maker (Surgeon's); Instrument

Maker (Mathematical); Jeweller; Mill Maker; Mill Wright; Musical Instrument Maker; Plane Maker; Locksmith; Steel Mill Maker; Watch Maker; Wool Card Wholesaler; Wool Card Maker.

L Building

Bricklayer; Brick Maker; Carpenter; Carver; Glazier; Lime Burner; Marble Cutter; Mason; Painter; Plasterer; Plumber; Tiler.

M Agriculture

Drover; Gardener; Seedsman; Seedsman (wholesale); Yeoman/Farmer.

N Transport

Carrier; Chairman; Coach Master; Hallier; Porter; Lighterman; Livery Stables; Passage House Keeper; Rider; Trow Owner; Turnpike Man.

O Shipping

Anchor Smith; Block Maker; Chandler; Engineer/Crane Maker; Mast Maker; Pitcher; Rigger; Rope Weaver; Sailcloth Weaver; Sail Maker; Ship Caulker; Ship Broker; Ship Carpenter; Ship's Ballast Dealer; Victualler; Wharfinger.

P Sea-going

Captain; Mariner/Mate; Ship's Surgeon.

Q Miscellaneous

Bookseller; Broker of Clothes and Furniture; Coach and Sign Painter; Grinder's Shop; Grindstone Dealer; Gunpowder Dealer; Labourer; Music Seller; Paper Box Maker; Paper Maker; Paper Shop; Pawn Broker; Pencil Maker; Perfumer; Printer; Print Seller; Rag Wholesaler; Stationer; Toyman; Warehouse Keeper; Well Sinker; Collier; Paper Warehouse Man.

Note:

Tables 4:1, 4:2 and 4:3 are to be used in conjunction with Appendix 1 for a complete listing of all trades included.

The first scheme is broadly similar to the "raw materials" classifications outlined in Patten (1977;308-9), and of those used in the 1841 and 1861 censuses, but with no distinction between production and distribution. Port-based trades have been given special categories as they were of great importance within the city. Although the end result is far from perfect, the fact that far fewer terms could fit into two categories and the comparative ease of the operation suggest less violence is being done to eighteenth-century terms and that genuine divisions in the economy are being uncovered.

Classification 2: The Nature of Work

Table 4:2: Occupation Classification 2

Purpose; To describe the pattern of activity, the nature of work for individual men and women.

Code Class

A Clergy and Gentry

Army Officer; M.P.; Reverend Minister; Mayor, etc..

B Professional and Services

Accomptant; Apothecary; Attorney, etc.; Auctioneer; Banker; Barber; Bridewell Keeper; Broker; Broker of Furniture etc.; Carrier; Chairman; Chimney Sweep; Clearstarcher; Clerk; Coachman; Coroner; Cryer; Customs House Officer; Dancing Master; Doctor; Hallier; Hospital Governor; Innholder; Insurance Broker; Key

Porter; Lighterman; Livery:Stable; Lodging and Boarding House Keeper; Lottery Office Keeper; Mayor's Officer; Measurer (Sworn); Night Constable; Music Master; Nurse/Midwife; Postman; Rider; Schoolmistress; Sexton; Ship Broker; Statuary and Architect; Surgeon; Surveyor; Teacher of French etc.; Trow Owner; Turnpike man; Undertaker; Warehouse Keeper; Wharfinger; Wool Hall Keeper; Writing Master.

C Distributors

 Distributors (wholesale and retail)

 Distributors (wholesale)

 Distributors (retail)

 Distributor-Processors

 Distributor-Manufacturers

Bookseller; Bottle Wholesaler; Butter Dealer; Cabinet Wholesaler; Chandler; Cheesemonger; China Dealer; China Wholesaler; Cider Merchant; Clothier; Coffee House Keeper; Corn and Malt Wholesaler; Corn Shop; Draper; Earthenware Wholesaler; Fruit Merchants; Glass Dealer; Glass Wholesaler; Glover; Greenshop; Grocer; Grocer (wholesale); Gun Wholesaler; Gunpowder Dealer; Haberdasher; Hair Merchant; Hop Merchant; Hosier; Iron Merchant; Ironmonger; Lace Dealer; Leather Wholesaler; Linen Draper; Linen Draper (wholesale); Mercer; Merchant; Merchant Taylor; Music Seller; Oilman; Old Iron Shop; Paper Warehouse Man; Passage House Keeper; Pawn Broker; Print Seller; Rag Shop; Rag Wholesaler; Salt Merchant; Shop Keeper; Ship's Ballast Dealer; Shoe and Saddle Wholesaler; Seedsman; Seedsman (wholesale); Silk Merchant; Snuff Wholesaler; Soap Chandler; Spirit Seller; Stationer; Stay Wholesaler; Tallow Chandler; Tea Dealer; Timber Merchant;

Tobacconist (wholesale); Turpentine Wholesaler; Victualler; Vinegar Wholesaler; Wine Merchant; Wool Card Wholesaler; Wool Stapler.

D Artisans and Artisan-Retailers

Anchor Smith; Bacon Maker; Baker; Basket Maker; Bell Founder; Bellows Maker; Blacksmith; Block Maker; Blue Maker; Book Binder; Brass Worker; Brazier; Breeches Maker; Brewer; Brickmaker; Bridle Cutter; Brush Maker; Bucklemaker; Butcher; Butter Seller; Button Maker; Cabinet Maker; Calenderer; Chairmaker; China Maker; Chocolate Maker; Clock Maker; Cloth Worker; Coach Maker; Coach and Sign Painter; Collier; Colourman; Comb Maker; Confectioner; Cookshop; Cooper; Copper Company; Coppersmith; Cork Cutter; Currier; Crate Maker; Cutler; Distiller; Druggist; Drysalter; Dyer; Earthenware Maker; Earthenware Shop; Embroiderer; Engineer; Engraver; Farrier; Felt Maker; File Cutter; Fishmonger; Flax Dresser; Flour Seller; Founder; Furrier; Gallipot Maker; Gilder; Gingerbread Baker; Glass Cutter; Glass Maker; Glove Dyer; Gluemaker; Goldsmith; Grinder's Shop; Grindstone Dealer; Gruttmaker; Gunsmith; Haircloth Maker; Harness Maker; Hat Maker; Hooper; Hourglass Maker; Instrument Maker (Surgeon's); Instrument Maker (Mathematical); Instrument Maker; Iron Founder; Ivory Turner; Jeweller; Joiner; Lace and Fringe Maker; Leather Cutter; Locksmith; Looking Glass Manufacturer; Mast Maker; Maltster; Mantua Maker; Miller; Mill Maker; Millwright; Mop Maker; Musical Instrument Maker; Mustard Maker; Nailshop; Packer; Painter of Miniatures; Paper Box Maker; Paper Maker; Paper Shop; Parchment Maker; Pattern Maker; Pencil Maker; Perfumer; Peruke Maker;

Pewterer; Picture Frame Maker; Pin Maker; Pipe Maker; Pitcher; Plane Maker; Potter; Poulterer; Presser; Printer; Pump Maker; Rigger; Rope Maker; Sack Maker; Saddler; Sailcloth Weaver; Sail Maker; Salt Refiner; Sawyer; Sells Oil, Wax and Candles; Shoemaker; Shoe Shop; Ship's Caulker; Ship Carpenter; Shot Maker; Silversmith; Skinner; Slop Seller; Smith; Snuff Maker; Snuff Seller; Soap Maker; Starchmaker; Stay Maker; Steel Mill Maker; Stocking Maker; Stocking Shop Keeper; Sugar Refiner; Tanner; Taylor; Tinman; Tobacconist; Tobacco Roller; Toymaker; Trimming Maker; Trunk Maker; Turner; Twine Spinner; Upholsterer; Vinegar Maker; Watchmaker; Water Seller; Well Sinker; Wheelwright; Whipmaker; Whitawer; Whitener of Woollens; Wine Maker; Wireworker; Weaver; Wooden Toy Maker; Wool Card Maker; Woolcomber/Scribbler.

E Builders

Bricklayer; Carpenter; Carver; Glazier; Limeburner; Marble Cutter; Mason; Painter; Plasterer; Plumber; Tiler.

F Labourers

Labourer.

G Rural

Drover; Gardener; Yeoman/Farmer.

H Sea-going

Captain; Mariner; Ship's Surgeon..

The principle behind this classification, which addresses the question of what each individual in the workforce was actually doing, the nature of his work, is that of Patten (1977;310). I have altered some of Patten's categories to suit

the particular requirements of Bristol and because my data refer to the later eighteenth century, whilst Patten had in mind the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

That there are so many mixed classes (see Table 4:2), e.g. "Wholesale and Retail" or "Artisan-Retailer", is not now a sign of failure, a sign that these people could not be fitted into a sharply defined category; as was the problem under the original schemata; rather it shows that these new categories reflect the real absence of functional specialisation in the economy.

Classification 3: Status

Table 4:3: Occupation Classification 3:

Purpose; To show the esteem, or lack of it, with which various trades were regarded by contemporaries, and thus to classify "Status". The classification is not comprehensive.

Code	Class
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A	<u>High Status</u>
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	Attorney; Brewer; Butter Dealer; Cheesemonger; Cider Merchant; Clerk; Corn and Malt Wholesaler; Draper; Glass Maker; Hop Merchant; Hosier; Iron Merchant; Ironmonger; Jeweller; Linen Draper; Linen Draper (wholesale); Mercer; Merchant (overseas); Merchant Taylor; Paper Warehouse Man; Salt Merchant; Salt Refiner; Seedsman (wholesale); Silk Man; Soap Maker; Spirit Seller; Starchmaker; Sugar Refiner; Tea Dealer; Timber Merchant; Toymaker; Vinegar Maker; Vinegar Wholesaler; Warehouse Keeper;
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Wooden Toymaker,

B Middle Status

Apotnecary; Basket Maker; Bell Founder; Block Maker; Bookseller; Bricklayer; Brickmaker; Broker of Furniture etc.; Carver; Chandler; China Dealer; China Wholesaler; Chocolate Maker; Clock Maker; Coachmaker; Confectioner; Cooper; Copper Company; Druggist/Chemist; Engineer; Founder; Gilder; Glover; Goldsmith; Grocer; Grocer (wholesale); Gun wholesaler; Gunsmith; Hair Cloth Maker; Instrument Maker (Surgeon's); Instrument Maker (Mathematical); Instrument Maker; Iron Founder; Ivory Turner; Lace Dealer; Lace and Fringe Manufacturer; Leather Cutter; Leather Wholesaler; Lighterman; Marble Cutter; Mason; Musical Instrument Maker; Oilman; Painter; Paper Maker; Pewterer; Plumber; Potter; Printer; Rope Maker; Sack Weaver; Saddler; Sailcloth Weaver; Sail Maker; Sells Oil, Wax and Candles; Shoemaker; Ship Carpenter; Ship Surgeon; Shopkeeper; Silversmith; Skinner; Soap Chandler; Stationer; Stocking Maker; Surgeon; Tallow Chandler; Tobacconist; Tobacconist (wholesale); Tobacco Roller; Trimming Maker; Trow Owner; Turner; Twine Spinner; Upholster^r; Watch Maker; Wheelwright; Wine Merchant; Wire Worker; Weaver; Wool Card Maker; Woolcomber; Wool Stapler.

C Low Status

Anchor Smith; Bacon Maker; Baker; Bellows Maker; Blacksmith; Bluemaker; Bookbinder; Brazier; Breeches Maker; Bridle Cutter; Broker; Brushmaker; Bucklemaker; Butcher; Button Maker; Cabinet Maker; Calenderer; Carpenter; Carrier; Chairmaker; Clothier; Coffee House Keeper; Colourman/Anatto Maker; Comb Maker; Cookshop; Coppersmith; Currier; Cutler; Distiller; Dyer;

Earthenware Shop; Engraver; Farrier; Felt Maker; Fishmonger; Flax Dresser; Fruit Merchants; Gardener; Gingerbread Baker; Glass Cutter; Glass Dealer; Glazier; Glove Dyer; Greenshop; Grinder's Shop; Grindstone Dealer; Hallier; Harness Maker; Hat Maker; Hourglass Maker; Innholder; Joiner; Mantua Maker; Mariner; Miller; Mill Maker; Millwright; Mop Maker; Music Seller; Packer; Paper Box Maker; Parchment Maker; Patten Maker; Pawn Broker; Perfumer; Peruke Maker; Picture Frame Maker; Pin Maker; Pipe Maker; Plane Maker; Plasterer; Poulterer; Presser; Print Seller; Pump Seller; Sawyer; Ship Broker; Slop Seller; Smith; Staymaker; Steel Mill Maker; Tanner; Taylor; Tiler; Tin Man; Trunk Maker; Undertaker; Whipmaker.

The third classification was an experiment to investigate status i.e. the esteem or lack of it which attached to certain eighteenth-century occupations. Status categories have been used with some success by Katz in his study of nineteenth-century North American cities (Katz, 1972-3 & 1981). He considers that the status attached to an occupation is a more sensitive indicator of class than is the monetary reward which the exercise of that occupation brings (Katz, 1981, 594). Although there is strong danger of arguing from class to status and back again, the notion of status remains of great interest and seems apprehendable through an analysis of occupations. As Armstrong points out, one certainly does not claim that

"merely to assemble the occupied population under a limited number of headings is the same thing as divining the essence of 'class'. Yet it has been wisely said that whilst 'occupation may be only one variable in a comprehensive theory of

class.....it is the variable which includes more, which sets more limits on the other variables than any other criterion of status' <Therstrom,1964,84>" (Armstrong,1974,15).

I have drawn up a third or "status" classification using "A General Description of Trades; Digested in Alphabetical Order" (Anon,1747). This book, intended as a guide for parents wishing to apprentice their children advantageously, gives for each of a wide variety of trades details of the nature of the work, the hours worked, the apprenticeship fine, the amount a journeyman would commonly earn, the amount of capital a master needed to set up on his own account, the livery fine of the company where appropriate plus a host of other comments and opinions.

The occupations in the "General Description" were classified as A (High Status), B (Middle Status) or C (Low Status) by the following method;

Rank	Apprentice Fee in L's	Journeymen's Wages * per week in shillings	Master's Capital in L's
1.	1-29	1-14	> or = 99
2	30-69	15-19	100-999
3	70+	20+	1,000+

* A notional 5/- per week was added before the figures were grouped for trades where board and lodging were provided..

Each trade was then ranked for each of the three criteria e.g.;

Apothecary

Apprentice Fine 20-300 = Rank 3

Journeymen's Wages 5-15 + b (= 10-20) = Rank 2

Master's Capital 100-200 = Rank 2

The means of the ranks were then calculated e.g.;

$$\frac{3 + 2 + 2}{3} = 2.3$$

and grouped thus;

Mean Score	Status Category
> or = 1.5	C (Low Status)
1.6-2.5	B (Middle Status)
2.6-3.0	A (High Status)
e.g. Apothecary;	Mean Score = 2.3 Status = B (Middle Status)

This was done for all trades and the resulting classification was then checked by detailed comparison with a second contemporary source, that of "The London Tradesman" by R.Campbell, Esq., also printed in London in 1747. This gives similar information to that in the "General Description" and was intended for the same purpose.

The following points emerged from the comparison.

i). Neither source covers all the occupations found in my records; each mentions about 70% of the occupations listed and those not included in one book are generally not to be found in the other either. The occupations not mentioned were those which fell outside the traditional guild structure and hence to which the criteria used by Campbell and in the "General Description" could not apply.

Those not mentioned were firstly dealers, often petty traders, who sold products which they had not made themselves, e.g. "Bottle Wholesaler", "Old Iron Dealer", "Old Clothes

Dealer", etc.. This is not to suggest that all non-producing dealers were excluded; "Merchants", "Woolmen", "Salesmen and Clothes Brokers" were amongst the many listed. Secondly there were those offering personal services which fell outside the scope of the guild structure: these included "Chairman", "Cryer", "Lottery Office Keeper" and "Night Constable". Thirdly there were professional men including "Accomptants", "Army Officers", "Coroners" and "Customs House Officials". Again, not all professional men were excluded. "Attorneys" and "Brokers" were amongst those listed. Fourthly were those in occupations too bizarre or involving too few people to be mentioned. Examples were "Distilled Water Seller", "Grutt Maker", "Well Sinker" and "China Mender". Lastly there were agricultural or rural workers including "Drover", "Farmer" and "Yeomen".

The classification, then, is not comprehensive. Campbell and the "General Description" are precisely what they purport to be - guides to trades. They are thus potentially a very useful way of dividing the mass of producers, dealers and producer/dealers according to eighteenth-century perceptions of status.

ii) For the great majority of trades the entries in Campbell and the "General Description" were found to be either identical or very similar. Some examples are shown in Table 4:4.

Table 4:4: Concordance of the "General Description" and Campbell's "London Tradesman".

		Apprentice Fine (L's)	Journeyman's Wages (s's)	Master's Capital (L's)
Glaziers	Gen. Desc.	10-20	12-15	100-500
	Campbell	10-20	12	100-500
Hotpresser	Gen. Desc.	5-10	12-15	100
	Campbell	5-10	12-15	50-100
Miller	Gen. Desc.	5	10	100-200
	Campbell	5	10	100-300

The concordance is unsurprising; both guides show evidence of having been carefully compiled, both were printed in London and therefore refer to conditions in the same area and both appeared in the same date of 1747:

iii) There is a number of trades, however, for which entries are significantly different. Some of these differences are irrelevant since the trades to which they refer (for example, enamelling) do not appear in my sources. Other discrepancies refer to Chemists, Chocolate Makers, China Men, Coach Makers, Fishmongers, Lacemen, Leather Sellers, Pinmakers, Potters, Printers of Calico and Rope Makers, all of which are found within my sources. Of these eleven trades, six (Chocolate Makers, Coach Makers, Fishmongers, Lacemen Printers of Calico and Rope Makers) would have been classified differently had I used Campbell's "London Tradesman" rather than the "General Description". The discrepancy was never more than one class out, that is, there

were no Class A/Class C discrepancies, and, since only 6 out of 225 such cases existed, it was decided to persevere with the existing classification rather than to draw up another based on Campbell.

The classification is an attempt to use systematically a contemporary source which may shed some light on the issue of status. It seems sensible to use a guide drawn up in 1747 for London, a large city with a commercial economy, rather than an industrial one in the later narrower sense of the word, and to use it for Bristol, which was also large, though not on the same scale as London, with a similar port-based economy. The 1747-1775 time difference is no disadvantage, since one would expect Bristol to be at a slightly earlier stage of development than London. In any case, the precise date is not of critical importance; as long as the guide is internally consistent, it should show the esteem in which various trades were held and reflect contemporary opinion which would not be subject to rapid change. It seems sensible to use a contemporary source to investigate status to avoid drawing up a classification based on one's own preconceptions, fitting in the data and then finding one's ideas confirmed. No great claims are made for the classification at this stage however; a critical judgement can be made only after it has been used.

The Working Population of Bristol in 1775

To investigate the occupational structure of Bristol a new computer table was created to combine data from the two sources used. It was formed in two stages; 3,741 entries from the Poll Book were transferred to it first. These 3,741 men were those voters in the Poll Book for whom an occupation is given (95.8% or all but 163 cases). Subsequently 3,877 cases from Sketchley's directory were transferred. These 3,877 cases represented the 3,757 people (80.0%) who had at least one occupation. 474 people had more than one occupation and two or more lines were added for each of them. Where a directory entry was identical in name and occupation to the Poll Book entry already in the table the existing entry was overwritten by the second and thus only one entry appeared in the table. Where a directory entry was not identical to any Poll Book entry already present, either because it referred to a new person or because it referred to someone already in the table but had a different occupation for him from that given in the Poll Book, the directory entry was appended to the table. The resultant table was, strictly speaking, a table of occupations given in the sources rather than a table of individual workers with their particular occupations, but it was necessary to use such a table to take account of multiple occupations and of discrepancies between the sources.

Occupation Data in the Directory and the Poll Book

The data were classified using the three schemata described above. Throughout the study the data are analysed in a

number of ways to identify persistent patterns and not those which have their origin in the method of analysis or the nature of the sources. This can make the discussion rather laboured, but it gives confidence in the results presented.

Classification 1: Raw Materials

Table 4:5: Classification of Occupations in Sketchley's directory and the Poll Book under Scheme 1.

Class	Number	Per cent
A Gentry & Prof.	847	12.1
B Personal Services	270	3.9
C Textiles	435	6.2
D Earthenware	229	3.3
E Wood	461	6.6
F Metal	613	8.7
G Leather	535	7.6
H Food & Drink	853	12.2
I Glue & Wax	90	1.3
J Clothing	500	7.1
K Mixed Materials	129	1.8
L Building	549	7.8
M Agriculture	151	2.2
N Transport	125	1.8
O Shipping	764	10.9
P Seagoing	245	3.5
Q Miscellaneous	214	3.0
Total	7010	100.0

A striking feature of the distribution of occupations under this classification is the broad base of the economy : 45.5% of the work force listed here worked within traditional raw materials categories (textiles, earthenware, wood, metal, leather, glue and wax, mixed materials, building and agriculture). Many of these are what Patten describes as the "basic needs" trades which formed a substantial part of the employment in any town (1978,21-29,). The spread of occupations amongst the classes reflects the likely demand for the goods in question: there would clearly have been more demand for metals than for glue, and the proportions of the workforce reflect this (1.3% in glue trades compared with 8.7% in metal trades). This broad range of basic needs goods was augmented by distinctly urban trades such as those in the mixed materials class: these were the spectacle makers, philosophical instrument makers and clock and watch makers whom George describes in London as typical of the more specialised, highly skilled artisans working under a putting out system which could operate only in a larger urban centre (George,1966;176-8). The complexity and breadth of Bristol's economy was complemented by its relative lack of specialisation amongst traditional occupations. This is to be expected. Ellis finds in Newcastle in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century breadth and variety rather than economic specialisation in a narrow sense, despite the importance of coal (1984,194) and Patten concludes that "concentration rather than specialisation was the touchstone of the town economy" (1978,162).

Patten was, however, writing of the pre-industrial town and in Bristol by 1775 we can discern some distinct signs of specialisation. The first class in which there are disproportionately many is Class A, Gentry and Professional. These people are obviously those most likely to be included in the sources so the figure of 12.1% is greatly overstated (see below for representativeness of the source). At the same time it must be remembered that this is a classification of those with occupations, so the leisured rich and true gentry (unless they were clergymen, members of the Corporation or some such) would have been excluded, bringing the proportion in this class down. The high figure shows clearly the commercial rather than industrial nature of the economy, as this class included merchants, Customs and Excise officials, bankers and brokers directly involved in commerce and lawyers and accountants indirectly connected with it. There were also the doctors who had benefitted from the developments at the Hotwells. The class falls into two categories: firstly the urban patriciate of merchants and gentlefolk such as the many clergymen within the city. These last were of sufficient importance to be listed in the Poll Book as a separate group, as there were within the city so many tiny parishes and a cathedral with all its clerks and canons. Secondly there were what might be termed the professional middle classes of doctors, lawyers, brokers, bankers and Customs and Excise men and here a new element in the occupation structure is to be seen. Reed comments on the appearance of "that socio-economic category so characteristic of an industrialized society, the salary earner" when he considers

the Customs and Excise officials and Salt Officers in seventeenth-century Ipswich (Reed,1981,114).

Corfield finds that many of the professional men in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Norwich were immigrants to the city (1976;176) and comments on the general propensity of professional men to migrate, sometimes over long distances (1982,103+4). It would be interesting to discover how many of Bristol's professional men were migrants to the city and how many were native Bristolians taking advantage of new opportunities offered within the city, but this unfortunately cannot be pursued in the context of this thesis.

In designating overseas merchants as "gentle" in this classification it must be remembered that many of them, through their access to capital and the fruits of trade, had direct links with manufacturing. They were involved in such trades as sugar baking and tobacco processing. Hall suggests that this involvement with production was declining in the sugar trade, not so much from a change of heart on the part of the merchants, as from competition from former apprentices in business on their own account (1925,59-64). Nonetheless participation in manufacturing continued by such merchants as Barnes and Rice, sugar bakers and merchants, and the point that in the city "gentle" was not the antithesis of "trade" still held.

The next specialisation, clearly linked to the first, is that of shipping. Port towns had very early on developed a specialised labour force and the shipping and seagoing classes combined contained 14.4% of the workforce considered here. These

were men who went to sea, were ships' craftsmen (riggers, sailmakers and the like) or who supplied ships. They were directly and principally involved in shipping; but doubtless many of those in the other raw materials and services classes also supplied the shipping trade. Overseas trade was the main generator of wealth in the city and the multiplier effects of it would have been concentrated within the town at this time when internal economic communications were still comparatively rudimentary. A merchant would buy his supplies locally and spend his gains locally and hence this 14.4% is likely greatly to underestimate the true importance of shipping in the economy.

Fragmentary evidence for Portsmouth and Portsea suggests that as many as 73% of all adult males were employed in shipbuilding and related industries and there are estimates that Naval Dockyards employed 50% of the adult males in other dock towns (Corfield, 1982, 45). Bristol's employment in shipping, even if greatly underestimated here, was one specialisation within a large and diverse economy and any comparison with "dock towns" must be qualified. In this Bristol is comparable with all the larger and longer established port towns: London, Newcastle, Hull, Chester and Liverpool were amongst those ports which in the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth had marked specialisations in ships' provisioning, shipbuilding and trade (Patten, 1978, 176), but which were not specialised in these sectors to the exclusion of others. They were towns with a specialisation rather than specialised towns (Patten, 1978, 180).

Other specialisations in Bristol at this time were food and drink and clothing which together employed 19.3% of the

population considered here. There would have been many people in each of these categories in any town ("basic needs" trades); but this figure is very high and is probably understated, especially given that women who were important in both spheres (see below for women's role in the economy) were excluded from the Poll Book. The high figure reflects the two trends outlined above, as many in the food and drink and clothing classes would have supplied the shipping trade, the gentry and the seasonal visitors to the Hotwells.

Classification 2 The Nature of Work

Table 4:6: Classification of Occupations in Sketchley's Directory and the Poll Book under Scheme 2

Class	Number	Per cent
A Clergy & Gentry	181	2.6
B Profs. & Services	936	13.4
C Distributors	1487	21.2
D Artisans	3395	48.4
E Builders	534	7.6
F Labourers	93	1.3
G Rural	139	2.0
H Seagoing	245	3.5
Total	7010	100.0

The second classification points again to the two features of the economy revealed by the first. The traditional element of the economy is again evident: nearly half (48.4%) of the

workforce under consideration could still be called artisans, although of course one must be wary of imagining these people as independent masters. Their occupation titles could remain unaltered, whilst their place of work and relations at work could change dramatically. Dennis points out that the use of traditional occupational titles presupposes an unchanging economic and social structure and tends, of course, to confirm those presuppositions (1984,248-249). George comments on the ease with which an artisan working at home could become part of a large putting out organisation in which masters could "sweat" their labour. She points to watchmaking as an early example of a wholly urban sweated trade (George,1966,175-8). Friedrichs points to the same effect in early modern Nördlinge, where journeymen who had no prospect of setting up as independent masters formed a distinct and rather alienated social stratum - the Kleinbürgertum. However, it is probable that in an economy such as Bristol's where labour, as opposed to technology or fixed capital, was still the most important factor in production, the bulk of the artisans were still relatively independent and still worked in and sold direct to customers from their own homes or in small units of production, even where these had the potential (for example in the cases of sugar houses or glass houses) to develop into much larger plants. Patten suggests that artisans would have constituted the greater part of the working population in a pre-industrial town (1978,165) and it is noteworthy that they could still account for half the population listed here.

The small number of clergy and gentry (here the true urban

gentry and not the professional middle classes who are in Class B) and seagoing men and rural workers all fall within a traditional economic structure, as do the builders who account for a steady 7-10% of the workforce under the first and second classifications. These builders were true artisans and would have had the heavier, unskilled work done for them by labourers (George,1966;161). Particularly in London, but in all expanding towns, they were an important occupation group as building speculation increased the pace of development in towns (Chalklin,1974). The building trade had, though, always been important in an urban economy. Hoskins estimates that it employed some 4.0-7.5% of the workforce in sixteenth-century towns (Hoskins,1956;15) and Patten stresses that both population expansion and the constant damage caused by fire provided steady demand for builders in pre-industrial towns (Patten,1978,60-67).

Set against this traditional background are the two specialisations evident before. Firstly there is the professional and services class (Class B). This class covers everyone from the doctor to the hairdresser and its bounds are drawn deliberately widely as the differences between service and professional were notoriously vague in the eighteenth century (Patten,1978;154-5). It was noticeable how often a man was called a surgeon in the directory and a barber, peruke maker or hairdresser in the Poll Book. This is an obvious example (see e.g. Pelling,1983), but no less pertinent for that. 13.4% were included in this broad class and this reinforces our awareness of the growing professional middle classes and the providers of petty services to those middle classes and spa visitors as well

as to ordinary Bristolians.

The second group which cannot easily be accommodated within the traditional pattern is Class C, the distributors. These were specialist distributors as opposed to artisan retailers who are included with other artisans in Class D, and, though separate retailing had clearly to some extent always been present, it was a distinct and growing element in the economy (George, 1966; 16); Mitchell, 1984). George warns that many retailers did not aspire even to the status of an artisan, but rather fell into the category of unskilled and casual labour. She has in mind the keepers of old iron shops, tripe shops and cookshops (George, 1966; 161). Undoubtedly some of these are included in the Distributor class, but the majority were grocers, tea dealers, mercers and the like. If distributors are overrepresented in the directory, they are underrepresented in the Poll Book (see below) and hence the figure of 21.2% probably does not overstate their relative importance. These men and women must have supplied the gentry and middle classes, the Hotwells visitors, as well as ordinary Bristolians. They also distributed the products of and assembled goods for overseas and internal trade. They both reflect the changing economic structure of the city and contributed directly to its change.

Classification 3: Status

Table 4:7: Classification of Occupations in Sketchley's Directory and the Poll Book under Scheme 3

Class	Number	Per cent of 7010	Per cent of 5146'
A High Status	953	13.6'	18.5
B Middle Status	1994	28.4	38.7:
C Low Status	2199	31.4	42.7
X Not Classified	1864	26.6'	
Total	7010	100.0	100.0

5,146' or 73.4%. of those in Table 4:7 fall within the scope of this classification and those 5,146' are distributed amongst the three classes in a predictable way: Class A (13.6%. of the total number of entries or 18.5%. of those classified) is perhaps surprisingly large and reflects the continued importance of the urban patriciate, particularly of merchants and dealers and the growing professional element in the population, though by no means all professional men fell within the scope of the classification. Class B' with 28.4%. of all entries or 38.7%. of those classified represents the solid middle stratum of decent, but by no means prosperous tradesmen.

It is appropriate to consider those in Class C (31.4% or 42.7%) in relation to those who are excluded from the discussion. To say that 35-40%. of the population of any city was poor (Patten, 1978, 190) is probably an underestimate as it seems that the problem of poverty grew substantially from 1750 onwards (Clark, 1981, 30) and the most extreme poverty and

destitution were probably to be found in London and the larger provincial cities to which the poor migrated, usually to remain poor (Malcolmson,1981,78). Corfield considers 60% of the population in late seventeenth-century Norwich to have been amongst the "labouring poor" - journeymen, labourers and casual workers who were easily pauperised (1976,241). These people would have been without specific employment and would have been excluded from all but the most comprehensive records and certainly from those used here. We may, following Gutton (1970 & 1974) divide the poor into the pauvres de structure, the aged, lame, sick and young children who were unable to support themselves in even the most favourable economic conditions, and the pauvres de conjoncture, men and women with a trade and a few possessions, critically the tools of their trade, who could support themselves in times of economic expansion but who could be forced into the class of the desperately poor in a conjoncture, or more particularly when food prices were high (Williams,1981). Corfield draws a similar distinction where she writes of the "very broad base of poverty" in seventeenth-century Norwich, in which stratum she includes the large artisan population (pauvres de conjoncture) but not paupers (pauvres de structure). We may consider those in Class C to constitute part of the pauvres de conjoncture.

The Poll Book, directory and rates returns together contain information for some 10,000 people (see overlap section) or about 60% of all heads of households in a population of about 55,000 (Little,1954,327 ; see Corfield,1982,129 for a summary of

household sizes in various eighteenth-century towns). 20% of households are thus excluded and may be considered to have been pauvres de structure plus casual labourers and artisans. Their poverty is assumed on the basis of their exclusion from all records which suggests they had neither a fixed place of residence, unless in a hospital or poor house, nor a fixed occupation. If those in Class C (about 2,200 or 20% of the total population) are regarded as further pauvres de conjoncture, we arrive at a figure of 40% heads of households and their dependents as actually or potentially poor. This is a very rough calculation and suffers in particular from the difficulty of linking data for people for whom little information tends to be recorded. In some ways it must be seen as a minimum as it does not systematically include those who were listed in the rates data. Thus the figure is below that of Corfield's 62% in late seventeenth-century Norwich. In other ways however, it may be overestimated. The idea of pauvres de conjoncture has been used very broadly as there could obviously be conjonctures of varying intensity and duration which would affect varying numbers. It may also overestimate the number as poor households were known to be far smaller in general than rich households (see e.g. Clarkson, 1978); so percentage of heads of households cannot so easily be equated with percentage of the population. However, the figure of 40% is very similar to those for other towns (Patten, 1978, 190) and does serve to remind us just how precarious was the lot of the majority of the urban population. This fact, and the fact that the traditional poor relief system, designed to cope with rural distress (Walvin, 1984, 83), had not developed to

match new needs, were often hidden from contemporaries during favourable economic times and the problem was thrown into sharp focus when slumps, depressions and especially high food prices put a great strain on urban populations and their institutions.

The Origin of the Occupational Data

In addition to classifying occupations found in both the directory and the Poll Book, each source was analysed separately as part of the investigation into the nature of the sources.

Classification 1. Raw Materials

Table 4:8: Classification of Occupations under Scheme 1; the Origin of the Data

Class	Sketchley's Directory		Poll Book	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
A Gentry & Prof.	548	14.1	396	10.6
B Personal Services	235	6.1	45	1.2
C Textiles	218	5.6	257	6.9
D Earthenware	82	2.1	159	4.3
E Wood	208	5.4	297	7.9
F Metal	232	6.0	437	11.7
G Leather	223	5.8	364	9.7
H Food & Drink	578	14.9	360	9.6
I Glue & Wax	58	1.5	41	1.1
J Clothing	348	9.0	197	5.3
K Mixed Materials	86	2.2	58	1.6
L Building	222	5.7	401	10.7
M Agriculture	39	1.0	119	3.2
N Transport	49	1.3	80	2.1
O Shipping	489	12.6	324	8.7
P Seagoing	161	4.2	88	2.4
Q Miscellaneous	101	2.6	118	3.2
Total	3877	100.1	3741	100.2

The directory has a higher percentage of entries in classes A and B (Professions and Services), especially in personal services (6.1% cf. 1.2%), than does the Poll Book. This is as one would expect since Sketchley's readers would hope to find

information on services of all kinds from professional to petty in the directory, and Sketchley would have taken pains to include such information. Such directories were designed not least for outsiders who came to the city for business or pleasure, needing special goods and services (Corfield & Kelly, 1984, 24): the directories thus naturally over-represent providers of such goods and services. Poll Books, by contrast, were records of a city's local political activity and were published retrospectively for those interested in local affairs. They thus underrepresent services for this reason, because the many women involved in them (see below for discussion of women's role in the economy) were excluded and because the voters were essentially tradesmen and gentlemen not professional men and providers of services.

This bias of the Poll Book is shown in the "raw materials" classes (Classes C - K). It has a higher percentage than the directory in classes such as wood (7.9% cf. 5.4%), metal (11.7% cf. 6.0%), leather (9.7% cf. 5.8%), and earthenware (4.3% cf. 2.1%); but in food and drink (14.9% cf. 9.9%) and clothing (9.0% cf. 5.3%) the directory has conspicuously more entries. These classes can be considered to be services as much as trades and the pattern again holds that the Poll Book has more tradesmen, the directory more in services. In class L (Building) there are many more entries in the Poll Book than in the directory (10.7% cf. 5.7), a finding confirmed under the second classification. This accords with the general preponderance of tradesmen in the Poll Book.

The only exception to this, and a rather surprising one, is that the directory has many more people in shipping trades (Class

O) than does the Poll Book (12.6% cf. 8.7% or 489 cf. 324). This class includes both artisans, such as ships' caulkers and ships' carpenters, and dealers, especially victuallers and chandlers, who supplied the shipping trade. The difference arises largely from the greater number of ships' suppliers in the directory. It might have been expected that a very significant number of men involved in heavy and specialised shipping trades would appear in the Poll Book but not in the directory. The reverse is true, partly because the visiting merchant or businessman who would use the directory would be looking for just such specialist goods and services.

Classification 2. The Nature of Work

Table 4:9: Classification of Occupations under Scheme 2: the Origin of the Data

Class	Sketchley's Directory		Poll Book	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
A Clergy & Gentry	102	2.6	107	2.9
B Profs. & Services	658	17.0	341	9.1
C Distributors	1156	29.8	465	12.4
D Artisans	1549	40.0	2154	57.3
E Builders	222	5.7	386	10.3
F Labourers	0	0.0	93	2.5
G Rural	29	0.7	116	3.1
H Seagoing	161	4.2	88	2.4
Total	3877	100.0	3741	100.0

Classification under this scheme revealed differences between the two sources which were not unexpected, but nonetheless the degree of difference was perhaps greater than one might have thought.

The proportions in Class A (Clergy and Gentry) were almost identical in each source (2.9% in the Poll Book and 2.6% in the directory) and this is unremarkable, since presumably almost all of the uppermost rank would have been included in each source.

The directory has nearly twice as many in Class B (Professional and Services) as does the Poll Book (17.0% or 658 cf. 9.1% or 341). This surprisingly large difference does not result from differences in nomenclature. The bounds of the professional and services class are drawn deliberately widely. Thus, for example, both apothecaries and doctors are included and it is not the case that the same man, called an apothecary in the Poll Book and a doctor in the directory, appears as an artisan when the Poll Book is classified and as a professional when the directory is classified. This confirms the impression of voters as tradesmen and not providers of services.

The directory contains almost two and a half times as many entries in Class C (Distributors) (29.8% or 1156 cf. 12.4% or 465) as the Poll Book. It is easy to see why distributors, like members of the professional and services class, should be well represented in the directory, as they were the people who could increase their custom through publicity and whom Sketchley would have been glad to see in his directory; but it is less easy to see why they are not in the Poll Book. It was a sector in which

women were proportionately well represented (see below) and they were clearly could not vote. However, some two thousand freemen were admitted just before this election as the candidates' committees were anxious to pay the entry fine of anyone willing to support their candidate, so that it is surprising that so many distributors and those in professional and services were not in the Poll Book. Many distributors and professionals would have been substantial men, unlikely to avail themselves of the committees' offers; but many other petty traders would have been susceptible and it is surprising that so few are included.

As expected and as shown in classification under Scheme 1, Classes D and E (Artisans and Builders) are particularly well represented in the Poll Book which listed many solid burghers in traditional trades. 57.3% of all voters were artisans and 10.3% in were in building trades, giving a total of 67.6% or more than two thirds of the people listed. Sketchley's readers would have had little interest in learning the name and address of many of these artisans and hence they were not included in the directory. He lists only 40.0% artisans and 5.7% builders, who together form fewer than half the total. That there are so few builders and artisans in ordinary trades in the directory is also an indication that it was directed at least in part to visitors and outside businessmen. They would not have come to the city looking for bulky building materials or ordinary goods which they could obtain easily at home. Thus there are relatively few men performing such trades in the directory.

Unsurprisingly there are few people listed in Classes F

and G.(Labourers and Rural) and one would doubt the accuracy of many of the entries in the Poll Book. There are no labourers at all in the directory and it is not clear in any case what "labourer" means. Often during the linking process it seemed probable that a "labourer" from the Poll Book was in fact a person of a rather high status in the directory. William Saunders is described in the Poll Book as a "labourer" and, although a link was not made, it seems likely that he was the William Saunders in the directory who was described as an "accomptant". Similarly the meaning of the title "yeoman" also found in the Poll Book is obscure. We know very little about the direct involvement of town dwellers in agriculture (Patten,1978,189) and so it is a pity that neither source can shed any light on the issue.

Class H (Seagoing) is again difficult to interpret. Sketchley's directory with 4.2% or 161 in this class has many more entries than the Poll Book with its 2.4% or 88; but there is no way of telling whether those titled "Captain" in the directory were still seagoers or how many sailors were at sea at the time of the election and thus were unable to vote.

Classification 3: Status

Table 4:10: Classification of Occupations under Scheme 3: the Origin of the Data

Class	Sketchley's Directory			Poll Book		
	No.	% of 3877	% of 2666	No.	% of 3741	% of 2988
A High Status	596	15.4	22.4	439	11.7	14.7
B Middle Status	879	22.7	33.0	1310	35.0	43.9
C Low Status	1191	30.7	44.7	1239	33.1	41.5
X Not Classified	1211	31.2		753	20.1	
Total	3877	100.0	100.1	3741	99.9	100.1

Based as it is on eighteenth-century trade guides, this classification included a greater proportion of those in the Poll Book than in the directory. Nearly 80% of the voters were classified, compared with 70% of entries in the directory. If it is accepted that the guides accurately reflected the then economy and that the directory presents a more up to date picture of Bristol's economy than the Poll Book, this shows that guides designed for use in mid-eighteenth-century London were inadequate for later eighteenth-century Bristol, at the zenith of her growth as a commercial and spa town and with a economy which went beyond the bounds of a traditional trade structure.

The pattern of those who were classified again confirms our expectations. The directory contains a greater proportion of Class A, the élite and powerful (22.4% of those classified) and also Class C people, those in low status trades and petty services (44.7%), on whom Sketchley's gentle readers depended for

a wide variety of menial tasks. One thinks of the gingerbread bakers, the mantua makers and the paper-box makers. The Poll Book contains fewer men of high status (14.7% cf. 22.4%), although it must be remembered that in each source many of the élite did not give an occupation at all, but simply stated their name and title; thus they would not appear in this classification of status through occupation. There are also rather fewer in Class C (41.5% cf. 44.7%). There are in the Poll Book more men of middle status (43.9% cf. Sketchley's 33.0%), respectable and solid burghers who would participate in the political life of their city, even if they were not rich, nor powerful, nor of particular interest to Sketchley's leisured readers.

Discrepancy in Occupational Descriptions between Sketchley's directory and the Poll Book

There was remarkably little difference in the occupation titles of men with the same name who appeared in both the sources. It will be remembered that information in the two sources could be deemed to refer to the same person even if information on occupation was contradictory (e.g. if forename, surname, sex and location were the same), and it was thus conceivable that an appreciable number of people would have had significantly different occupational descriptions in the two sources. It was found, however, that variations in occupational descriptions caused a maximum of 0.5% in the proportion in each class under Scheme 1 (Raw Materials), of 1.0% under Scheme 2 (Nature of Work) and of 0.5% under Scheme 3 (Status). A degree of smoothing of differences had taken place at the coding stage

in which, for example, a cordwainer (Poll Book title) and a shoemaker (directory title) were given the same occupational code, and at the classification stage when occupations were grouped together. However, it does show that, at the level under consideration here, there were no significant discrepancies in the occupational data in the two sources. This is encouraging given doubts as to the quality of the Poll Book data and shows that the findings presented above are not dependant on the methods (e.g. order of transfer of material in the database) chosen.

Occupation by Parish

To investigate the variation in occupational structure of Bristol parishes the entries in the directory were given a parish code in accordance with the street given in the source. The relationship of streets to parishes is shown in Appendix 3. It will be remembered that not all streets mentioned in the directory could be found on contemporary maps: these were assigned to a "parish unknown" class. 21 streets crossed parish boundaries. These were arbitrarily but systematically assigned to the parish with the lower parish number: thus streets which ran between St. Mary le Port and St. Peter parish were assigned to St. Mary le Port; those which crossed St. Michael and St. James City parishes were assigned to St. James. This was a simple solution to an otherwise unresolvable question, but had some unfortunate effects. There appear for example to be no entries in the directory for St. Werburgh parish, the streets in which all ran into lower numbered parishes.

A new computer table was produced and included data for all those in the Poll Book and Sketchley's directory with occupations. Where two entries were identical on all counts (i.e. name, occupation and parish) the entry from the second source overwrote that from the first to give only one entry. Where there was any discrepancy (e.g. where the name and occupation were the same but the parish different) the entry from the second source was added to the computer table. This procedure gave a total of 7,185 entries. In the previous section where the occupation structure of the city was discussed the population under consideration was 7,010. Where occupation was

compared with status the population under scrutiny was 7,158. It is in some ways undesirable to deal with a total population which changes, and the variation could have been avoided by a very simple computer procedure. It was, however, felt that minor numerical differences were preferable to the arbitrary acceptance of any one of these figures as the most representative. The tables below thus have varying totals, though the difference between them is never more than 175 or 2.5%: but the same percentage figures (those from Tables 4:5, 4:6 and 4:7) are presented throughout for comparison.

Excluded from the discussion of material presented in the tables below are data for Trinity ward and the Clergy and Corporation. The figures are presented for reference, but with only one datum, no conclusions can be drawn for Trinity ward, which was in any case covered by the parts of the parishes of Christ Church, St. Ewen, St. John and St. James. The categories of Clergy and Corporation are included as the voters were listed as such rather than by their parish of residence in the Poll Book. They were "parish equivalents" in the computer coding of the Poll Book but are they clearly not comparable with real parishes.

Classification 1. Raw Materials

Table 4:11: The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes
Classified under Scheme 1

i) Number in each class

Parish	Class																	Total	
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q		
0 Unknown	30	22	6	5	9	9	13	20	0	22	4	11	6	2	21	8	4	192	Unknown
1 All Saints	39	7	61	1	6	20	13	18	2	14	6	0	0	2	5	0	11	205	All Saints
2 Castle	31	10	13	6	19	35	24	47	17	27	5	8	2	3	9	1	10	267	Castle
3 Ch. Ch.	34	14	49	5	4	12	26	42	4	48	10	7	2	4	14	2	32	309	Ch. Ch.
4 St. Aug.	109	42	16	12	32	32	27	44	3	34	10	46	14	14	73	75	11	594	St. Aug.
5 St. Ewen	13	1	8	0	4	3	2	14	4	4	2	1	0	0	4	0	6	66	St. Ewen
6 St. Jas. City	185	35	65	32	121	113	151	180	15	126	33	195	39	23	131	46	36	1526	St. Jas. City
7 St. John	7	1	5	4	7	14	7	18	3	3	2	9	3	9	9	1	3	105	St. John
8 St. Leo.	3	1	5	4	11	14	2	9	1	0	3	10	3	0	11	2	1	80	St. Leo.
9 St. M. Port	8	5	16	0	7	21	10	44	1	34	7	0	6	0	3	1	7	170	St. M. Port
10 St. M. Red.	58	12	18	39	33	51	45	83	5	31	6	42	2	3	92	14	16	550	St. M. Red.
11 St. Mich.	47	11	5	8	12	21	13	20	1	14	3	32	9	3	21	14	1	235	St. Mich.
12 St. Nich.	61	31	20	7	29	47	7	68	2	23	6	23	4	7	59	24	10	428	St. Nich.
13 St. Peter	7	3	7	0	11	23	19	18	5	12	3	4	8	2	10	3	1	136	St. Peter
14 SS P. & J.	48	11	80	38	54	75	85	69	11	42	9	71	24	15	55	7	36	730	SS P. & J.
15 St. Steph.	35	21	7	14	21	35	20	30	2	36	15	24	3	7	75	27	2	374	St. Steph.
16 St. Thos.	20	6	12	3	22	50	12	64	10	22	1	20	6	3	25	1	8	285	St. Thos.
17 St. Werb.	6	0	5	0	3	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	21	St. Werb.
18 Temple	27	7	30	40	44	34	37	55	2	16	4	41	9	17	47	12	16	438	Temple
19 St. Jas. O.	18	5	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	1	1	6	1	1	3	3	1	44	St. Jas. O.
20 Trinity	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Trinity
21 Clifton	22	20	5	14	7	5	5	16	1	4	0	10	6	4	49	2	3	173	Clifton
22 Bedmin.	12	4	9	2	11	16	27	17	2	4	3	14	7	5	61	1	1	196	Bedmin.
23 Clergy	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	Clergy
24 Corp. City	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	Corp. City
	881	269	442	234	467	633	545	879	91	19	134	574	154	124	777	245	217	7185	

Parishes with a higher proportion in gentry and professional class than the city as a whole (12.1%) are All Saints (19.0%), St. Augustine (18.4%), St. Ewen (19.7%) St. Michael (20.0%), St. Werburgh (28.6%), St. James Outparish with the astonishingly high figure of 40.9%, and Clifton (12.7%). Here a mixture of traditional and new residence patterns is evident. All Saints, St. Ewen and St. Werburgh are in the heart of the city where the richer tradesmen and merchants had always lived; but Clifton, St. Michael, parts of St. Augustine's parish and St. James Outparish were elegant new residential areas on the edge of the city. The distribution of gentlefolk was not as simple as the division about the city mean suggests. Other parishes with large numbers of gentry were central Christ Church (11.0%), Castle Precincts (11.6%), which had a mixed and changing social composition and St. James City parish, a large parish with a very mixed population of whom 12.1% were gentry and professional. The central concentration thus continued to characterise Bristol's gentle population, but the numbers in the peripheral parishes were growing and would continue to grow in the next century. How far this was accounted for by established Bristolians moving out from the centre to the periphery and how far by newcomers to the city moving straight to the suburbs is difficult to establish from a cross section such as this. Some evidence is available from the directory. James Bonobus, a broker, had his office in Corn Street which ran through central All Saints, St. Ewen and St. Leonard parishes, but his house at Trinity Street in St. Augustine's parish. Henry

Bengough, an attorney and under sherrif, had his office in Wine Street, which ran through central St. Mary le Port and Christ Church parishes, but his house in St. James's Square on the fashionable northern edge of St. James City parish. These men were still active in trade but had removed to the suburbs. It is impossible to tell from this study, however, whether those such as Samuel Barry, the apothecary at Dowry Square in Clifton, had practised in the city and moved out to Clifton or had arrived late in the city and gone direct to the suburbs. It is necessary to use other sources (such as Apprenticeship and Freeman's Rolls) fully to examine this question.

There were no very marked concentrations or absences of those who provided personal services. Parishes with higher percentages of those in the service class than that for the whole city (3.9%) were Christ Church (4.5%), St. Augustine (7.1%), St. Michael (4.7%), St. Nicholas (7.2%), St. Stephen (5.6%), St James Outparish (11.4%) and Clifton (11.6%). There is some link between the presence of gentlefolk (see above) and of those who provided them with services of all kinds; but the correlation is not universal. In St. Werburgh where 28.6% of the population were gentle there were no people recorded as providers of services.

Classes C (Textiles), H (Food and Drink) and J (Clothing) form a group which employed disproportionately many in both the central trading parishes and the suburban manufacturing parishes, but disproportionately few in the peripheral residential parishes. The central parishes of All Saints, Christ Church, St. Ewen, St. Mary le Port, and St. Werburgh generally had higher

proportions in these classes than did the city as a whole. These men were mercers, drapers, grocers, tea dealers and the like. These central parishes were not, however, an undifferentiated block as there were significant variations amongst them, even between the very closely related textile and clothing branches. All Saints, for example, had 29.8% in textiles compared with St. Mary le Port's 9.4%, whilst St. Mary le Port had 20.0% in clothing compared with All Saints 6.8%. In textile manufacturing there was some concentration in the eastern part of the city in SS Philip and Jacob Parish (with 80 men or 11.0%) and Temple Ward (with 30 men or 6.8%). Food and drink and clothing were more ubiquitous as was to be expected and many parishes other than the genteel suburban ones had higher percentages than the city as a whole.

Classes D (Earthenware), E (Wood), F (Metal) and G (Leather) formed the core of the craft base of a traditional city economy and a few parishes had generally high proportions of their workforce in most or all of these branches. These were Castle Precincts, St. John, St. Leonard, St. Peter, SS Philip and Jacob and St. Stephen parishes and Temple ward. St. James City parish and St. Mary Redcliff were important for their consistently high absolute numbers, if not percentages, of workers in all of these branches.

Class K (Mixed Materials) is difficult to interpret as numbers were so small: there was a total of 134 and a maximum in any one parish of 33 in St. James City parish. A large percentage concentration in one parish can thus be based on

insignificant differences in absolute terms.

Parishes with high concentrations of men in the building trade (Class L) were mainly suburban as storage and work space and ease of access were important criteria for builders then as now. It was also customary for eighteenth-century builders to live in the houses that they were building. Thus the presence of builders as residents in a parish is often an indication of construction in that parish. Parishes with high concentrations of builders were St. James City parish with 12.8%, St. Michael with 13.6%, SS Philip and Jacob with 9.7%, and St. James Outparish with 13.6%, compared with 7.8% for the city as a whole.

St. Leonard's is the only non-peripheral parish to house many builders (12.5%). It is consistently anomalous: it is fairly central and in 1696 was amongst the wealthiest parishes in the city (Ralph and Williams, 1968, xxii); yet its employment structure in 1775 was similar to that of the peripheral craft parishes with many artisans and builders. Its character is perhaps explained by the fact that it fronts on to both the Avon and the Frome. Perhaps with Castle Precincts, St. John's parish and St. Stephen's parish it can be regarded as a transitional zone in which some areas were increasing in respectability (Castle Precincts, which had been an area of ill repute and was only by the end of the seventeenth century becoming respectable (Ralph & Williams, 1968, xxiii)), and others were declining in status (St. Leonard). The other transitional parishes remained distinct from the artisan parishes, the new genteel parishes and the old central parishes. Perhaps St. Augustine's parish was only just moving out of this inner suburban transitional ring.

Its occupational structure suggests fairly strongly that it be included with the genteel parishes, but its older shipping/artisan base remained and its distribution of wealth was rather confused (see below). Perhaps some parts of the transitional ring (St. John's and St. Stephen's parishes) can be regarded as the suburbs of a much smaller, earlier Bristol, the industrial concentrations which remained after "leapfrogging" expansion of the city led to the rapid growth of elegant suburbs beyond them to the north and west.

The agriculture class (Class M), like that of mixed materials, is extremely difficult to interpret. The problem of the meaning of "yeoman" has been discussed and it can perhaps be suggested that the agriculturalists found in the peripheral parishes of St. Augustine, St. Michael and St. James Outparish, which all had relatively many in this class, might have been nurserymen, "gardeners" and seedsmen, whilst some yeomen or supposed agriculturalists in each parish, and especially in the densely populated and rich central parish of St. Mary le Port, would have been gentlefolk.

Transport, like building, demanded space for stabling and storage and ease of access. Parishes in which those employed in transport were concentrated were all suburban whether genteel (St. Augustine, St. James Outparish and Clifton) or not (SS Philip and Jacob, Temple and Bedminster).

The distribution of those in the shipping trades and seagoing classes is clearly differentiated. Clifton and St. Nicholas, amongst the rich parishes had a high percentage of

ships' suppliers. Transitional St. Leonard's and St. Stephen's parishes had notable concentrations of ships' craftsmen and suppliers (13.8% and 20.1% respectively) as did artisanal St. Mary Redcliff parish (16.7%) and Bedminster (31.1%), which last formed an extension of the artisan parishes of St. Mary Redcliff and Temple on the unfashionable southern side of the city. Ships' craftsmen were to be found in the artisanal parishes, together with the ubiquitous victuallers, whilst in the wealthier central parishes the more respectable ships' suppliers, brokers and merchants concentrated.

Many seagoers were resident in the parishes of St. Augustine, which was bordered by the River Avon on its southern and western sides and had a remarkable concentration of seagoers (12.6% cf. 3.5% in the city as a whole); in St. Michael (6.0%), only a tiny stretch of whose boundary fronts on to the river and in St. James Outparish (6.8%) which was far from both rivers, as well as in the riverside parishes of St. Nicholas (5.6%), St. Stephen (7.2%) and St. Werburgh (4.8%). Many of these are described as "Captain" which could be a status title as much as an occupational description and many of them might have been gentlemen who possibly no longer went to sea, but who retained their title. St. Augustine's parish, which had a strong mercantile and shipping interest, might have been a natural choice of residence for ex-seagoers who had kept an interest in shipping and seaborne trade.

Classification 2 The Nature of Work

Table 4:12: The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes
Classified under Scheme 2

i) Number in each class

Parish	Class								Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
0 Unknown	3	49	43	75	11	0	3	8	192
1 All Saints	2	44	102	57	0	0	0	0	205
2 Castle	1	33	71	148	8	4	1	1	267
3 Ch. Ch.	3	58	131	103	7	3	2	2	309
4 St. Aug.	19	104	111	223	46	2	14	75	594
5 St. Ewen	0	13	25	27	1	0	0	0	66
6 St. Jas. City	33	189	253	753	195	18	39	46	1526
7 St. John	0	14	19	57	9	2	3	1	105
8 St. Leo.	1	3	18	45	9	0	2	2	80
9 St. M. Port	1	15	59	91	0	0	3	1	170
10 St. M. Red.	16	55	104	308	41	10	2	14	550
11 St. Mich.	9	43	32	96	32	1	8	14	235
12 St. Nich.	8	66	111	190	23	2	4	24	428
13 St. Peter	1	9	26	87	4	0	6	3	136
14 SS P. & J.	16	63	96	430	64	30	24	7	730
15 St. Steph.	1	36	124	158	24	1	3	27	374
16 St. Thos.	4	27	69	157	20	3	4	1	285
17 St. Werb.	1	5	6	7	0	1	0	1	21
18 Temple	12	45	56	249	41	14	9	12	438
19 St. Jas. O.	3	19	4	8	6	0	1	3	44
20 Trinity	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
21 Clifton	6	38	21	88	10	2	6	2	173
22 Bedmin.	0	17	42	121	8	0	7	1	196
23 Clergy	28	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
24 Corp. City	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
	199	947	1523	3478	559	93	141	245	7185

ii) Per cent in each class

Parish	Class								Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
0 Unknown	1.6	25.5	22.4	39.1	5.7	0.0	1.6	4.2	100.1
1 All Saints	1.0	21.5	49.8	27.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.1
2 Castle	0.4	12.4	26.6	55.4	3.0	1.5	0.4	0.4	100.1
3 Ch. Ch.	1.0	18.8	42.4	33.3	2.3	1.0	0.6	0.6	100.0
4 St. Aug.	3.2	17.5	18.7	37.5	7.7	0.3	2.4	12.6	99.9
5 St. Ewen	0.0	19.7	37.9	40.9	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
6 St. Jas. City	2.2	12.4	16.6	49.4	12.8	1.2	2.6	3.0	100.2
7 St. John	0.0	13.3	18.1	54.3	8.6	1.9	2.9	1.0	100.1
8 St. Leo.	1.3	3.8	22.5	56.3	11.3	0.0	2.5	2.5	100.2
9 St. M. Port	0.6	8.8	34.7	53.5	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.6	100.0
10 St. M. Red.	2.9	10.0	18.9	56.0	7.5	1.8	0.4	2.5	100.0
11 St. Mich.	3.8	18.3	13.6	40.9	13.6	0.4	3.4	6.0	100.0
12 St. Nich.	1.9	15.4	25.9	44.4	5.4	0.5	0.9	5.6	100.0
13 St. Peter	0.7	6.6	19.1	64.0	2.9	0.0	4.4	2.2	99.9
14 SS P. & J.	2.2	8.6	13.2	58.9	8.8	4.1	3.3	1.0	100.1
15 St. Steph.	0.3	9.6	33.2	42.2	6.4	0.3	0.8	7.2	100.0
16 St. Thos.	1.4	9.5	24.2	55.1	7.0	1.1	1.4	0.4	100.1
17 St. Werb.	4.8	23.8	28.6	33.3	0.0	4.8	0.0	4.8	100.1
18 Temple	2.7	10.3	12.8	56.8	9.4	3.2	2.1	2.7	100.0
19 St. Jas. O.	6.8	43.2	9.1	18.2	13.6	0.0	2.3	6.8	100.0
20 Trinity	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
21 Clifton	3.5	22.0	12.1	50.9	5.8	1.2	3.5	1.2	100.2
22 Bedmin.	0.0	8.7	21.4	61.7	4.1	0.0	3.6	0.5	100.0
23 Clergy	93.3	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
24 Corp.	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
City	2.6	13.4	21.2	48.4	7.6	1.3	2.0	3.5	100.0

The distribution of those in Class A (Gentry) is of particular interest. It will be remembered that this class includes only gentlefolk, since professional men are now classed separately. The new concentration of gentry on the edge of the city, accounted for at least in part by a move from centre to suburbs, was evident and St. Michael with 3.8%, St. James Outparish with 6.8%, and Clifton with 3.5% all had higher than average concentrations of gentry. The gentry were separating themselves from rich tradesmen and professional men who remained in the wealthy central parishes. Of these central parishes only St. Werburgh with 4.8% had a greater percentage of gentlefolk than the city as a whole; but this 4.8% is in fact one man so even this exception cannot be allowed. The cases of Temple and St. Mary Redcliff are difficult to interpret. These were poor industrial parishes with rather a low percentage of professional men and distributors, the other classes into which the wealthier fell; but they have surprisingly high percentages of gentlefolk (2.7% and 5.3% respectively). Perhaps these two parishes, together with St. James City parish and SS Philip and Jacob which have high numbers if not percentages of gentlefolk (33 and 16 respectively), show that the rich and poor continued to mingle at the parish level in the city, though there had been some elegant houses built on the northern edge of St. James City parish which had a distinctly modern suburban character on its northern periphery. Although at a smaller scale the segregation of rich and poor into streets and alleys, front houses and back courts could be sharp, in the older parishes at least, the rich did

still sometimes live within sight and sound of the poor. In the new suburbs, of course, with the large numbers of rich residents & their domestic servants there were also large numbers of both rich and poor, but the pattern of mixing was distinctly different. In any discussion of the distribution of the gentry it must be kept in mind that 60 of them, the Clergy and Corporation in the Poll Book, are listed under these "professional" classes rather than in the parish in which they were resident.

Professional men were overwhelmingly concentrated in the central parishes. All Saints (21.5%), Christ Church (18.8%), St. Ewen (17.5%), St. Nicholas (15.4%), and St. Werburgh (23.8%) all had a higher proportion of professional men than did the city as a whole. This is not to imply that the professional class was excluded from the new residential suburbs: St. Augustine (17.5%), St. Michael (18.3%), St. James Outparish (43.2%) and Clifton (22.0%) had high proportions of professional men. The difference from the distribution of the gentry proper lies in the fact that the professionals, whilst joining the gentry in the move to the periphery, continued to congregate in central parishes as well.

The distributors concentrated in the central parishes, as they had always done, and gave those parishes their character. All Saints (49.8%), Castle (20.8%), Christ Church (42.4%), St. Ewen (37.9%), St. Mary le Port (34.7%), St. Nicholas (25.9%) and St. Werburgh (28.6%) all had more distributors than the city as a whole. This fits our notion of the pre-industrial city whose core was dominated by wealthy tradesmen, but the picture is also influenced by the distribution of riverside trades. Some of the

central parishes were also riverside parishes (e.g. St. Nicholas and St. Mary le Port) and other riverside parishes with significant concentrations of distributors were St. Leonard (22.5%), St. Stephen (33.2%), St. Thomas (24.2%) and Bedminster (21.4%). This distorted any clear central dominance in this sector.

Those in Class D, the artisans, dominated the parishes of St. James (753 or 49.4%), St. Mary Redcliff (308 or 56.0%), SS Philip and Jacob (430 or 58.9%) and Temple (249 or 56.8%) in both numerical and percentage terms and of the smaller parishes St. Peter (64.0%) and Bedminster (61.7%) had very high proportions of artisans. These parishes were the traditional artisan areas of the city and are mainly peripheral and especially on the less fashionable south and east sides of the city, though St. James City parish, with its 753 artisans, was the obvious exception to this rule. In St. Mary le Port, although a central trading parish, a surprising 56.0% of the population were artisans. Perhaps, like Clifton, which had 50.9% artisans, its occupational structure was affected by its riverside location. The suggestion that St. Leonard's was a transitional parish is re-inforced by the fact that it had more than average artisans (56.3%) as well as having more than average distributors (22.5%).

The distribution of builders and of seagoers within the city has already been discussed.

The meaning of the terms "labourer" and "yeoman" as found in the Poll Book is so obscure as to make discussion of Classes F (Labourers) and G (Rural) difficult. Numbers are too small to

allow a meaningful discussion of percentage figures, but the highest number of labourers was to be found in the parishes of St. James City (18), St. Mary Redcliff (10), SS Philip and Jacob (30) and Temple (14). These were all artisan parishes as we have seen, and this perhaps suggests that "labourers" were indeed menial workers of some description, despite the suggestion made above that "labourers" seemed in some instances to be men of a rather higher class. However we have also seen that, on a parish scale, rich and poor lived in close proximity, so to find "labourers" living in poor parishes does not necessarily mean that they themselves were poor. The concentration in artisan parishes is, though, so marked as to be worthy of mention.

Similarly rural workers including "yeomen" do appear to have been what they purported to be. There was a marked concentration of such men on the periphery of the city; they were to be found in rich and poor parishes, provided those parishes were on the edge of the city with room to allow growth of seeds and plants.

Classification 3: Status

Table 4:13: The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes
Classified under Scheme 3

i) Number in each class

Parish	Class				Total
	A	B	C	X	
0 Unknown	15	40	59	78	192
1 All Saints	76	47	40	42	205
2 Castle	47	88	88	44	267
3 Ch. Ch.	74	96	77	62	309
4 St. Aug.	88	129	167	210	594
5 St. Ewen	11	22	18	15	66
6 St. Jas. City	151	415	568	392	1526
7 St. John	17	21	42	25	105
8 St. Leo.	8	27	21	24	80
9 St. M. Port	34	67	48	21	170
10 St. M. Red.	84	176	168	122	550
11 St. Mich.	25	57	80	73	235
12 St. Nich.	65	111	121	131	428
13 St. Peter	5	40	62	29	136
14 SS P. & J.	82	233	265	150	730
15 St. Steph.	45	121	108	100	374
16 St. Thos.	42	65	99	79	285
17 St. Werb.	4	7	2	8	21
18 Temple	53	128	146	111	438
19 St. Jas. O.	5	5	8	26	44
20 Trinity	1	0	0	0	1
21 Clifton	29	73	25	46	173
22 Bedmin.	11	80	55	50	196
23 Clergy	2	0	0	28	30
24 Corp. City	0 974	0 2048	0 2267	30 1896	30 7185

ii) (a) Per cent in each class

Parish	Class				Total
	A	B	C	X	
0 Unknown	7.8	20.8	30.7	40.6	99.9
1 All Saints	37.1	22.9	19.5	20.5	100.0
2 Castle	17.6	33.0	33.0	16.5	100.0
3 Ch. Ch.	23.9	31.1	24.9	20.1	100.0
4 St. Aug.	14.8	21.7	28.1	35.4	100.0
5 St. Ewen	16.7	33.3	27.3	22.7	100.0
6 St. Jas. City	9.9	27.2	37.2	25.7	100.0
7 St. John	16.2	20.0	40.0	23.8	100.0
8 St. Leo.	10.0	33.8	26.3	30.0	100.1
9 St. M. Port	20.0	39.4	28.2	12.4	100.0
10 St. M. Red.	15.3	32.0	30.5	22.2	100.0
11 St. Mich.	10.6	24.3	34.0	31.1	100.0
12 St. Nich.	15.2	25.9	28.3	30.6	100.0
13 St. Peter	3.7	29.4	45.6	21.3	100.0
14 SS P. & J.	11.2	31.9	36.3	20.5	99.9
15 St. Steph.	12.0	32.4	28.9	26.7	100.0
16 St. Thos.	14.7	22.8	34.7	27.7	99.9
17 St. Werb.	19.0	33.3	9.5	38.1	99.9
18 Temple	12.1	29.2	33.3	25.3	99.9
19 St. Jas. O.	11.4	11.4	18.2	59.1	100.1
20 Trinity	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
21 Clifton	16.8	42.2	14.5	26.6	100.1
22 Bédmin.	5.6	40.8	28.1	25.5	100.0
23 Clergy	6.7	0.0	0.0	93.3	100.0
24 Corp.	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
City	13.6	28.4	31.4	26.6	100.0

(b) Per cent of those classified in each class

Parish	Class			Total
	A	B	C	
0 Unknown	13.2	35.1	51.8	100.1
1 All Saints	46.6	28.8	24.5	99.9
2 Castle	21.1	39.5	39.5	100.1
3 Ch. Ch.	30.0	38.9	31.2	100.1
4 St. Aug.	22.9	33.6	43.5	100.0
5 St. Ewen	21.6	43.1	35.3	100.0
6 St. Jas. City	13.3	36.6	50.1	100.0
7 St. John	21.3	26.3	52.5	100.1
8 St. Leo.	14.3	48.2	37.5	100.0
9 St. M. Port	22.8	45.0	32.2	100.0
10 St. M. Red.	19.6	41.1	39.3	100.0
11 St. Mich.	15.4	35.2	49.4	100.0
12 St. Nich.	21.9	37.4	40.7	100.0
13 St. Peter	4.7	37.4	57.9	100.0
14 SS P. & J.	14.1	40.2	45.7	100.0
15 St. Steph.	16.4	44.2	39.4	100.0
16 St. Thos.	20.4	31.6	48.1	100.1
17 St. Werb.	30.8	53.8	15.4	100.0
18 Temple	16.2	39.1	44.6	99.9
19 St. Jas. O.	27.8	27.8	44.4	100.0
20 Trinity	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
21 Clifton	22.8	57.5	19.7	100.0
22 Bedmin.	7.5	54.8	37.7	100.0
23 Clergy	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
24 Corp.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
City	18.5	38.7	42.7	100.0

Bristolians with occupations of high status, as was to be expected from the earlier discussion, were concentrated in two areas: the central wealthy parishes and the new suburban residential parishes, although these two areas were by no means the same in their social composition. The highest concentrations of those in Class A were to be found in the central parishes. All Saints had 37.1% gentry, Castle 17.6%, Christ Church 23.9%, St. Ewen 16.6%, St. Mary le Port 20.0%, St. Nicholas 15.2% and St. Werburgh 19.0%. Percentages for the suburban parishes were lower: St. Augustine had 14.8% gentry, Clifton 16.8% and St. Michael and St. James Outparish had lower percentages than the city as a whole (13.6%), with 10.6% and 11.4% respectively. This was because the suburban parishes had more people who fell outside the scope of the classification: compared with 26.6% not classified in the city population, 59.1% of those in St. James Outparish could not be classified, nor could 31.1% in St. Michael, 35.4% in St. Augustine nor 26.6% in Clifton which had the same proportion as the city as a whole. Of the central parishes only St. Werburgh with 38.1% and St. Nicholas with 30.6% had high proportions of unclassified men and women and St. Werburgh's 38.1% represented only 8 people so this does not obscure the general picture of very high concentrations of men in high status traditional trades in the central parishes and concentrations in the new residential suburbs of those in high status trades, but particularly of those in newer callings which could not be classified in mid-eighteenth-century trade terms.

St. Mary Redcliff and St. Thomas parishes also had high

numbers and percentages of their populations in high status trades (84 or 15.2% and 142 or 14.7% respectively). St. James City parish had a high number (151) if a small percentage (9.9%) of men in high status trades; perhaps some of these were in the new housing on the suburban edge of the large parish. The pre-industrial pattern of rich and poor living within the same parish, albeit separated at the street level, seems to have persisted in these parishes which were noted as populous artisan parishes, despite these rather high numbers of gentlefolk.

Class B' comprises those in respectable traditional trades with prospects of relatively continuous employment, if not great wealth. They were to be found in high concentrations in rich and poor parishes and thus congregated in rich Christ Church (33.0%), and St. Ewen (33.3%) as well as in poorer St. Mary Redcliff (32.0%) and Temple (39.1%). The only areas in which they were thin on the ground were the new residential suburbs: thus St. Augustine had the relatively low figure of 21.7%, St. Michael had 24.3%, and St. James Outparish had 11.4%. Clifton was the exception with 42.2%. Again this shows that the difference between the established city and new suburban employment patterns was not chiefly in terms of high compared with low status trades, but new employments compared with old trades.

This classification shows the spatial concentration of those in occupations held in low esteem, although it must again be stressed that those in the worst occupations and in the very important sector of domestic service were excluded from the sources and hence from the discussion. Parishes where those in lowly trades were concentrated were in two groups; the

transitional ring which included the parishes of Castle Precincts (with 33.0% of its residents in low status trades) and St. John (40.0%) and the artisan area on the southern and eastern edges of the city. Here were St. Peter (45.6%), SS Philip and Jacob (36.3%), St. Thomas (34.7%) and Temple (33.0%), together with St. James City (37.2%) which stretched to the north and east. One would have expected to see St. Mary Redcliff and Bedminster in this peripheral artisan belt. They had slightly lower percentages in this class than did the city as a whole (30.5% and 28.1% respectively cf. 31.4% for the whole city); but absolute numbers for St. Mary Redcliff at least were very high (168 people). Of the suburban residential parishes only that of St. Michael had a higher percentage of those in lowly trades than did the city as a whole (34.0%) although St. Augustine's parish had 167 men, if only 28.1%, in such trades. This is largely explained by its riverside location and by the fact that it was only just moving upwards out of the transitional ring.

The picture that emerges from these three classifications is of rather pronounced divisions amongst areas of the city with different occupation structures. The central parishes retained their hold over traditional trading occupations and, although St. Augustine's parish had earlier challenged this position, it seemed by 1775 to be developing more as a residential than a trading parish (see also Quilici, 1976). Around this central core was a broken ring of transitional parishes which were not artisan, nor trading nor genteel. They often had high concentrations of men in low status trades but

also had many gentry and their wealth distribution patterns were similarly confused (Chapter 5). These parishes, St. John, St. Leonard, Castle Precincts and St. Stephen, had once been part of the outer artisan ring of the city. Beyond them, on the edge of the eighteenth-century city were parishes of two types; to the north and west were the new elegant residential parishes and to the south and east the populous artisan parishes. Of course these groupings cover a wide range of inter- and intra-parish variation, made more complex by the way in which the two rivers wound their way through the city and by the spa development at Hotwells (St. Augustine's parish) which had earlier impinged little on the city, but was now beginning to influence the course of building and employment opportunities and social patterns (James, 1955, 236-238). The divisions are inevitably rather crude and it must again be stressed that rich and poor, gentry and casual labourers mixed at the parish level to a far greater degree than was later the case. Nonetheless, this division of the city into four areas (Figure 4:1) draws together the foregoing discussion and puts the parishes into some readily comprehensible groups.

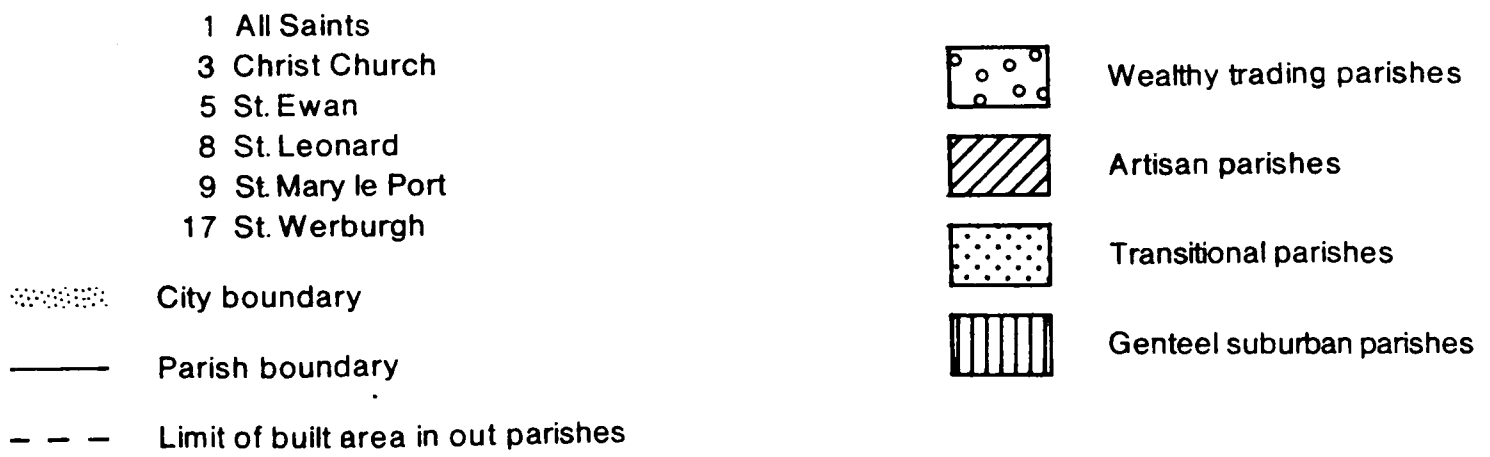
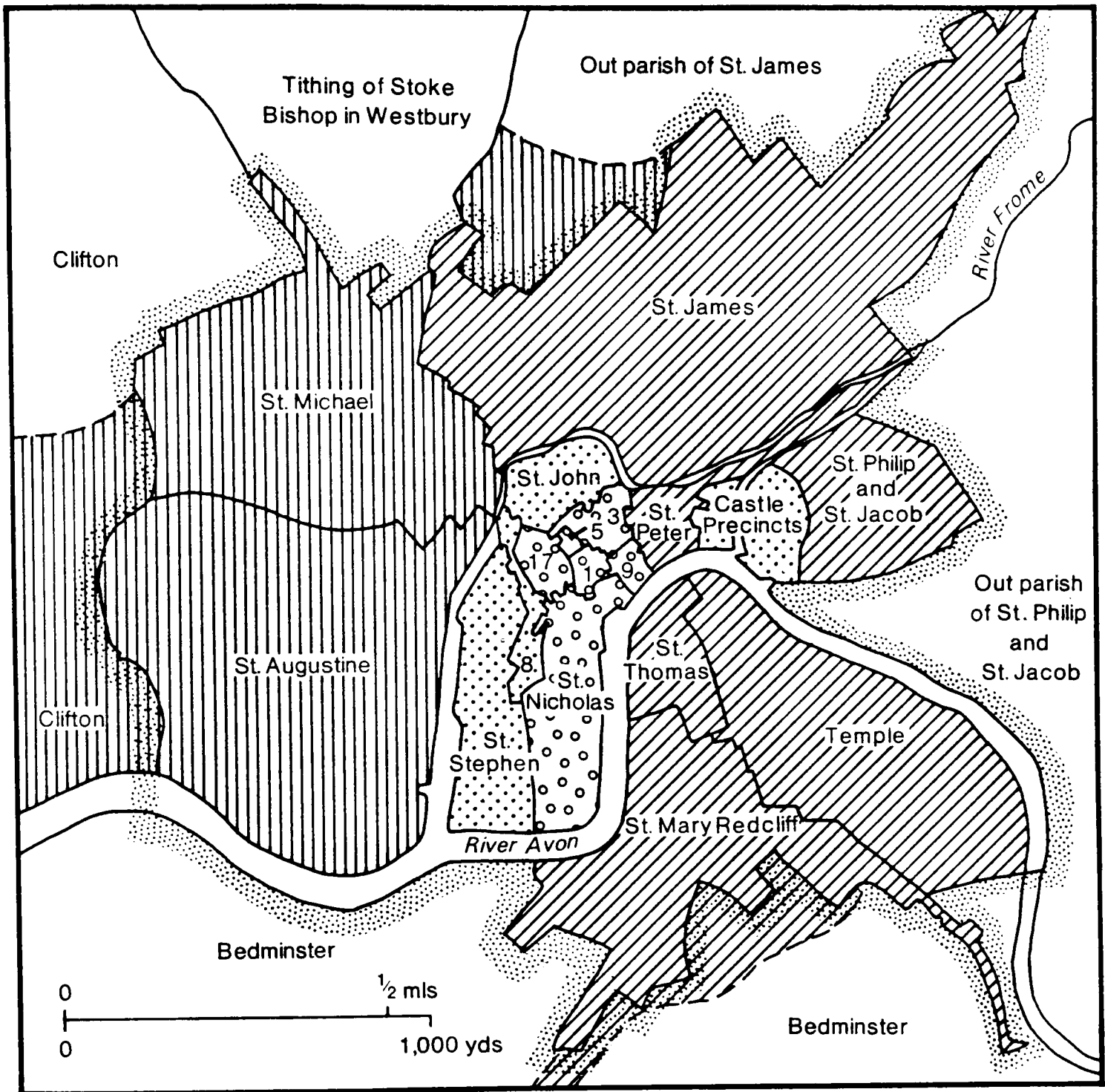


Figure 4:1 Occupation Structure of Bristol Parishes in 1775

Variation in Occupational Data by Parish between Sketchley's Directory and the Poll Book

The following tables show the information on the distribution of occupations by parish which can be obtained from the two sources individually. The variation in them is comprehensible first in terms of the differences in coverage amongst the sectors of the economy in the two sources as has been discussed; and second by reason of the variation in geographical cover of the sources; there are for example no entries for St. Werburgh in the directory; and third because a distinct group of the population, the clergy and Corporation, are listed as such in the Poll Book rather than in their parish of residence. All parishes appear to thus have fewer gentlefolk and men in high status occupations within their boundaries. The tables are presented below for reference, but it is unnecessary to discuss them more fully, save to stress that the partiality and bias of the sources are not inconsiderable, but have been effectively reduced through the linking of information.

Table 4:14: The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes
Classified under Scheme 1: Information from Sketchley's
Directory

i). Number in each class		Class								
Parish		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
0	Unknown	30	22	6	5	9	9	13	20	0
1	All Saints	39	7	52	1	5	16	8	14	2
2	Castle	18	9	5	2	10	16	15	33	13
3	Ch. Ch.	23	11	36	3	3	9	18	37	3
4	St. Aug.	76	40	11	10	19	9	15	33	2
5	St. Ewen	11	1	7	0	3	2	1	13	4
6	St. Jas. City	132	28	31	14	62	39	61	123	10
7	St. John	3	1	0	1	1	2	2	2	1
8	St. Léo.	2	1	2	2	10	9	1	9	1
9	St. M. Port	6	5	10	0	5	13	9	40	1
10	St. M. Red.	36	9	9	5	11	15	15	63	3
11	St. Mich.	29	11	0	0	3	1	1	8	0
12	St. Nich.	40	29	9	6	8	19	3	37	1
13	St. Peter	1	2	2	0	4	5	6	6	4
14	SS P. & J.	28	5	17	2	11	9	17	24	3
15	St. Steph.	20	17	5	12	7	24	10	19	1
16	St. Thos.	6	2	4	2	7	18	8	37	6
18	Temple	17	6	10	16	20	11	12	36	2
19	St. Jas. O.	18	5	0	0	0	1	0	3	0
20	Trinity	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	Clifton	11	20	1	1	0	0	0	12	0
22	Bedmin.	2	2	1	0	6	5	6	8	2
	City	549	233	218	82	204	232	221	577	59

Parish	Class								Total
	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	
0 Unknown	22	4	11	6	2	21	8	4	192
1 All Saints	14	5	0	0	2	4	0	11	180
2 Castle	14	3	1	1	1	5	1	5	152
3 Ch. Ch.	40	9	3	0	2	13	2	28	240
4 St. Aug.	30	6	27	7	9	46	57	8	405
5 St. Ewen	3	0	1	0	0	4	0	5	55
6 St. Jas. City	83	15	79	8	13	104	29	15	846
7 St. John	0	1	5	0	0	5	0	0	24
8 St. Léo.	0	2	8	1	0	9	1	0	58
9 St. M. Port	27	5	0	4	0	2	0	7	134
10 St. M. Red.	19	5	9	0	1	36	7	3	246
11 St. Mich.	9	0	8	5	0	11	9	0	95
12 St. Nich.	14	2	11	0	3	43	15	6	246
13 St. Peter	2	3	3	0	0	8	2	0	48
14 SS P. & J.	13	7	18	2	2	27	2	4	191
15 St. Steph.	26	12	11	0	6	60	15	1	246
16 St. Thos.	14	1	6	1	0	21	1	2	136
18 Temple	12	2	13	0	2	34	6	2	201
19 St. Jas. O.	1	1	6	1	1	3	3	1	44
20 Trinity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
21 Clifton	2	0	1	1	2	3	2	0	56
22 Bedmin.	2	2	1	2	2	28	1	0	70
City	347	85	222	39	48	487	161	102	3866

ii) Per cent in each class

Parish	Class									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	
0 Unknown	15.6	11.5	3.1	2.6	4.7	4.7	6.8	10.4	0.0	
1 All Saints	21.7	3.9	28.9	0.6	2.8	8.9	4.5	7.8	1.1	
2 Castle	11.8	5.9	3.3	1.3	6.6	10.5	9.9	21.7	8.6	
3 Ch. Ch.	9.6	4.6	15.0	1.3	1.3	3.8	7.5	15.4	1.3	
4 St. Aug.	18.8	9.9	2.7	2.5	4.7	2.2	3.7	8.1	0.5	
5 St. Ewen	20.0	1.8	12.7	0.0	5.5	3.6	1.8	23.6	7.3	
6 St. Jas. City	15.6	3.3	3.7	1.7	7.3	4.6	7.2	14.5	1.2	
7 St. John	12.5	4.2	0.0	4.2	4.2	8.3	8.3	8.3	4.2	
8 St. Leo.	3.5	1.7	3.5	3.5	17.2	15.5	1.7	15.5	1.7	
9 St. M. Port	4.5	3.7	7.5	0.0	3.7	9.7	6.7	29.9	0.7	
10 St. M. Red.	14.6	3.7	3.7	2.0	4.5	6.1	6.1	25.6	1.2	
11 St. Mich.	30.5	11.6	0.0	0.0	3.2	1.1	1.1	8.4	0.0	
12 St. Nich.	16.3	11.8	3.7	2.4	3.3	7.7	1.2	15.0	0.4	
13 St. Peter	2.1	4.2	4.2	0.0	8.3	10.4	12.5	12.5	8.3	
14 SS P. & J.	14.7	2.6	8.9	1.0	5.8	4.7	8.9	12.6	1.6	
15 St. Steph.	8.1	6.9	2.0	4.9	2.8	9.8	4.1	7.7	0.4	
16 St. Thos.	4.4	1.5	2.9	1.5	5.1	13.2	5.9	27.2	4.4	
18 Temple	8.5	3.0	5.0	8.0	10.0	5.5	6.0	17.9	1.0	
19 St. Jas. O.	40.9	11.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	6.8	0.0	
20 Trinity	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
21 Clifton	19.6	35.7	1.8	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.4	0.0	
22 Bedmin.	2.9	2.9	1.4	0.0	8.6	7.1	8.6	11.4	2.9	
City	14.2	6.0	5.6	2.1	5.3	6.0	5.7	14.9	1.5	

Parish	Class								
	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	Total
0 Unknown	11.5	2.1	5.7	3.1	1.0	10.9	4.2	2.1	100.0
1 All Saints	7.8	2.8	0.0	0.0	1.1	2.2	0.0	6.1	100.2
2 Castle	9.2	2.0	0.7	0.7	0.7	3.3	0.7	3.3	100.2
3 Ch. Ch.	16.7	3.8	1.3	0.0	0.8	5.4	0.8	11.7	100.3
4 St. Aug.	7.4	1.5	6.7	1.7	2.2	11.4	14.1	2.0	100.1
5 St. Ewen	5.5	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	7.3	0.0	9.1	100.0
6 St. Jas. City	9.8	1.8	9.4	0.9	1.5	12.3	3.4	1.8	100.0
7 St. John	0.0	4.2	20.8	0.0	0.0	20.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
8 St. Leo.	0.0	3.5	13.8	1.7	0.0	15.5	1.7	0.0	100.0
9 St. M. Port	20.1	3.7	0.0	3.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	5.2	99.9
10 St. M. Red.	7.7	2.0	3.7	0.0	0.4	14.6	2.8	1.2	99.9
11 St. Mich.	9.5	0.0	8.4	5.3	0.0	11.6	9.5	0.0	100.2
12 St. Nich.	5.7	0.8	4.5	0.0	1.2	17.5	6.1	2.4	100.0
13 St. Peter	4.2	6.3	6.3	0.0	0.0	16.7	4.2	0.0	100.2
14 SS P. & J.	6.8	3.7	9.4	1.0	1.0	14.1	1.0	2.1	99.9
15 St. Steph.	10.6	4.9	4.5	0.0	2.4	24.4	6.1	0.4	100.0
16 St. Thos.	10.3	0.7	4.4	0.7	0.0	15.4	0.7	1.5	99.8
18 Temple	6.0	1.0	6.5	0.0	1.0	16.9	3.0	1.0	100.3
19 St. Jas. O.	2.3	2.3	13.6	2.3	2.3	6.8	6.8	2.3	100.1
20 Trinity	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
21 Clifton	3.6	0.0	1.8	1.8	3.6	5.4	3.6	0.0	100.1
22 Bedmin.	2.9	2.9	1.4	2.9	2.9	40.0	1.4	0.0	100.2
City	9.0	2.2	5.7	1.0	1.2	12.6	4.2	2.6	99.8

Table 4.15: The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes

Classified under Scheme 1: The Information From the Poll Book

i) Number in each class

Parish	Class									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	
1 All Saints	0	0	15	0	1	4	7	5	0	
2 Castle	20	3	10	4	11	24	12	19	6	
3 Ch. Ch.	12	4	16	2	2	5	10	6	1	
4 St. Aug.	45	3	9	2	14	23	14	13	1	
5 St. Ewen	2	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	
6 St. Jas. City	71	8	39	21	71	79	96	75	6	
7 St. John	4	0	5	3	6	13	5	16	3	
8 St. Leo.	1	0	3	2	2	5	1	0	0	
9 St. M. Port	2	0	6	0	4	9	4	10	0	
10 St. M. Red.	28	5	13	34	24	39	37	26	2	
11 St. Mich.	23	1	5	8	11	20	12	13	1	
12 St. Nich.	24	2	13	1	21	33	4	34	1	
13 St. Peter	6	1	5	0	8	19	14	12	1	
14 SS P. & J.	25	6	68	36	46	68	73	47	10	
15 St. Steph.	20	5	2	2	15	16	11	14	2	
16 St. Thos.	16	4	8	1	16	35	6	35	6	
17 St. Werb.	6	0	5	0	3	2	0	0	0	
18 Temple	10	1	22	28	28	26	30	21	0	
21 Clifton	11	0	4	13	7	5	5	4	1	
22 Bedmin.	10	2	8	2	6	11	22	9	0	
23 Clergy	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
24 Corp.	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
City	396	45	257	159	297	437	364	360	41	

Parish	Class								
	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	Total
1. All Saints	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	36
2 Castle	14	2	8	1	2	4	0	5	145
3 Ch. Ch.	12	1	5	2	2	3	1	5	89
4 St. Aug.	5	4	25	7	5	27	18	3	218
5 St. Ewen	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	11
6 St. James City	50	20	138	32	11	38	17	21	793
7 St. John	3	1	4	3	9	4	1	3	83
8 St. Leo.	0	2	2	2	0	2	1	1	24
9 St. M. Port	9	2	0	3	0	1	1	0	51
10 St. M. Red.	12	2	37	2	2	58	7	14	342
11 St. Mich.	6	3	25	6	3	10	5	1	153
12 St. Nich.	10	5	13	4	4	19	10	4	202
13 St. Peter	12	1	2	8	2	4	1	1	97
14 SS P. & J.	29	4	56	22	15	30	5	32	572
15 St. Steph.	12	4	16	3	1	23	12	1	159
16 St. Thos.	9	0	15	5	3	5	0	7	171
17 St. Werb.	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	21
18 Temple	5	2	33	9	16	16	8	14	269
21 Clifton	2	0	9	5	2	46	0	3	117
22 Bedmin.	2	1	13	5	3	33	0	1	128
23 Clergy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
24 Corp.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
City	197	58	401	119	80	324	88	118	3741

ii) Per cent in each class

Parish	Class									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	
1. All Saints	0.0	0.0	41.7	0.0	2.8	11.1	19.4	13.9	0.0	
2 Castle	13.8	2.1	6.9	2.8	7.6	16.6	8.3	13.1	4.1	
3 Ch. Ch.	13.5	4.5	18.0	2.2	2.2	5.6	11.2	6.7	1.1	
4 St. Aug.	20.6	1.4	4.1	0.9	6.4	10.6	6.4	6.0	0.5	
5 St. Ewen	18.2	0.0	9.1	0.0	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	0.0	
6 St. Jas. City	9.0	1.0	4.9	2.6	9.0	10.0	12.1	9.5	0.8	
7 St. John	4.8	0.0	6.0	3.6	7.2	15.7	6.0	19.3	3.6	
8 St. Leo.	4.2	0.0	12.5	8.3	8.3	20.8	4.2	0.0	0.0	
9 St. M. Port	3.9	0.0	11.8	0.0	7.8	17.6	7.8	19.6	0.0	
10 St. M. Red.	8.2	1.5	3.8	9.9	7.0	11.4	10.8	7.6	0.6	
11 St. Mich.	15.0	0.7	3.3	5.2	7.2	13.1	7.8	8.5	0.7	
12 St. Nich.	11.9	1.0	6.4	0.5	10.4	16.3	2.0	16.8	0.5	
13 St. Peter	6.2	1.0	5.2	0.0	8.2	19.6	14.4	12.4	1.0	
14 SS P. & J.	4.4	1.0	11.9	6.3	8.0	11.9	12.8	8.2	1.7	
15 St. Steph.	12.6	3.1	1.3	1.3	9.4	10.1	6.9	8.8	1.3	
16 St. Thos.	9.4	2.3	4.7	0.6	9.4	20.5	3.5	20.5	3.5	
17 St. Werb.	28.6	0.0	23.8	0.0	14.3	9.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	
18 Temple	3.7	0.4	8.2	10.4	10.4	9.7	11.2	7.8	0.0	
21 Clifton	9.4	0.0	3.4	11.1	6.0	4.3	4.3	3.4	0.9	
22 Bedmin.	7.8	1.6	6.3	1.6	4.7	8.6	17.2	7.0	0.0	
23 Clergy	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
24 Corp.	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
City	10.6	1.2	6.9	4.3	7.9	11.7	9.7	9.6	1.1	

Parish	Class								
	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	Total
1. All Saints	5.6'	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	100.1.
2 Castle	9.7'	1.4'	5.5	0.7	1.4	2.8	0.0	3.4	100.2
3 Ch. Ch.	13.5	1.1	5.6'	2.2	2.2	3.4	1.1	5.6'	99.9
4 St. Aug.	2.3'	1.8	11.5	3.2	2.3'	12.4	8.3'	1.4'	100.1.
5 St. Ewen	9.1	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.1	100.1
6' St. Jas. O.	6.3'	2.5	17.4'	4.0	1.4	4.8	2.1	2.6'	100.0
7' St. John	3.6'	1.2	4.8	3.6'	10.8	4.8	1.2	3.6'	99.8
8 St. Leo.	0.0	8.3'	8.3'	8.3'	0.0	8.3'	4.2	4.2	99.9.
9 St. M. Port	17.6'	3.9	0.0	5.9	0.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	99.9
10 St. M. Red.	3.5	0.6'	10.8	0.6'	0.6'	17.0	2.0	4.1	100.0
11 St. Mich.	3.9	2.0	16.3	3.9	2.0	6.5	3.3'	0.7'	100.1.
12 St. Nich.	5.0	2.5	6.4	2.0	2.0	9.4	5.0	2.0	100.1.
13 St. Peter	12.4	1.0	2.1	8.2	2.1	4.1	1.0	1.0	99.9
14 SS P. & J.	5.1	0.7'	9.8	3.8	2.6'	5.2	0.9	5.6'	99.9
15 St. Steph.	7.5	2.5	10.1	1.9	0.6'	14.5	7.5	0.6'	100.0
16 St. Thos.	5.3'	0.0	8.8	2.9	1.8	2.9	0.0	4.1	100.2
17 St. Werb.	9.5	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.8	4.8	100.1
18 Temple	1.9	0.7'	12.3'	3.3'	5.9	5.9	3.0	5.2	100.0
21 Clifton	1.7'	0.0	7.7'	4.3'	1.7'	39.3'	0.0	2.6'	100.0
22 Bedmin.	1.6'	0.8	10.2	3.9	2.3'	25.8	0.0	0.8	100.2
23 Clergy	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
24 Corp.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
City	5.3'	1.6'	10.7	3.2	2.1	8.7'	2.4	3.2	100.2

Table 4:16: The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes
Classified under Scheme 2: Information from Sketchley's
Directory

i). Number in each class		Class								Total
Parish	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		
0 Unknown	30	49	43	75	11	0	3	8	192	
1 All Saints	2	44	88	46	0	0	0	0	180	
2 Castle	0	21	48	81	1	0	0	1	152	
3 Ch. Ch.	30	44	110	78	30	0	0	2	240	
4 St. Aug.	12	87	90	125	27	0	7	57	405	
5 St. Ewen	0	12	20	22	1	0	0	0	55	
6 St. Jas. City	30	130	195	375	79	0	8	29	846	
7 St. John	0	2	5	12	5	0	0	0	24	
8 St. Leo.	1	2	16	30	8	0	0	1	58	
9 St. M. Port	1	13	51	69	0	0	0	0	134	
10 St. M. Red.	13	34	83	100	9	0	0	7	246	
11 St. Mich.	4	31	19	20	8	0	4	9	95	
12 St. Nich.	6	46	82	86	11	0	0	15	246	
13 St. Peter	0	2	12	29	30	0	0	2	48	
14 SS P. & J.	7	28	55	79	18	0	2	2	191	
15 St. Steph.	1	26	97	96	11	0	0	15	246	
16 St. Thos.	1	13	43	72	6	0	0	1	136	
18 Temple	11	19	46	106	13	0	0	6	201	
19 St. Jas. O.	3	19	4	8	6	0	1	3	44	
20 Trinity	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
21 Clifton	4	27	15	6	1	0	1	2	56	
22 Bedmin.	0	4	34	28	1	0	2	1	70	
City	103	653	1156	1543	220	0	28	161	3866	

ii) Per cent in each class

Parish	Class								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	Total
0 Unknown	1.6	25.5	22.4	39.0	5.7	0.0	1.6	4.2	100.0
1 All Saints	1.1	24.4	48.9	25.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
2 Castle	0.0	13.8	31.6	53.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.7	100.1
3 Ch. Ch.	1.3	18.3	45.8	32.5	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.8	100.0
4 St. Aug.	3.0	21.5	22.2	30.9	6.7	0.0	1.7	14.1	100.1
5 St. Ewen	0.0	21.8	36.4	40.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
6 St. Jas. City	3.5	15.4	23.0	44.3	9.4	0.0	0.9	3.4	99.9
7 St. John	0.0	8.3	20.8	50.0	20.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.9
8 St. Léo.	1.7	3.4	27.6	51.7	13.8	0.0	0.0	1.7	99.9
9 St. M. Port	0.7	9.7	38.1	51.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
10 St. M. Red.	5.3	13.8	33.7	40.7	3.7	0.0	0.0	2.8	100.0
11 St. Mich.	4.2	22.6	20.0	21.1	8.4	0.0	4.2	9.5	100.0
12 St. Nich.	2.4	18.7	33.3	35.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	6.1	100.0
13 St. Peter	0.0	4.2	25.0	60.4	6.3	0.0	0.0	4.2	100.1
14 SS P. & J.	3.7	14.4	28.8	41.7	9.4	0.0	1.0	1.0	100.0
15 St. Steph.	0.4	10.6	39.4	39.0	4.5	0.0	0.0	6.1	100.0
16 St. Thos.	0.7	9.6	31.6	52.9	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.7	99.9
18 Temple	5.5	9.5	22.9	52.7	6.5	0.0	0.0	3.0	100.1
19 St. Jas. O.	6.8	43.2	9.1	18.2	13.6	0.0	2.3	6.8	100.0
20 Trinity	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
21 Clifton	7.1	48.2	26.8	10.7	1.8	0.0	1.8	3.6	100.0
22 Bedmin.	0.0	5.7	48.6	40.0	1.4	0.0	2.9	1.4	100.0
City	2.7	16.9	29.9	39.9	5.7	0.0	0.7	4.2	100.0

Table 4:17: The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes
Classified under Scheme 2: Information from the Poll Book

i) Number in each class

Parish	Class								Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
1 All Saints	0	0	23	13	0	0	0	0	36
2 Castle	1	16	32	83	8	4	1	0	145
3 Ch.Ch.	0	15	33	30	5	3	2	1	89
4 St.Aug.	7	26	26	107	25	2	7	18	218
5 St.Ewen	0	1	5	5	0	0	0	0	11
6 St.Jas.City	5	73	81	429	138	18	32	17	793
7 St.John	0	12	14	47	4	2	3	1	83
8 St.Leo.	0	1	2	17	1	0	2	1	24
9 St.M.Port	0	2	15	30	0	0	3	1	51
10 St.M.Red.	8	26	24	229	36	10	2	7	342
11 St.Mich.	5	17	14	80	25	1	6	5	153
12 St.Nich.	3	20	34	116	13	2	4	10	202
13 St.Peter	1	7	16	64	2	0	6	1	97
14 SS P. & J.	11	40	47	368	49	30	22	5	572
15 St.Steph.	0	11	34	82	16	1	3	12	159
16 St.Thos.	3	16	31	99	15	3	4	0	171
17 St.Werb.	1	5	6	7	0	1	0	1	21
18 Temple	2	27	14	162	33	14	9	8	269
21 Clifton	2	11	6	82	9	2	5	0	117
22 Bedmin.	0	13	8	95	7	0	5	0	128
23 Clergy	28	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
24 Corp.	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
City	107	341	465	2154	386	93	116	88	3741

ii) Per cent in each class

Parish	Class								Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
1. All Saints	0.0	0.0	63.9	36.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
2. Castle	0.7	11.0	22.1	57.2	5.5	2.8	0.7	0.0	100.0
3. Ch. Ch.	0.0	16.9	37.1	33.7	5.6	3.4	2.2	1.1	100.0
4. St. Aug.	3.2	11.9	11.9	49.1	11.5	0.9	3.2	8.3	100.0
5. St. Ewen	0.0	9.1	45.5	45.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
6. St. Jas. City	0.6	9.2	10.2	54.1	17.4	2.3	4.0	2.1	99.9
7. St. John	0.0	14.5	16.9	56.6	4.8	2.4	3.6	1.2	100.0
8. St. Leo.	0.0	4.2	8.3	70.8	4.2	0.0	8.3	4.2	100.0
9. St. M. Port	0.0	3.9	29.4	58.9	0.0	0.0	5.9	2.0	100.1
10. St. M. Red.	2.3	7.6	7.0	67.0	10.5	2.9	0.6	2.0	99.9
11. St. Mich.	3.3	11.1	9.2	52.3	16.3	0.7	3.9	3.3	100.1
12. St. Nich.	1.5	9.9	16.9	57.4	6.4	1.0	2.0	5.0	100.1
13. St. Peter	1.0	7.2	16.5	66.0	2.1	0.0	6.2	1.0	100.0
14. SS P. & J.	1.9	7.0	8.2	64.3	8.6	5.2	3.8	0.9	99.9
15. St. Steph.	0.0	6.9	21.4	51.6	10.1	0.6	1.9	7.5	100.0
16. St. Thos.	1.8	9.4	18.1	57.9	8.8	1.8	2.3	0.0	100.1
17. St. Werb.	4.8	23.8	28.6	33.3	0.0	4.8	0.0	4.8	100.1
18. Temple	0.7	10.0	5.2	60.2	12.3	5.2	3.3	3.0	99.9
21. Clifton	1.7	9.4	5.1	70.1	7.7	1.7	4.3	0.0	100.0
22. Bedmin.	0.0	10.2	6.3	74.2	5.5	0.0	3.9	0.0	100.1
23. Clergy	93.3	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
24. Corp.	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
City	2.9	9.1	12.4	57.3	10.3	2.5	3.1	2.4	100.0

Table 4:18: The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes
Classified under Scheme 3: Information from Sketchley's
Directory

i) Number in each class

Parish	Class				Total
	A	B	C	X	
0 Unknown	15	40	59	78	192
1 All Saints	68	36	36	40	180
2 Castle	30	49	51	22	152
3 Ch. Ch.	60	70	65	45	240
4 St. Aug.	63	64	106	172	405
5 St. Ewen	9	15	16	15	55
6 St. Jas. City	91	181	319	255	846
7 St. John	4	6	7	7	24
8 St. Leo.	7	17	18	16	58
9 St. M. Port	32	51	37	14	134
10 St. M. Red.	41	63	67	75	246
11 St. Mich.	14	7	25	49	95
12 St. Nich.	40	48	63	95	246
13 St. Peter	0	14	22	12	48
14 SS P. & J.	20	45	78	48	191
15 St. Steph.	30	75	64	77	246
16 St. Thos.	25	23	47	41	136
18 Temple	28	46	72	55	201
19 St. Jas. O	5	5	8	26	44
20 Trinity	0	0	0	1	1
21 Clifton	8	10	7	31	56
22 Bedmin.	4	9	22	35	70
City	594	874	1189	1209	3866

ii) (a) Per cent in each class

Parish	Class				Total
	A	B	C	X	
0 Unknown	7.8	20.8	30.7	40.6	99.9
1 All Saints	37.8	20.0	20.0	22.2	100.0
2 Castle	19.7	32.2	33.6	14.5	100.0
3 Ch. Ch.	25.0	29.2	27.1	18.8	100.1
4 St. Aug.	15.6	15.8	26.2	42.5	100.1
5 St. Ewen	16.4	27.3	29.1	27.3	100.1
6 St. Jas. City	10.8	21.4	37.7	30.1	100.1
7 St. John	16.7	25.0	29.2	29.2	100.1
8 St. Leo.	12.1	29.3	31.0	27.6	100.0
9 St. M. Port	23.9	38.1	27.6	10.4	100.0
10 St. M. Red.	16.7	25.6	27.2	30.5	100.0
11 St. Mich.	14.7	7.4	26.3	51.6	100.0
12 St. Nich.	16.3	19.5	25.6	38.6	100.0
13 St. Peter	0.0	29.2	45.8	25.0	100.0
14 SS P. & J.	10.5	23.6	40.8	25.1	100.0
15 St. Steph.	12.2	30.5	26.0	31.3	100.0
16 St. Thos.	18.4	16.9	34.6	30.1	100.0
18 Temple	13.9	22.9	35.8	27.4	100.0
19 St. Jas. O.	11.4	11.4	18.2	59.1	100.1
20 Trinity	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
21 Clifton	14.3	17.9	12.5	55.4	100.1
22 Bedmin.	5.7	12.9	31.4	50.0	100.0
City	15.4	22.6	30.8	31.3	100.1

ii) (b) Per cent of those classified in each class

Parish	Class			Total
	A	B	C	
0 Unknown	13.2	35.1	51.8	100.1
1 All Saints	48.6	25.7	25.7	100.0
2 Castle	23.1	37.7	39.2	100.0
3 Ch. Ch.	30.8	35.9	33.3	100.0
4 St. Aug.	27.0	27.5	45.5	100.0
5 St. Ewen	22.5	37.5	40.0	100.0
6 St. Jas. City	15.4	30.6	54.0	100.0
7 St. John	23.5	35.3	41.2	100.0
8 St. Leo.	16.7	40.5	42.9	100.1
9 St. M. Port	26.7	42.5	30.8	100.0
10 St. M. Red.	24.0	36.8	39.2	100.0
11 St. Mich.	30.4	15.2	54.3	99.9
12 St. Nich.	26.5	31.8	41.7	100.0
13 St. Peter	0.0	38.9	61.1	100.0
14 SS P. & J.	14.0	31.5	54.5	100.0
15 St. Steph.	17.8	44.4	37.9	100.1
16 St. Thos.	26.3	24.2	49.5	100.0
18 Temple	19.2	31.5	49.3	100.0
19 St. Jas. O.	27.8	27.8	44.4	100.0
20 Trinity	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
21 Clifton	32.0	40.0	28.0	100.0
22 Bedmin.	11.4	25.7	62.9	100.0
City	22.4	32.9	44.8	100.1

Table 4:19: The Occupational Structure of Bristol Parishes
Classified under Scheme 3: Information from the Poll Book

i). Number in each class

Parish	Class				Total
	A	B	C	X	
1. All Saints	14	13	5	4	36
2 Castle	24	50	48	23	145
3 Ch. Ch.	17	32	18	22	89
4 St. Aug.	30	76	69	43	218
5 St. Ewen	2	7	2	0	11
6 St. Jas. City	69	270	296	158	793
7 St. John	13	15	36	19	83
8 St. Leo.	1	11	4	8	24
9 St. M. Port	6	21	16	8	51
10 St. M. Red.	47	126	116	53	342
11 St. Mich.	13	51	61	28	153
12 St. Nich.	29	68	66	39	202
13 St. Peter	5	26	46	20	97
14 SS P. & J.	67	200	200	105	572
15 St. Steph.	21	60	54	24	159
16 St. Thos.	19	51	60	41	171
17 St. Werb.	4	7	2	8	21
18 Temple	28	91	88	62	269
21 Clifton	21	63	18	15	117
22 Bedmin.	7	72	34	15	128
23 Clergy	2	0	0	28	30
24 Corp.	0	0	0	30	30
City	439	1310	1239	753	3741

ii).(a) Per cent in each class

Parish	Class				Total
	A	B	C	X	
1. All Saints	38.9	36.1	13.9	11.1	100.0
2 Castle	16.6	34.5	33.1	15.9	100.1
3 Ch. Ch.	19.1	36.0	20.2	24.7	100.0
4 St. Aug.	13.8	34.9	31.7	19.7	100.1
5 St. Ewen	18.2	63.6	18.2	0.0	100.0
6 St. Jas. City	8.7	34.0	37.3	19.9	99.9
7 St. John	15.7	18.1	43.4	22.9	100.1
8 St. Leo.	4.2	45.8	16.7	33.3	100.0
9 St. M. Port	11.8	41.2	31.4	15.7	100.1
10 St. M. Red.	13.7	36.8	33.9	15.5	99.9
11 St. Mich.	8.5	33.3	39.9	18.3	100.0
12 St. Nich.	14.4	33.7	32.7	19.3	100.1
13 St. Peter	5.2	26.8	47.4	20.6	100.0
14 SS P. & J.	11.7	35.0	35.0	18.4	100.1
15 St. Steph.	13.2	37.7	34.0	15.1	100.0
16 St. Thos.	11.1	29.8	35.1	24.0	100.0
17 St. Werb.	19.0	33.3	9.5	38.1	99.9
18 Temple	10.4	33.8	32.7	23.0	99.9
21 Clifton	17.9	53.8	15.4	12.8	99.9
22 Bedmin.	5.5	56.3	26.6	11.7	100.1
23 Clergy	6.7	0.0	0.0	93.3	100.0
24 Corp.	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
City	11.7	35.0	33.1	20.1	99.9

ii). (b) Per cent of those classified in each class

Parish	Class			Total
	A	B	C	
1. All Saints	43.8	40.6	15.6	100.0
2. Castle	19.7	41.0	39.3	100.0
3. Ch. Ch.	25.4	47.8	26.9	100.1
4. St. Aug.	17.1	43.4	39.4	99.9
5. St. Ewen	18.2	63.6	18.2	100.0
6. St. Jas. City	10.9	42.5	46.6	100.0
7. St. John	20.3	23.3	56.3	100.0
8. St. Leo.	6.3	68.8	25.0	100.1
9. St. M. Port	14.0	48.8	37.2	100.0
10. St. M. Red.	16.3	43.6	40.1	100.0
11. St. Mich.	10.4	40.8	48.8	100.0
12. St. Nich.	17.8	41.7	40.5	100.0
13. St. Peter	6.5	33.8	59.8	100.1
14. SS P. & J.	14.3	42.8	42.8	99.9
15. St. Steph.	15.6	44.4	40.0	100.0
16. St. Thos.	14.6	39.2	46.2	100.0
17. St. Werb.	30.8	53.8	15.4	100.0
18. Temple	13.5	44.0	42.5	100.0
21. Clifton	20.6	61.8	17.6	100.0
22. Bedmin.	6.2	63.7	30.1	100.0
23. Clergy	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
24. Corp.	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
City	14.7	43.8	41.4	99.9

Occupation by Wealth

Table 4:20: The Wealth of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 1:

i) Number in each class

Occ. Class	Wealth Class				Total
	1.	2	3.	4	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
A Gentry & Prof.	17	77	127	84	305
B Personal Services	4	29	43	14	90
C Textiles	7	35	70	38	150
D Earthenware	5	37	20	2	64
E Wood	11	67	67	17	162
F Metal	21	77	83	24	205
G Leather	13	74	68	11	166
H Food & Drink	25	88	150	61	324
I Glue & Wax	0	13	6	3	22
J Clothing	6	71	75	34	186
K Mixed Materials	4	14	21	12	51
L Building	23	99	43	9	174
M Agriculture	5	17	17	4	43
N Transport	2	17	9	5	33
O Shipping	24	134	88	16	262
P Seagoing	4	51	27	6	88
Q Miscellaneous	4	17	39	16	76
Total	175	917	953	356	2401

ii). Per cent in each class

Occ. Class	Wealth Class				Total
	1.	2	3.	4.	
A Gentry & Prof.	5.6 -	25.2 -	41.6 +	27.5 +	99.9
B Personal Services	4.4 -	32.2 -	47.8 +	15.6 +	100.0
C Textiles	4.7 -	23.3 -	46.7 +	25.3 +	100.0
D Earthenware	7.8 +	57.8 +	31.3 -	3.1 -	100.0
E Wood	6.8 -	41.4 +	41.4 +	10.5 -	100.1
F Metal	10.2 +	37.6 -	40.5 +	11.7 -	100.0
G Leather	7.8 +	44.6 +	41.0 +	6.6 -	100.0
H Food & Drink	7.7 +	27.2 -	46.3 +	18.8 +	100.0
I Glue & Wax	0.0 -	59.1 +	27.3 -	13.6 -	100.0
J Clothing	3.2 -	38.2 =	40.3 +	18.3 +	100.0
K Mixed Materials	7.8 +	27.5 -	41.2 +	23.5 +	100.0
L Building	13.2 +	56.9 +	24.7 -	5.2 -	100.0
M Agriculture	11.6 +	39.5 +	39.5 -	9.3 -	99.9
N Transport	6.1 -	51.5 +	27.3 -	15.2 +	100.1
O Shipping	9.2 +	51.1 +	33.6 -	6.1 -	100.0
P Seagoing	4.5 -	58.0 +	30.7 -	6.8 -	100.0
Q Miscellaneous	5.3 -	22.4 -	51.3 +	21.1 +	100.1
Total	7.3	38.2	39.7	14.8	100.0

Note to Tables 4:20, 4:21 and 4:22

Wealth Class 1: Properties worth less than or equal to L7 a year

Wealth Class 2: Properties worth more than L7 a year and less than or equal to L11 a year

Wealth Class 3: Properties worth more than L11 a year and less than or equal to L22 a year

Wealth Class 4: Properties worth more than L22 a year

As expected the Gentry and Professional were the richest occupational group. 27.5% of them were in the richest class. This is nearly twice as many as in the computer table as a whole (14.8%) and approaches three times the share of all ratepayers (9.9%). Those in personal services were also relatively wealthy, with many in the top two wealth bands: there were 47.8% in Class 3 and 15.6% in Class 4, compared with 39.7% and 14.8% in those bands respectively of all those in the table and 33.3% and 9.9% of all ratepayers. This confirms the suggestion that the expansion of this sector provided not just more opportunities for employment, but also some chance of higher status and better paid employment.

These results are not surprising. What is more surprising, at least initially, is that 72.0% of all those in the textile sector were in the top two wealth bands. These men were haberdashers, silk mercers, drapers and the like who benefitted from production carried on in the surrounding countryside and small towns. Only the lucrative distribution stage of this almost ubiquitous trade was practised in Bristol. There were a few callenderers, presser and dyers to be found in the city, but the weavers in Bristol were mainly sail cloth weavers, part of the specialised shipping sector, and in the main it is clear that textile production was not a major employer in the city, but distribution of cloth and cloth goods was of some significance in terms not just of numbers employed, but of the opportunity to acquire wealth and status.

Those occupied in earthenware were relatively poor. 65.6% were in the poorest two wealth bands and only 3.1% were in the richest band. The sector seems from evidence in the directory to have been organised on a very small scale in rather undesirable parts of the city: John Pike, for example, had an earthenware shop on St. James's Back. There were though some wealthier tradesmen: William Plant had a china, earthenware and glass warehouse on the Key and Richard Champion had a noted china manufactory on Castle Green.

Leather trades seemed similarly to offer rather few chances of great wealth: only 6.6% of all leather tradesmen were in the top wealth band. Metal, wood and glue and wax trades of the other staple employments of a large city occupied men who were on average poorer than all those listed in the table; but it must be remembered that each contained a higher share of the very wealthiest than did the rates returns as a whole. Thus each sector had its wealthy practitioners and this confirms the impression that eighteenth-century occupational titles could often cover a very wide range of men.

Food and Drink tradesmen were considerably wealthier than those in the table in general. 18.8% were in the richest class, compared with 14.8% in the whole table. These people were grocers, teadealers and merchants of food and drink of all types and it is unsurprising that they were well off. What is more surprising is that there were only slightly more food and drink tradesmen in the lowest class (7.7%) than all people in the table (7.3%). One might have expected this to be a class of extremes with the poorest pastry cooks and tripe sellers at one end and

prosperous wine merchants and distillers at the other. Perhaps most of the poor people in this sector were simply too poor to be included in the directory and are not the real craftsmen, as opposed to providers of services, who are listed in the Poll Book.

Like Food and Drink, Clothing was a sector in which the extremes of wealth and poverty might have been expected. On the production side tailors and shoemakers were notoriously underpaid, whilst the broking or resale of old clothes was the most disreputable part of the distribution side. Conversely wealthy Merchant Taylors and haberdashers of hats were included here. The wealthier exponents included here heavily outnumbered the poorer tradesmen and this again emphasises the difficulties of interpreting such titles as "taylor" and "hatter", which could cover all from the most to the least reputable and prosperous tradesmen.

The importance of watchmaking, clockmaking and jewellery makes those in Class K. (Mixed Materials) some of the wealthiest in the city. 64.7% of them were in the wealthiest two bands, compared with 54.5% of all those in the table and 43.2% of all ratepayers. The poorer members were presumably those such as plane makers and some musical instrument makers and the rich those such as Antony Henderson, the jeweller from Corn Street.

Unremarkably building appears as a sector in which little money was to be made by the bulk of the trademen. It is to be remembered, too, that it is building craftsmen and not their mates and labourers who are listed here so the sector appears a

distinctly poor one. Large profits were to be made by some tradesmen who became speculative builders (Chalklin, 1974), but this made little impact on the overall picture of poverty.

Agricultural occupational titles remain difficult to interpret, but it seems to have been a relatively poor sector, with 11.6% in the poorest class, compared with 7.3% of all those in the table, and 9.3% in the richest band, as opposed to 14.8% of all those listed. The transport sector had rather more than average in the wealthiest band (15.2% cf. 14.8%), but overall there were more poor practitioners (57.6% in the poorest two bands) than in the table as a whole (45.5%). Perhaps the richest men were the keepers of livery stables and trow owners who had some substantial capital assets, whilst the chairmen and halliers were the lower paid tradesmen.

Shipping and seagoing together employed relatively poor men and women. 60.3% of shipping tradesmen and 62.5% of seagoers were in the poorest two wealth bands, compared with the overall share of 45.5% in these bands. These men lived in riverside parishes where the level of wealth was generally low. It seems not to have been the case that the poorest men in trades with both rich and poor practitioners congregated in poor parishes; rather it was the fact that these trades gave relatively few opportunities for making money and that the men had to live in parishes near their work that made the parishes as a whole poor.

76 Bristolians were in Miscellaneous trades and seem to have been particularly prosperous: 72.4% were in the top two wealth bands, compared with 54.5% of those in the whole table. These men were in the main distributors of substances not readily

to be classified, for example gunpowder, books, prints and stationery, or were keepers of warehouses of various kinds. This suggests again the relative wealth of the distribution sector which is discussed in more detail below.

Table 4:21: The Wealth of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 2

i). Number in each class

Occ. Class	Wealth Class				Total
	1.	2	3	4	
A Clergy & Gentry	4	14	29	19	66
B Profs. & Services	19	100	116	60	295
C Distributors	35	189	286	151	661
D Artisans	85	442	437	107	1071
E Builders	23	98	42	9	172
F Labourers	1	7	2	0	10
G Rural	4	16	14	4	38
H Seagoing	4	51	27	6	88
Total	175	917	953	356	2401

ii) Percent in each class

Occ. Class	Wealth Class				Total
	1	2	3	4	
A Clergy & Gentry	61.1 -	21.2 -	43.9 +	28.8 +	100.0
B Profs. & Services	6.4 -	33.9 -	39.3 -	20.3 +	99.9
C Distributors	5.3 -	28.6 -	43.3 +	22.8 +	100.0
D Artisans	7.9 +	41.3 +	40.8 +	10.0 -	100.0
E Builders	13.4 +	57.0 +	24.4 -	5.2 -	100.0
F Labourers	10.0 +	70.0 +	20.0 -	0.0 -	100.0
G Rural	10.5 +	42.1 +	36.8 -	10.5 -	99.9
H Seagoing	4.5 -	58.0 +	30.7 -	6.8 -	100.0
Total	7.3	38.2	39.7	14.8	100.0

The wealth of the gentry, clergy and those in the professions and services is again readily apparent. The clergy and gentry, the traditional urban patriciate with 72.7% in the top two wealth bands, were still considerably wealthier than professional men and those in services combined who had only 59.6% in the same wealth bands. This is presumably because of the many providers of petty services included in the class.

The distributors were more uniformly wealthy than the professionals and those in service trades: 66.1% of them were in the top two wealth bands, despite the inclusion of less respectable dealers such as keepers of old iron and rag shops. The numbers of distributors and their prosperity confirms Bristol's importance not only as a colonial port, but also as a major entrepôt and the "metropolis of the west" (Minchinton, 1954), which engrossed the lucrative distribution

trades of a very wide area.

The broad spectrum of activity described by artisan trade titles is shown by the fact that just under half (49.2%) were in the two poorest and just over half (50.8%) were in the two richest wealth bands. The traditional crafts thus gave opportunities for attaining prosperity and it is a mistake to equate them always with hardship and uncertainty of employment. By contrast builders, who as has been suggested were craftsmen not labourers, were uniformly poorer. Perhaps their level of wealth is representative of that of poorer tradesmen, but trade titles covered such a broad range of conditions of life that generalisations can be misleading.

Labourers, as their title suggests, were poor. None was in the wealthiest band and 80.0% of them were in the poorest two bands. Similarly the poverty of rural men and seagoers is again confirmed.

Table 4:22: The Wealth of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 3

i) Number in each class

Occ. Class	Wealth Class				Total
	1	2	3	4	
A High Status	20	81	178	97	376
B Middle Status	53	239	251	95	638
C Low Status	54	317	283	79	733
X Not Classified	48	280	241	85	654
Total	175	917	953	356	2401

ii). Per cent in each class

Occ. Class	Wealth Class				Total
	1.	2	3	4	
A High Status	5.3	21.5	47.3	25.8	99.9
B Middle Status	8.3	37.5	39.3	14.9	100.0
C Low Status	7.4	43.2	38.6	10.8	100.0
X Not Classified	7.3	42.8	36.9	13.0	100.0
Total	7.3	38.2	39.7	14.8	100.0

This classification shows that material wealth and status did, to a large extent, go together. This is in a way unremarkable, not least as it was the money needed for apprenticeship fines or to set up as a master and the money earned by journeymen which were used to draw up the classification. Nonetheless a man's hopes of wealth are not always fulfilled and it is not to be taken for granted that the status of a calling and its financial reward are similar. The example of the clerk with relative security of employment and a gentlemen in appearance, but desperately poor is well known.

The distribution of wealth under this classification confirms that such cases were not unknown: 5.3% of those in high status trades were in the poorest wealth band. Conversely some trades held in low esteem could bring great wealth: 10.8% of those in low status trades were in the top wealth band. In the main, however, high status trades both demanded and brought the most wealth, middle status trades brought moderate comfort and low status trades gave comparatively little wealth. Those not classified occupied a position between those in middle and

those in low status trades. This is to be expected since they were involved in both the well-paid professions and the less rewarding petty service trades and the lower end of the distribution sector.

The comparison of occupation and wealth confirmed expectations of the material comfort of certain sectors (the clergy, gentlefolk and professional men), but serves also to emphasise the difference in opportunities for making money in the city in the various branches of trade: the textile sector, for example, contained many more wealthy men than did shipping. These were not so much vertical or sectoral differences as horizontal ones. Those in textiles in Bristol were wealthy because they were distributors not producers. In shipping trades there was less scope for profit as most of the workers were producers, even if they also sold their products directly to the customer. This division between producers and distributors is evident again in the second classification, the use of which showed that specialist distributors were the second wealthiest class in the city after only the clergy and gentry.

Perhaps the concordance of wealth and status under the third classification was not as great as it might have been because the division of production and distribution was more pronounced in 1775 than it had been in 1747; when the guides used in the classification were drawn up: in Class B' of the third classification are included booksellers, chandlers, grocers, tobacconists, lacedealers and wine merchants, most of whom were classed as distributors under the second classification. The separation of production and distribution in the urban and the

regional economy is difficult to investigate because of the underlying lack of clarity in occupation titles: nonetheless the separation between the two seems to have been growing and this, combined with the increasingly disparate opportunities for prosperity which they offered, must have had significant consequences for social divisions in the city.

This is a convenient place for discussion of the wealth of those included in each of the sources. It will be remembered that the ratepayers are considered to be amongst the richer Bristolians because they were householders rather than homeless people or lodgers unable to maintain their own household. Table 4:23 shows how the people in the rates returns and other sources were classed.

Table 4:23: The Wealth of those in the Three Sources

i) Number in each class

Source	Wealth Class					Total
	0	1	2	3	4	
Rates	0	732	3080	2235	664	6711
Poll Book	2707	1030	472	456	168	3906
Directory	2525	108	626	729	237	4231

ii) Per cent in classes 1, 2, 3 & 4

Source	Wealth Class				Total
	1	2	3	4	
Rates	10.9	45.9	33.3	9.9	100.0
Poll Book	8.6	39.4	38.4	14.0	100.0
Directory	6.4	36.8	42.9	13.9	100.0

Despite the fact that the ratepayers are themselves a rather wealthy subset of the Bristol population it can be seen that those in the other sources are in general considerably better off. Whilst 56.8% of the ratepayers lived in houses worth L11 a year or less (Classes I and II), only 48.0% of voters and 43.2% of those in the directory did. Whilst 9.9% of the ratepayers lived in houses worth more than L22 a year, 14.0% of voters and 13.9% of those in the directory did. This confirms the supposition that those in the last two sources would have been rather well off, especially as there are no data for Clifton, one of the wealthier parishes, which is covered by the Poll Book and directory but not by the rates returns.

Occupation by Sex

The following tables are based entirely on information derived from Sketchley's directory since only men were listed in the Poll Book. The information for the city population as a whole is presented for reference.

Table 4:24: The Occupations of Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex Classified under Scheme 1.

Class	Men		Women		Unknown		All %
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
A Gentry & Prof.	476	15.1	4	1.3	69	17.3	14.1
B Personal Services	138	4.4	78	24.4	17	4.3	6.1
C Textiles	155	4.9	9	2.8	54	13.5	5.6
D Earthenware	72	2.3	10	3.1	0	0.0	2.1
E Wood	187	5.9	8	2.5	9	2.3	5.4
F Metal	195	6.2	7	2.2	30	7.5	6.0
G Leather	197	6.3	5	1.6	19	4.8	5.8
H Food & Drink	418	13.3	70	21.9	89	22.3	14.9
I Glue & Wax	40	1.3	3	0.9	16	4.0	1.5
J Clothing	255	8.1	44	13.8	48	12.0	9.0
K Mixed Materials	73	2.3	4	1.3	8	2.0	2.2
L Building	210	6.7	5	1.6	7	1.8	5.7
M Agriculture	31	1.0	2	0.6	6	1.5	1.0
N Transport	45	1.4	1	0.3	2	0.5	1.3
O Shipping	417	13.3	58	18.1	12	3.0	12.6
P Seagoing	159	5.1	0	0.0	1	0.3	4.2
Q Miscellaneous	79	2.5	12	3.7	12	3.0	2.6
Total	3147	100.1	320	100.1	399	100.1	100.1

Table 4:24 reveals significant differences between the sexes in the patterns of occupation. As expected Class A (Professional and Gentry) is dominated by men in both numerical and percentage terms: there are 476 men or 15.1% of all men compared with only 4 women or 1.3% of all women. This is

unremarkable as gentlewomen would only very rarely have had an occupation. 17.3% of the "unknowns" fall into this class and these were almost undoubtedly men, since they were partners in established enterprises such as the bank of Lloyd, Elton & Co. of Broad Street. Other sectors in which men dominated were the traditional trades such as wood (men 5.9% cf. women 2.5%), metal (men 6.2% cf. women 2.2%), leather (men 6.3% cf. women 1.6%) and, of course, seagoing which employed 159 men or 5.1% of all men but no women at all.

By contrast women are particularly well represented in personal services (women 24.4% cf. men 4.4%), food and drink (women 21.9% cf. men 13.3%), clothing (women 13.8% cf. men 8.1%) and shipping (women 18.1% cf. men 13.3%). This last is at first surprising since the class consists of ships' craftsmen as well as ships' suppliers: but it has been seen that Sketchley's directory lists relatively many ships' suppliers and women were well represented here, especially as victuallers. Examples are Elizabeth Hopkins of the Rose and Crown in Redcross Street, Widow Leard of the Harp and Crown on the Key and Mary Lewis of the Crown and Cushion in Church Lane.

Even when they dominated in percentage terms in a particular activity, women were outnumbered in absolute terms in all classes. However, in the personal services class there are 78 women compared with 138 men and 17 "unknowns" and thus women comprised an astonishingly high 50.3% of the workforce in the sector. These women were hairdressers, laundresses, clearstarchers and the many schoolmistresses such as Elizabeth Day who kept a boarding school for young ladies on St. Michael's

Hill.

It must be stressed that the whole sector of domestic servants, in which women far outnumbered men, is excluded from this discussion, since those listed here were not employees, but were offering a service to the public at large. Throughout England the increase of wealth in general and spa developments in particular had increased the demand for services of all kinds; but it was an expansion in which women played a disproportionately great role. This often led to an imbalance between the sexes in resort towns. At Scarborough and Bath women formed 59% and 61% of the respective populations in 1801 as there were so many opportunities for employment (Corfield, 1982, 63-4).

Classification 2 The Nature of Work

Table 4:25: The Occupations of Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex Classified under Scheme 2.

Class	Men		Women		Unknown		All
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
A Clergy & Gentry	91	2.9	0	0.0	12	3.0	2.6
B Profs. & Services	504	16.0	80	25.0	69	17.3	17.0
C Distributors	892	28.3	123	38.4	141	35.3	29.8
D Artisans	1267	40.3	109	34.1	167	41.9	40.0
E Builders	210	6.7	5	1.6	7	1.8	5.7
F Labourers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
G Rural	24	0.8	2	0.6	2	0.5	0.7
H Seagoing	159	5.1	1	0.3	1	0.3	4.2
Total	3147	100.1	320	100.0	399	100.1	100.0

Table 4:25 confirms some of the patterns found under the first classification. Here the true urban patriciate (clergy and gentry) are separated from those in the professions and services and the class is overwhelmingly dominated by men who formed 88.3% of all people in this class. No women were included because this is a classification by occupation and gentlewomen would, by and large, have had no occupation. In Class B (professions and services) women were relatively more important than men (25.0% women cf. 16.0% men), because of their participation in the petty service sector, but they were outnumbered in absolute terms (80 cf. 504).

Women were concentrated in the the specialised distribution sector from which artisan retailers were excluded. Urban retailing, though its main growth came in the nineteenth century, (Wild & Shaw, 1974; Shaw & Wild, 1979) was at this time a new and expanding sector (Patten, 1978, 150) and it is interesting that it employed relatively many women, as did the expanding service sector. Their dominance was, though, relative (38.4% women cf. 28.3% men) and not absolute (123 women cf. 892 men). It is likely too that the 141 "unknowns" involved were men rather than women so that women are heavily outnumbered. It must also be remembered that included in this class were the lower class shopkeepers and even some hawkers without fixed premises, so that excluding artisan retailers, all from the most to the least respectable traders are included. There were women amongst the better class of retailer: Mary Adams was a haberdasher of Redcliff Street and Elizabeth and Rebecca Brown were milliners

and haberdashers of Princes Street; but equally some, such as Mary Ward who kept an old clothes shop on St. James's Back, were the poorest type of distributor.

Women may have benefited relatively greatly from expansion in new sectors of the economy, but men continued to dominate numerically and in percentage terms in the traditional artisan, building and seagoing classes, which together employed nearly half (49.9%) of all occupations listed in the directory (Classes D, E and H).

Classification 3: Status

Table 4:26: The Occupations of Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex Classified Under Scheme 3:

a) All Cases

Class	Men		Women		Unknown		All
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%
A High Status	459	14.6	26	8.1	109	27.3	15.4
B Middle Status	718	22.8	55	17.2	101	25.3	22.7
C Low Status	1004	31.9	88	27.5	97	24.3	30.7
X Not Classified	966	30.7	151	47.2	92	23.1	31.2
Total	3147	100.0	320	100.0	399	100.0	100.0

b) Per cent of those classified

Class	Men	Women	Unknown	All
A High Status	21.0	15.4	35.5	22.4
B Middle Status	32.9	32.5	32.9	33.0
C Low Status	46.0	52.1	31.6	44.7
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1

Classification under this scheme confirms some of the patterns which emerged above. Men and the "unknowns", who were mostly men, dominated the high status group, again not because there really were more men than women in this class, but because gentlewomen had no specific occupation. In Classes B and C, too, women were relatively badly represented largely because nearly half (47.2%) of them fell outside the scope of the classification. It will be remembered that this classification is based on a mid-eighteenth century guide to trades. Whilst nearly 70% of the men and more than 75% of the "unknowns" had occupations which could still be categorised in mid-eighteenth century trade terms, only 50% of women could be so classed. It was they more than the men who had benefited from the expansion of the tertiary sector and, whilst woman had never been bound up in the traditional guild and craft structure to the same extent as men had, their employment patterns were becoming even more divergent.

Table 4:26' b) shows the distribution of those who fell within the scope of the classification and it can be seen that men were relatively over-represented in Class A (21.0% men cf. 15.4% women) and under-represented in Class C (46.0% men cf. 52.1% women). Where women's occupations could be fitted into the traditional trade pattern they were often those held in low esteem in contemporary society. Mrs George states that in eighteenth-century London women's occupations were overstocked, ill-paid and irregular (1966;174) and remarks "there is no work too heavy or disagreeable to be done by women, provided it is

also ill-paid" (1966;172). This is true, but should not hide the fact that a woman with a little capital could make a respectable living as a grocer, teadealer, haberdasher or schoolmistress.

It appears then that women were active in all sectors of the economy, but particularly in expanding and innovative ones and, although they continued to be over-represented in low status trades, there were opportunities in the newer areas for women to earn a respectable living, for example as a school mistress or teadealer. Relatively little is known about women's contributions to household budgets in the eighteenth-century cities, beyond the fact that they were expected to make one (George,1966;170-1 & 425-428). Widows (see below) did much the same jobs as women as a whole (except that the whole sector of domestic service which falls outside this discussion employed largely single women) and this suggests that there was little difference in activity whether the women was married and her income supplementary to her husband's or whether she was widowed and hers the sole income in the household. There is no scope here for more detailed investigation of women's role in the household economy, but it would be an interesting area for future research.

Occupation by Status

Data from the Poll Book and Sketchley's directory were combined to give a computer table of 7,158 people with their occupations and status titles. The data were classified by the three occupational schemata.

Table 4:27: The Status of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 1.

Class	Status									
	1. Widow		2 Gent.		4 Fr.		6 Sir		8 Mrs/Miss	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A Gentry & Prof.	0	0.0	61	6.9	110	12.5	1	0.1	0	0.0
B Pers. Services	5	1.8	0	0.0	8	3.0	0	0.0	1	0.4
C Textiles	0	0.0	1	0.2	23	5.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
D Earthenware	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	4.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
E Wood	1	0.2	0	0.0	25	5.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
F Metal	2	0.3	1	0.2	33	5.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
G Leather	0	0.0	0	0.0	22	4.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
H Food & Drink	6	0.7	1	0.1	80	9.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
I Glue & Wax	2	2.2	0	0.0	2	2.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
J Clothing	1	0.2	0	0.0	17	3.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
K Mixed Materials	1	0.8	0	0.0	6	4.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
L Building	2	0.4	0	0.0	56	9.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
M Agriculture	0	0.0	0	0.0	14	9.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
N Transport	1	0.8	0	0.0	6	4.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
O Shipping	6	0.8	0	0.0	22	2.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
P Seagoing	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	5.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Q Miscellaneous	1	0.5	0	0.0	7	3.2	1	0.5	0	0.0
Total	28		64		454		2		1	

Note: "Fr" = Freeholder

Women of higher social status, distinguished as "Widow", "Mrs" or "Miss", were to be found in those sectors of the economy

in which women generally were well represented, that is Personal Services, Food and Drink and Shipping, in which they were important as victuallers. High ranking men, distinguished as "Gent."/"Esq." and "Sir"/"Lord", were present overwhelmingly in the Gentry and Professional Class (62 out of 66 cases). The high social rank of those in Class A had been inferred from their occupational titles and is here confirmed by the direct data on social status. This suggests that the occupational classification is well constructed. There is one gentleman in each of the Textile, Metal and Food and Drink groups showing that each sector gave the opportunity for prosperity but also that the title of "Gentleman" had a significantly different and much broader meaning in the town from the country (Reed,1981,114).

The title "Fr." (Freeholder) is difficult to interpret. The suggestion that it indicated high rank is supported by the fact, that of the Gentry and Professional class, 12.5% were Freeholders. On the other hand none of the other classes is without Freeholders.

Table 4:28: The Status of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 2

Class	Status									
	1		2		4		6		8	
	Widow		Gent.		Fr.		Sir		Mrs/Miss	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A Clergy & Gent.	0	0.0	39	19.9	58	29.6	1	0.5	0	0.0
B Prof. & Serv.	6	0.6	3	0.3	51	5.4	1	0.1	1	0.1
C Distributors	8	0.5	20	1.3	96	6.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
D Artisans	12	0.3	2	0.1	166	4.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
E Builders	2	0.4	0	0.0	55	9.9	0	0.0	0	0.0
F Labourers	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
G Rural	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	9.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
H Seagoing	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	5.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	28		64		454		2		1	

Table 4:28 confirms that women were employed in the newer sectors of the economy. Of those with a status indication, 15 were in newer sectors (Professions and Services and Distributors) whilst only 12 were in traditional trades, despite the fact that these traditional callings accounted for a far higher percentage of the workforce as a whole.

Of Bristol's gentlemen, whilst 39 were amongst the established urban gentry, 20 were distributors. This confirms the suggestions that, overseas merchants apart, distributors were still the economic élite of the city and that the title gentlemen was used freely to distinguish such men in later eighteenth century towns.

The title of Freeholder still remains difficult of interpretation. Freeholders formed 29.6% of those in the Clergy and Gentry class, a far higher share than of any other class, yet 166 of them could be counted artisans.

Table 4:29: The Status of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 3.

Class	Status									
	1		2		4		6		8	
	Widow		Gent.		Fr.		Sir		Mrs/Miss	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A High Status	1	0.1	21	2.1	78	8.0	1	0.1	0	0.0
B Middle Status	4	0.2	0	0.0	133	6.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
C Low Status	11	0.5	1	0.0	144	6.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
X Not Classified	12	0.6	42	2.2	99	5.3	1	0.1	1	0.1
Total	28		64		454		2		1	

Table 4:29 compares indirect indications of status inferred from occupation data with direct data on status. It confirms women's importance in traditional trades of low status (11 women in Class C) and in newer callings (12 women not classified). The distribution of "Gentlemen" and those titled "Sir" simply confirms the accuracy of the classification as all but one of them were in high status trades. Freeholders again present a problem. Whilst they are best represented in the high status class (8.0%), they were also numerous in callings of middle and low status. It is thus safe only to say that a higher percentage of freeholders than of the general population were of high

status, but the title "Freeholder" is not always indicative of high rank.

The Poll Book and directory were analysed separately for the information they gave on status. The two sources were found to have so little common data that individual tables would simply have repeated the information presented above so the results are not given here.

Secondary Occupations

Much has been written about secondary occupations or by-employments in the pre-industrial economy, particularly with reference to rural areas. The simple technical level of the pre-industrial economy meant that men could turn their hands to many tasks, to produce goods or provide services which demanded firstly, no especially highly developed skills and secondly, no great capital investment in tools or equipment. The notion of self sufficiency was still current and families tended to provide for their own needs (Malcolmson, 1981, 45-47). More particularly for the purpose of this discussion, families occupied dark evenings and winter months with by-employments which were of vital importance, on the one hand, in the household economy and, on the other, in the production structure of individual goods (Clarkson, 1971, 94-103; Patten, 1978, 58-59; & 1979, 21-29; Coones, 1981, 127).

It is not clear how much this study can contribute to the debate. The analysis is based entirely on Sketchley's directory, since the voters in the Poll Book are listed with only one

occupation. The purpose for which Sketchley's information was gathered tended to eliminate evidence for self-sufficiency within families, since people were invited to state that service or trade which they could offer others. On the other hand, this same purpose encouraged the declaration of multiple occupations; knowing he stood to gain extra custom and that he could state as many occupations as he wished, a man would have been likely to declare all those occupations which he could perform if required. The versatile James Bázely was simultaneously glover, undertaker, hosier, orange merchant and parchment maker in a somewhat bizarre but, it seems, not wholly impracticable mixture. Some evidence, then, is available and, in any case, so little is known about secondary occupations in cities (Malcolmson, for example, considers by-employments only under the general heading of rural employments (1981,38-44)) that the issue seems worth pursuing.

In a fast growing port city one would expect to find seasonal and cyclical employment patterns. The building industry was notorious for its seasonality and for its susceptibility to trade slumps (Chalklin,1974) and Bristol had its share of speculative building especially in the new suburbs of Clifton and Hotwells, as well as general construction work. Similarly ship building and repair, important sectors of the city economy, were to some extent dependant on the weather, whilst both tides and the weather affected arrivals and departures of ships, causing peaks and troughs in demand for port-related trades and ships' supplies. Futher seasonality was caused by the influx of visitors to the Hotwells spa. To cope with this seasonality, and also with fluctuations in longer-term economic cycles,

particularly noticeable in an economy so dependant on long-distance trade, one might expect individuals to have several occupations to which they could turn their hand according to demand, to avoid unemployment and hence want.

When Sketchley's directory was coded primary and other occupations were kept separate for each individual. 474 people of the 4,231 in the directory were found to have more than one occupation. This was 11.4% of all those in the directory or 14.0% of those who had occupations. These 474 people had normally two but up to five trades, and amongst them practised a total of 973 trades. These 973 occupations are analysed below under the three classifications used in the study. The terms "multiple occupations" is used in preference to "secondary occupations" as both of a man's trades, rather than only that which he put second, are considered. This is because in occupational titles such as "painter and glazier" or "tiler and plasterer" it is a matter of convention which trade is put first and the second occupation is not to be considered as a secondary occupation.

Classification 1. The Branches of the Economy

Table 4:30: Multiple Occupations Classified under Scheme 1.

Class	Number	Percent	Percent all Occs
A Gentry & Professional	44	4.5 -	14.1
B Personal Services	74	7.6 +	6.1
C Textiles	80	8.2 +	5.6
D Earthenware	31	3.2 +	2.1
E Wood	44	4.5 -	5.4
F Metal	65	6.7 +	6.0
G Leather	58	6.0 +	5.8
H Food & Drink	182	18.7 +	14.9
I Glue & Wax	31	3.2 +	1.5
J Clothing	77	7.9 -	9.0
K Mixed Materials	42	4.3 +	2.2
L Building	100	10.3 +	5.7
M Agriculture	8	0.8 -	1.0
N Transport	11	1.1 -	1.3
O Shipping	69	7.1 -	12.6
P Seagoing	9	0.9 -	4.2
Q Miscellaneous	48	4.9 +	2.6
Total	973	99.9	100.1

The Gentry and Professional class (Class A) contained only 4.5% of those with multiple occupations, compared with 14.1% of all those listed in the directory. This high degree of functional specialisation was to be expected. Professional training was long and expensive and to have a profession called

for highly distinct skills and it was not something that a man would do as a sideline. Professions were remarkable in that men were employed by the year. The "General Description" and Campbell's "London Tradesman", the two eighteenth-century guides to trades used in drawing up the third classification, comment particularly on this fact and it is significant that professional wages were indicated as a sum per annum not per week or by the piece. Professional men did not have spare weeks or months which they need to fill by doing another job, and indeed, had they had the time, they were unlikely to have needed the money which other employments could bring.

Most of the "raw materials" sectors of the economy had remarkable similar proportions of those in multiple occupations as compared to all occupations. Thus in earthenware trades there were 3.2% those with multiple occupations and 2.1% of all occupations: in leather there were 6.0% multiple occupations compared with 5.8% all occupations. In metal trades (Class F) there were 6.0% of multiple occupations and 6.7% of all entries. There was little mixing with unrelated sectors of the economy. A rather isolated example is the victualler and bucklemaker Robert Crosby of Upper Maudlin Lane, but this may well say more about the nature of victualling than of metal trades. There was some tendency to mix the type of metal worked or dealt in; Bush and Perkins of the High Street were both pewterers and coppersmiths; John Brown of Clare Street was both a brightsmith and an ironmonger. Pairing with a trade in the mixed materials (tools) class was not uncommon: watchmaking and silversmithing were

practised by Benjamin Brock of Corn Street. As a result the mixed materials class is relatively unspecialised (4.3% of multiple occupations compared with 2.2% of all occupations) although there was much mixing within the class: Henry King of Baldwin Street was one of the many who combined clock- and watchmaking.

The textile sector was one in which the share of those in multiple occupations was higher than the share of all occupations

(8.2% cf. 5.6%). Many had two textile trades: Deane Bayly of Wine Street was both linendraper and haberdasher, one of the many more prosperous distributors who dealt in more than one good (see below). Others, such as Haynes and M'Carthy of Clare Street who were drapers, tailors and salesmen, had a trade in the related clothing sector and the distinction between these two sectors is in many ways rather artificial. Victualling was combined with almost all trades and textiles were no exception: an example is John Yates, a dyer and victualler of Temple Street.

Similarly there appears to be a rather low degree of functional specialisation in the Glue and Wax sector (Class I) which has 3.2% of multiple occupations but only half the proportion (1.5%) of all occupations in the directory. This is a very large ratio, but numbers involved are small (31). Like the Metals class and Food and Drink class mixing tends to be within the class; thus James Palmer of Christmas Street was a soap boiler and chandler.

18.7% of multiple occupations are in the Food and Drink Class (Class H), compared with 14.9% of all occupations in the directory. Perhaps this is unsurprising as, for example, Joseph

Shaw of Hilgrove Street, a grocer and tea dealer, is recorded here as having two occupations as is Richard Smith of the Counter Slip, a maltster and brewer. This was obviously necessary to separate cases like these from specialist grocers, tea dealers, brewers and so on, but perhaps gives a slightly misleading impression because of the close links between the paired occupations. Men tended to deal in and/or produce more than one good within the Food and Drink sector, although there are those like the "mason and tripe seller" who are altogether more versatile.

It was suggested that port trades might show a low level of occupation specialisation, but, in fact, the reverse is true. The Shipping class (Class 0) has 12.6% of all entries, but only 7.1% of multiple occupations. This is especially surprising as victuallers, of whom more than 400 are listed in the directory, are included in this class. Many of these had two occupations; Denis Donovan on the Key was a victualler and taylor; Robert Crosby of Upper Maudlin Lane was a victualler and bucklemaker; and Thomas Cookesley of Stokes Croft was a victualler and bridlecutter. The seasonality of victualling, dependent on the sailing times of ships, is clear and victuallers practised a wide variety of other trades as secondary occupations. Ships' craftsmen, however, did not in the main state other occupations. John White, the baker and anchor smith of Cannons Marsh, is a very isolated example. This seems then, despite the influence of tides, weather and trade cycles, to have been a particularly specialised branch of the economy, perhaps a reflection of the

narrow but highly developed skills needed by these craftsmen.

Seagoers formed a rather specialised group within the city: with 4.2% of all occupations they accounted for only 0.9% of multiple occupations. This figure may be misleading in that many of these were "Captains" who may have been retired and with no occupation but who kept their naval title. There would though have been many actual sailors who seem not to have had multiple occupations. This may be because they would simply have done labouring jobs if they could not find a place on a ship; or because sailors of a type respectable enough to be included in the rather selective directory tended to be in fairly constant employment until they were older at which point they retired or took up another trade entirely.

Building trades (Class L) show the expected lack of specialisation. With 5.7% of all entries, they had 10.3% of all multiple occupations. This is probably, however, a result of the division of labour within the sector as many building craftsmen had two closely related trades. "Tiler and plasterer" was a common pair of trades, practised for example by Richard Dunn of Thomas Street; "painter and glazier" was another common pair, practised for example by Timothy Brown of Currant Lane and another pair, although this technically crosses the class boundary into the wood class, is "carpenter and joiner" practised for example by William Francis of Eugene Street. Though Mrs George points out the difference between builders, who were skilled artisans, and their helpers, who were unskilled labourers (George, 1966, 161), it is likely that many building workers, other than those who had a distinct second trade to declare, simply

looked for casual labouring jobs in bad times.

It is unremarkable that those occupations which fitted into none of the orthodox branches of the economy were also relatively unspecialised. Thus the miscellaneous class (Class Q) had 2.6% of all occupations and 4.9% of multiple occupations.

All sectors of the economy contained men and women who practised more than one trade. Low functional specialisation was widespread and a reflection of the level of development of the whole economy rather than of the characteristics of certain branches of it.

Classification 2 The Nature of Work

Table 4:31: Multiple Occupations Classified under Scheme 2

Class	Number	Percent	Percent all Occs
A Clergy & Gentry	30	3.1 +	2.6'
B Profs. & Services	118	12.1 -	17.0
C Distributors	332	34.1 +	29.8
D Artisans	379	39.0 -	40.0
E Builders	100	10.3 +	5.7
F Labourers	0	0.0 =	0.0
G Rural	5	0.5 -	0.7
H Seagoing	9	0.9 -	4.2
Total	973	100.0	100.0

All classes except Class F (Labourers) had some entries. This exception is explained by the nature of the source: the title "labourer" is not used in the directory. The suggestion

that functional specialisation was low in all sectors of the economy is thus substantiated.

The Clergy and Gentry Class rather surprisingly contains a greater share of those with multiple occupations (3.1%) than of the whole workforce (2.6%). This is because so many aldermen gave their main occupation as well as their position on the Common Council in the directory: thus Isaac Baugh, Esq. and Henry Bright were both merchants and aldermen.

The professional and service class again has a smaller proportion of those with multiple occupations (12.1%) than it does of the whole population considered in the directory (17.0%). Under the first classification the service class had only a very slight tendency to under-specialisation and here those in the service class are combined with the distinctly specialised professional element.

The distributors seem at first sight to have been a rather unspecialised sector of the Bristol economy. With 29.8% of all occupations, they had 34.1% of multiple occupations. However, the mixing in this class comes mainly from the tendency to deal in more than one item, though these were usually related. This was presumably to maximise the use of the expensive fixed premises demanded by this sector. Whilst the artisan craftsman could work in and sell from the room in which he and his family lived, the bigger distributors had large premises which fronted on to better class streets and which also had large storage areas. With the increased importance of fixed capital there was a corresponding tendency to use it more intensively and hence to

distribute more than one good. This increase in fixed capital in the eighteenth-century distribution sector reflects the fact that it was extremely innovative in its scope and organisation and indeed its influence in the "commercialisation" of society was very far reaching (McKendrick, 1984). Within individual city economies the highest profits were often to be made in the distribution sector and it attracted and, indeed, helped to form the urban élite.

Production (Class D) remained far more on an artisan scale. Labour rather than capital was the main production factor and there were for most craftsmen far fewer opportunities for profit making. The sector appears to be marginally over-specialised: with 40.0% of all occupations it contained 39.0% multiple occupations. There remained scope for mixing occupations in the traditional mould. e.g. John Hanny was both leather dresser and breeches maker; William Fryer was both shoe and patten maker.

Classification 3: Status

Table 4:32: Secondary: Occupations Classified under Scheme 3:

Class	Number	Percent	Percent all Occs
A High Status	179	18.4 +	15.4
B Middle Status	283	29.1 +	22.7
C Low Status	319	32.8 +	30.7
X Not Classified	192	19.7 -	31.2
Total	973	100.0	100.0

There were again entries in every class, as multiple

employment was widespread enough to be found in every rank of society. Occupations of high status seem to have been rather unspecialised: the class contains 15.4% all occupations but 18.4% multiple occupations. This is largely because of the inclusion of the higher class distributors in the class and is balanced by the inclusion of professional men.

Class C (Low Status) also had a larger share of those in multiple occupations than of all occupations (32.8% cf. 30.7%) but the gap was widest in Class B where the shares were 22.7% and 29.1% respectively. As with the second classification, in which it seemed surprising at first that distributors were less specialised than artisans, so here it seems remarkable that middle status trades were less specialised than low status ones. It is to be expected that the most modern and respectable trades would be the most specialised. However, closer examination shows that the middle status trades were indeed more modern than lower status ones. Class B, for example, contains "soap makers and tallow chandlers" and "booksellers, stationers and binders", where the production and distribution aspects of the same operation are listed separately. Class C has entries such as "Shoemaker" and "Staymaker" where they are not. Thus, though middle status occupations appear at first sight to be less specialised than those of the lowest rank, in fact they are more so. Their trades had reached a level of development when it was for the first time necessary to state that both production and distribution services were offered.

The impression that modernisation and increasing

specialisation went together is again confirmed by the distribution of those not classified. This class contained 31.2% of all occupations but only 19.7% of those with more than one occupation. Where people had trades modern enough not to be mentioned in mid-eighteenth century trade guides they were less likely to have a second occupation.

Overall the picture emerges that employment in all trades, branches of the economy and ranks in society was to a degree unspecialised. Mixing was normally within the same sector, or a closely related one, to enable a craftsman to use his skill and tools to the full. There was, however, a trend towards specialisation in the innovative sector, where production was on a larger scale, or where opportunity for profit was greater. The professions and higher rank occupations were moving towards functional specialisation with all that that implied in terms of greater efficiency and further advance and where the innovative distribution sector seemed to be becoming less specialised this was in order to make better use of increased fixed capital.

Those Without Occupations

A discussion of the employment structure of later eighteenth-century Bristol would be incomplete without some study of those who were included in the sources but who had no stated employment. Some men voted by right of being freeholders rather than freemen and were included in the Poll Book with just "Fr." against their names. There are however rather few (163 of 3,906 or 4.2%) such men as the majority even of the gentry were listed with their occupation, even if this was only their membership of

the Common Council which was hardly a full-time employment. 846 people or 20.0% of the 4,231 people in Sketchley's directory were without occupations as it was the custom to include in directories gentlefolk simply by virtue of their social status. The information from the two sources was combined and analysed in terms of their sex, occupation, status and parish of residence.

Table 4:33: Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex without Occupations

Sex	Number	Percent
Men	394	40.9
Women	455	47.2
Unknown	114	11.8
Total	963	99.9

The proportion of women is far higher amongst those without occupations than in the whole population covered by these sources. Even given that women could and did maintain themselves without loss of respectability, most women who could afford not to did no work other than their domestic duties. All 455 of these women are found in the directory and this confirms the usefulness of the source in providing information on women who would otherwise be unrecorded.

Table 4:34: The Parish of Residence of those Without Occupations

Parish	No Occupation		Occupation	
	No.	%	No.	%
0 Unknown	48	5.0 +	192	2.7
1 All Saints	10	1.0 -	205	2.9
2 Castle Precincts	16	1.7 -	267	3.7
3 Christ Church	21	2.2 -	309	4.3
4 St. Augustine	133	13.8 +	594	8.3
5 St. Ewen	2	0.2 -	66	0.9
6 St. James City	309	32.1 +	1526	21.4
7 St. John	11	1.1 -	105	1.5
8 St. Leonard	8	0.8 -	80	1.1
9 St. Mary le Port	6	0.6 -	170	2.4
10 St. Mary Redcliff	46	4.8 -	550	7.7
11 St. Michael	89	9.2 +	235	3.3
12 St. Nicholas	31	3.2 -	428	6.0
13 St. Peter	5	0.5 -	136	1.9
14 SS Philip & Jacob	57	5.9 -	730	10.2
15 St. Stephen	21	2.2 -	374	5.3
16 St. Thomas	17	1.8 -	285	4.0
17 St. Werburgh	2	0.2 -	21	0.3
18 Temple	49	5.1 -	438	6.2
19 St. James Outparish	34	3.5 +	44	0.6
20 Trinity	3	0.3 +	1	0.0
21 Clifton	32	3.3 +	173	2.4
22 Bedminster	13	1.3 -	196	2.8
City	963	99.8	7125	99.9

There were relatively many people without occupations (i.e. the percentage in one parish of all those without occupations is higher than the percentage in that parish of the total population) in the genteel suburbs of Clifton (3.3% of those without employment cf. 2.4% of the employed population) and St. Michael (9.2% cf. 3.3%) and also in the city and out parishes of St. James. St. James was a particularly large parish and had a very varied population from the richest to the poorest and from the professional to the artisan. In the city parish there were many gentry without occupations in both numerical and percentage terms (309 or 32.1% cf. 21.4% of all employed people) and in the outparish, though there were rather fewer in numerical terms (34), in percentage terms there were many gentlefolk (3.5% cf. 0.6% of all employed people). The number in St. James City parish was remarkably high and should perhaps temper our classification of this as an artisan parish. St. Augustine's was another parish with many people without occupations (138 or 13.8% cf. 8.3% of the city's employed population). Quilici comments on the changes that the parish had undergone in the eighteenth century such that by the last quarter of the century the parish had ceased to be dominated by direct connections with shipping and was now remarkable for its concentration of wealthy merchants and other gentlefolk (1976;38-89).

The populations of the central parishes were noted for their active participation in the commercial life of the city. Thus they contained comparatively few people with no occupations: Christ Church had 2.2% cf. 4.3% of all employed people; St. Ewen

had 0.2%.cf. 0.9%.and St. Mary le Port had 0.6%.cf. 2.4%. In the artisan parishes, too, there were few leisured people: St. Mary Redcliff had 4.8%.cf. 7.7% of all employed people and Temple had 5.1% cf. 6.2%.of all employed people. The leisured population, then, far more than the rich or the high ranking population, can be labelled a suburban group.

As part of the discussion of the value of the individual sources, Table 4:35 shows the origin of information on parish of residence of those without occupations. This was unnecessary in the above discussion on sex as women are found only in the directory.

Table 4:35: The Parish of Residence of those Without Occupation:
the Origin of the Information

Parish	Sketchley's Directory				Poll Book			
	No Occ.		All		No Occ.		All	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0 Unknown	48	5.7	215	5.1				
1 All Saints	9	1.1	145	3.4	0	0.0	36	0.9
2 Castle	16	1.9	142	3.4	0	0.0	145	3.7
3 Ch. Ch.	20	2.4	207	4.9	1	0.6	90	2.3
4 St. Aug.	124	14.7	495	11.7	19	11.7	237	6.1
5 St. Ewen	2	0.2	55	1.3	0	0.0	11	0.3
6 St. Jas. City	278	32.9	1067	25.2	50	30.7	843	21.6
7 St. John	3	0.4	24	0.6	8	4.9	92	2.4
8 St. Leo.	7	0.8	54	1.3	1	0.6	25	0.6
9 St. M. Port	6	0.7	107	2.5	0	0.0	51	1.3
10 St. M. Red.	35	4.1	252	6.0	12	7.4	355	9.1
11 St. Mich.	73	8.6	163	3.9	24	14.7	177	4.5
12 St. Nich.	25	3.0	226	5.3	7	4.3	209	5.4
13 St. Peter	5	0.6	51	1.2	0	0.0	97	2.5
14 SS P. & J.	46	5.4	221	5.2	15	9.2	587	15.0
15 St. Steph.	19	2.2	220	5.2	2	1.2	161	4.1
16 St. Thos.	15	1.8	143	3.4	3	1.8	174	4.5
17 St. Werb.					2	1.2	23	0.6
18 Temple	46	5.4	219	5.2	4	2.5	273	7.0
19 St. Jas. O.	35	4.1	77	1.8				
20 Trinity	3	0.4	4	0.1				
21 Clifton	21	2.5	69	1.6	12	7.4	129	3.3
22 Bedmin.	10	1.2	75	1.8	3	1.8	131	3.4
23 Clergy					0	0.0	30	0.8
24 Corp. City	846	100.1	4231	100.1	0	0.0	30	0.8
					163	100.0	3906	100.2

Note:

The parish shown for Sketchley's directory is the only one or the first of two given in the directory.

This table serves as a reminder that some of the variation in parish distribution is due to the nature of the sources. The small total number of entries for St. Werburgh's parish, for example, is partly explained by the lack of entries for this parish in the directory. Similarly, inability to assign all streets in the directory to a parish leads to the class of "Parish Unknown" and pulls down all parish figures slightly.

Table 4:36 shows the wealth of those without occupations.

Table 4:36: The Wealth of those Without Occupations

Wealth Class	No.	%	% those Classified	% all Ratepayers
0	659	68.4		
1	28	2.9	9.2 -	10.9
2	114	11.8	37.5 -	45.9
3	126	13.1	41.4 +	33.3
4	36	3.7	11.8 +	9.9
Total	963	99.9	99.9	100.0

Table 4:36 is rather difficult to interpret as so many (68.4%) of those without occupations were not registered ratepayers. Perhaps many of the women were not heads of the households in which they lived. The table does however confirm that those without occupations were in general rather well off.

There were fewer in the poorer two classes (9.2% and 37.5%.cf. 10.9% and 45.9% of all ratepayers) and more in the richer two classes (41.1% and 11.8%.cf. 33.3% and 9.9% of all ratepayers). It must also be remembered that 89 of those without occupations were resident in St. Michael's parish for which rate assessments are unrepresentatively low, so these results if anything underestimate the wealth of the leisured population.

The status of those without occupations was then investigated. No computer table combining the information from the two sources was produced; rather the two sources were analysed separately as there was very little overlap between the two and the data were in incompatible format.

Table 4.37: The Status of those Without Occupations: the Origin of the Information

Status	Directory No.	%	Poll Book No.
No specific Status	477	56.4	4
1 Widow	265	31.3	
2 Gent./Esq.	102	12.1	153
3 Poor			
4 Freeholder			107
6 Sir/Lord	2	0.2	0
7 Mr.	0	0.0	0
8 Mrs./Miss	0	0.0	
9 Lady/Countess etc.	0	0.0	
Total	846	99.9	264

Note:

Each person in the directory has only one status.

101 people in the Poll Book are both "Esq."/"Gent." and "Fr." so the total is 264 instead of 163 and no percentages are calculated because of this.

31.3% of those in the directory without occupations were widows, presumably of substantial men or of gentle birth in their own right, since they were mentioned not for their contribution to the economy but simply by virtue of their residence. Examples are Margaret Phillips of Marlborough Street and Elizabeth Roberts of Park. These were both good addresses but there were some widows from less genteel areas of the city; Ann Powel lived in Water Lane and Ann Phillips lived in Hawkin's Lane. These however are in a minority. The figure of the wealthy widow as a marriage prospect or as a source of investment capital is well drawn and there were many such widows in Bristol at this time. A further 12.1% of those from the directory without occupations were gentlemen, a status title which was becoming far more widely used in towns (Reed, 1981, 114), but still indicated a certain level of wealth and standing in the community, and another 0.2% were Lords, Knights or Baronets. The impression of the high status of those without occupations is confirmed from the Poll Book data in which only 4 of the voters without occupations had no indication of status. Of the remaining 159, 153 were gentlemen and 107 freeholders, suggesting that the assumption that "Freeholder" was suggestive of high status was correct, though the term remains somewhat obscure.

The analysis of those without occupations presents few surprises, but it is useful particularly in emphasising the

differences between the sexes and in showing how greatly the leisured population had begun to separate itself from the traditional Bristol commercial élite.

An appraisal of Classification 3: Status

The concordance of findings under all three schemata was very encouraging and showed each to have contributed to the results and to the confidence we have in them. That the Status classification was not comprehensive was in itself most enlightening as the percentage of cases which fell outside its scope pointed to very marked differences between the sexes and amongst the parishes. By itself the classification can tell us only a limited amount; but its use is consistent with the practice here of considering as many variables and adopting as many methods as possible and the use of this classification has given us a more complete picture of the employment structure of later eighteenth-century Bristol.

Conclusion

Particular emphasis has been laid on the analysis of occupation data firstly to give some idea of the economy of the city whose society is under discussion and secondly because a man's occupation is particularly revealing of his place in society. The volume of data has made detailed discussions of individual trades impossible and this is regrettable since it would be very profitable to investigate further apparent variations within sectors of the economy. However, the use of

the three classifications has allowed discussion of the full economic and social significance of a man's occupation.

Bristol's reliance on trade of all descriptions, whether inland or overseas and in whatever goods is evident. As well as the numbers directly classified as ships' craftsmen or suppliers, seagoers and overseas merchants, were all the ordinary craftsmen and traders who benefitted from the wealth this trade generated. At this time the "multiplier effects" of an industry or trade were concentrated at their point of origin and were not, as now, diffused through the national economy or lost to higher order cities. A man who earned his money in Bristol would by and large have spent it there to the benefit of all from the most ordinary to the most specialised craftsmen and providers of services.

The attention given to the merchants of Bristol, and especially the Society of Merchant Venturers, the traditional élite of the city, has been very valuable per se, but has tended to foster the idea of a rather unchanging social structure since unchanging aspects of their activities (their involvement in municipal politics, their traditional philanthropy) are investigated. When there was conflict in the city (e.g. the Bristol Bridge Riot of 1793 (Jones, 1980)), this is discussed in terms of the reaction of the Common Council and merchants to the crowd. The élite is predefined and it is signs of class type divisions within the crowd which are of interest.

Much that was changing and innovative in Bristol society has as a result unwittingly been obscured. New elements were evident in the city economy. Distribution and services were expanding and made profound changes in the relationship of the

city with its hinterland in which the production of goods was increasingly concentrated. Lucrative distribution, especially in the textile sector, appears to have been overwhelmingly concentrated in the town. Women were benefiting disproportionately from the expansion in distribution and services and this must have had its impact on household economies within the city and on migration patterns to it. The development of the Hotwells spa was influential not just in raising the social tone of the city (James, 1955), but more importantly in providing work for builders, for domestic servants and helping to create a whole leisured sector, confined very largely to the genteel suburbs (St. James city parish being the exception here). On top of this the importance of professional men and of Customs and Excise Men, of whom there were 17 in the Poll Book and 83 in the directory, is not to be underestimated. Excluding those "glutmen" taken on in peak periods (George, 1966; 262), these Customs and Excise men were rather wealthy employees and were paid by the year - a distinctly modern pattern of employment. A rudimentary middle class was developing within the city and it was one that involved men actively employed in the city as attorneys, customs men and other professional men, not just one that depended on genteel widows coming to the spa.

Whilst it is in a way entirely unremarkable to suggest that a middle class should develop, it is a fact perhaps too often obscured by the attention given to the traditional urban élite, who perhaps inevitably act traditionally, to cultural and architectural developments in the city, in which high culture is

treated as something which impinged very little on other aspects of city life, . and to divisions amongst the poor tradesmen, in an attempt to discern working class consciousness. The role of the new middle classes is easily overlooked and the value of a comprehensive study such as this is that it can increase our awareness of neglected groups in society and thus change our understanding of city society as a whole.

It remains to discuss the distribution of wealth, voting allegiance and land use within the city and these discussions may be set within the context of the four-fold division of parishes (central trading, genteel suburban, artisan and transitional) drawn up in this chapter.

Chapter 5

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN BRISTOL IN 1775

The data on the wealth of Bristolians used here are from the rate and tax returns discussed above. The discussion is then of the rateable value of men's houses rather than their incomes or capital assets, such as trade stocks and bonds held. It is suggested that a man's wealth is closely related to the value of the property he occupies and it is a convenient indicator of wealth in a period for which there is little comprehensive information on wage rates (and indeed those were only loosely related to wealth for many people who relied on investment income or who traded independently) or on personal estates (with the lack of probate inventories). The discussion is only of householders and thus excludes the desperately poor who were homeless or in institutions for the poor and those who lodged in another's household. The data thus give an indirect indication of wealth for many Bristolians other than the very poor. It is not suggested that the exact number of pounds of an assessment is significant. The figures are not intended to do other than suggest who was richer than whom and in roughly what proportion.

The distribution of wealth in Bristol in 1775 was investigated using a variety of methods to see whether the patterns revealed by one means were corroborated using others. This makes the discussion rather repetitive at times, but ensures that results are not due to (known or unsuspected) faults in the data or in the chosen method.

With the use of the Statistical Package for the Social

Sciences (SPSS) (version 4.2) a frequency distribution table of rates data was drawn up (Figure 5:1). The data in the file were calculated to four decimal places and in order to draw up the frequency table they were rounded such that, for example, 7.5 covered a range of values from 6.5001 to 7.5000. Using the original non-rounded figures various measures of central tendency and dispersion were calculated.

Table 5:1: Measures of Central Tendency in Rateable Values for Bristol in 1774/5

Mean	Mode	Median
13.1	9 (856 cases)	Between 10 and 11

Notes:

The mean is the sum of the observations divided by the number of observations.

The mode is the value associated with the class containing the highest number of observations.

The median is the central point of a set of ranked observations.

Notes to this and following tables:

All figures are in Ls.

Figures for arithmetic mean, standard deviation etc. are given to one decimal place as any further precision would be spurious given the quality of the data and the rounding method adopted.

Medians are shown in terms of the whole pounds between which they fall. Any further precision would again be spurious given the rounding method adopted.

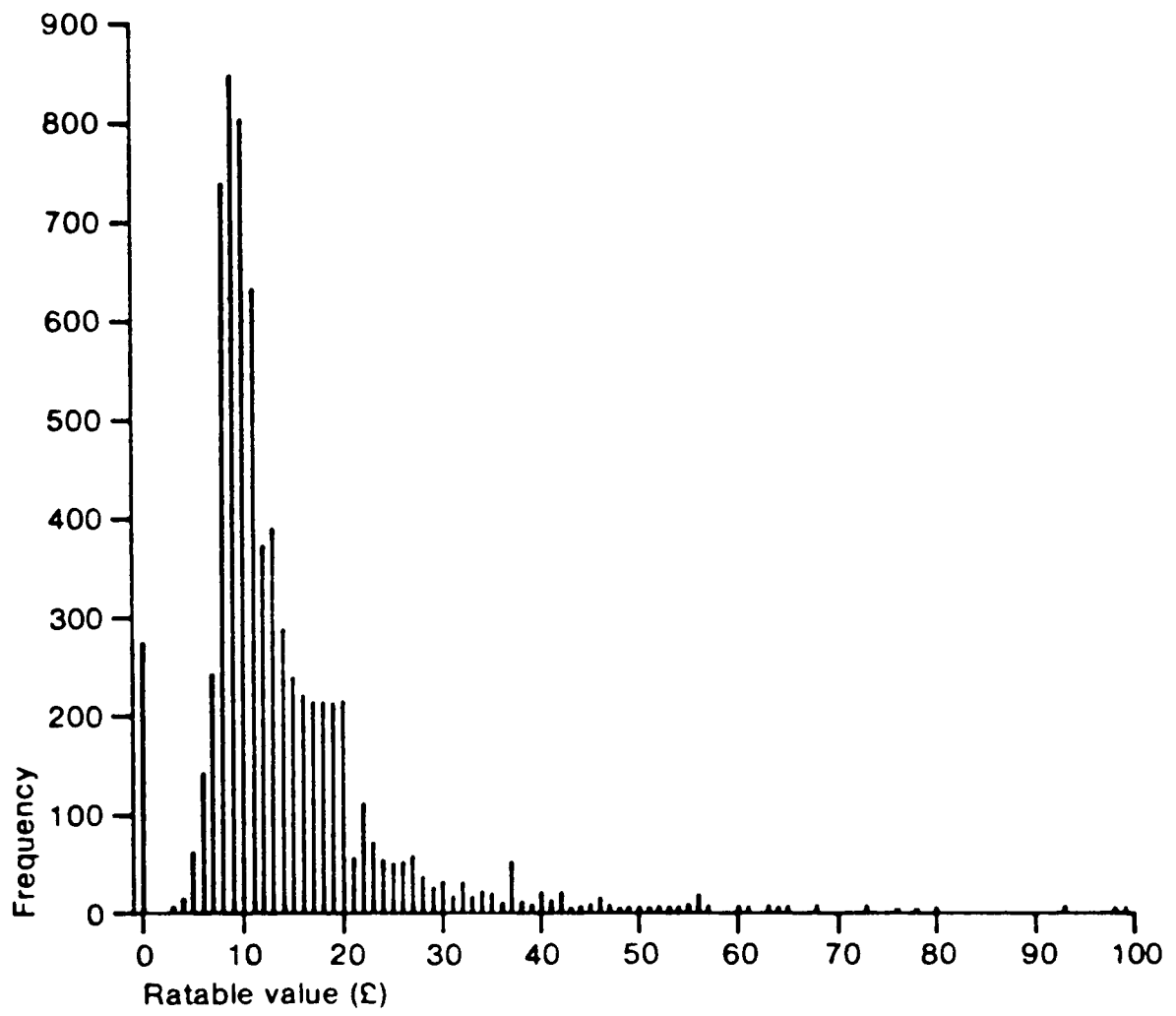


Figure 5:1 Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values for the City of Bristol

Table 5:2: Measure of Dispersion of Rateable Values for Bristol in 1774/5

Minimum Value	L0.0
Maximum Value	L99.0
Range	L99.0
Variance	73.8
Standard Deviation	8.6'
Skewness	2.6'
Kurtosis	12.4'

Notes:

Variance is the square of the standard deviation

Standard deviation is the root mean square deviation from the mean. Like variance it is a measure of spread and increases with the spread of values around the mean.

Skewness increases as the asymmetry of a frequency distribution increases. A positive skew indicates a high proportion of observations of low values and a long "tail": negative skew indicates a high proportion of observations of high values.

Kurtosis refers to the degree of peakedness of a frequency distribution. The greater the value the sharper the peaking.

The frequency table (Figure 5:1) and the summaries of its characteristics presented above (Tables 5:1 and 5:2) show a distribution with a mean of L13.1 which falls low within the range of values (L0 - L99). This gives the distribution a marked positive skew and a long "tail", since there were relatively few properties of higher rateable value: the median falls between

L10 and L11 so 50% of all properties in the city were valued below this rather low point. The standard deviation at 8.9 is large and this reflects the great spread of values. The distribution has one marked peak to the modal class of L9 which occurs 852 times and this distinct tendency to peak gives a large kurtosis of 12.4.

Variation by Parish

The mean, mode and median rateable values for each parish and for the whole city are presented in Table 5:3.

Table 5:3: Mean, Mode and Median Rateable Values for Bristol Parishes in 1774/5.

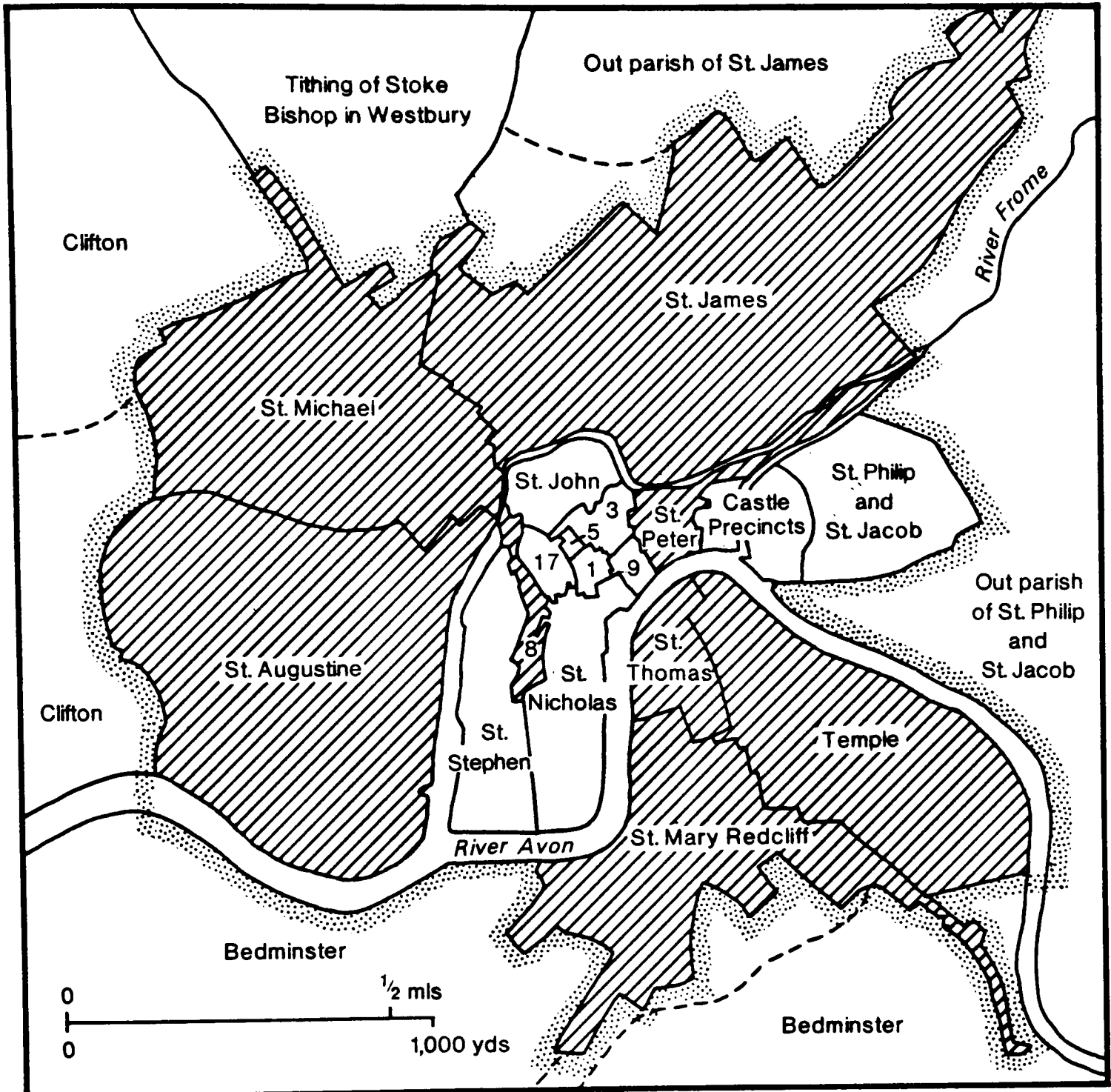
Parish	Mean	Mode(s)	Median
1. All Saints	15.4	11 & 14	Between 13 & 14
2 Castle Precincts	13.8	9	9 & 10
3 Christ Church	17.3	10	12 & 13
4 St. Augustine	12.3	11	10 & 11
5 St. Ewen	15.5	12	12 & 13
6 St. James City	10.9	9	8 & 9
7 St. John	13.7	8	11 & 12
8 St. Leonard	12.8	8	10 & 11
9 St. Mary le Port	17.4	10 & 22	15 & 16
10 St. Mary Redcliff	10.4	8	8 & 9
11 St. Michael	10.4	7	8 & 9
12 St. Nicholas	20.8	37	14 & 15
13 St. Peter	12.0	11	11 & 12
14 SS Philip & Jacob	13.3	8 & 9	10 & 11
15 St. Stephen	14.2	9	11 & 12
16 St. Thomas	12.3	10	10 & 11
17 St. Werburgh	20.5	16 & 28	18 & 19
18 Temple	11.7	10	9 & 10
19 St. James Outp'sh	14.1	11 & 13	12 & 13
20 Trinity	14.3	10	11 & 12
City	13.1	9	10 & 11

The variation in the data is remarkably high, given the manipulation which they had undergone. After any estimation

procedure which uses averaging techniques the data will tend increasing towards a normal distribution and hence towards the mean. Here not only were missing values calculated using regression techniques on existing data, but finally a mean of all data, original and estimated, was produced and it is this mean figure which is used in the discussion of the distribution of wealth in the city. Given all this manipulation, at each stage of which variation tends to decrease, the amount of variation which remains is remarkable and this increases confidence in the inferences drawn from the figures.

The mean, mode and median values for each parish are compared with those for the whole city in Figures 5:2, 5:3 and 5:4. Apart from the anomalies of St. Leonard's and St. Peter's parishes, comparison of parish means (Figure 5:2) confirms the pattern of a wealthy central area surrounded by a poorer ring of suburbs which one would expect to find on empirical grounds (see e.g. Ralph & Williams, 1968; Slack, 1977; & Holman, 1975, for Bristol) as well as on theoretical grounds (Vance, 1971; Sjoberg, 1960). The anomalous case of St. Leonard's, which has a mean of only £12.8 compared with the city's £13.1, is perhaps explained in part by the small number of entries (61), as from its location one would have expected it to be a rather wealthy parish. Certainly in 1696 it was one of the wealthiest parishes and none of its residents was recorded as receiving alms (Ralph & Williams, 1968, xxiv), although Slack does not find it to be one of the very richest parishes in the mid-sixteenth century (1977; 50).

The other anomaly is St. Peter's parish. This had formed part of the richest area of the city in the mid-sixteenth century



- 1 All Saints
- 3 Christ Church
- 5 St. Ewen
- 8 St. Leonard
- 9 St. Mary le Port
- 17 St. Werburgh

- City boundary
- Parish boundary
- Limit of built area in out parishes

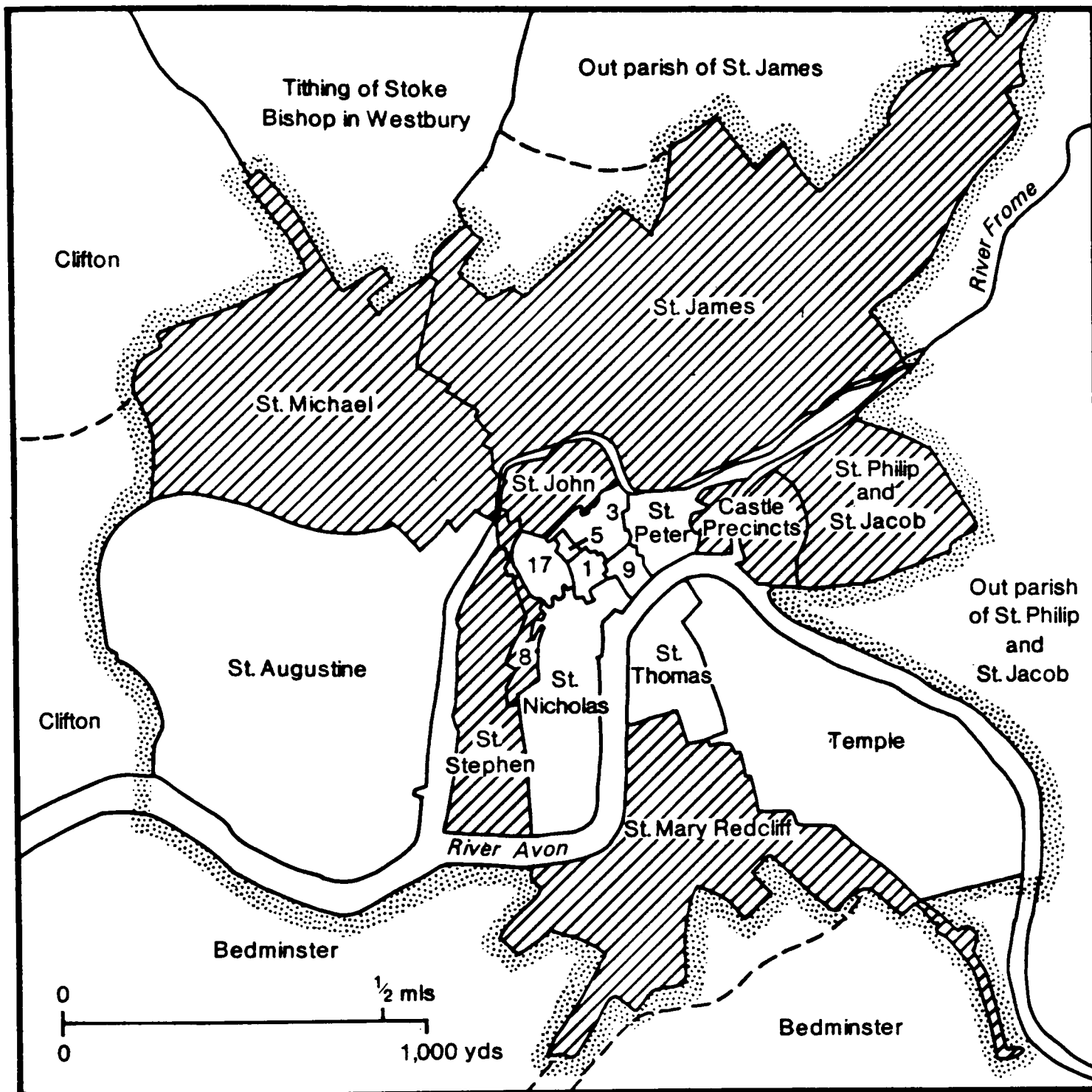


Parish mean rateable value below city average



Parish mean rateable value above city average

Figure 5:2 Comparison of Parish and City Mean Rateable Values



- 1 All Saints
 - 3 Christ Church
 - 5 St. Ewan
 - 8 St. Leonard
 - 9 St. Mary le Port
 - 17 St. Werburgh
- City boundary
 - Parish boundary
 - Limit of of built area in out parishes
- Mode \leq city mode rateable value
 - Mode $>$ city mode rateable value

Figure 5:3 Comparison of Parish and City Modal Rateable Values

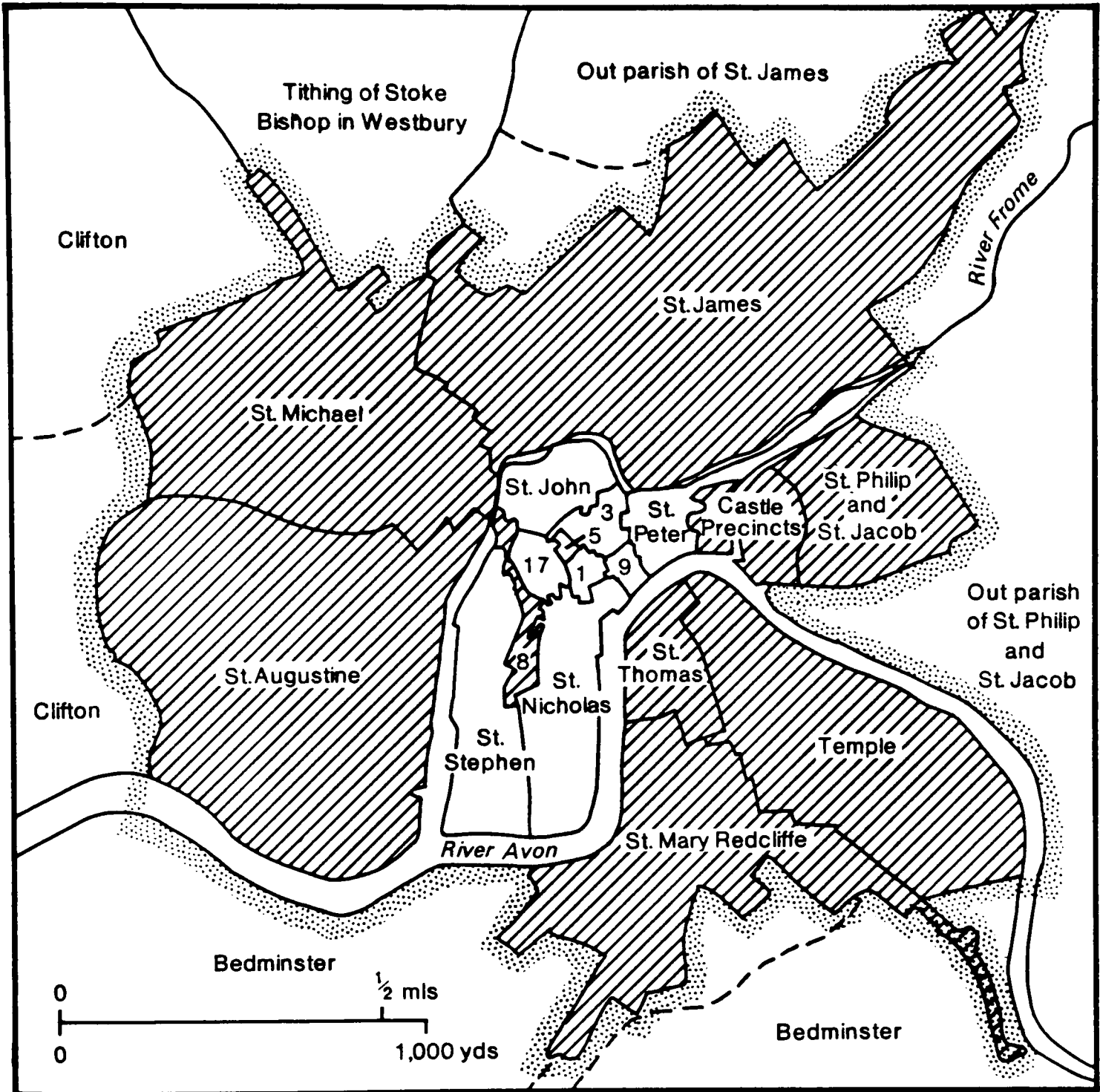


Figure 5:4 Comparison of Parish and City Median Rateable Values

(Slack,1977;50); but it is a riverside parish and so one might well expect the usual collection of noisome trades and, perhaps, storage buildings of rather low rateable value. Its median (between L11 and L12 cf. the city's between L10 and L11) and mode (L11 cf. the city's L9), however, suggest that it was still amongst the richer parishes (see below). The two rivers which wound through the city and which were heavily used by shipping inevitably distorted any clear pattern, but in general the pattern of wealthy centre/poor suburbs identified in the mid-sixteenth century (Slack,1977), had persisted through the late seventeenth-century: (Ralph & Williams,1968) into the later eighteenth century. It must be remembered, however, that there are no usable data for the parish of Clifton, a new elegant suburb to the west and north of the city where properties of very high value were being built (Ison,1978,23+25), although the main developments in Clifton took place after 1790 (Pevsner,1958,364; Ison,1978,25-29).

Another suburb with fine houses and gentle residents was St. Michael's parish which has a particularly low mean rateable value of L10.4. It seems probable that the rates and tax data for St. Michael's parish are untrustworthy. The mean, median and mode are all improbably low and the classification into wealth bands also gave unexpectedly low results. From studies of its occupation structure it is clear that this was a parish of gentlefolk and it seems that the fiscal data are in this instance unreliable. The linkage of sources again proves a useful way of testing their accuracy.

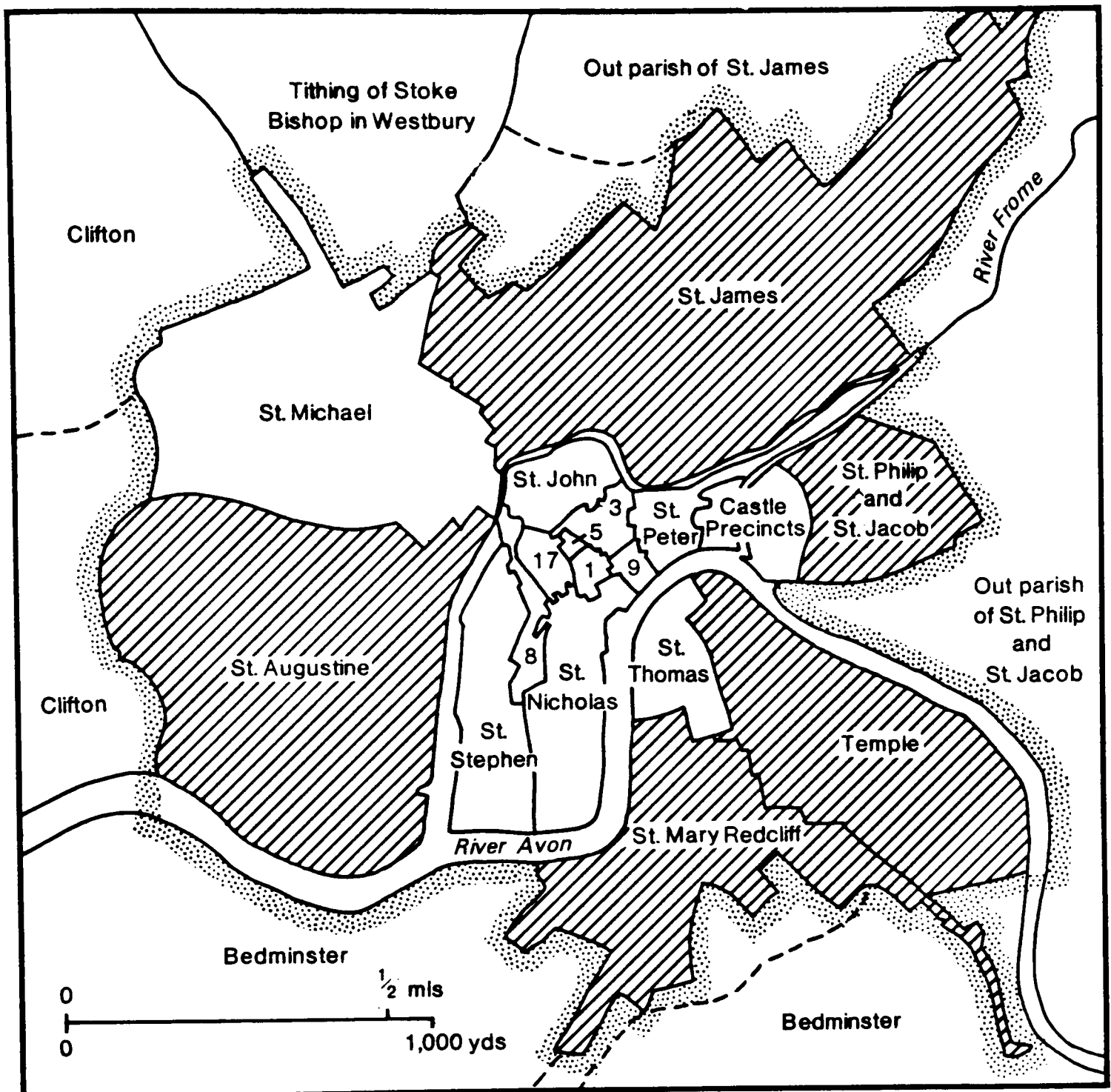
It is unfortunately not clear whether the residents of St. Michael's and other suburban parishes were newcomers to Bristol, people who had given up business in the city having made their money, or active businessmen who carried on their trade at a separate location from their homes. The only indication of the separation of workplace and home comes from the directory in which it is clear that many merchants had a counter in the Exchange in Corn Street or at another central place and their homes and all other storage areas at another place. Thus Isaac Baugh, Esq. had an office in the Exchange but lived in St. James's Square; Richard Farr, Esq. had his office on the Key but lived in Park Street. Other than cases like these it is not clear whether wealth was moving out of the centre of the city to its suburbs or from outside the area direct to the suburbs and relatively little can be said about the mechanics of wealth transfer amongst Bristol parishes.

In Figure 5:3 the modal class for each parish is compared with that for the whole city. Here the parish of St. Peter is classed amongst the richer parishes, as one would have expected; but in general the rich centre - poor suburbs pattern is less clear. St. Augustine, St. Thomas and Temple are all classed with the richer parishes. The fact that St. Augustine's parish is found to be one of the richer parishes when modes are compared and one of the poorer when means are compared is perhaps unsurprising. Quilici considers the parish to have undergone distinct changes in its social composition during the eighteenth century, towards the end of which numbers of wealthy gentlefolk and members of the middle class came to live in the parish which

nonetheless retained many poorer tradesmen and ships' provisioners (1976,38-89). Castle Precincts had also seen marked social change. It had originally been outside the city jurisdiction and a place of refuge for criminals and vagrants; but in the eighteenth century there was an influx of wealthier and respectable citizens (Ralph & Williams,1968,xxiii).

Figure 5:4 compares the median values of each of the parishes with that of the city as a whole. The distribution of parishes with a median higher than that for the whole city confirms the existence of a rich core surrounded by poorer suburbs. Using medians as the measure St. Peter's is classed as a richer parish, but St. Leonard's is again amongst the poorer parishes. This and the parish of St. Michael, data for which are though suspect, are the only persistent exceptions to the pattern; both are amongst the poorer parishes using all three measures of central tendency as a guide. Apart from these two cases all three measures of central tendency substantiate the rich centre - poorer suburb pattern and suggest that, within the city boundaries, Bristol still had a conspicuously pre-industrial residential pattern.

The persistence of patterns of rich and poor parishes can be seen if Figure 5:2, which shows means of rateable values in Bristol parishes in 1774/5, is compared with Figures 5:5 and 5:6 which show Bristol parishes in the mid sixteenth to early seventeenth century (Slack,1977) and in the late seventeenth century (Ralph & Williams,1968). The pattern, though, was changing in that the parishes on the edge of the late eighteenth-





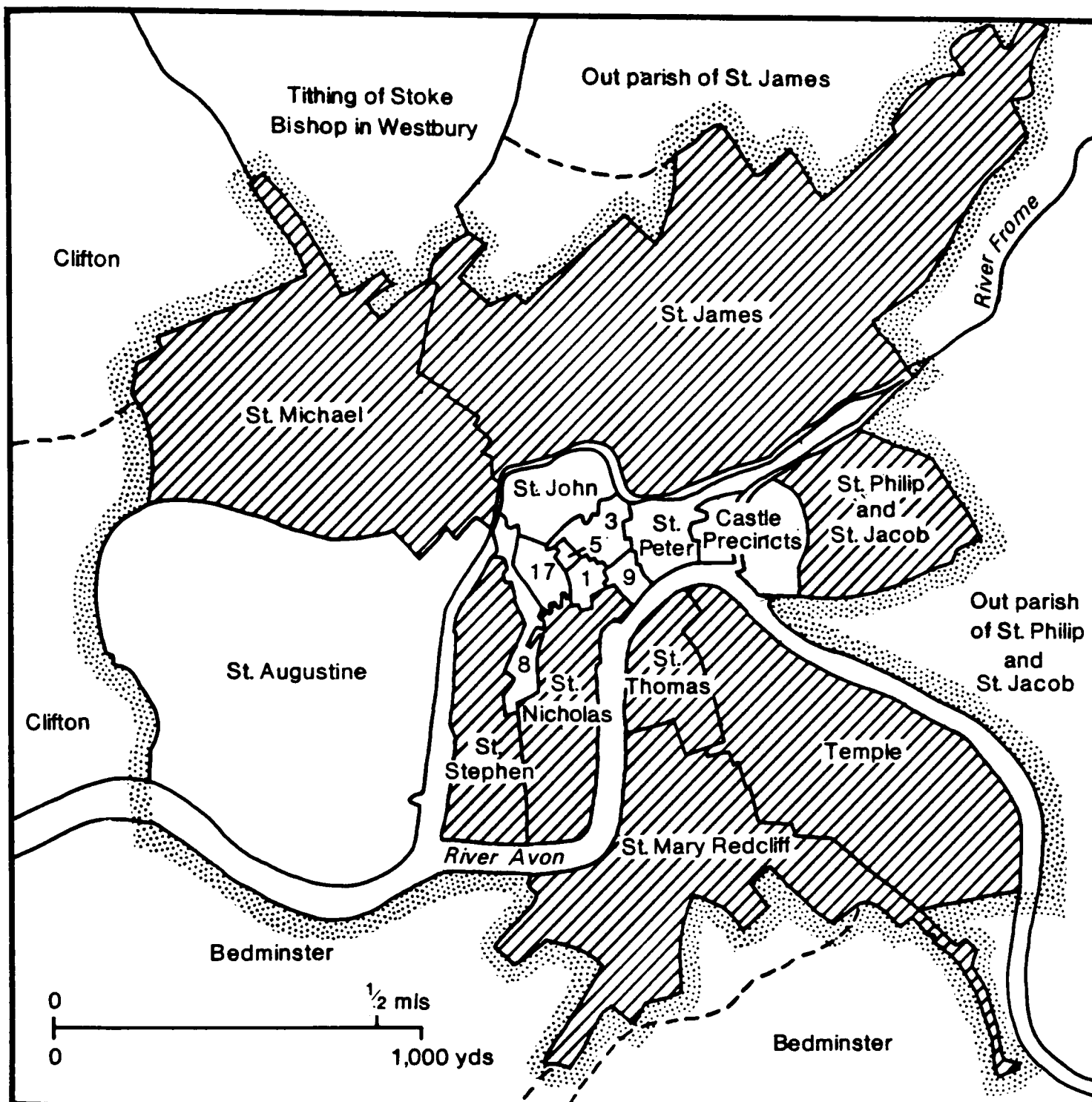
- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 All Saints | City boundary |
| 3 Christ Church | —— Parish boundary |
| 5 St. Ewan | - - - Limit of built area in out parishes |
| 8 St. Leonard | |
| 9 St. Mary le Port | |
| 17 St. Werburgh | |
|  Poorest five parishes | |
|  Richer parishes | |

Figure 5:5 The Wealth of Bristol Parishes After Slack (1977).





- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 All Saints | City boundary |
| 3 Christ Church | —— Parish boundary |
| 5 St. Ewen | - - - Limit of built area in out parishes |
| 8 St. Leonard | |
| 9 St. Mary le Port | |
| 17 St. Werburgh | |
|  33 or more in receipt of alms | |
|  Fewer than 10 in receipt of alms | |

Figure 5:6' The Wealth of Bristol Parishes After Ralph and Williams (1968)

Note to Figure 5:6:

This map is based on a simple count of those in receipt of alms in 1696. Counting is influenced to some extent by the size of the parish but the relationship is not simple. St. Augustine's parish which had an area of 154.1 acres and a built up area of 43.9 acres had no poor at all listed. There is also a relationship with the position of almshouses: St. Nicholas parish had 13 poor, all of whom lived in the merchants' almshouse. Because of these difficulties two broad categories are drawn up: in the "richer" class no parish had more than 10 people in receipt of alms and most had none: in the "poorer" class all parishes have 33 or more people in receipt of alms and some, especially SS Philip and Jacob, have particularly high numbers.

century: city - St. Augustine and St. James Outparish on the fashionable sides of the city - were amongst the richer areas. There are no usable data for Clifton, the rich fashionable outparish and those for St. Michael's parish are suspect. The peripheral location of the Hotwells spa was due initially to geology but also reflects a desire on the part of the visitors and permanent residents for isolation from the poor and the noisome trades of the city. It seems clear that, whilst the wealth patterns of the old city remained pre-industrial, around it to the north and west was a new development which was giving a distinctly different and modern pattern of wealth distribution. The development was not one of changes in the old parishes but additions in peripheral ones of a distinctly new kind.

Measures of central tendency provide a quick and useful way to compare parishes, but it is necessary to examine in some detail the distribution of wealth in each parish. Measures of dispersion of rateable values for the various parishes and the city as a whole are presented in Table 5:4 below.

Table 5:4 : Measures of Dispersion in Rateable Values in Bristol Parishes in 1774/5

Parish	Min.	Max.	Range	Var.	S.D.	Skew	Kurt.	Adj. S.D.
1 All Saints	0.0	43.3	43.3	72.0	8.5	0.6	1.0	55.2
2 Castle	5.0	44.5	39.5	74.1	8.6	1.9	2.8	62.3
3 Ch. Ch.	0.0	68.0	68.0	115.8	10.8	1.8	4.3	62.4
4 St. Aug.	0.0	36.5	36.5	41.4	6.4	0.9	2.5	52.0
5 St. Ewen	0.0	63.4	63.4	81.7	9.0	2.3	8.2	58.1
6 St. Jas. City	0.0	99.0	99.0	38.2	6.2	5.0	47.7	56.9
7 St. John	0.0	45.0	45.0	45.6	6.8	1.3	3.7	49.6
8 St. Leo.	0.0	61.4	61.4	120.3	11.0	2.5	8.4	85.9
9 St. M. Port	0.0	61.4	61.4	85.0	9.2	1.4	3.8	52.9
10 St. M. Red.	0.0	93.2	93.2	62.4	7.9	3.6	26.4	76.0
11 St. Mich.	0.0	73.4	73.4	42.9	6.6	4.4	32.7	63.5
12 St. Nich.	0.0	97.7	97.7	252.8	15.9	1.3	2.0	76.4
13 St. Peter	0.0	46.5	46.5	76.6	8.7	0.4	0.6	72.5
14 SS P. & J.	0.0	53.5	53.5	51.8	7.2	1.8	6.1	54.1
15 St. Steph.	0.0	50.8	50.8	63.8	8.0	1.2	3.1	56.3
16 St. Thos.	0.0	41.1	41.1	44.5	6.7	1.2	3.9	54.5
17 St. Werb.	0.0	78.3	78.3	125.7	11.2	1.9	7.9	54.6
18 Temple	0.0	45.3	45.3	26.5	5.1	3.6	17.6	43.6
19 St. Jas. O.	0.0	55.3	55.3	49.7	7.0	3.2	14.5	49.6
20 Trinity	0.0	39.5	39.5	35.8	6.0	1.5	4.0	42.0
City	0.0	99.0	99.0	73.8	8.6	2.6	12.4	65.7

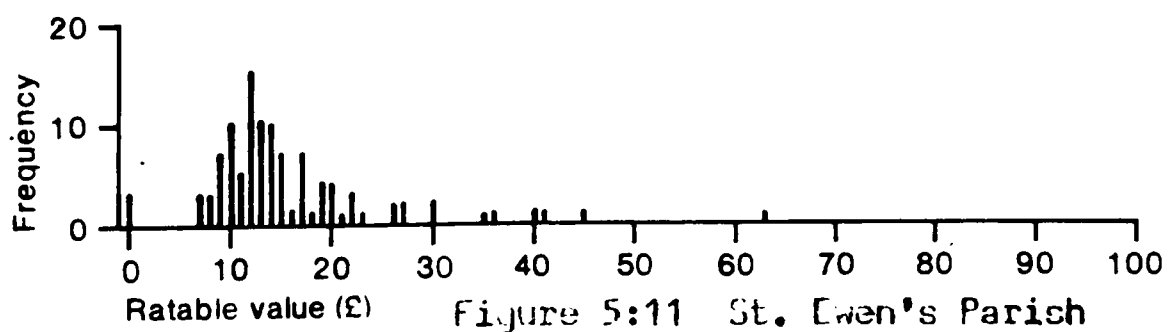
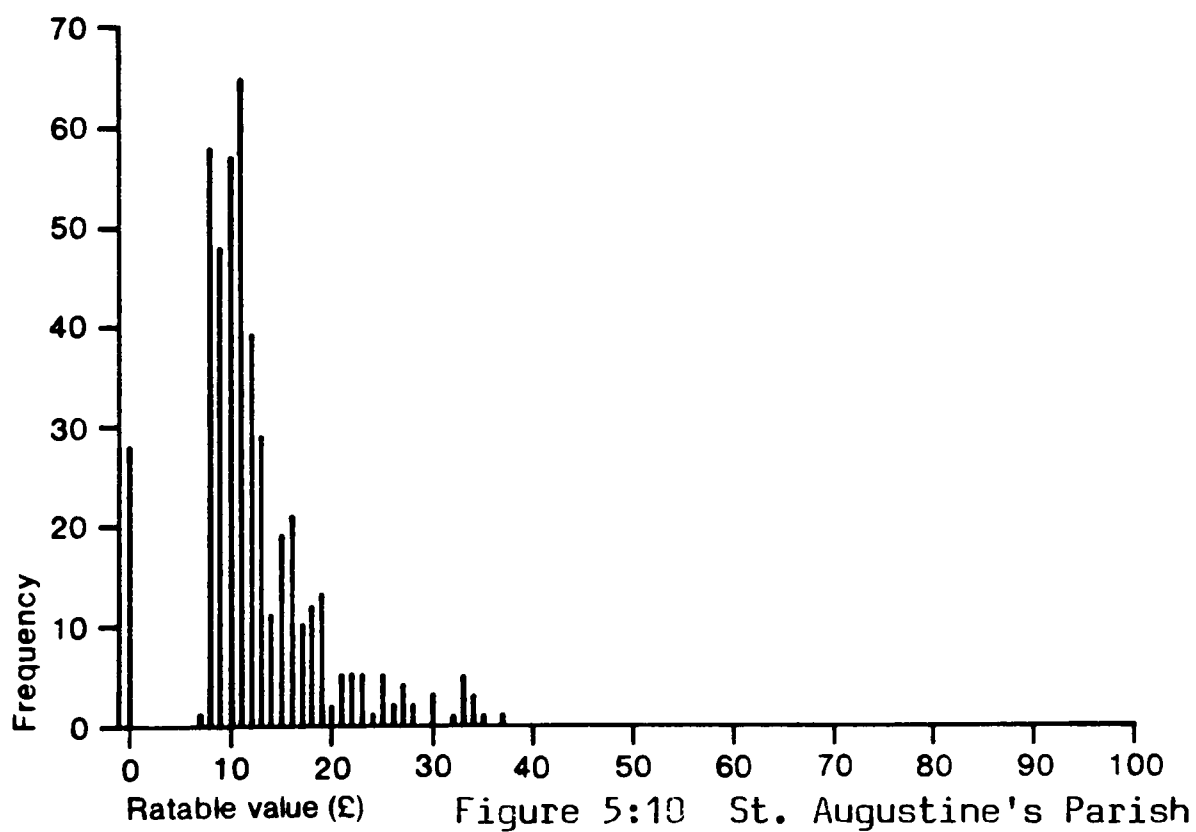
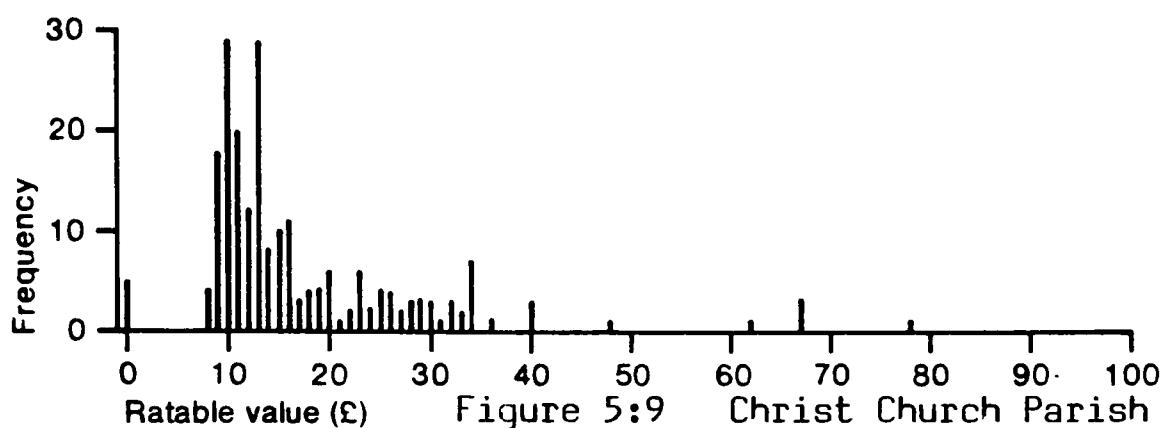
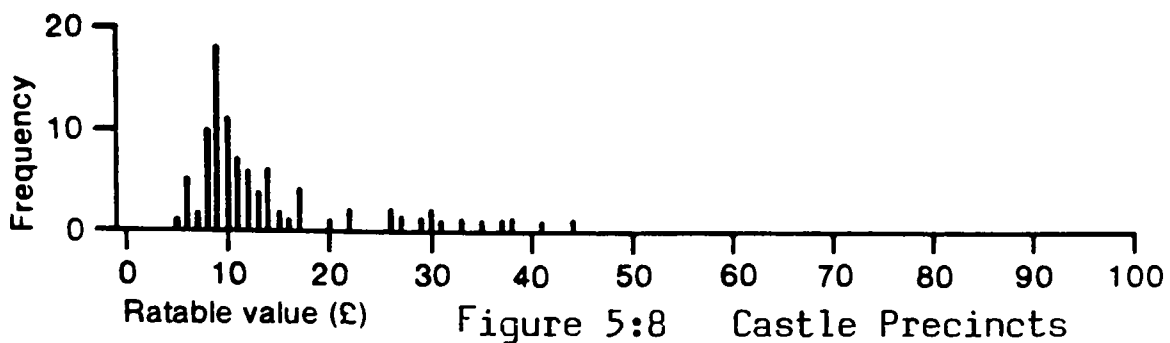
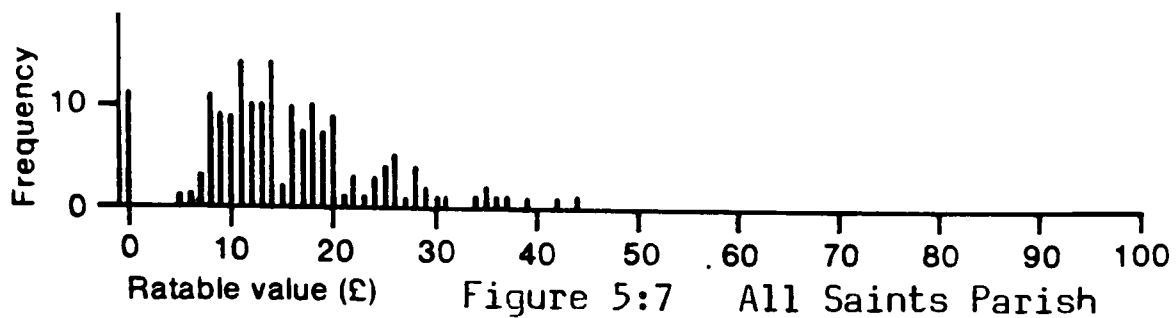
Note:

Adj. S.D. (Adjusted standard deviation) is the standard deviation divided by the mean.

It can be seen from Table 5:4 and from Figures 5:7 to 5:26' that the frequency distributions for the individual parishes differ very markedly one from another and from that for the whole city. Whilst for the whole city the standard deviation is 65.7% of the value of the mean and is thus quite markedly spread, parish values of the standard deviation as a percentage of the mean range from 85.9% in St. Leonard, 76.4% in St. Nicholas and 76.0% in St. Mary Redcliff, where spread is very large, to 42.0% in Trinity ward (parts of Christ Church, St. Ewen, St. John and St. James City parishes), 43.6% in Temple ward and 49.6% in St. John and James Outparish where values were much more clustered. St Peter's parish values are only slightly skewed (0.4), whilst values for St. James City parish are a very skewed (5.0). Similarly whilst the distribution for St. James City parish is very peaked indeed (kurtosis 47.7), St. Peter's parish figures have scarcely any tendency to peak (kurtosis 0.6). The city frequency distribution is thus composed of a number of very different parish distribution patterns.

To aid interpretation of this table and of Figures 5:7 to 5:26' a wealth classification was drawn up. The four classes in the scheme are as follows:

- I Less than or equal to L7
- II Greater than L7 and less than or equal to L11.
- III Greater than L11 and less than or equal to L22
- IV Greater than L22 and less than or equal to L99



Figures 5:7 to 5:11 Frequency Diagrams of Rateable Values in
Bristol Parishes

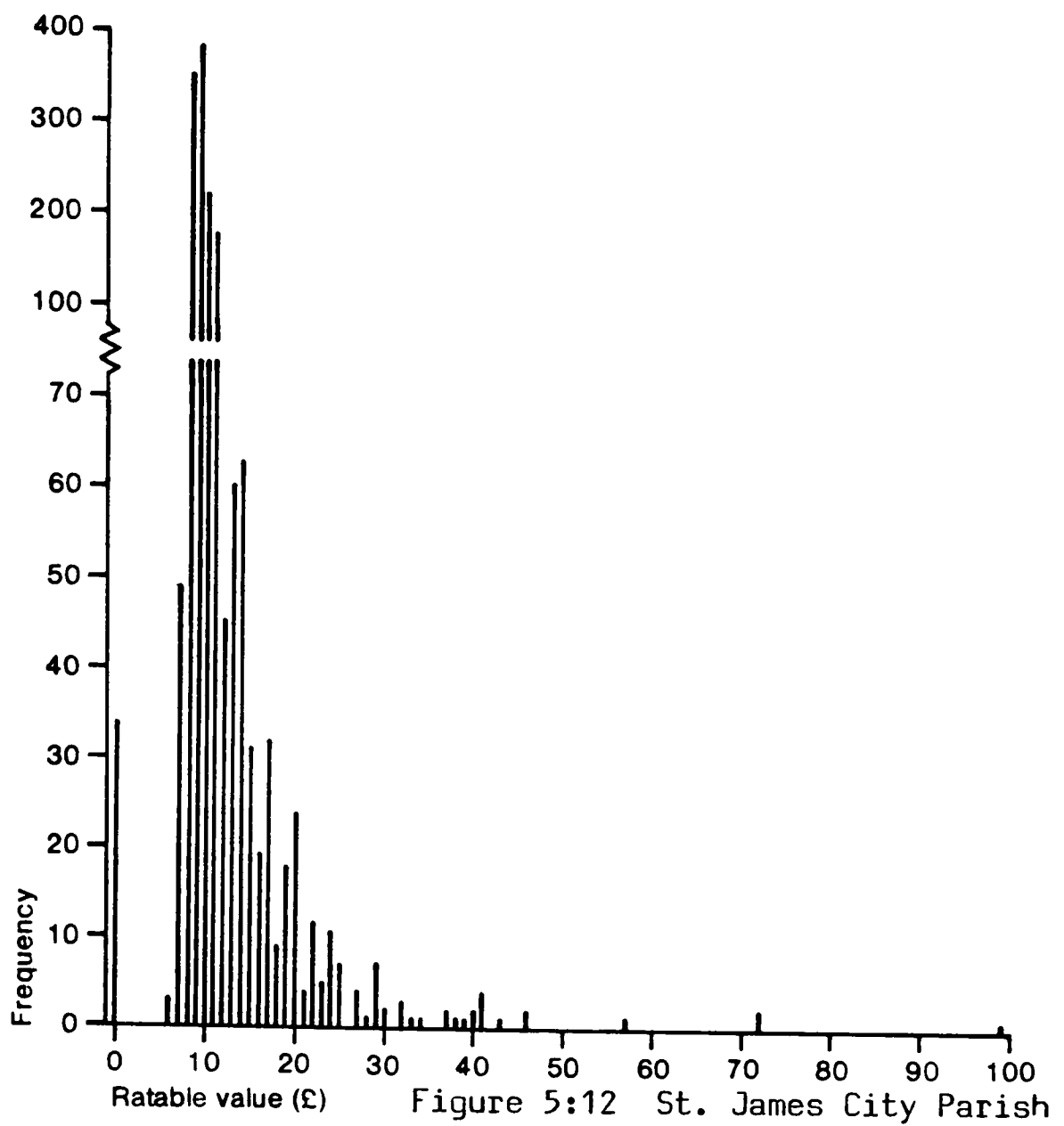


Figure 5:12 St. James City Parish

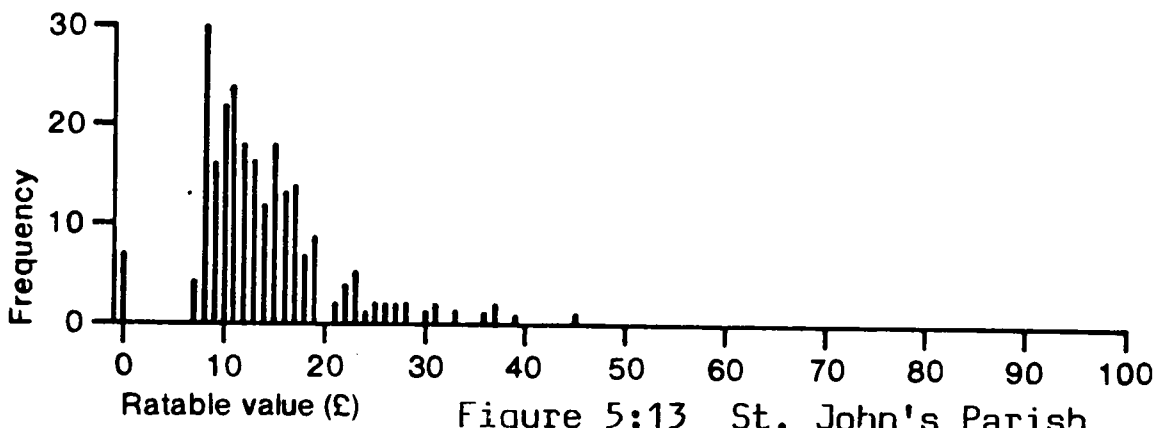


Figure 5:13 St. John's Parish

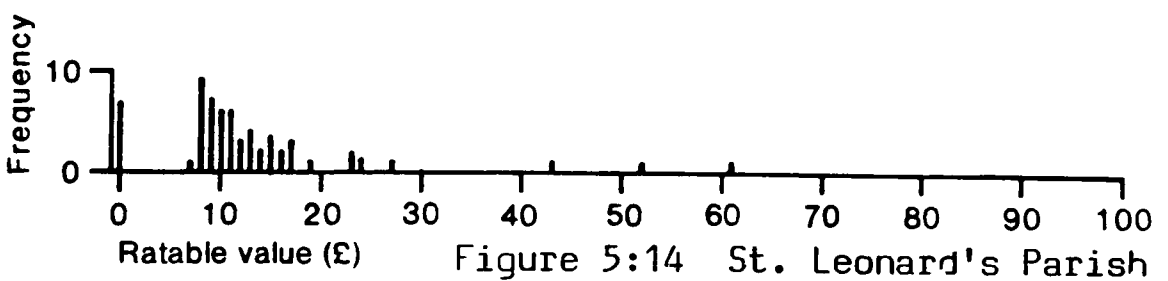


Figure 5:14 St. Leonard's Parish

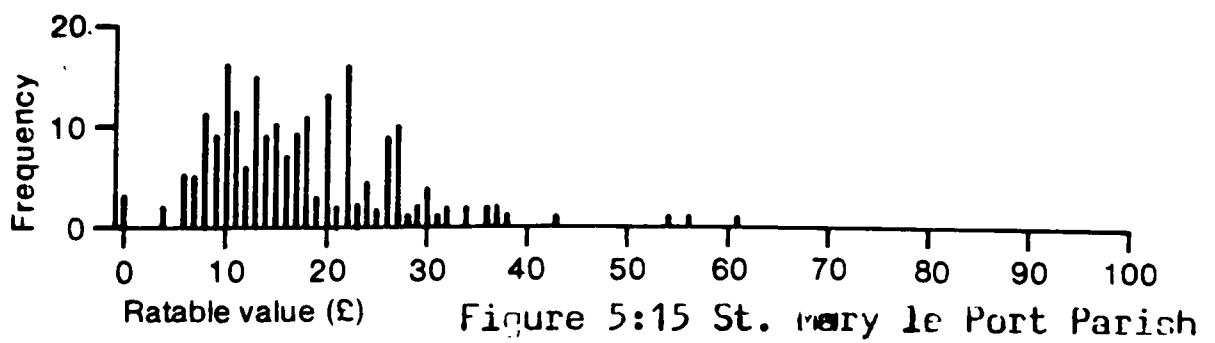
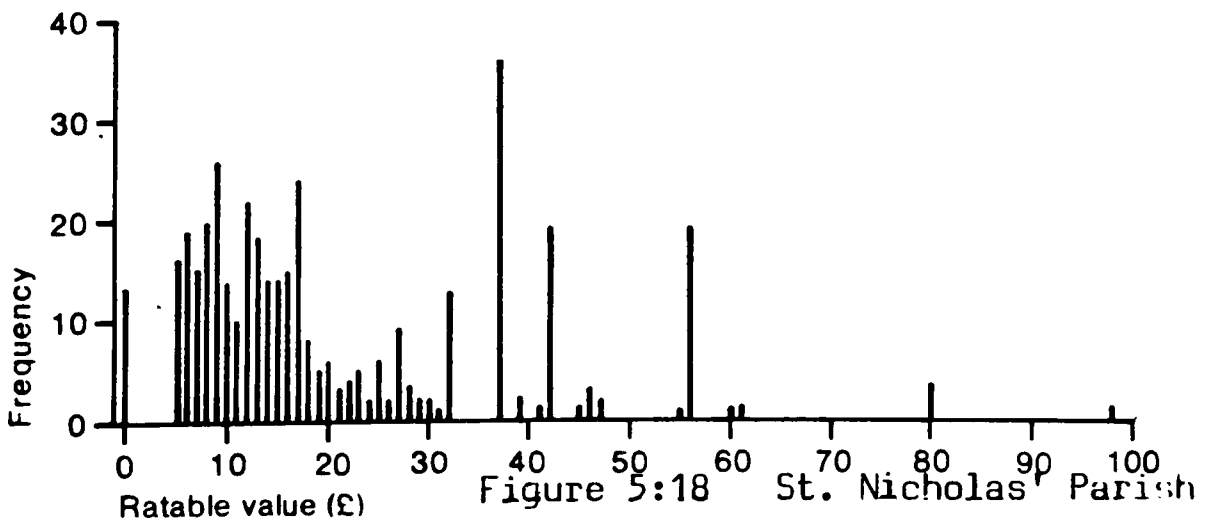
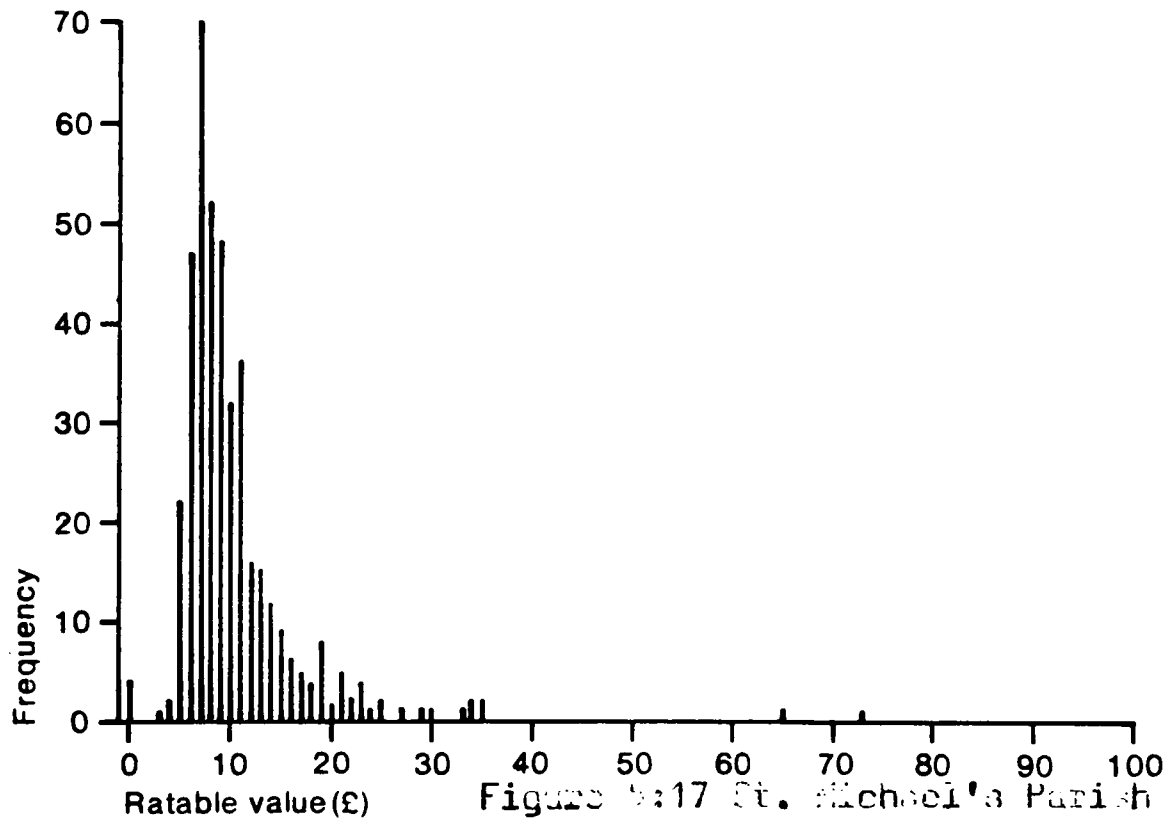
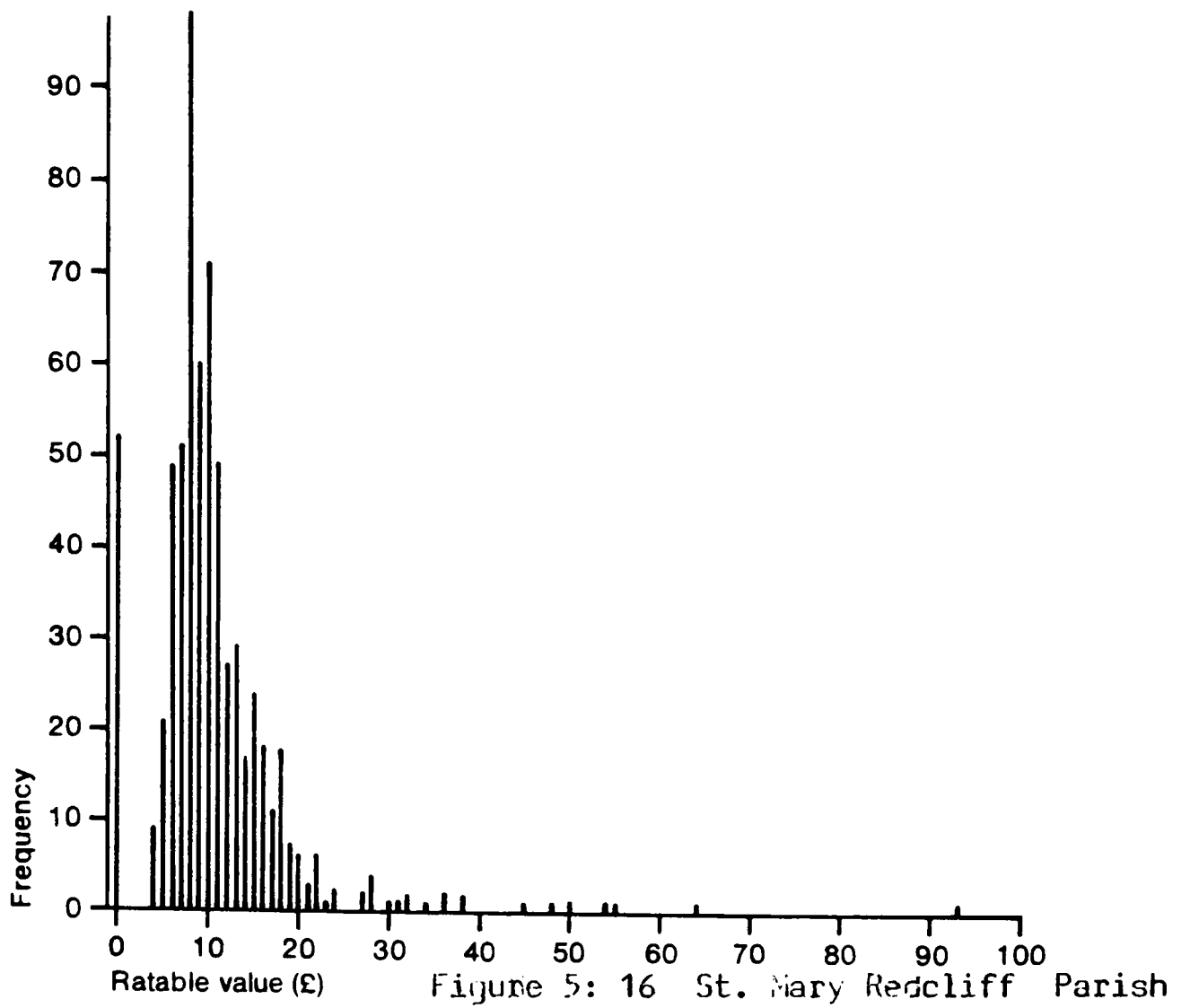


Figure 5:15 St. Mary le Port Parish

Figures 5:12 to 5:15 Frequency Diagrams of Rateable Values in
Bristol Parishes



Figures 5:16 to 5:18 Frequency Diagrams of Rateable Values in
Bristol Parishes

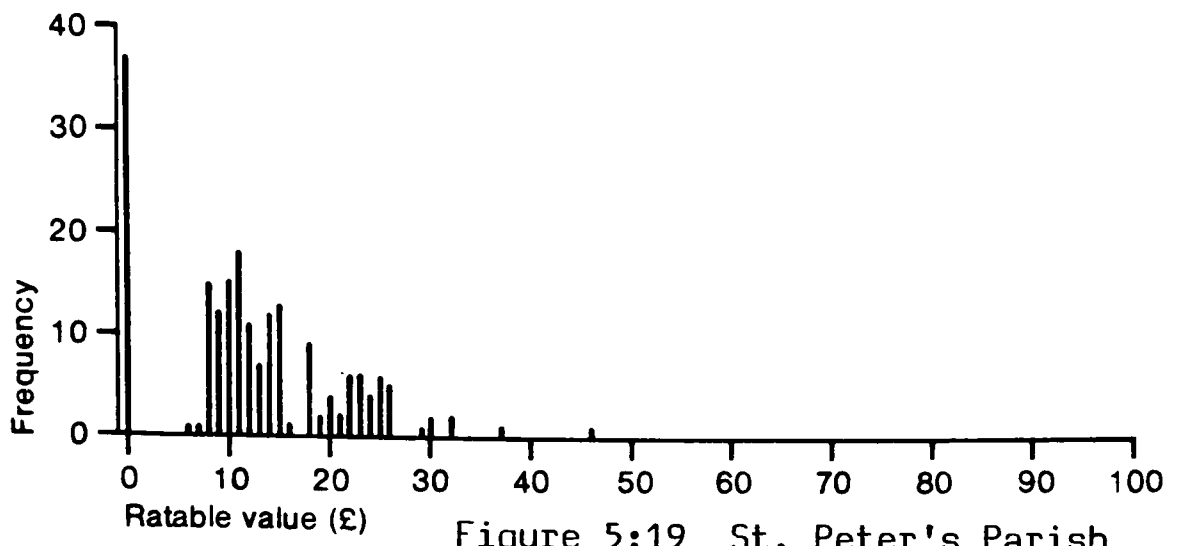


Figure 5:19 St. Peter's Parish

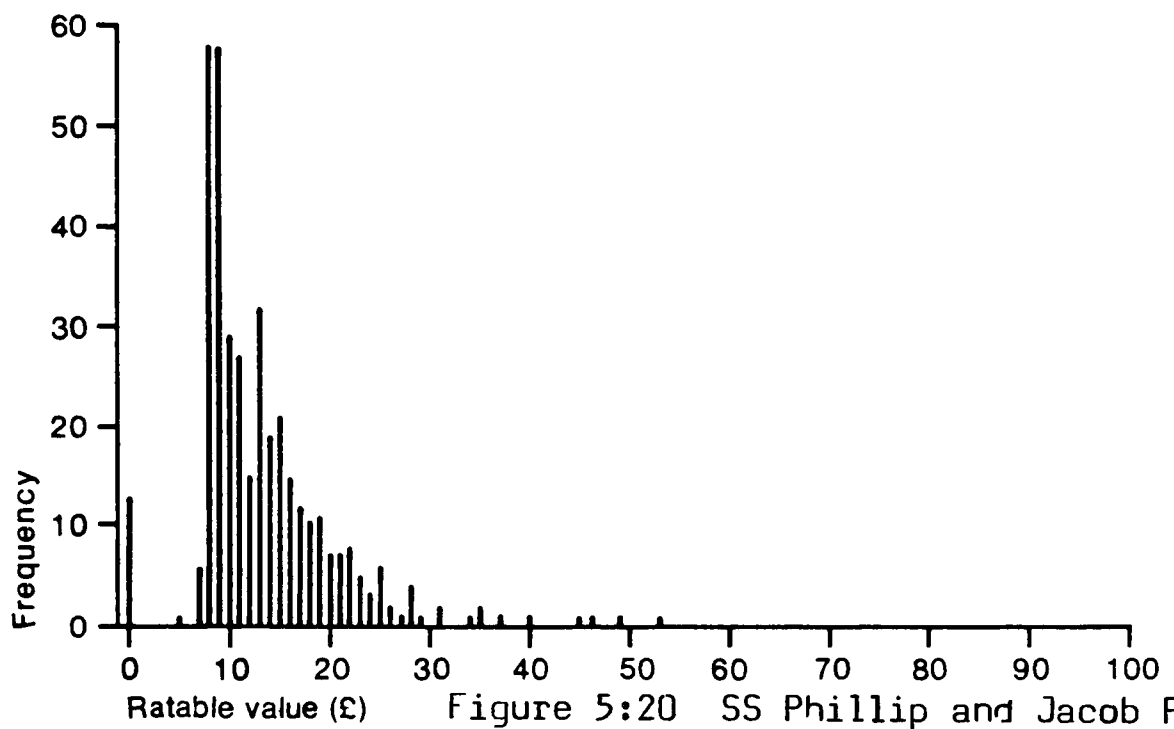


Figure 5:20 SS Phillip and Jacob Parish

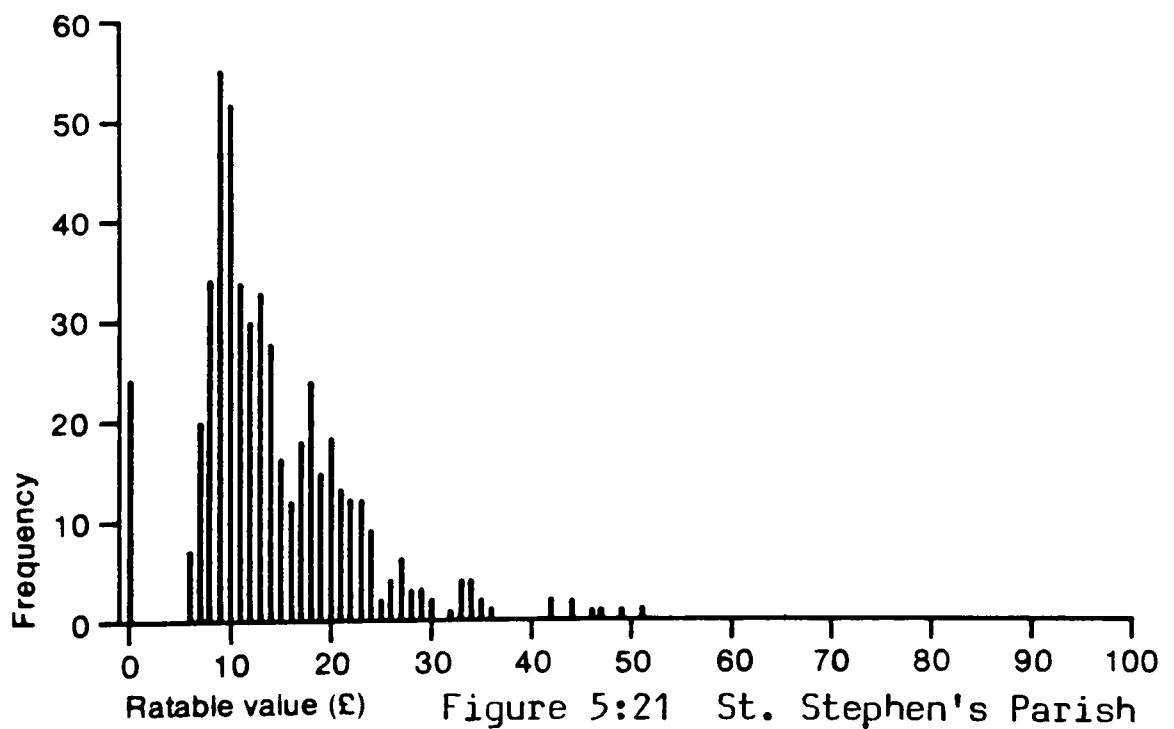
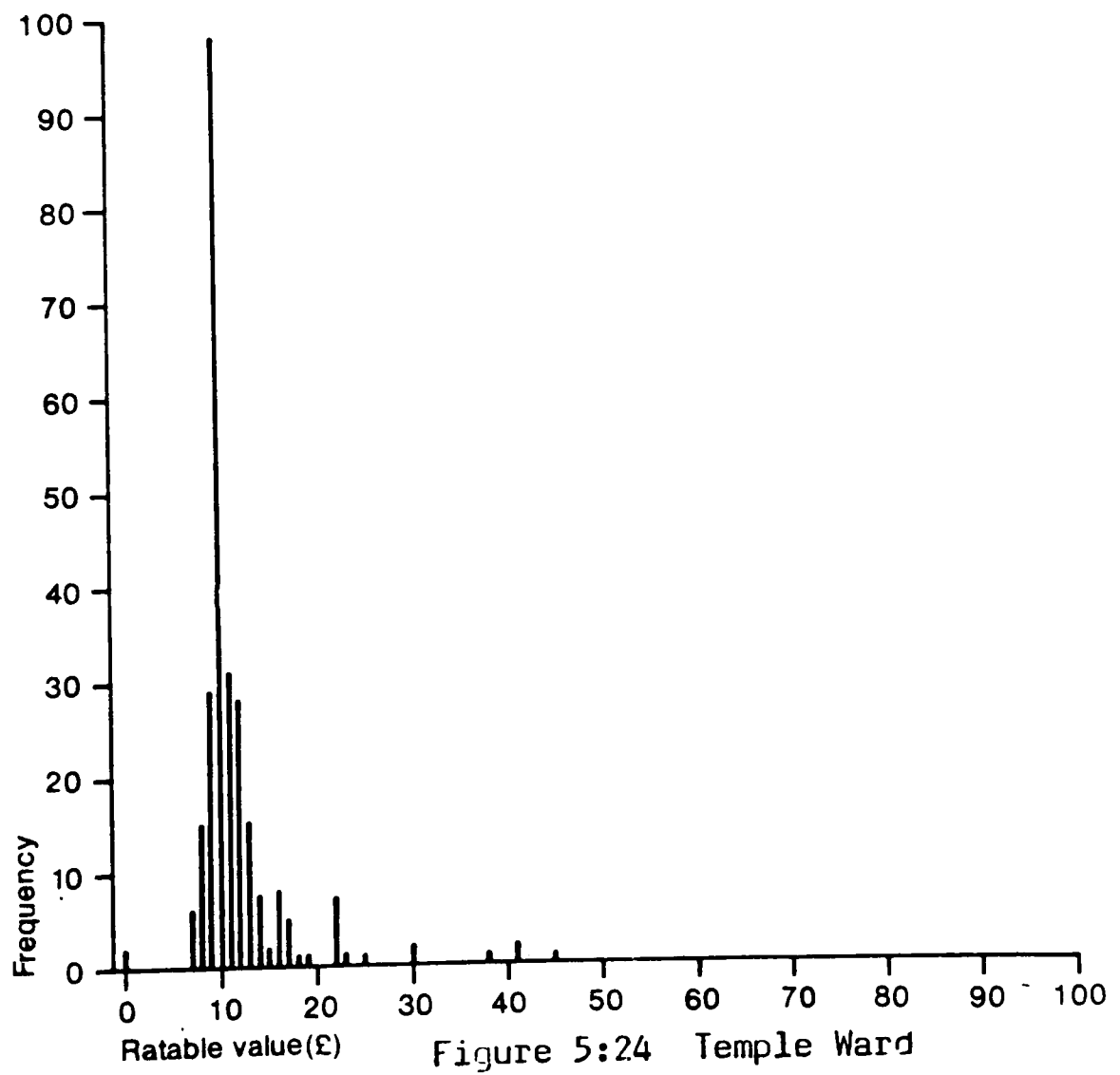
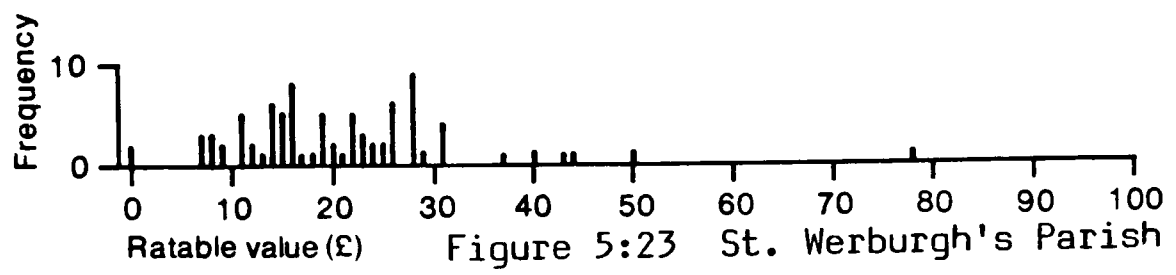
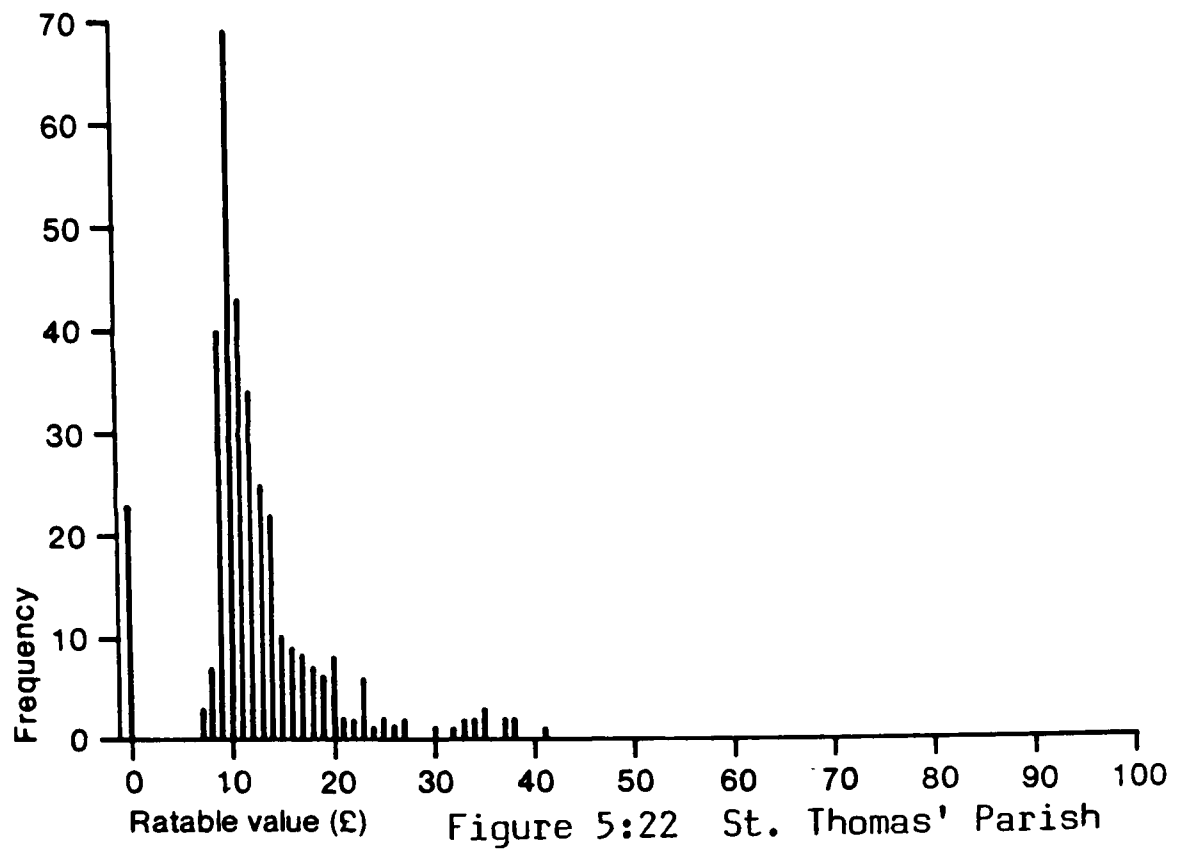


Figure 5:21 St. Stephen's Parish

Figures 5:19 to 5:21. Frequency Diagrams of Rateable Values in
Bristol Parishes



Figures 5:22 to 5:24 Frequency Diagrams of Rateable Values in
Bristol Parishes

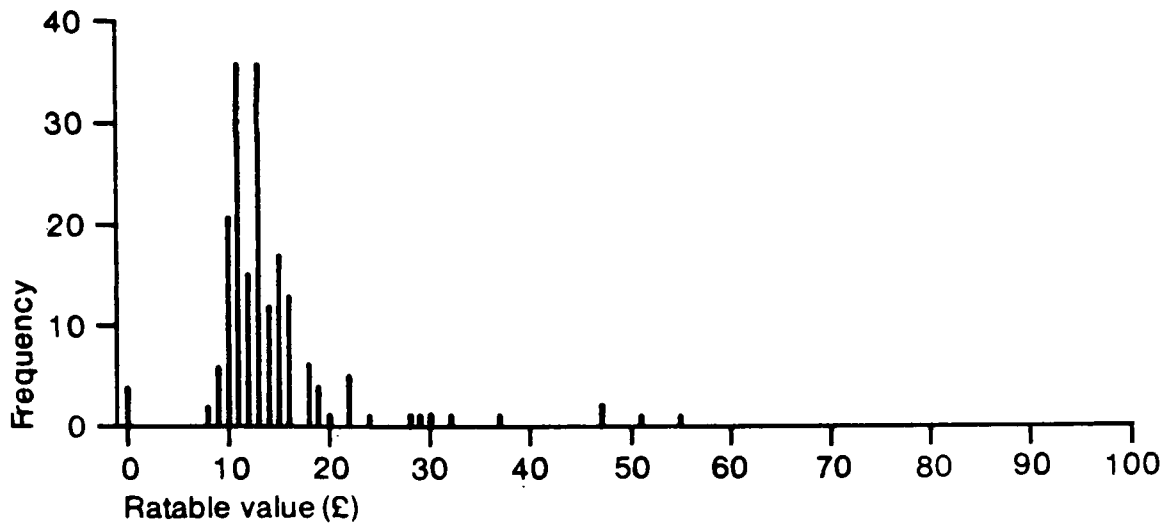


Figure 5:25 Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in
St. James Outparish

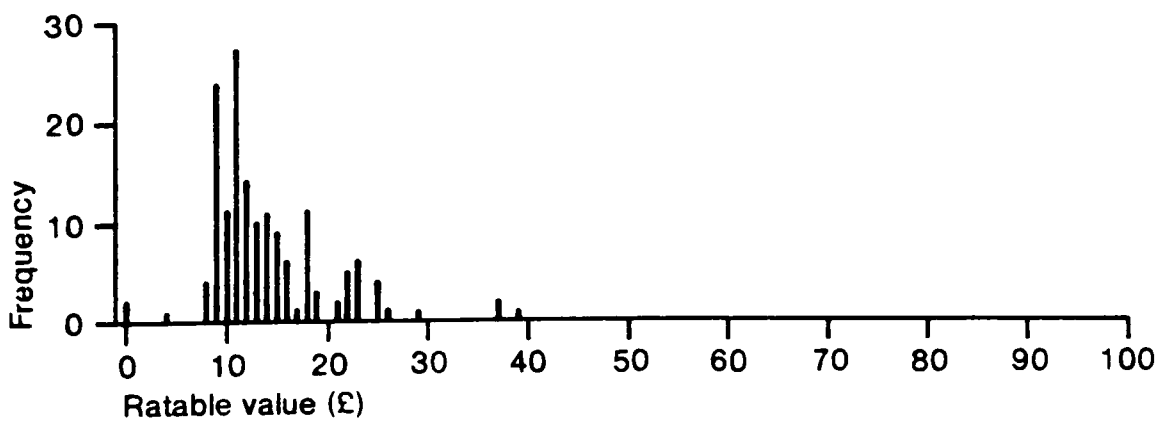


Figure 5:26 Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values in
Trinity Ward

The class divisions correspond to breaks in the frequency distribution of the whole city (Figure 5:1). There is only a small number of classes because the quality of the data precludes a greater refinement, but nonetheless the classification identifies the particularly rich and the particularly poor and goes some way to dividing the mass of the ratepayers who do not fall into these extreme classes. Again it must be stressed that the exact number of pounds is not considered accurate. The object is to rank the population, not to suggest the precise level of their wealth.

Table 5:5: The Classification of Rateable Values in Bristol Parishes 1774/5.

i). Number in each class

Parish	Class				Total
	I	II	III	IV	
1. All Saints	16	43	83	30	172
2. Castle Precincts	8	46	26	13	93
3. Christ Church	5	71	79	50	205
4. St. Augustine	29	228	166	33	456
5. St. Ewen	6	25	63	13	107
6. St. James City	86	1115	317	59	1577
7. St. John	11	92	113	23	239
8. St. Leonard	8	28	18	7	61
9. St. Mary le Port	16	47	101	48	212
10. St. Mary Redcliff	182	278	166	25	651
11. St. Michael	146	168	87	16	417
12. St. Nicholas	63	70	133	135	401
13. St. Peter	39	60	71	28	198
14. SS Philip & Jacob	20	172	157	33	382
15. St. Stephen	51	175	219	61	506
16. St. Thomas	26	159	133	25	343
17. St. Werburgh	5	10	37	32	84
18. Temple	8	173	74	8	263
19. St. James Outp'sh	4	65	109	10	188
20. Trinity	3	55	83	15	156
City	732	3080	2235	664	6711

ii). Per cent in each class

Parish	Class				Total
	I	II	III	IV	
1. All Saints	9.3 -	25.0 -	48.3 +	14.7 +	100.0
2. Castle Precincts	8.6 -	49.5 +	27.9 -	14.0 +	100.0
3. Christ Church	2.4 -	34.7 -	38.5 +	24.4 +	100.0
4. St. Augustine	6.4 -	50.0 +	36.4 +	7.2 -	100.0
5. St. Ewen	5.6 -	23.4 -	58.9 +	12.1 +	100.0
6. St. James City	5.5 -	70.7 +	20.1 -	3.1 -	100.0
7. St. John	4.6 -	38.5 -	47.3 +	9.6 -	100.0
8. St. Leonard	13.1 +	45.9 =	29.5 -	11.5 +	100.0
9. St. Mary le Port	7.5 -	22.2 -	47.7 +	22.6 +	100.0
10. St. Mary Redcliff	28.0 +	42.7 -	25.5 -	3.8 -	100.0
11. St. Michael	35.0 +	31.7 -	29.5 -	3.8 -	100.0
12. St. Nicholas	15.7 +	17.5 -	33.1 -	33.7 +	100.0
13. St. Peter	19.7 +	30.3 -	35.9 +	14.1 +	100.0
14. SS Philip & Jacob	5.2 -	45.1 -	41.1 +	8.6 -	100.0
15. St. Stephen	10.1 -	34.6 -	43.2 +	12.1 +	100.0
16. St. Thomas	7.6 -	46.3 +	38.8 +	7.3 -	100.0
17. St. Werburgh	6.0 -	11.9 -	44.0 +	38.1 +	100.0
18. Temple	3.0 -	65.8 +	28.2 -	3.0 -	100.0
19. St. James Outp'sh	2.1 -	34.6 -	58.0 +	5.3 -	100.0
20. Trinity	1.9 -	35.3 -	53.2 +	9.6 -	100.0
City	10.9	45.9	33.3	9.9	100.0

The classification of wealth in the various parishes shows firstly the ubiquity of the poor. Table 5:5 shows the poor (here

considered as those in Class I who occupied houses worth L7 a year or less) to have been present in all parishes; they formed 10.9% of the population of the whole city and between 1.9% of the population in Trinity ward to 28.0% in St. Mary Redcliff, if the probably erroneous figure of 35.0% in St. Michael's parish is ignored. This is found to be the case in Dublin at the end of the seventeenth century when poor people formed at least 30% of the population of even the richest parishes (Butlin, 1965, 63). Similarly, rich people (those in houses worth more than L22 a year) were to be found in every parish. They formed 12.4% of the population of the city as a whole and in the individual parishes formed between 3.1% of the population in St. James City parish and 38.1% of the population of St. Werburgh's parish. This fits the early modern pattern of mixing at the parish level and segregation at the street level (Power, 1971, 164): in big cities by the end of the eighteenth century and generally in the nineteenth there was far more sorting by area (Walvin, 1984, 96). The problem that parish boundaries might not have coincided with social area boundaries is a real one. It is largely unimportant in the heart of the city where parishes are so very small; but treating very large parishes such as St. James parish as a unit can hide social divisions. In St. James City parish, for example, as well as early development in the south nearest the city centre, there was elegant suburban development further north near St. James Outparish and the city boundary: Marlborough Street and Dighton Street are examples of such developments.

Those in Class II, who occupied houses worth more than L7 and not more than L11 a year, were not desperately poor, but

cannot be regarded in any sense as having been well off; they formed 45.9% of the whole city population and between 11.9% (St. Werburgh) and 70.7% (St. James City) of the parish populations. In general there were many in this class in the poorer artisan parishes (St. James City, St. Mary Redcliff, St. Thomas and Temple) and in the transitional parishes of St. Leonard and Castle Precincts and in St. Augustine's parish, which was only just completing its transition to gentility. The populous artisan parishes of St. James City, SS Philip and Jacob, St. Mary Redcliff and St. Thomas stand out not for their very high percentage of poor, though St. Mary Redcliff with 28.0% in Class IV is rather the exception here, but for their large percentages of those in Class II. These were presumably households whose heads were in fairly steady employment in established trades and crafts. The figure of 70.7% in St. James City parish is particularly significant as this is the highest percentage of by far the highest parish population (1,577).

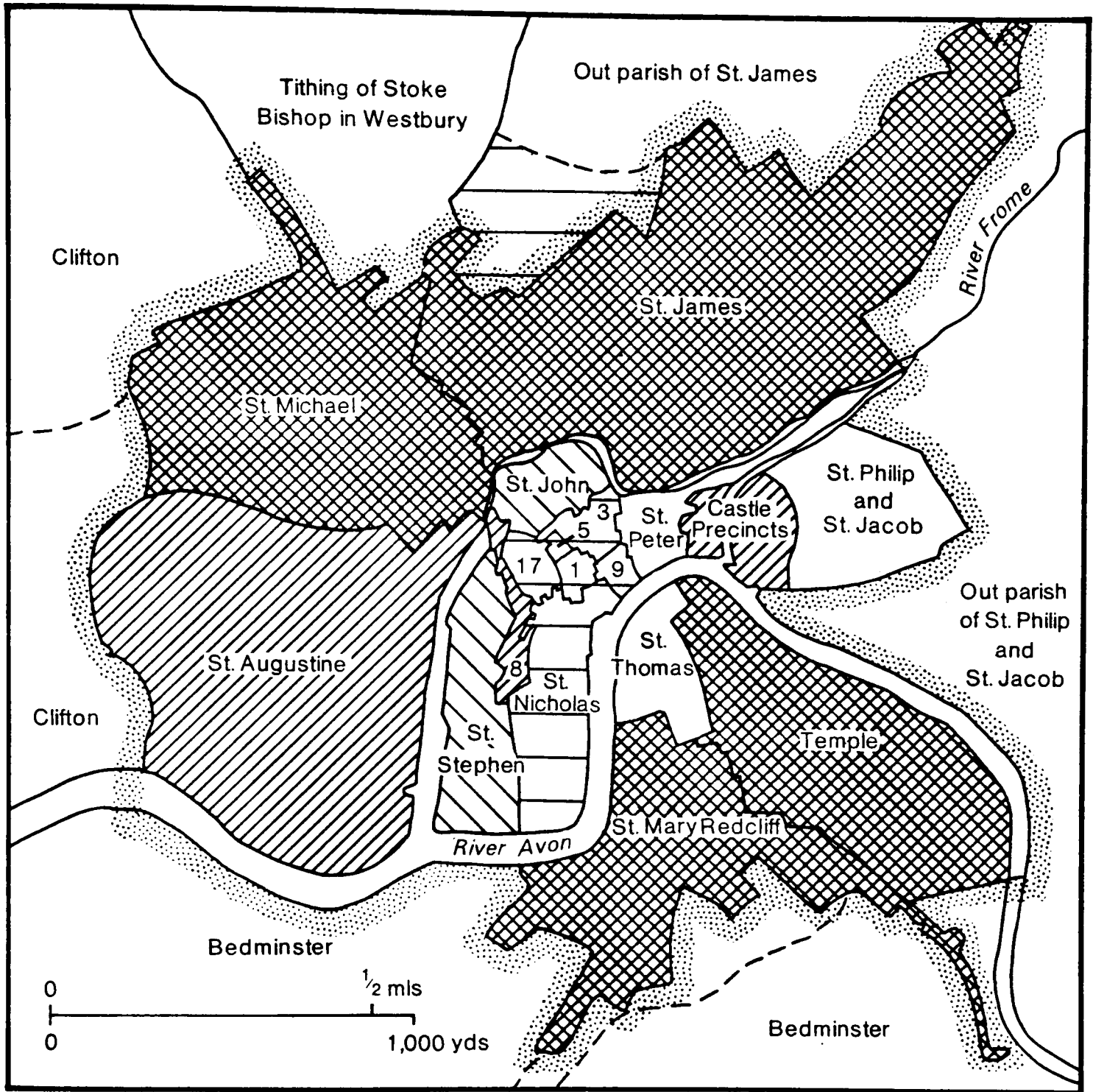
Those in Class III, who occupied houses worth more than L11 but not more than L22 a year, would presumably have had some degree of material comfort. They formed 33.3% of the city population and between 20.1% (St. James City) and 58.9% (St. Ewen) of the parish populations. The parishes with higher numbers of the very rich (Class IV) had in general higher percentages in Class III. Those with higher percentages in Class II also had high concentrations of the very poor (Class I). Parish mean figures were not the product of a few remarkably rich people living amongst a mass of the very poor. Rather the poor and

quite poor dominated some parishes, the rich and quite rich others. Whilst this is generally true there were nonetheless exceptions. Some of the richer parishes, such as St. Nicholas and St. Peter, were parishes of greater extremes and had rather high percentages of very rich and very poor; Christ Church, St. Ewen and St. Werburgh by contrast had very few in the poorest class and larger numbers in both the middle bands. Theirs was a pattern of differentiation amongst the comfortable and the wealthy.

The results presented in Table 5:5 confirm our suspicions that the data for St. Michael's parish are suspect.

Figure 5:27 represents graphically the results from Table 5:5 and groups the parishes according to the distribution of rateable values within them. Some parishes were very clearly rich: these included all the main central trading parishes (All Saints, Christ Church, St. Ewen, St. Mary le Port, St. Nicholas and St. Werburgh) and the only suburban parish (St. James Outparish) for which there are reliable data. This emphasises the wealth of these areas which has already been discussed in some detail. Other parishes (St. James City, St. Mary Redcliff and Temple and St. Michael by reason of its untrustworthy data) were equally clearly poor and this again has been examined in some detail.

More interesting are the parishes termed "transitional" in the discussions on occupations. These transitional parishes were often very difficult to classify: St. Peter's parish is similar to no other parish and is not grouped. St. Leonard's parish and Castle Precincts are in Group B (properties worth less than or



- 1 All Saints
- 3 Christ Church
- 5 St. Ewan
- 8 St. Leonard
- 9 St. Mary le Port
- 17 St. Werburgh

- ⋯ City boundary
- Parish boundary
- - - Limit of built area in out parishes




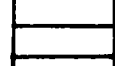

	Properties \leq £22 p.a. \geq 60% total
	Properties \leq £22 p.a. \geq 45% < 60%
	Properties $>$ £22 p.a. \geq 45% < 60%
	Properties $>$ £22 p.a. \geq 60% total
	Not grouped

Figure 5:27 The Wealth of Bristol Parishes

equal to L22 a year form 45%.or more but less than 60%.of the total), together with St. Augustine's parish which had only just moved out of the transitional ring: they are perhaps the poorer transitional parishes. Those in Group C (properties worth more than L22 a year form 45%.but less than 60%.of the total) were St. Stephen and St. John which may be considered richer transitional. The accordance of wealth with occupation data increases the confidence with which the idea of transitional parishes is suggested.

Poverty in Bristol in 1774/5

An attempt was made to explore poverty by investigating the number of properties in each parish which were recorded as "under the rate". It is a well tried measure of poverty (Patten,1978,190; Corfield,1976,211; Power,1971,163) and would have been useful as a comparison with Slack's work on Bristol between 1540 and 1650 in which proportions of those paying and receiving Poor Rate were compared (1977).

Table 5:6: Exemption from the Rates in Bristol in 1774/5

Parish	No. Entries	No. Exemptions	% Exemptions
1. All Saints	172	11	6.4 +
2 Castle Precincts	93	0	0.0 -
3 Christ Church	205	5	2.4 -
4 St. Augustine	456	28	6.1 +
5 St. Ewen	107	3	2.8 -
6 St. James City	1577	34	2.2 -
7 St. John	239	7	2.9 -
8 St. Leonard	61	7	11.5 +
9 St. Mary le Port	212	3	1.4 -
10 St. Mary Redcliff	651	52	8.0 +
11 St. Michael	417	4	1.0 -
12 St. Nicholas	401	13	3.2 -
13 St. Peter	198	37	18.7 +
14 SS Philip & Jacob	382	13	3.4 -
15 St. Stephen	506	24	4.7 +
16 St. Thomas	343	23	6.7 +
17 St. Werburgh	84	2	2.4 -
18 Temple	263	2	0.8 -
19 St. James Outp' sh	188	4	2.1 -
20 Trinity	156	2	1.3 -
City	6711	274	4.1

Unfortunately, exemption from payment proved a rather poor indicator of poverty if "poverty" is taken to mean material need.

If it is taken to mean receipt of poor relief the figures would be lower but probably not as low as for the majority of the parishes here. Herlan suggests that for London at the time of English Revolution on average about 5% of the population received relief and he considers this low compared with other cities (1979,41). Equally the figures here cannot indicate all those who were exempt from payment. In only two parishes (St. Leonard and St. Peter) do such entries form more than 10% of the total and 18.7%.(St. Peter) is the highest value. These figures may be compared with those for Norwich where in 1671 62% of all households were exempt from payment of the Hearth Tax (Corfield,1976;212) and for east London at the end of the seventeenth century when most riverside hamlets had fairly equal numbers of chargeable and non-chargeable houses (Power,1971,163). The numbers are generally too small to reveal anything when broken down by sex and hence are not presented below in the discussion of differences in wealth between the sexes. When broken down by parish the figures say more about the practices of collectors in the various parishes than about the real distribution of the poor of the city. The collectors seemed neither systematically to record nor fail to record in their books those exempt from payment and the results reflect more the collectors' inconsistency than the true incidence of exemption from payment. Perhaps it is significant, though, that the four parishes with the greatest number of registered exempt also have mean rateable values below the overall city mean. These are St. Peter's with 18.7%, St.Leonard's with 11.5%, St. Mary Redcliff with 8.0% and St. Thomas's with 6.7%. One should be wary,

though, of reading too much into these figures.

Some people in the rate returns had "poor" written after their names and the distribution of these by parish is shown in Table 5:7:

Table 5:7 : Distribution of the "Poor" in Bristol in 1774/5

Parish	No. in Parish	No. "Poor"	% "Poor"
1 All Saints	172	5	2.9 -
2 Castle Precincts	93	3	3.2 -
3 Christ Church	205	7	3.4 -
4 St. Augustine	456	17	3.7 +
5 St. Ewen	107	0	0.0 -
6 St. James City	1577	1	0.1 -
7 St. John	239	2	0.8 -
8 St. Leonard	61	0	0.0 -
9 St. Mary le Port	212	9	4.2 +
10 St. Mary Redcliff	651	130	20.0 +
11 St. Michael	417	32	7.7 +
12 St. Nicholas	401	4	1.0 -
13 St. Peter	198	9	4.5 +
14 SS Philip & Jacob	382	0	0.0 -
15 St. Stephen	506	5	1.0 -
16 St. Thomas	343	1	0.3 -
17 St. Werburgh	84	0	0.0 -
18 Temple	263	1	0.4 -
19 St. James Outparish	188	2	1.1 -
20 Trinity	156	4	2.6 -
City	6711	232	3.5

This table, even more than the preceding one, tells us more about the practice of collectors than about the true incidence of poverty. The only figure which is at all likely to be representative is that for St. Mary Redcliff (20.0% "poor"); to others, such as the one entry amongst 1,577 in St. James City parish one can give no credit at all.

Since these potentially useful indices of poverty unfortunately serve only to confirm opinions as to the poor quality of the source material, we must rely on our earlier classification to arrive at some conclusions about both the numbers and the distribution of the poor. Firstly those who are not included in the study must be considered. The city population was about 55,000 in 1774/5 (Little, 1954, 327) and the sources used here together contain data for about 10,000 people, or about 80% of heads of households (see Corfield, 1982, 129 on mean household size in eighteenth-century English towns, though it must be remembered that in general poor households were much smaller than rich ones). The remainder were omitted from the rates returns firstly because they were poor i.e. exempt and not recorded as such or overlooked because they were homeless, were lodgers in someone else's household or lived in such unsavoury courts; secondly because they lived outside the area under study i.e. in Clifton or Bedminster; or thirdly because they were simply missed by the collectors because of corruption or inefficiency (see Chapter 3 (iii) for detailed discussion of coverage). Of the two parishes not included there were many more inhabitants in the populous artisan parish of Bedminster than in

the genteel suburb of Clifton. Of those missed by the collectors there were many more inhabitants of dangerous and unpleasant courts and alleys than of the more substantial front houses of the wealthier. Thus the great majority of those missed from the rates returns would have been poor, if not in receipt of alms. Those omitted from the occupational sources would also have been likely to be poor since they presumably had no fixed employment.

The occupational data suggested that 40% of the population could be considered vulnerable to poverty and distress and a similar figure is suggested by the rates data. About 20% of the heads of households in the city are excluded from the sources and these are considered liable to be poor. Of those in the returns 3.5% are officially "poor" and 10.9% are in the poorest class so again the figure of 40% (20% excluded from the sample and the poorest 15% in the sample making 20% of the total population) is suggested. Of course, the labelling of all those not in the returns as poor is rather sweeping: the residents of the new houses in Clifton were in the main very wealthy, but it seems very likely that most of the others excluded from the discussion were not. Again it must be stressed that the purpose of such a calculation is to point out the vulnerability of the urban population to poverty, not to suggest the number who were in constant grave distress - clearly not since anyone who could afford to live in a rateable property and actually pay rates on it could not be in this kind of need. The figure of 40% is thus suggested as the number vulnerable to as well as actually suffering from poverty in a large eighteenth-century city.

As to the distribution of the poor: their concentration on

the edge of the old city has been noted and the persistence of this pattern shown. The significance of the development of rather homoge^{ous} residential suburbs on the new edge of the city is obvious for those areas themselves, but also had impacts on poorer areas: these inevitably became more uniformly poor as the rich moved out. Thus without any tendency to move on the part of the poor themselves, they were coming to occupy more uniformly undesirable areas of the city.

Variation in Wealth between Men and Women

Table 5:8: The Proportion of Men and Women Ratepayers and those of Unknown Sex

Total number of Ratepayers	6,711	
Men	4,759	70.9%.
Women	1,039	15.5%.
Unknown	913	13.6%.

Note: Sex is unknown where the ratepayer is a business enterprise or where only the surname of the ratepayer is given. The "unknowns" are in fact likely to be men in cases where a only a surname is given. Entries such as:

Temple Street, Temple Ward

Durant

Lyons

Groom Widow

Smith Widow

Taylor Widow

suggest that whilst it was acceptable to refer to men by only

their surnames, women were dignified by a title if their Christian name was not used. Households headed by women were the exception rather than the rule and the impression is that collectors distinguished such households and made it clear that a woman was referred to.

Where the entries refer to a business partnership or group the property is again most likely to be held by a man or men. This is not to imply, of course, that women did not participate in trade and production, but it seems reasonable to suggest that a business which was sufficiently formally organised to warrant the title "& Co." or to be recognised as a relatively permanent partnership was likely to have been headed by a person of rather higher status and women of that status would have been very unlikely to have been directly involved in business.

Table 5:9: Distribution of Rateable Values for Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex

Measure	Men	Women	Unknown	All
Mean	13.3	12.2	13.0	13.1
Mode	9	9	11	9
Median	10 & 11	10 & 11	10 & 11	10 & 11
Minimum	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Maximum	99.0	57.0	63.4	99.0
Range	99.0	57.0	63.4	99.0
Variance	79.6	44.0	77.0	73.8
Std. Dev.	8.9	6.6	8.8	8.6
Skewness	2.8	2.0	1.7	2.6
Kurtosis	13.2	8.4	6.2	12.4

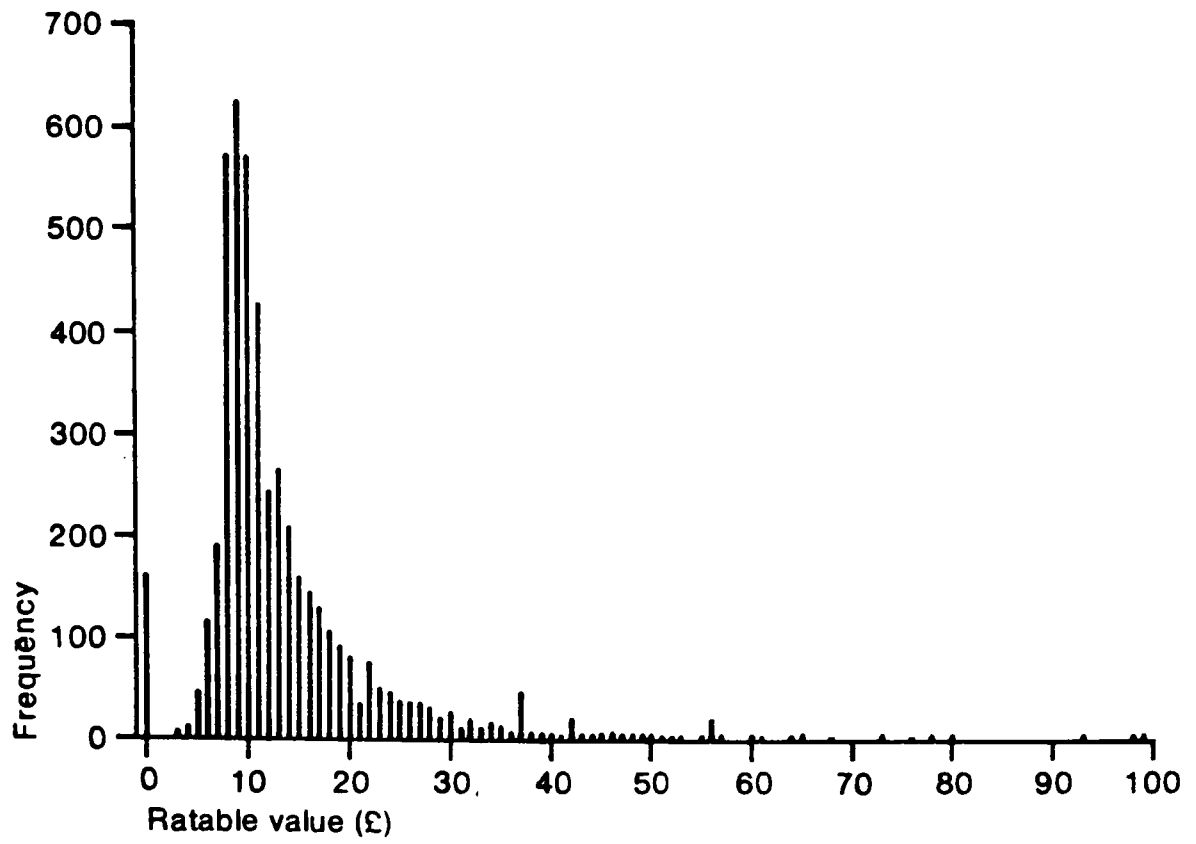


Figure 5:28 Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values for Men

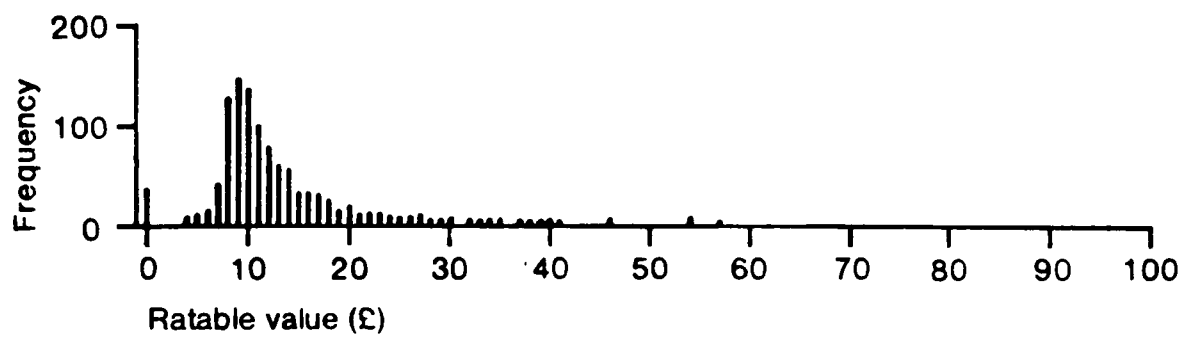


Figure 5:29 Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values for Women

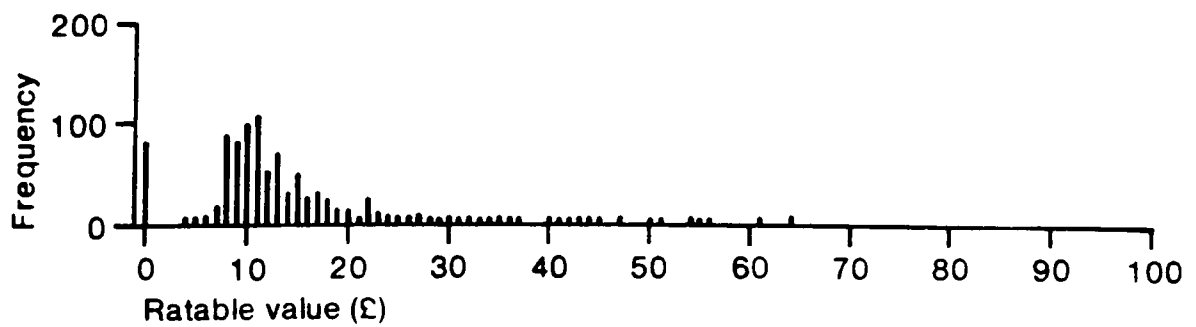


Figure 5:30 Frequency Diagram of Rateable Values for those of
Unknown Sex

The frequency tables for men, women and those of unknown sex (Figures 5:28, 5:29 and 5:30) closely resemble in general trends that for the whole city (Figure 5:1). The distributions for men, women and those of unknown sex, like that for the whole city population, each have a single rather marked peak, are positively skewed and show a great spread of values. This is in contrast to individual parishes for a number of which distributions are markedly different from that for the whole population (see Figures 5:7 to 5:26); some are bimodal, others have almost no tendency to peak, others contain only a very small range of values. Though the general shape of the frequency distributions of the sexes is similar there are, however, some distinct differences between the sexes. Expectations that women householders would have been poorer than their male counterparts are confirmed. Though the median falls between L10 and L11 and the mode is L9 for both sexes, the mean for women (L12.2) is lower than that for men (L13.3). Similarly the range is much smaller: there are both men and women with the absolute low value of L0, but the most valuable property with a male head of household was valued at L99, whilst the women's maximum was only L57. The variance for women is 44.0 (cf. 79.6 for men) and standard deviation for women is 6.6 (cf. 8.9 for men) as values for women tend to cluster around the rather low mean: there is a far greater spread of values for men and those of unknown sex.

Table 5:10: Classification of Rateable Values for Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex

i). Number in each class

Sex	Class				Total
	I	II	III	IV	
Men	519	2199	1536	505	4759
Women	101	505	368	65	1039
Unknown	112	376	331	94	913
All	732	3080	2235	664	6711

ii) Per cent in each class

Sex	Class				Total
	I	II	III	IV	
Men	10.9 =	46.2 +	32.3 -	10.6 +	100.0
Women	9.7 -	48.6 +	35.4 +	6.3 -	100.0
Unknown	12.3 +	41.2 -	36.2 -	10.3 +	100.0
All	10.9	45.9	33.3	9.9	100.0

Table 5:10 compares the distribution of wealth for each sex with that for the city as a whole. In the contrast to the great variety in the division of wealth for the city parishes (Table 5:5), it is striking how closely the figures for men, women and those of unknown sex mirror the general pattern. It is important that there were very few women in the wealthiest group. There are 65 women or 6.3% of all women in Class IV, as opposed to 505 men or 10.6% of all men and 94 unknowns or 10.3% of all unknowns and it has already been suggested that these would have been men.

Women are well represented in Classes II and III and were neither very rich nor very poor. This runs contrary to our expectations that households headed by women would have been composed of widows or abandoned women and their children in very considerable distress (Hill,1984,156-176). Whilst women were not prominent amongst the wealthiest, a higher proportion of women (35.4%) than men (32.3%) were to be found in Class III - the relatively well off. The eligible widow of a wealthy tradesman is, of course, a stock figure (Corfield,1976,257; Hoskins,1976,150) and it is presumably woman of this type who formed the bulk of those in Class III. The abandoned or widowed destitute woman is no less well drawn a character and it is generally agreed that women of this type always greatly outnumbered men amongst paupers as opposed to poor artisans (Beier,1972,60-61; Slack,1972,166-7; Malcolmson,1981,79). These women seem almost wholly to have been excluded from the study simply because they were too poor and often lived as lodgers or were homeless and thus escaped the attention of the rate and tax collectors.

Variation in the Wealth of Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex
amongst Bristol Parishes in 1774/5

Table 5:11: Men and Women Ratepayers and those of Unknown Sex in
Bristol Parishes

Parish	All No.	Men		Women		Unknown	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. All Saints	172	130	75.6'+	15	8.7'-	27	15.7'+
2. Castle	93	62	66.7'-	16	17.2'+	15	16.1+
3. Ch. Ch.	205	145	70.7'-	34	16.6'+	26	12.7'-
4. St. Aug.	456	338	74.1. +	91	20.0 +	27	5.9 -
5. St. Ewen	107	66	61.6' -	17	15.9 +	24	22.4'+
6. St. Jas. City	1577	1105	70.1. -	318	20.2'+	154	9.8 -
7. St. John	239	146	61.1. -	34	14.2 -	59	24.7'+
8. St. Leo.	61	39	63.9 -	8	13.1'-	14	23.0 +
9. St. M. Port	212	175	82.5 +	7	3.3'-	30	14.2 +
10. St. M. Red.	651	476	73.1. +	81	12.4 -	94	14.4 +
11. St. Mich.	417	292	70.0 -	111	26.6'+	14	3.4'-
12. St. Nich.	401	318	79.3'+	43	10.7'-	40	10.0 -
13. St. Peter	198	148	74.7 +	17	8.6'-	33	16.7'+
14. SS P. & J.	382	290	75.9 +	49	12.8 -	43	11.3'-
15. St. Steph.	506	375	74.1. +	81	16.0 +	50	9.9 -
16. St. Thos.	343	266	77.6'+	36	10.5 -	41	12.0 -
17. St. Werb.	84	68	81.0 +	6	7.1'-	10	11.9 -
18. Temple	263	188	71.5 +	40	15.2 -	35	13.3'-
19. St. Jas. O.	188	24	12.8 -	7	3.7'-	157	83.5 +
20. Trinity	156	108	69.2 -	28	17.9 +	20	12.8 -
City	6711	4759	70.9	1039	15.5	913	13.6'

Table 5:11 shows the proportion of men, women and those of unknown sex to be found in each parish. These are household heads rather than just inhabitants. Excluded from the discussion are data from St. James Outparish for which only a Land Tax return survives. In this a different system of recording was used and almost all non-genteel inhabitants are referred to by their surnames only. Thus for 83.5% the ratepayers sex is unknown and the figures are not used for comparison.

Men headed between 61% and 82% of households in all parishes so, whilst for some parishes the proportion is rather lower than expected (e.g. St. John's with 61.1%, or St. Ewen's with 61.6%), men headed a substantial majority of households throughout the city. Women were at the head of between 3% and 26% households. The three parishes where women headed more than 20% of the households were St. Augustine, St. James City parish and St. Michael. These were all amongst the poorer parishes in the city using comparisons of mean, median and mode values, but the figures for St. Michael are erroneous and there is by no means a clear link between women and poverty. In 1696 households headed by women were distributed in a rather confusing manner amongst rich and poor parishes, although there was a discernable concentration of households headed by widows in dock parishes (Holman, 1975, 43). The quality of the data for the later eighteenth century makes it difficult to make such a suggestion and it may be of more significance that St. Augustine's and St. Michael's were classified as genteel parishes using occupation data and thus might be expected to have a number of genteel

widows as residents. Little can be read into the figures for the unknowns who headed between 3% and 24% of households.

The Wealth of Men, Women and those of Unknown Sex by Parish

Table 5:12: The Wealth of Men and Women and those of Unknown sex by Parish: Measure of Central Tendency

Parish	Men			Women			Unknown		
	Min.	Max.	Mean	Min.	Max.	Mean	Min.	Max.	Mean
1. All Saints	0.0	36.9	15.5	7.2	38.8	13.9	0.0	43.3	15.7
2. Castle	5.7	40.7	12.6	5.0	37.9	16.8	7.1	44.5	15.5
3. Ch. Ch.	0.0	68.0	17.9	0.0	57.0	15.3	0.0	35.2	16.5
4. St. Aug.	0.0	36.5	12.7	0.0	34.1	12.4	0.0	30.0	6.7
5. St. Ewen	0.0	45.3	15.3	0.0	29.9	14.5	6.5	63.5	16.8
6. St. Jas. City	0.0	99.0	10.8	0.0	57.0	11.6	0.0	30.0	10.5
7. St. John	0.0	39.4	14.2	0.0	36.8	12.4	0.0	45.0	13.5
8. St. Leo.	0.0	61.4	13.4	0.0	18.8	10.0	0.0	43.0	12.7
9. St. M. Port	0.0	42.5	16.6	8.8	22.0	16.0	7.6	61.4	22.7
10. St. M. Red.	0.0	93.2	11.0	0.0	54.5	10.5	0.0	50.2	7.7
11. St. Mich.	0.0	73.4	10.1	0.0	33.6	10.8	5.0	20.6	12.5
12. St. Nich.	0.0	97.8	22.5	0.0	46.5	13.6	0.0	60.9	14.8
13. St. Peter	0.0	46.5	11.4	0.0	20.6	11.5	0.0	28.6	14.9
14. SS P. & J.	0.0	53.4	13.5	0.0	27.7	12.6	0.0	39.5	12.7
15. St. Steph.	0.0	50.8	14.4	0.0	33.4	13.5	0.0	43.6	13.4
16. St. Thos.	0.0	41.4	11.0	0.0	37.5	14.7	0.0	33.7	12.9
17. St. Werb.	0.0	78.3	21.3	7.4	27.6	15.2	0.0	36.5	18.6
18. Temple	0.0	45.3	11.9	8.0	22.0	10.7	7.2	41.4	12.2
19. St. Jas. O.	9.1	20.3	14.1	0.0	17.6	9.2	0.0	55.5	14.4
20. Trinity	0.0	39.5	14.3	0.0	25.9	13.0	9.6	25.9	16.3
City	0.0	99.0	13.3	0.0	57.0	12.2	0.0	63.4	13.0

Note:

Values are in Ls.

The minimum possible value of L0 is recorded for both sexes and those of unknown sex in all parishes save two in the case of men, five in the case of women and six in the case of the unknowns. The incidence of minimum parish values higher than the absolute minimum is thus inversely related to the number of cases, but no clear pattern emerges and the figures tell us more about the ubiquity of poverty in all parishes and in both sexes than about variations between the sexes.

The most valuable property was held by households headed by men in 14 of the 20 parishes and by those headed by "unknowns" in the remaining six parishes. If, as was suggested, most of those of unknown sex were in fact men, it follows that men held the most valuable property throughout the city. This fits the general pattern of the exclusion of households headed by women from the wealthiest group and shows that this pattern was not confined to a few parishes but rather it held throughout the city.

For each parish the mean values of property held by men women and the unknowns respectively were compared with the mean value for all entries. The results were as follows:

Men's mean was	higher than the overall mean in 11 parishes	
	lower	7
	the same as	2

Women's mean was	higher than the overall mean in	6	parishes
	lower		14
	the same as		0
Unknown's mean was	higher than the overall mean in	10	parishes
	lower		10
	the same as		0

Nothing can be read into the findings for those of unknown sex, except to suggest that those referred to rather curtly by only their surname might occupy buildings of low rateable value and hence pull the average down in any parish, whilst some extremely valueable industrial premises would tend to push the mean up in others. For those of known sex, men had higher than overall means in 11 out of 20 parishes whilst women had lower than overall means in 14 out of 20 parishes. This again suggests that throughout the city, regardless of the absolute level of wealth or poverty in a particular parish, women held less valuable property in relation to that held by men in the same parish.

These results are comparable to those from occupational data where women were not excluded from any sector of the economy from the most to the least lucrative (apart from the special case of seagoing), but they tended to perform the less well paid tasks in each. This would account for their relative poverty compared to men. Perhaps, however, their participation in the new and expanding sectors of the economy helps to explain why women were on the whole not as poor as one might have expected.

Conclusion

Divisions in wealth in Bristol at the end of the eighteenth century seem at first glance to have changed little since the seventeenth or indeed the mid-sixteenth centuries. Women, it has been suggested, had generally been poorer than men; this was related to their sex rather than to the general level of wealth in the parish in which they lived and this pattern was still evident. Similarly: the pattern of rich core - poor suburbs superimposed on a detailed pattern of segregation at the street level seemed to have been remarkably constant. Yet this impression of continuity belies the important changes which had occurred in the city. Topographical changes had occurred through both adjustments in the old parishes and new building in suburban ones. It is unfortunate that there are so few data for the suburban areas: those for Clifton are unusable, those for St. Michael's parish proved untrustworthy and those for St. Augustine's parish seem not fully to reflect the economic and social transition which the parish had seen. Those for St. James Outparish provide the only indications of the genteel suburban developments.

The wealth data do, however, fully illustrate the nature of changes in progress in the older city parishes. There were substantial differences in the distribution of wealth in the central parishes (e.g. St. Nicholas with extremes of rich and poor; All Saints and St. Ewen with large numbers of rich and fairly rich; and Christ Church, St. Mary le Port and especially St. Werburgh with extremely high numbers of very rich men).

These differences seem difficult to relate to the economic differentiation amongst these parishes, but they do emphasise that, though it is both convenient and accurate to refer to a group of "central trading" parishes, they were by no means a uniform bloc.

The suggestion based on occupational data that the parishes of St. John, St. Leonard and St. Stephen and Castle Precincts might be considered as transitional is supported by the rates data, although the latter would perhaps suggest that St. Peter's parish also be included. Using measures of central tendency to group the data these parishes were often termed rich using one measure and poor using another: St Peter's parish, for example, has a low mean, but a high median and mode; St. John's parish has a high mean median and low mode. When the parishes were grouped according to the percentages found in each wealth class all the transitional parishes were in either the richer intermediate group (St. John and St. Stephen) or the poor intermediate (Castle Precincts and St. Leonard) and the inclusion of St. Augustine in the poor intermediate suggests that the rates assessments did not yet reflect the fact that the parish had recently moved out of the transitional ring to become more, although not completely, genteel. These parishes were indeed transitional: they were hard to classify in either traditional or modern terms and appeared to be in a state of change.

The artisanal parishes of St. James City, St. Mary Redcliff, St. Thomas, Temple and Bedminster are confirmed as poor. The concordance of occupational and wealth data again gives confidence in the results presented.

Whilst assessing wealth by parish and by sex contributes less than one would have liked to an understanding of the developing areas of the city, it has thus deepened the understanding of the older areas of the city. The assessment of wealth by occupation and voting data, discussed in those sections respectively, however, gives an indirect means of analysing the wealth in suburban parishes. If, through the linking of data on occupations and wealth, it is known that the clergy, gentry, professional men and leisured people were unusually rich and that there were many such people in Clifton, it is sensible to suggest that those were wealthy parishes. Thus directly or indirectly the rates returns can substantially contribute to our knowledge of divisions in society in eighteenth-century Bristol.

Chapter 6.

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1774

Interest in English eighteenth-century politics has traditionally been confined first to the course of Parliamentary activity rather than the nature of the electorate and second to personalities and factions rather than issues or the nature of party politics. Some recent studies (e.g. Sainsbury, 1978; Marshall, 1979; Phillips, 1982) have sought to change this emphasis by concern with the social composition of the electorate and by their awareness of growing, if not always clear, partisanship amongst the voters towards the end of the eighteenth century. Their work follows that of Rudé (1960, 1962 & 1967), which though again is concerned with the personality of Wilkes, investigates the social origins of and constancy of partisan feeling amongst the Middlesex electorate.

Within this context, and remembering that this study is primarily concerned with voting behaviour as an indicator of social divisions, the 1774 general election in Bristol seems particularly promising for research. The election, and in particular Burke's connection with the city at the election and subsequently, have been the object of sustained scholarly research (see e.g. Weare, 1894; Underdown 1948, 1958 & 1961), and it is not the intention here to try to review or duplicate any of this work. Rather it is hoped to examine voting patterns of the resident Bristolian voters in terms of place of residence, wealth, occupation and status, not so much to discuss the complexities of eighteenth-century politics as to help our

understanding of society in eighteenth-century Bristol.

It is necessary to give a brief resume of the course of the election and the issues of contention at the time. (The following summary is from Underdown, 1961.) The candidates at the election were Henry Cruger, Edmund Burke, Matthew Brickdale and Lord Clare. Lord Clare, an Irish peer, and Brickdale, a Bristol merchant, had represented Bristol in previous parliaments. Although Lord Clare is often labelled a Tory and Brickdale a Whig, their policies were almost indistinguishable. They both normally supported the government of the day and had made themselves unpopular in Bristol by supporting coercive measures against the colonists. Since the emergence of John Wilkes as the champion of popular liberty in 1763, a radical movement had developed in many parts of Britain. In Bristol it was organised as the Independent Society, under the leadership of Samuel Peach, a wealthy merchant, and his son-in-law Henry Cruger, a merchant born in America but then resident in Bristol. It had a programme of radical demands including the safeguarding of civil liberties, a vigilant scrutiny of public expenditure, the prevention of compromised elections, the repeal of the Septennial Act, a limitation of the number of placemen in Parliament and the exclusion of pensioners and contractors from it and the maintenance of a conciliatory policy towards the American colonies. After failing in its attempt to instruct Brickdale and Clare in the preceding Parliament, it adopted Cruger to oppose them in 1774. The voting opened on 7th October 1774 and by the end of the first day Lord Clare withdrew, realising that he had lost most of his support. After some difficulties it was agreed

that Burke could stand and he was nominated on the second day of the poll. Burke was at this time the most distinguished speaker in the House of Commons and a very influential figure amongst the Rockinghamite Whigs, who generally took a conciliatory stance towards the American colonies. Cruger and Burke agreed to share some of the election expenses, but could not agree on a joint platform and indeed their supporters often worked in open rivalry.

Cruger and Burke were finally elected and the result was thus generally anti-Ministerial and in favour of conciliation of the colonists, on whose trade much of the prosperity of Bristol depended. The clear winner, though, was the radical Cruger. He turned out subsequently to be much less radical than he initially seemed and indeed even compromised his principles enough to accept a government pension of £500 a year. Nonetheless he was elected on a clearly radical programme and analysis of his support and that for the other candidates seems worth pursuing. It must be remembered, however, that two thousand of the six thousand voters were enfranchised just before the poll at the expense of the candidates' committees and thus it is the committees' and not their own views which they would have expressed.

The results of the election are given in Table 6:1 below.

Table 6:1: The Result of the 1774 Election in the Constituency of Bristol

Candidate	Number of Votes	Percentage of Total	Position
Henry Cruger	3,565	39.6	1.
Edmund Burke	2,707	30.0	2
Matthew Brickdale	2,456	27.3	3
Lord Clare	283	3.1	4

Source: Pollbook for Bristol, William Pine, Bristol, 1774.

The proportions of the vote that each candidate polled are very closely mirrored by the results from the 3,906 resident Bristolians alone (Table 6:2).

Table 6:2: Voting patterns of Bristol Residents only

Candidate	Number of Votes	Percentage of Total	Position
Henry Cruger	2,747	41.1	1.
Edmund Burke	1,966	29.4	2
Matthew Brickdale	1,729	25.9	3
Lord Clare	237	3.5	4

The great majority of those who voted for Lord Clare lived in the city (237 out of a total of 283 or 83.7%), and, as will be seen later, were a distinctive group of city dwellers. The high proportion of Bristolians amongst Lord Clare's supporters is due to his early retirement from the contest. Most out voters would not have gone to the city on the first day and would thus have lost their opportunity to vote for him. Beyond this the tables

are remarkably similar. Not only is the position of the candidates unchanged, but the percentage of the poll that they achieved is very consistent: the changes which are apparent are minor adjustments to compensate for Lord Clare's drop in support and the other three candidates each gain marginally.

The voters resident in Bristol cast their votes as shown in Table 6:3 below.

Table 6:3: Votes Cast in the Election of 1774

Candidate	Second Vote					Total
	0	1	2	3	4	
0	1	0	0	2	0	3
First	1	213	0	1936	596	2747
Vote	2	13	0	0	15	30
	3	893	0	0	0	223
	4	10	0	0	0	10
Total	1130	0	1936	613	227	3906

Notes:

- 1) The candidates were Henry Cruger (1), Edmund Burke (2), Matthew Brickdale (3) and Lord Clare (4).
- 2) The total of Columns and Rows (3,906) is the number of Bristolian voters.
- 3) It is clear that a voter must vote for at least one person; the entry in Column 1, Row 1 is a data error.

Information on plumpers and split and straight party voting in Table 6:4 in an attempt to assess the degree of

partisanship amongst Bristol voters. A plumper is a man who casts only one of his two votes and hence is said to "plump" decisively for one candidate. Phillips (1982) divides these men into unnecessary plumpers, who had the choice of supporting two men from the same party and who in effect wasted a partisan vote by supporting only one, and necessary plumpers, where only one candidate was standing for a particular interest: in this case a plumper would be a partisan voter. The picture in Bristol is rather confused. It will be remembered that there were three candidates, Cruger, Brickdale and Lord Clare, during the campaign and on the first day of the poll. By the second day Lord Clare had retired and, after a period in which there were only two candidates, Burke was nominated. Though the tables throughout the chapter present the results for four candidates, it must be remembered that the voters never had the choice of all four simultaneously; rather there were two sets of three candidates and a short time when there were only two candidates.

A "splitter" is a voter who cast one vote for one party and the second for another. A "straight" voter casts both his votes for candidates of one party.

Table 6:4: Bristolian Plumpers, Splitters and Straight Party Voters in the Election of 1774

Candidate	Plumps		Splits		Straights		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cruger	213	7.8	598	21.8	1936	70.5	2747	100.1
Burke	13	0.7	17	0.9	1936	98.5	1966	100.1
Brickdale	895	51.8	611	35.3	223	12.9	1729	100.0
Clare	10	4.2	4	1.7	223	94.1	237	100.0

Only 7.8% of Cruger's votes were plumps and the great majority of his support (70.5%) came from men who also supported Burke. However, 21.8% of his votes were split ones, all but two cast in a Cruger-Brickdale split. It is impossible to tell from the Poll Book whether those who split their vote had the option of supporting Burke or whether they polled on the first day, before he had been nominated. Clearly these 598 split voters had the option of plumping for Cruger if they voted on the first day, so they must be counted as non-partisan voters. Daily totals of votes exist for the 1774 election (Underdown, 1948, App.1) and it would clarify the extent to which partisan voting in the city was established to analyse such figures.

Burke had very few plumpers (0.7%) or splitters (0.9%) indeed and thus his supporters seem to have the strongest party leanings. Having no connection with the city and arriving so late on the scene, he would have received very few "personality" votes except amongst those who were well educated enough to know him as a national figure as opposed to a local celebrity. Despite the animosity between some of his and some of Cruger's supporters, there was some co-operation between them and they were both clearly in favour of a conciliatory policy towards the Americans. Thus 98.5% or all but 30 of Burke's votes were straight party votes, cast in conjunction with a vote for Cruger.

Brickdale received an astonishingly high proportion (51.8%) of his support from plumpers. Most of these were presumably "necessary" plumpers, men who cast their votes after Lord Clare had retired and hence they showed unqualified partisanship. This

51.8% may then be added to the 12.9% who voted for Brickdale and Lord Clare together in the assessment of party sentiment amongst Brickdale's supporters: but this still accounts for only 64.7% of his votes. The remaining 35.3% men split their votes, almost exclusively in a Cruger-Brickdale split. As has been remarked, it is impossible from the Poll Book to tell whether those splitters could have cast two straight party votes, but it is a clear non-partisan action. Perhaps the fact that both men were local merchants influenced the voters: party lines were by no means so sharply drawn that local issues could not intrude.

Lord Clare's plumpers and straight voters account for 98.3% or all but 4% of his supporters. Support for him was thus a clear partisan choice.

To speak of partisan voting at all in the eighteenth century is rather controversial, although it is becoming more commonly accepted that after 1770 generally, and before that in the more active constituencies of which Bristol was one, there was an increase in consistent partisanship, with a concomitant increase in party activity, and a decline of split voting and unnecessary plumping (Phillips, 1982). It might be suggested from Table 6:4 that the level of partisan voting in Bristol was fairly high; there was little unnecessary plumping and Lord Clare and Burke, whose supporters always had the chance of casting two straight party votes, generally did so: Lord Clare had 94.1% straight votes and Burke 98.5%. Yet it would be wrong to overstate the case. Underdown says of the city that

'although there was a greater degree of political organisation in Bristol than was common in

eighteenth century Britain, there still existed large numbers of unattached freemen whose votes were cast for a candidate rather than a party, or who were influenced by the current or contemporary political developments or by the methods of political agitation then in use" (1948,9).

The influence of local personality factors has already been mentioned. On top of this it must be realised that the 1774 election in Bristol was extremely confused in terms of party allegiance. Much of Cruger's support was Tory Radical and Búrke was a leading Whig, so although the result was anti-Ministerial it was by no means wholeheartedly Whig. Again although the central issue in the election was the American question, other important concerns were the Quebec Act and the dangers of Catholicism (Phillips,1982,29): Búrke, although supported by the Quaker Champion, was suspected of being a Roman Catholic and this was of obvious concern in a city noted for its non-Conformity. The election is generally seen as atypical, occurring as it did in a period of re-alignment in city party politics (Underdown,1948) and coming immediately prior to a war of vital importance to many in Bristol. The evidence on partisan voting is then offered with reservations: to be of real value it must be compared with that for preceding and subsequent elections, although limited evidence from petitions does suggest that there was some constancy of party allegiance in the city (Phillips,1982,29-31). It is in any case not the central concern in this study, which sets out to examine the social origins of the voters.

Voting by Occupation

4.2% of the 3,906 voters gave no occupation. These people

were most often gentlemen or esquires who either had no particular occupation or who voted by right of their being freeholders and were therefore not obliged to give an occupation if they had one. The remaining 3,741 voters were grouped by their occupation under the three classifications.

Classification 1. Raw Materials

Table 6:5: The Voting Patterns of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 1

Class	All Voters	Cruger Voters	Burke Voters	Brickdale Voters	Clare Voters
A Gentry & Prof.	396	215	153	231	94
B Personal Services	45	32	17	25	2
C Textiles	257	187	124	113	16
D Earthenware	159	120	90	59	5
E Wood	297	230	167	108	2
F Metal	437	330	224	192	18
G Leather	364	257	177	153	11
H Food & Drink	360	259	195	154	16
I Glue & Wax	41	27	24	16	1
J Clothing	197	147	105	82	9
K Mixed Materials	58	45	29	26	1
L Building	401	292	224	163	4
M Agriculture	119	96	65	41	8
N Transport	80	62	52	25	0
O Shipping	324	233	160	142	4
P Seagoing	88	60	45	40	7
Q Miscellaneous	118	79	70	42	3
Total	3741	2671	1921	1612	201

ii) Per cent in each class

Class	All Voters	Cruger Voters	Burke Voters	Brickdale Voters	Clare Voters
A Gentry & Prof.	10.6'	8.0 -	8.0 -	14.3 -	46.8 -
B Personal Services	1.2	1.2 =	0.9 -	1.6 +	1.0 -
C Textiles	6.9.	7.0 -	6.5 -	7.0 +	8.0 +
D Earthenware	4.3'	4.5 +	4.7 +	3.7 -	2.5 -
E Wood	7.9	8.6 +	8.7 +	6.7 -	1.0 -
F Metal	11.7:	12.4 +	11.7 =	11.9 +	9.0 -
G Leather	9.7:	9.6 -	9.2 -	9.5 -	5.5 -
H Food & Drink	9.6'	9.7 +	10.2 +	9.6 =	8.0 -
I Glue & Wax	1.1.	1.0 -	1.2 +	1.0 -	0.5 -
J Clothing	5.3'	5.5 +	5.5 +	5.1 -	4.5 -
K Mixed Materials	1.6'	1.7 +	1.5 -	1.6 =	0.5 -
L Building	10.7:	10.9 +	11.7 +	10.1 -	2.0 +
M Agriculture	3.2	3.6 +	3.4 +	2.5 -	4.0 +
N Transport	2.1.	2.3 +	2.7 +	1.6 -	0.0 -
O Shipping	8.7:	8.7 =	8.3 -	8.9 +	2.0 -
P Seagoing	2.4	2.2 -	2.3 -	2.5 +	3.5 +
Q Miscellaneous	3.2	3.0 -	3.6 +	2.6 -	1.5 -
Total	100.2	99.9	100.1	100.2	100.3'

The most striking feature of Table 6:5, which shows classification by raw material, is not that there were marked differences in voting patterns amongst trade groups, but rather the reverse. Each candidate was supported by tradesmen from each sector of the economy roughly in the same proportion as that group held in the city. Thus 6:9% of all voters were engaged in textile trades; similarly 7:0% of Cruger's voters, 6:5% of

Burke's voters, 7.0% of Brickdale's voters and 8.0% of Lord Clare's voters were employed in this sector. Overall variation is almost entirely accounted for by support derived from the gentry and professional class. Burke and Cruger received support from fewer than average professional men and gentlefolk (8.0% each compared with 10.6% of all voters); conversely Brickdale was supported by a greater than average number of these men (14.3%); and Lord Clare received almost half of his support (46.8%) from them. Classification under this scheme gave the opportunity to discover sectional trade interests, held to be significant in a pre-industrial society. Some slight differences did emerge; for example, Lord Clare received negligible support from builders (2.0% cf. 10.7% in the city), shipping (2.0% cf. 8.7%) and woodworkers (1.0% cf. 7.9%), but support from textile workers and those in clothing trades similar to the share of all voters which those groups represented (8.0% cf. 6.9% and 4.5% cf. 5.3% respectively). This apparent division by trade is however spurious; the differences were very largely because in textile and clothing classes were found wealthy silk mercers, drapers, haberdashers and the like - men without peers amongst woodworkers, ships' craftsmen and builders. Thus the only clear division shown is a horizontal or class-type divide which split the élite from all other ranks.

Classification 2: The Nature of Work

Table 6:6: The Voting Patterns of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 2

i). Number in each class

Class	All Voters	Cruger Voters	Burke Voters	Brickdale Voters	Clare Voters
A Clergy & Gentry	107	41	29	77	44
B Prof. & Services	341	227	160	170	29
C Distributors	465	317	228	220	50
D Artisans	2145	1592	125	873	57
E Builders	386	281	217	158	4
F Labourers	93	59	54	34	2
G Rural	116	94	63	40	8
H Seagoing	88	60	45	40	7
Total	3741	2671	1921	1612	201

ii) Percent in each class

Class	All Voters	Cruger Voters	Burke Voters	Brickdale Voters	Clare Voters
A Clergy & Gentry	2.9	1.5 -	1.5 -	4.8 +	21.9 +
B Prof. & Services	9.1	8.5 -	8.3 -	10.5 +	14.4 +
C Distributors	12.4	11.9 -	11.9 -	13.6 +	24.9 +
D Artisans	57.3	59.6 +	58.6 +	54.2 -	28.4 -
E Builders	10.3	10.5 +	11.3 +	9.8 -	2.0 -
F Labourers	2.5	2.2 -	2.8 +	2.1 -	1.0 -
G Rural	3.1	3.5 +	3.3 +	2.5 -	4.0 +
H Seagoing	2.4	2.2 -	2.3 -	2.5 +	3.5 +
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1

The second classification again shows the very great support for Brickdale and especially Lord Clare amongst the clergy and gentry, the urban patriciate, and the city Corporation who represented authority within the town. 4.8% of Brickdale's supporters and 21.9% of Lord Clare's were gentle i.e. respectively 1.7 and 7.6 times the city average. The two losing candidates were also supported by the professional and service groups which included the government placemen at the Customs and Excise Office (13.6% for Brickdale and 14.4% for Clare, compared with 9.1% in the city). There was also support for Brickdale and Lord Clare amongst the distributors who were the commercial élite of the city. Included were grocers, haberdashers and merchants of all kinds, although some petty traders were also in this class. They were distinct from the mass of artisan retailers and were often rather wealthy.

There was solid support for Cruger, Burke and Brickdale amongst the artisans and builders who together gave Cruger 70.1% of his votes, Burke 69.9% of his and Brickdale 64.0% of his. It must not be forgotten, however, that 30.4% of Lord Clare's supporters were builders and artisans. They formed the bulk (67.6%) of the total electorate and gave each candidate an important proportion of his votes.

Like Table 6:5, Table 6:6 shows that Lord Clare received support from rural men (4.0% cf. 3.1% of all voters) and seagoers (3.5% cf. 2.4% of all voters), although numbers are small (8 and 7 respectively). This is perhaps important as most of the voters with rural occupations were "yeomen", a title difficult to

interpret, but which probably implies a relatively high social status. This serves then to reinforce the pattern of high status support for Lord Clare.

Evidence of higher percentage support for Brickdale and Lord Clare amongst gentry and conversely of higher support for Cruger and Burke amongst artisans should not obscure the overwhelming numbers who voted for Burke, Brickdale and especially Cruger compared with Lord Clare. The 21.9% of Lord Clare's voters who were gentle comprised only 44 men, whilst Cruger's 1.5% gentle voters comprised 107 men - 2.4 times as many. The 24.9% of Lord Clare's voters who were distributors comprised 50 men, whilst 465 distributors voted for Cruger, though they formed only 11.9% of his total. Large percentage differences, though significant, must be kept in perspective.

Classification 3: Status

Table 6:7: The Voting Patterns of Occupational Groups Classified under Scheme 3

i). Number in each class

Class	All Voters	Cruger Voters	Burke Voters	Brickdale Voters	Clare Voters
A High Status	439	286	218	203	44
B Middle Status	1310	938	668	559	42
C Low Status	1239	935	670	496	33
X Not Classified	753	512	365	354	82
Total	3741	2671	1921	1612	201

ii) Per cent in each class

a) All 3,906 Voters

Class	All Voters	Cruger Voters	Burke Voters	Brickdale Voters	Clare Voters
A High Status	11.7	10.7	11.3	12.6	21.9
B Middle Status	35.0	35.1	34.8	34.7	20.9
C Low Status	33.1	35.0	34.9	30.8	16.4
X Not included	20.1	19.2	19.0	22.0	40.8
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0

b) Per cent of those classified in each class

Class	All Voters	Cruger Voters	Burke Voters	Brickdale Voters	Clare Voters
A High Status	14.7	13.2	14.0	16.1	37.0
B Middle Status	43.9	43.4	42.9	44.4	35.3
C Low Status	41.5	43.3	43.0	39.4	27.7
Total	100.1	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0

Amongst those classified under this scheme there is the same pattern of support amongst middle and high status groups for Brickdale (44.4% and 16.1%, respectively) and especially for Lord Clare (35.3% and 37.0%, respectively). It is not the case, however, that Cruger and Burke are supported overwhelmingly by those of low status: they received votes from the three status groups in almost the same proportions as those status groups were represented in the Poll Book as a whole, and whilst it seems clear that Lord Clare was the candidate of the wealthy and gentle, the conclusion must not be drawn that Cruger and Burke were the candidates of the poor and common folk.

The impression that Lord Clare derived much support from

the gentry and men high in status trades must be tempered by our knowledge of the conduct of the poll. Despite the fact that he withdrew so early, most of the city's traditional élite, the Corporation and Clergy, managed to vote for him. This could suggest that, out of deference, the mass of the electorate voted only after the élite had voted and this would have given the poor little chance to vote for Lord Clare. His high percentage support from the rich perhaps indicates nothing more than that only they had had the chance to vote for him. However the action of Lord Clare himself belies this: his retirement suggests that he knew he could expect little support from the electorate who had yet to vote. Since he stood for so short a time he actually polled a respectable number of votes per day, so there was no obvious reason for him to retire unless he knew that amongst the poorer men who had still to cast their votes he had little support and hence withdrew.

Voting By Status

Table 6:8: Voting by Status in the 1774 Election

Status	All Voters		Cruger Voters		Burke Voters		Brickdale Voters		Clare Voters	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
2 Gent/Esq	186	4.8	83	3.0	52	2.6	131	7.6	47	19.8
4 "Fr."	562	14.4	335	12.9	234	11.9	312	18.0	73	30.8

Note:

Men could be both "Esq." and "Fr." (Freeholder).

In the Poll Book 186 voters were given the titles "Esq." or "Gent." and 562 that of "Fr." and Table 6:8 shows how the men so

distinguished distributed their votes amongst the candidates. This table is not to be confused with Table 6:7 which groups men into status classes using occupation data. The information considered here is derived directly from the source. The titles "Gent." and "Esq." clearly indicate a person of higher status and, whilst the significance of "Fr." is not altogether clear, it is taken to show a property owner and hence a person of some social standing.

Table 6:8 corroborates the suggestion that Cruger and Bürke attracted support from the whole population (3.0% and 2.6% of their respective voters were esquires and 12.6% and 11.9% respectively were freeholders). These are lower than the city figures of 4.8% esquires and 14.4% freeholders, however, and show that they had relatively few votes from the wealthy and gentry. Brickdale similarly received support from persons of high and low status: his supporters included proportionately many gentlemen (7.6%), but this was only 1.6 times the proportion in the whole electorate. There was, though, clear preference amongst the gentry for Lord Clare, 19.8% of whose supporters were esquires - 4.1 times the proportion in the whole electorate.

Voting by Wealth

It will be remembered that 1,200 of the voters were also recorded as ratepayers and the value of the houses they occupied is shown in Table 6:9.

Table 6:9: The Wealth of Bristol Voters in 1774

Wealth Class	No. Voters	% Voters	% those Classified	% All Ratepayers
0	2707 *	69.3		
1	103	2.6	8.6	10.9
2	472 *	12.1	39.4	45.9
3	456	11.7	38.0	33.3
4	168	4.3	14.0	9.9
Total	3906	100.0	100.0	100.0

Notes:

1. The wealth classes are as follows:

0 Unknown (Voter not recorded as ratepayer)

1. Occupied house assessed at less than or equal to L7 a year

2. Occupied house assessed at more L7 and less than or equal to L11 a year

3. Occupied house assessed at more than L11 and less than or equal to L22 a year

4. Occupied house assessed at more than L22 a year

2. Different computer runs produced answers varying by 1 for these figures (*). The discrepancy of 1 is present in Tables. The error was untracable.

Because there were only 1,200 voters who were recorded in the rates returns it is difficult to infer much from these figures. There were smaller percentages of voters in Classes 1 and 2 than there were of all ratepayers (8.6% cf. 10.9% and 39.4% cf. 45.9%); conversely there were more richer voters (Classes 3 and 4) than they were richer ratepayers (38.0% cf. 33.3% and

14.0% cf. 9.9%); but because nothing is known of the wealth of 69.3% of voters it is difficult to read too much into these figures. However, as can be seen in Table 6:10, Brickdale and Lord Clare who had many wealthier supporters (Classes 3 and 4), also had fewer unclassified supporters. This suggests that those who were not classified were in general poorer. Despite the fact that so many new freemen were admitted during the election, voters were still amongst the wealthier Bristolians. The rates returns themselves under-represent the poorest in the city and the voters are amongst the richer ratepayers.

The value of the houses occupied by voters is compared with their voting tendencies in Table 6:10 below.

Table 6:10: The Level of Wealth of Bristol Voters

i) Number of votes in each class

Wealth Class	Candidate			
	Cruger	Burke	Brickdale	Clare
0	1913	1401	1135	129
1	72	41	52	9
2	347	247	211	23
3	310	204	240	52
4	105	73	91	24
Total	2747	1966	1729	237

ii) Per cent of votes in each class

Wealth Class	Candidate			
	Cruger	Burke	Brickdale	Clare
0	69.6'	71.3'	65.6'	54.4
1	2.6'	2.1.	3.0	3.8
2	12.6'	12.6'	12.2	9.7'
3'	11.3'	10.4'	13.9	21.9
4	3.8	3.7:	5.3'	10.1.
Total	99.9	100.1.	100.0	99.9

The information in Table 6:10 confirms that it was variations in political allegiance of the upper stratum of society which were significant in the election. Once again it is clear that Lord Clare and to some extent Brickdale were supported by the upper ranks and it was not only the very rich but also the moderately well off (Class 3) who supported the losing two candidates. In the Middlesex elections, divisions in support were less clear cut when analysed by wealth than by social status or occupation (Rudé, 1962, 85), but this does not seem to have been the case in Bristol. Evidence in Table 6:10 confirms the suggestion of a horizontal division made on the basis of occupational and status data.

As was the case when occupational data were considered the pattern of support for the Brickdale and Clare amongst the rich is superimposed on a pattern of broad support for all candidates; each was supported by men of all wealth levels. It is noteworthy that, whilst only 3.8% of Cruger's supporters were

very rich (Class 4), these 3.8% comprised 105 men, compared with the 24% very rich men who voted for Lord Clare. In fact the radical candidate received votes from 415 men in the top two wealth classes whilst Lord Clare got a total of only 237 votes. Whilst disproportionately many rich people voted for Lord Clare, Cruger is not simply to be seen as the candidate of the poor.

The view is then one of variations in élite voting where rather small numerical variations led to rather large percentage differences in terms of support, particularly for Lord Clare. A further complicating factor is the extent to which Lord Clare's vote simply reflects those who were able to vote on the first day. It is not unusual to find that the voting patterns of the élite were very different from those of both the poor and the middling sort, amongst whom voting tendencies were confused and not so clearly partisan; Phillips finds similar very distinctive behaviour amongst the small groups of the very wealthy in late eighteenth-century Norwich and Maidstone (1982, 273-4), but in these towns, as in Bristol, it is difficult confidently to interpret the figures. A far less equivocal picture is presented when the data are analysed by parish.

Voting Patterns in the Bristol Parishes

The investigation of election results ward by ward is standard practice in political studies and electoral geography. Areal differences might well have been less pronounced in the eighteenth century than there are today because the rich and the poor were by no means as completely segregated as they are in many areas now; and because relatively few of the poor, the

majority of the population, could vote and so numerical differences in results might be lessened. Nonetheless, the experience of Rudé (1960, 1962 & 1971) and Phillips (1982) suggests that the issue is worth pursuing.

An investigation into the support each candidate derived from the residents of each parish revealed the information in Table 6:11 below.

Table 6:11: Election Results by Parish

i) Number of votes

Parish	Voters	Vote 1s	Vote 2s	Vote 3s	Vote 4s
1. All Saints	36	23	13	23	6
2 Castle Precincts	145	119	104	37	6
3 Christ Church	90	65	47	41	1
4 St. Augustine	237	151	91	131	31
5 St. Ewen	11	8	5	5	1
6 St. James City	843	628	509	318	54
7 St. John	92	60	43	41	9
8 St. Leonard	25	14	7	18	4
9 St. Mary le Port	51	43	30	21	1
10 St. Mary Redcliff	355	229	122	183	13
11 St. Michael	177	83	57	117	22
12 St. Nicholas	209	135	88	110	15
13 St. Peter	97	83	64	32	3
14 SS Philip & Jacob	587	478	366	170	14
15 St. Stephen	161	136	82	73	7
16 St. Thomas	174	109	75	93	5
17 St. Werburgh	23	16	10	12	3
18 Temple	273	174	129	142	6
21 Clifton	129	81	69	55	5
22 Bedminster	131	90	39	63	0
23 Clergy	30	6	4	26	21
24 Corporation	30	16	12	18	10
City	3906	2747	1966	1729	237

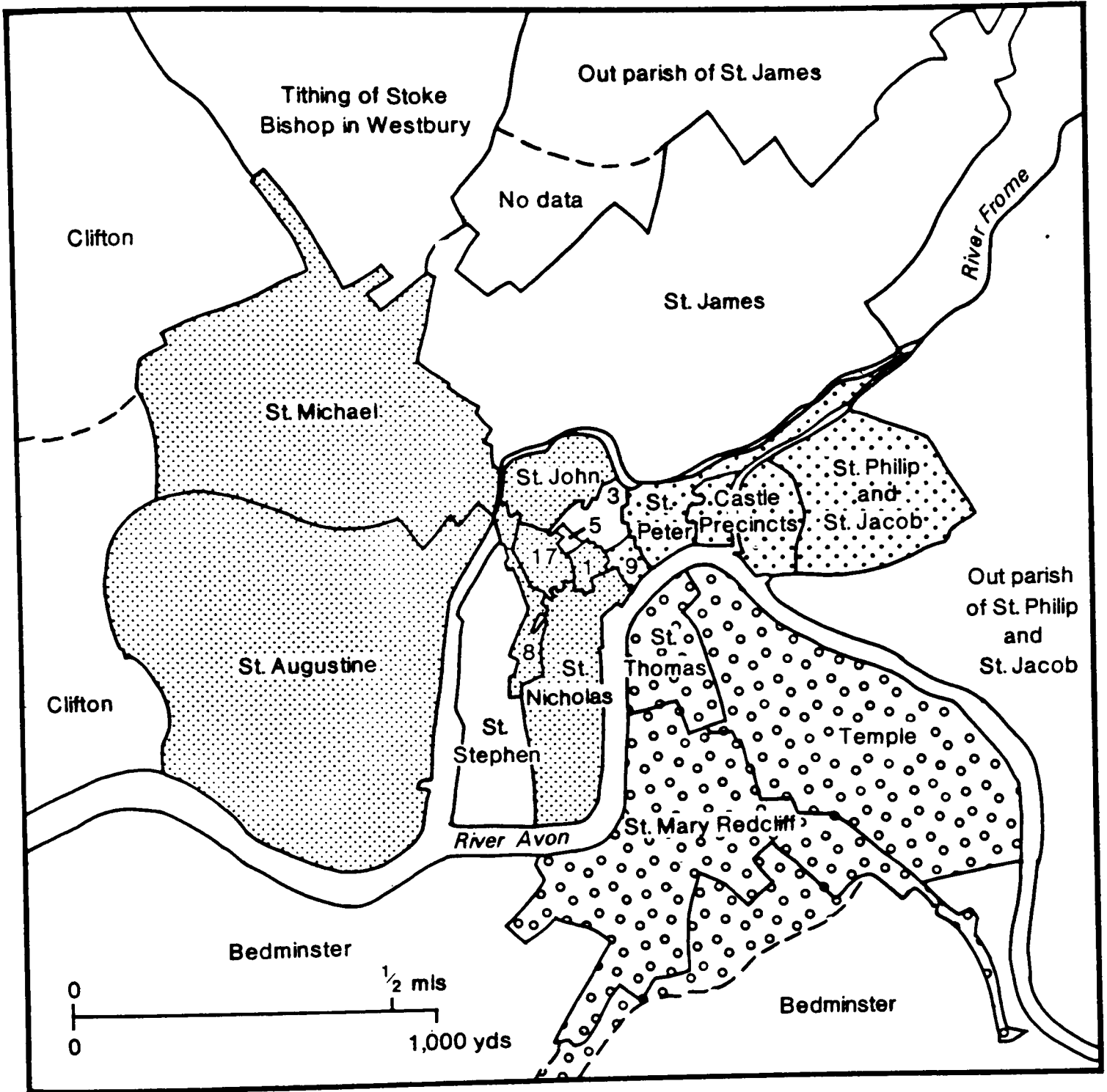
ii). Per cent of votes

Parish	% all Voters	%, Vôte 1s	%, Vôte 2s	%, Vôte 3s	%, Vôte 4s
1 All Saints	0.9	0.8 -	0.7 -	1.3 +	2.5 +
2 Castle	3.7	4.3 +	5.3 +	2.1 -	2.5 -
3 Ch. Ch.	2.3	2.4 +	2.4 +	2.4 +	0.4 -
4 St. Aug.	6.1	5.5 -	4.6 -	7.6 +	13.1 +
5 St. Ewen	0.3	0.2 -	0.3 =	0.3 =	0.4 +
6 St. Jas. City	21.6	22.9 +	25.9 +	18.4 -	22.8 +
7 St. John	2.4	2.2 -	2.2 -	2.4 =	3.8 +
8 St. Leo.	0.6	0.5 -	0.4 -	1.0 +	1.7 +
9 St. M. Port	1.3	1.6 +	1.5 +	1.2 -	0.4 -
10 St. M. Red.	9.1	8.3 -	6.2 -	10.6 +	5.5 -
11 St. Mich.	4.5	3.0 -	2.9 -	6.8 +	9.3 +
12 St. Nich.	5.4	4.9 -	4.5 -	6.4 +	6.3 +
13 St. Peter	2.5	3.0 +	3.3 +	1.9 -	1.3 -
14 SS P. & J.	15.0	17.4 +	18.6 +	9.8 -	5.9 -
15 St. Steph.	4.1	5.0 +	4.2 +	4.2 +	3.0 -
16 St. Thos.	4.5	4.0 -	3.8 -	5.4 +	2.1 -
17 St. Werb.	0.6	0.6 =	0.5 -	0.7 +	1.3 +
18 Temple	7.0	6.3 -	6.6 -	8.2 +	2.5 -
21 Clifton	3.3	2.9 -	3.5 +	3.2 -	2.1 -
22 Bédmin.	3.4	3.3 -	1.9 -	3.6 +	0.0 -
23 Clergy	0.8	0.2 -	0.2 -	1.5 +	8.9 +
24 Corp.	0.8	0.6 -	0.6 -	1.0 +	4.2 +
City	100.2	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0

Table 6:11. shows the parishes in which each of the four

candidates was well or poorly supported. As was evident from data showing in which combinations votes were cast and from occupational data, the pattern of support in the parishes for Cruger and Bürke was often the inverse of that for Brickdale and Lord Clare i.e. party support was marked. In six parishes (All Saints, St. Augustine, St. Michael, St. Nicholas and St. Werburgh), as well as amongst the clergy and Corporation, there was relatively great support for Brickdale and Lord Clare and a lack of support for Cruger and Bürke. (In a seventh parish (St. John) Cruger and Bürke received little support, Lord Clare received great support and Brickdale received support in exactly the same proportion as the parish had of all voters.) Conversely in four parishes (Castle Precincts, St. Mary le Port, St. Peter and SS Philip and Jacob) the reverse was true and Cruger and Burke were supported at the expense of the Ministerial candidates. Brickdale as before had an intermediate position: he was the only one of the four candidates to receive support in four parishes (St. Mary Redcliff, St. Thomas, Temple and Bedminster), whilst being the only candidate who was badly supported in St. James City parish.

Comparison with Figure 5:27 shows there to have been no well defined pattern in voting allegiances of rich or poor parishes. In some wealthy parishes, for example, All Saints, St. Nicholas, St. Werburgh and St. Michael, which is assumed to be wealthy, there was indeed support for Brickdale and Lord Clare; but in others there was not. In Clifton the only clear support was for Burke and in Christ Church and St. Mary le Port there was



- | | | |
|--------------------|--|---|
| 1 All Saints | | Support for Brickdale and Lord Clare
Cruger and Burke undersupported |
| 3 Christ Church | | Support for Cruger and Burke
Brickdale and Lord Clare undersupported |
| 5 St. Ewan | | Support for Cruger and Burke
Brickdale and Lord Clare undersupported |
| 8 St. Leonard | | Support for Cruger and Burke
Brickdale and Lord Clare undersupported |
| 9 St. Mary le Port | | Support for Cruger and Burke
Brickdale and Lord Clare undersupported |
| 17 St. Werburgh | | Support for Cruger and Burke
Brickdale and Lord Clare undersupported |
| | | Support for Brickdale
Cruger, Burke and Lord Clare undersupported |
| | | No clear support |

Figure 6:1 The Support for Candidates in Bristol Parishes in 1774'

solid support for Cruger and Bürke. Amongst the poorer parishes, voters in SS Philip and Jacob showed strong support for Cruger and Bürke, but the picture in St. James City is less clear. In poor St. Mary Redcliff parish and Temple ward the only candidate who was well supported was Brickdale.

However, when the data are mapped (Figure 6:1) a strikingly clear pattern emerges. Voters in the majority of parishes in the west, whether genteel (St. Michael), transitional (St. John) or central trading (St. Nicholas) supported Brickdale and Lord Clare. Voters in the area to the east between the rivers, whether artisan (SS Philip and Jacob) or transitional (Castle Precincts) supported Cruger and Bürke and voters in all those parishes to the south of the Avon supported Brickdale only. The other parishes are not readily classifiable or are similar to no other parish.

This pattern is remarkable. Most of the other variation in voting patterns is attributable to the individualistic behaviour of a very small section of the community - the gentry and to a lesser extent professional men and distributors. The variation shown in Figure 6:1 extends over the whole range of parish populations and is especially remarkable given that the clergy and Corporation, who had very distinctively pro-Ministerial voting patterns, are excluded from the discussion since their parish of residence is unknown. The map is by no means comparable with that for occupations (Figure 4:1) or that for wealth (Figure 5:27) in the city. The geographical variation in political support cannot then be fully explained with reference

to occupation, status or wealth. This is the case too with Phillips's study of eighteenth-century Norwich and Northampton, for which cities socio-economic analysis brings often contradictory findings, but consideration of areal variation produces clear patterns which can be explained only with reference to religion (1982,278-288).

Religion has traditionally been considered to have had an important political aspect and it is common to consider the Church to have been largely Tory and non-Conformist groups largely Whig. It might be thought that this polarisation would have been particularly marked over the American issue with Anglicans being mainly co-ercive, in keeping with their general support for authority, and non-Conformists being in the main conciliatory, in keeping with their concern over their American brethren. This is to oversimplify. Bradley casts some doubt on the political implications of Dissent and suggests that very often the non-Conformist influence was neither so marked nor so exemplary as it is often held to be (1975). It presupposes a degree of unity amongst Dissenters which was by no means always the case, equates the views of lay people too readily with those of their respective Ministers and suggests that it is easy to separate religious from economic influences. Nonetheless the religious influence is too widely acknowledged to be ignored.

Figure 6:1 is not readily explained by the distribution of non-Conformists within the city. Dissenting groups were scattered throughout the city and in any case were not united in this election. There was Quaker support for Burke who was nominated by the Friend Richard Champion, but, as has been

mentioned, Burke was suspected of being a Catholic and his attitude to Catholic emancipation would have alienated many non-Conformists. Many non-Conformists might have approved of Cruger's policy of conciliation of the Americans, but would have disapproved of him personally as he was something of a libertine. Cruger was supported by many Tory radicals with whom Dissenters had little in common. In this election at least it is far more enlightening to consider areas of Anglican influence within the city.

Those artisan parishes where the influence of the Church was particularly strong are found in the main to support Ministerial candidates. In St. Mary Redcliff the physical presence of the church was clearly evident as the parish church is of cathedral-like proportions. Its vestry was particularly wealthy and this gave opportunity for patronage in the parish as did the Charity School which served it and the neighbouring St. Thomas's parish. There was also an Anglican Charity School in Temple Ward and it is in these three parishes, together with neighbouring Bedminster, that support for Brickdale was marked, despite the presence in them of men who, on the basis of their wealth, status and occupation, might have been expected to support the anti-Ministerialists.

The suggestion that it was only the wealthiest who voted on the first day is corroborated by this geographical pattern. It is only in the poorer parishes that support was for Brickdale alone: in the parishes where the richer lived the electorate had time to vote for Lord Clare before he retired. Thus the western

parishes which were in the main richer supported both losing Ministerial candidates. In some of these rich parishes the influence of the Church was also felt: St. Augustine's parish contained the Cathedral with its school, and religious and economic factors combined to give rather pronounced support for Brickdale (7.6%) and especially Lord Clare (13.1%) compared with the share of voters in the parish (6.1%). Wealthy Clifton, which contained some Quakers and also newcomers with perhaps wider intellectual horizons and who were less influenced by local religious interests, stood out from these parishes: its voters supported only Burke, though the numbers involved are small (129 voters in all).

In parishes such as SS Philip and Jacob and St Peter, where men of low socio-economic standing congregated and in which the influence of the Church was less strongly felt, the result was anti-Ministerial as might have been expected given their poverty and the artisan workforce who lived there. Results from the other parishes suggest, though, that religious and economic factors are difficult to separate and thus the effects of religion are not to be discounted in these parishes, even if they are not immediately obvious.

As when voting patterns were compared with occupational and wealth patterns, conclusions here must be tempered as exceptions to the rule were common. Each candidate received some support in all parishes and percentage results must always be reviewed in the light of the very small overall support for Lord Clare. Thus though in St. Augustine's parish, with 6.1% of all voters, the Ministerial candidates did proportionately very well (Brickdale

7.6% and Lord Clare 13.15%) and the anti-Ministerial candidates rather badly (Cruger 5.5% and Burke 4.6%), the latter two men actually polled almost one and a half times as many votes (242 cf. 162).

Conclusion

Several questions have been raised during the course of the analysis. Before wider issues are discussed it must be noted that, just as it was remarkable how much variation in the rate figures remained despite the considerable manipulation of the figures, it is striking how much variation in the voting figures remained despite the activities of the candidates' committees in buying votes. They would, of course, have been unable to buy the votes of the richer and more respectable citizens and it is these men who make the greatest percentage impact on the voting patterns by their support for Lord Clare and Brickdale. Nonetheless, differences did exist amongst the non-gentle mass of the populace and it would be crude to suggest that all poor men simply gave their vote to the highest bidder. This corroborates Phillips' suggestions that the influence of corruption, patronage and deference on voting patterns in the eighteenth century is often overstated and that a remarkable degree of independence remained amongst the electorate (1982, 45-81).

The question of partisanship in the eighteenth-century is rather controversial, and although there is increasing reluctance to assess politics after the way of Namier, the issue of party allegiance amongst the mass of the electorate at least is still

open to widely differing opinion (Phillips,1982,9-19). Two questions arise: on the evidence of the 1774 poll to what extent did partisanship exist in Bristol and how does this poll and in particular the radical and American issues raised at it, fit into a wider party political framework. There is some evidence from the 1774 Poll Book of marked partisanship amongst Bristolians, despite the rather confusing change of candidates. The two candidates, Burke and Lord Clare who each had a fellow candidate throughout the time they were standing, received the most straightforward party support and this suggests that much of the split voting for Cruger and Brickdale was due to the confusion caused by Lord Clare's early retirement and Burke's late nomination. It must have demanded a fair degree of political sophistication to keep abreast of developments in the election and so the level of partisan voting is really remarkably high.

It must now be considered how radical support at this poll fits the national party political picture. The elections at which radicalism was most clearly at issue were of course those of Middlesex. In this constituency there was a series of elections in which the patterns of support for Wilkes remained clear and it is therefore safe to conclude that voters knew the issues at stake and had decided and unchanging views upon them (Rudé,1962,75). In Bristol there is unfortunately no such stringent test of constancy of radical opinion, since this was the only poll at which radical issues were prominent; but the election of Cruger, described as a "hot Wilkite" (in Rudé,1962,112) was not a completely isolated event. There was significant, although peaceful, radical activity in the city

prior to the election: a radical petition presented to the King in January 1770 contained the names of 2,445 Bristol voters (Rudé, 1962, 113). Thus it seems that there was genuine, albeit rather transient, radical feeling in the city in the 1770s. The two issues of Wilkes and liberty and the Americas, of particular importance in Bristol, were clearly linked. Walvin remarks "it was no accident that Wilkes and his backers were sympathetic to the American cause (and vice versa) (1984, 111). Sainsbury challenges the traditional view (see e.g. Rudé, 1971b, 315) that interest in the American issue was confined to the upper classes: he sees instead broad support in London for the American cause (1978). Bradley suggests that the American issue formed a new focus for radical protest (forthcoming, 279). In Manchester Marshall finds that the issue of the American war polarised Whig and Tory factions in the town and the surrounding countryside and transformed political activity from a seventeenth-century affair centered around lingering Jacobite sympathies to a division conducted in thoroughly eighteenth-century terms. Thus it is both legitimate and necessary to consider the sentiments aroused by the American issue within the general course of eighteenth-century politics rather than as isolated and unique responses to a particular affair.

In his analysis of wider party political allegiance in Bristol Underdown points to the political shifts within both the Whig and Tory camps in the city and the re-organisation of local party politics on both sides during the mid to late eighteenth century (1948) and this warns that party alignment at any one

moment is not necessarily representative of long-term sentiment. The inferences on party politics made here are then offered without pretensions to great significance for the political historian of the city. The issue of the development of party politics is not central here and the results are presented largely to permit a fuller understanding of the social, economic and religious variation in voting which clearly cannot be considered in isolation from the party political events in the city (see Phillips, 1982, 114 on the "apolitical" interpretation of voting behaviour).

It has generally been accepted that late eighteenth-century voting was influenced by two considerations: religion and wealth. The accepted view is that Dissenters and poorer men voted Whig whilst the rich and Anglican voted Tory. Recently it has been suggested that each of these views is largely untested and in need of re-examination. Phillips in a detailed study of the voting patterns in a number of late-eighteenth-century polls in Maidstone, Norwich and Northampton finds some rather confused links between wealth and high status on the one hand and support for Ministerial candidates on the other. He concludes:

"Although occupational stratification and relative wealth were related to partisan choice in Norwich under certain circumstances and were clearly related to partisan behaviour...., the total political impact of these socio-economic variables tended to be negligible" (1982, 277).

Similarly Bradley finds no significant division in economic terms in the voting behaviour of the electorate in Yarmouth, Southampton and Bridgewater in 1774 (forthcoming, 288-9). There

is some contradictory evidence: Bradley finds that in Cambridge poorer men voted for the opposition candidates and the majority of the petitioners for coercion in all towns were élite (forthcoming, 288-289). Marshall's study of Manchester during the American war suggests that the Whigs who wanted peace and conciliation were in general poorer and more directly concerned with manufacturing than the Tory distributors and providers of services who were extravagant in their support for war (Marshall, 1979, 173). Sainsbury for London finds a similar patterns of support by: the middling sort for conciliation and radicalism generally (1978, 447). In Middlesex the richer placemen, country gentry, parsons, M.P.s, J.P.s and City dignitaries consistently opposed Wilkes, who derived most of his support from merchants, tradesmen and manufacturers and from men who in general owned less valuable property. Patterns of support for the Administration candidates were generally the reverse of these (Rudé, 1962, 82, 84, 85). There thus seems to be both support for and doubts about the accepted socio-economic divide in political allegiance.

The traditional religious explanation has been called into doubt by Bradley (1975). He describes the non-Conformists in the eighteenth century as "slumbering Radicals", points to their general quiescence and readiness to work within the system of politics by patronage and influence and suggests that their traditionally acknowledged political importance has been overstated. Phillips, on the other hand, finds:

"the developing partisan alliances of the late eighteenth century: seem to have been influenced

less by socio-economic variables among voters than by their religious, and perhaps even patently ideological differences. Thus it seems that political cleavages in this society preceded rather than stemmed from the new economic and social cleavages brought about by industrialisation" (1982,xv).

The analysis of voting behaviour in the Bristol election suggests a mixture of religious and socio-economic divisions amongst the electorate. The broad support in economic terms for three of the four candidates in the election is marked; Cruger, Bürke and Brickdale received support from men of all trades, all status groups, all parts of the city and all levels of wealth. Lord Clare was undoubtedly the candidate of the rich and gentle, partly because the poor had no opportunity to vote for him. As well as this clear general pattern, more subtle traces of trade support for Cruger and Bürke and support amongst professional men and the commercial élite for Brickdale can be discerned.

No study is made here of the voting patterns of the country gentry, but amongst the Bristol clergy, Corporation, urban gentry and government officeholders at the Customs House support for the Administration candidates was marked. The results presented here are perhaps easier to interpret than his findings for Maidstone and Norwich where it was only the very wealthiest whose voting patterns were exceptional (1982,268-274). It was the distinct behaviour of the élite in Bristol, as in Norwich and Maidstone (Phillips,1982,268-274) which was easy to categorise. There is then some evidence of division of voting pattern by social status and wealth in later eighteenth-century Bristol, a suggestion advanced with similar tentativeness for some other comparable boroughs.

Phillips' suggestion of the over-riding importance of religion is corroborated only in part by the Bristol results which show strong links between Anglican influence and Ministerial voting, although the more widely discussed Dissenting influence on the Opposition vote is harder to discern. A religious explanation by itself would be inadequate to account for the variation in voting in Bristol. The radical/Whig vote of, for example, SS Philip's and Jacob's and St Peter's parishes must be seen as a result of its poor artisan population and the lack of Anglican influence. Support for Brickdale only in St. Mary Redcliff parish is explicable only if it is known that the population was not rich enough either to vote on the first day of the poll or to resist the strong influence of the Anglican church. Neither a traditional religious explanation nor a more modern socio-economic explanation can fully account for electoral variation in the 1774 poll and this re-inforces the concern which has been expressed throughout for consideration of as many explanations as possible based on as broad a source base as possible.

A third split in the voting community is suggested by Rudé in his study of the Wilkite elections. Two-thirds of Wilkes' voters came from the urban areas of Middlesex, especially in the populous commercial parishes to the north and east of the City (Rudé, 1962, 81). In Manchester, however, it was the Whigs from the countryside around Manchester who were conciliatory, whilst the urban Tories were ardently loyal (Marshall, 1979,). In Bristol the radical Cruger received support from 39.6% of all

voters and 41.1% of all Bristolians: i.e. he received only marginally more support from city voters than from country ones. This is true of the all other candidates apart from Lord Clare who withdrew before the arrival of most out-voters. No candidate more than the others was the obvious choice of the urban dweller. In any case the rural/urban split is obviously only a reflection on the type of communities who lived in those places: in Middlesex it was the town dwellers not rural men who were chiefly concerned with trade, in Manchester the manufacturing population was largely a rural one.

The course of radical politics in Bristol has been unfortunately overshadowed by the election of Burke. Whilst his election was clearly the most important outcome for the parliamentary historian, it had limited significance for the city. He made himself unpopular with the Bristol electorate and was defeated in the subsequent election (as was Cruger) so his association with the city was brief and has diverted attention from the Radicalism which Cruger represented and which is far more important for the historian of the city. It was remarkable in that it went against Bristol experience before and after 1774 and seems to have been opposed by a distinct stratum of society - the élite and Anglican - whilst representing the views of a very broad spectrum of society.

As well as the concern with Burke's connection with the city, research has largely concentrated on the voting behaviour of the merchants of the city (see e.g. Underdown, 1948; Savadge, 1951; Quilici, 1976). There is general surprise that they did not take a more united conciliatory stance since they stood to

lose money through the disruption of trade and many of them were non-Conformists who were often sympathetic to their "American Brethren". However Sainsbury suggests that there were good reasons why merchants in general should have been coercive. Many of them were enjoying the then boom in non-colonial trade which made the American issue seem less pressing: others stood to gain from government contracts if war were declared: others were concerned at the colonists' defiance, which seemed to undermine the commercial system (Sainsbury, 1978, 448-449). In Bristol many merchants were also aldermen and might have been expected to support authority generally. That their voting patterns were confused was perhaps entirely to be expected.

Table 6:12: Political Allegiance of Overseas Merchants

	Candidate							
	Cruger		Burke		Brickdale		Lord Clare	
Votes	No.	%.	No.	%.	No.	%.	No.	%.
	49	30.4	37	23.0	51	31.7	24	14.9

Table 6:13: Political Allegiance of the Whole Bristolian Electorate

	Candidate			
	Cruger	Burke	Brickdale	Lord Clare
Votes	41.3%	29.4%	25.9%	3.5%

Comparison of Table 6:12 with Table 6:13 shows that the merchants did vote on balance for the Ministerial candidates, as might have been expected from their wealth and status in society; but the voting was by no means universally Ministerial.

The mercantile presence in the City Corporation was probably instrumental in reducing Ministerial support there. Table 6:14 shows the Corporation to have been more clearly on the side of authority than were the merchants as a whole, but there is nonetheless a surprisingly degree of support for the Radical Cruger and Burke.

Table 6:14: Political Allegiance of the Corporation

Votes	Candidate							
	Cruger		Burke		Brickdale		Lord Clare	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	16	28.6	12	21.4	18	32.1	10	17.9

By contrast the allegiance of the Anglican clergy to authority was unequivocal (Table 6:15).

Table 6:15: Political Allegiance of the Anglican Clergy

Votes	Candidate							
	Cruger		Burke		Brickdale		Lord Clare	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	4	5.3	3	3.9	37	48.7	32	42.1

The merchants and the clergy together formed the traditional patriciate of the city and to end discussion of individuals groups within the top sections of society would be misleading. It pre-supposes that splits in the traditional elite are the natural focus of interest and by implication suggests that society was still structured on traditional lines. It is instructive and a balance to such attitudes to consider the "new" groups within the upper ranks of society.

The Customs and Excise Officers were some of the only "placemen" in the city. The placeman was a characteristically

eighteenth-century phenomenon, part of the system of patronage and influence, but such men may also be considered forerunners of the nineteenth-century middle classes. They were salaried, employed officials, in constant specialised work. There are only 17 of them in the Poll Book, compared with 83 in the directory. This suggests that they were not particularly interested in the local political process and the local custom of gaining the freedom; but when they did vote they were markedly pro-Administration. Table 6:16 shows that they were less divided than the traditional merchant élite in their political allegiance.

Table 6:16: Political Allegiance of Customs and Excise Officers

Votes	Candidate							
	Cruger		Burke		Brickdale		Lord Clare	
	No.	%.	No.	%.	No.	%.	No.	%.
	7	21.9	1	3.1	15	46.9	9	28.1

The share of Customs and Excise men who voted for Lord Clare, for example, is almost twice as high as that of the merchants (28.1% cf. 14.9%). This is the highest share of the poll for Lord Clare of any occupational group other than the clergy and voting for Brickdale is also very high. It is important that from the Customs Officers Brickdale and Lord Clare received three times the number of votes as Cruger and Burke: in almost all other cases high percentage support for the Ministerial candidates hides the numerical superiority of Cruger's and Burke's votes as overall Cruger polled so many and Lord Clare so few votes.

Another group less equivocal in their support for the Ministerial candidates was the leisured population, listed in the Poll Book simply with some indication of their status.

Table 6:17: Political Allegiance of those with no Occupation

Candidate	Cruger		Burke		Brickdale		Lord Clare	
	No.	%.	No.	%.	No.	%.	No.	%.
Votes	74	27.4	44	16.3	116	43.0	36	13.3

These leisured men, who again may be considered forerunners of the middle class, join with other groups such as bankers, accountants, schoolmasters to support the Administration. To suggest that the new middle class vote was a serious force in politics at this date is far to overstate the case. In many instances the religious influence is evident too: many merchants, for example, were non-Conformists who might have weakened the Ministerial tendency, and men such as schoolmasters were by no means always free from the influence of the Church and its Ministerial bias. It is dangerous in any case to pick out individual cases of political support and attempt to generalise from them: but the results presented here do suggest that the concern with the merchants' stance in the election has diverted attention away from some interesting developments in voting patterns which have great significance for discussions of the divisions within Bristol society in general.

The analysis of voting patterns has been a rather neglected aspect of eighteenth-century urban history and recent studies by political historians (e.g. Marshall, 1979; Phillips, 1982) illustrate the value of such research to the social as well as

the Parliamentary historian. This study has shown the value of studying political allegiances within a broad social history and suggests that similar enquiries for other constituencies would be profitable. Phillips suggests that there are more than forty constituencies which had regular contests after 1761 and which would repay investigation (1982,303+4) so the number of active constituencies is not so small as is often thought. Perhaps equally importantly: this study has shown that only by using both new and traditional methods (database analysis and knowledge of the activities of religious groups) and by considering a wide range of explanations for voting behaviour can a full understanding of this important aspect of national political and local life be gained.

This is not to suggest, of course, that a comprehensive account of the political significance of the poll has been presented here. There has been no discussion of local party organisations, the conduct of the poll itself, its antecedents or its aftermath. A recent study by Brewer points to the effects on politics of the commercialisation of society (Brewer, 1982, 197-262), again this influence has not been considered here. Rather this study has pointed to some important aspects of the poll which have been neglected to date.

Data on occupation and wealth provide information on relatively unchanging aspects of a man's life: his political allegiance is more volatile and gives some information on action, not just about ascribed characteristics. That the divisions within society suggested by the recording of actions serve to re-

inforce those suggseted by the rather fixed externally
identifiable characteristics confirms that the study of external
attributes can contribute to our understanding of society.

Chapter 7:

LAND USE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRISTOL

In Sketchley's directory and the rates returns the nature of the various properties was sometimes noted. Thus in the directory a man might have his dwelling house at one address, his warehouse or counting house at another. The type of building might also be inferred: this happened frequently with inns which were mentioned, for example, as "The Globe" or "The King's Head" in the directory and coded as inns in the computer table. In the rates returns the nature of a property might be noted where this was exceptional, e.g. a brew house or sugar house, or where several buildings were rated together as a group e.g. "Mr. Smith, his dwelling house, his summer house, his loft".

The numerical codes used for the various building types are listed in Appendix 4. The buildings were then classified as follows:

Table 7:1: Building Classification

A Industrial/Manufacturing

Bake House; Malt House; Mill; Storage Area (Loft, etc.); Sulphur House; Warehouse; Yard; Manufactory; Crane; Dock; Rope Walk; Glass House; Sugar House; Lead House; Brew House; Pot House; Slaughter House; Lime Kiln/House; Soap House; Copper Works.

B Commercial

Office/Counter/Shop; Storage Area (Loft, etc.); Warehouse; Yard; Bank.

C Open Ground

Land/Ground/Field/Garden/Way.

D Poor

Rented (name of Landlord appears); Tenement; Back House.

E Rich

Dwelling House; Stable/Coach House; Summer House.

F Void

Void

G Inns

Tavern/Inn/Public House.

H Public Building

Public Building

Notes:

1) Some types of building e.g. warehouses were entered in two classes, A and B, as they could be considered equally well to be industrial as commercial.

2) Buildings in the Poor class (Class D) are those probably inhabited by the poor as the owner's name appears and it is clear that he is responsible for payment. It is not, of course, implied that all rented buildings were occupied by the poor, nor that all rented buildings are listed here.

3) Dwelling houses are classed as indications of wealth as this description was used almost exclusively to distinguish a person's dwelling house from his summer house, stable or garden where these were rated together as a group. The great majority of

dwelling houses is not distinguished by this title.

A new computer table of data from the directory and the Rates table was created, but there was no-one for whom special information about building type was given who appeared in both the sources, so the resultant table was simply the sum of information from the two individual sources. Table 7:2 presents information from the two sources combined.

Table 7:2: Land Use in Bristol in 1774/5

i) Number in each class

Parish	Building Class								Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
0 Unknown	14	7	0	0	0	0	18	1	40
1 All Saints	29	69	3	5	10	5	8	8	137
2 Castle Precincts	34	18	1	14	5	4	8	0	83
3 Christ Church	39	47	0	31	5	10	14	4	150
4 St. Augustine	47	28	1	11	30	8	36	2	163
5 St. Ewen	40	26	0	0	3	6	3	4	82
6 St. James City	117	59	15	118	101	37	85	11	543
7 St. John	70	26	1	35	14	20	3	5	174
8 St. Leonard	40	23	0	1	7	4	8	5	88
9 St. Mary le Port	59	27	2	1	0	3	3	0	95
10 St. Mary Redcliff	146	56	19	148	43	20	28	0	460
11 St. Michael	25	10	11	10	20	4	7	3	90
12 St. Nicholas	96	51	0	14	20	9	25	7	222
13 St. Peter	45	14	0	8	1	9	8	0	85
14 SS Philip & Jacob	56	29	1	40	18	4	25	1	174
15 St. Stephen	189	141	0	21	29	13	40	5	438
16 St. Thomas	89	41	0	26	28	14	24	2	224
17 St. Werburgh	7	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	12
18 Temple	116	39	1	1	20	7	28	1	213
19 St. James Outp' sh	2	0	13	49	19	1	2	0	86
20 Trinity	23	5	0	0	11	9	0	0	49
21 Clifton	2	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	9
22 Bedminster	3	1	0	0	0	0	25	0	29
City	1288	718	68	533	387	189	404	59	3646

ii) Per cent in each class

Parish	Building Class								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	% Tot.
0 Unknown	1.1	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	1.7	1.1
1 All S'nts	2.3	9.6	4.4	0.9	2.6	2.6	2.0	13.6	3.8
2 Castle	2.6	2.5	1.5	2.6	1.3	2.1	2.0	0.0	2.3
3 Ch. Ch.	3.0	6.6	0.0	5.8	1.3	5.3	3.5	6.8	4.1
4 St. Aug.	3.6	3.9	1.5	2.1	7.8	4.2	8.9	3.4	4.5
5 St. Ewen	3.1	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.8	3.2	0.7	6.8	2.2
6 St. Jas. C.	9.1	8.2	22.0	22.1	26.1	19.6	21.0	18.6	14.9
7 St. John	5.4	3.6	1.5	6.6	3.6	10.6	0.7	8.5	4.8
8 St. Leo.	3.1	3.2	0.0	0.2	1.8	2.1	2.0	8.5	2.4
9 St. M. Port	4.6	3.8	3.0	0.2	0.0	1.6	0.7	0.0	2.6
10 St. M. Red.	11.3	7.8	27.9	27.8	11.1	10.6	6.9	0.0	12.6
11 St. Mich.	1.9	1.4	16.2	1.9	5.2	2.1	1.7	5.1	2.5
12 St. Nich.	7.5	7.1	0.0	2.6	5.2	4.8	6.2	11.9	6.1
13 St. Peter	3.5	2.0	0.0	1.5	0.3	4.8	2.0	0.0	2.3
14 SS P. & J.	4.3	4.0	1.5	7.5	4.7	2.1	6.2	1.7	4.8
15 St. Steph.	14.7	19.6	0.0	3.9	7.5	6.9	9.9	8.5	12.0
16 St. Thos.	6.9	5.7	0.0	4.9	7.2	7.4	5.9	3.4	6.1
17 St. Werb.	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.3
18 Temple	9.0	5.4	1.5	0.2	5.2	3.7	6.9	1.7	5.8
19 St. Jas. O.	0.2	0.0	19.1	9.2	4.9	0.5	0.5	0.0	2.4
20 Trinity	1.8	0.7	0.0	0.0	2.8	4.8	0.0	0.0	1.3
21 Clifton	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.2
22 Bedmin.	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.2	0.0	0.8
City	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.2	100.1	99.9	100.2	99.9

Industrial and manufacturing premises (Class A) were concentrated in the artisan parishes of the city (St. Thomas with 6.9% compared with 6.1% of all entries in the computer table and Temple with 9.0% cf. 5.8%), in the transitional areas (Castle with 2.6%, St. John with 5.4% and St. Stephen with 14.7%), as well as in some of the wealthier central parishes where these were also dock parishes; for example St. Mary le Port with 4.6% and St. Nicholas with 7.5%. St. James City parish and that of St. Mary Redcliff had very high numbers of industrial buildings (117 and 146 respectively), although they had a smaller share of industrial buildings than they had of all entries.

Commercial buildings (Class B) were concentrated in the central parishes of All Saints (9.6%), Christ Church (3.0%), St. Ewen (3.6%), St. Mary le Port (4.6%) and St. Nicholas (7.5%), as well as in dock parishes such as St. Leonard (3.2%) and St. Stephen (19.6%). They were noticeably absent from suburban parishes such as St. Michael (1.4%), St. James Outparish (0.0%) and Clifton (0.0%), which also had very few industrial premises. It is difficult to estimate how far this represents a modern separation of workplace and home as many of those who lived in these purely residential areas had no occupation. It would be revealing to discover how many suburban residents also had workplaces in the centre of the city.

Commercial premises were to be found in all the artisan parishes such as St. James City with 59, St. Mary Redcliff with 56, St. Thomas with 41 and Temple with 39, not least because some buildings were classified in both the industrial and commercial classes; but it is noteworthy that the only parishes with high

shares of both commercial and industrial buildings, St. Stephen and Castle, were both transitional parishes. Even given the double counting, the division between industrial and commercial remained sharp and where artisan parishes were also commercial ones, they were transitional ones.

The distribution of open ground (Class C) simply points to those parishes which were on the edge of the city (St. Michael with 16.2% and St. James Outparish with 19.1%) and to the big mixed parishes of St. James City (with 22.0%) and St. Mary Redcliff (with 27.9%) which stretched out to the edge of the city and whose mixture of rich and poor, densely settled areas and open ground is again revealed. The figure of 4.4% of open ground entries for All Saints parish seems to be anomalous as even by 1696 the parish was completely built up (Ralph & Williams, 1968, xxii).

The distribution of those distinguished as "poor" (Class D) is discussed in the section on the division of wealth (see ^{p 307 et seq}) and the information was found to be of little value. Unfortunately the same is true of the information on the properties of the rich (Class E). The information tells us only where houses had to be distinguished from some other building. Some suburban parishes had a high proportion of dwelling houses for the rich (St. Michael with 5.2% and St. James Outparish with 4.9%), where houses had to be distinguished from the grounds and outbuildings which surrounded them. There were, too, disproportionately many substantial houses in the artisan parishes of St. James City and St. Thomas, where wealthy men's houses had to be distinguished

from their adjacent commercial or industrial buildings as workplace and home continued to be situated together. St. Augustine's parish was becoming more genteel and more completely residential rather than commercial (Quilici,1976;38-89): this is shown by the rather high percentage (7.8%) of substantial dwelling houses within it which had to be distinguished from the commercial buildings which showed its former character.

The 189 empty houses and the difficulties faced in linking returns for different half years are the only indicators we have of the turnover of population in Bristol at this time. Turnover of city populations is thought to have been extremely high (Corfield,1982,99) and it is regrettable that a cross section such as this cannot investigate this aspect of the eighteenth-century city.

The importance of inns in English economic life is well documented (e.g Clark,1983; Everitt,1973;71-97). Certainly in Bristol at this time there were more inns than any other single building type, dwelling houses aside. Inns were concentrated in the riverside industrial and commercial parishes such as St. James City with 21.0% (cf. 14.9% of all entries), SS Philip and Jacob with 6.2% (cf. 4.8%), Temple with 6.9% (cf. 5.8%) and Bedminster with 6.2% (cf. 0.8%). St. Augustine also had many inns (36 or 8.9% cf. 4.5%) and the importance of victuallers as ships' suppliers is evident and accounts for the marked dockside distribution. Clifton had a higher percentage of inns than it did records as a whole (1.5% cf. 0.2%), although absolute numbers are small (6). These inns presumably accommodated visitors to the Hotwells.

Public buildings were congregated as expected in the older parishes, including rich central parishes such as All Saints (13.6% cf. 3.8%), Christ Church (6.8% cf. 4.1%), St. Ewen (6.8% cf. 2.2%) and St. Nicholas (11.9% cf. 6.1%); the mixed inner parishes (St. John with 8.5% cf. 4.8% and St. Leonard with 8.5% cf. 2.4%); and the artisan parish of St. James City with 18.6% cf. 14.9%. The parishes on the edge of the city had comparatively few public buildings.

The following tables show the sources from which the above information derived.

Table 7:3: Building Types recorded in Bristol Rate Returns:
Distribution by Parish.

i) Number in each class

Parish	Building Class								Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
1. All Saints	27	13	3	5	10	5	1	4	68
2. Castle Precincts	27	15	1	14	3	4	0	0	64
3. Christ Church	27	9	0	31	3	10	0	3	83
4. St. Augustine	46	23	1	11	27	8	0	2	118
5. St. Ewen	30	13	0	0	3	6	0	4	56
6. St. James City	81	36	15	118	97	37	0	11	395
7. St. John	68	26	1	35	14	20	0	5	169
8. St. Leonard	38	23	0	1	6	4	0	5	77
9. St. Mary le Port	47	15	2	1	0	3	0	0	68
10. St. Mary Redcliff	121	41	19	148	43	20	0	0	392
11. St. Michael	23	8	11	10	20	4	0	3	79
12. St. Nicholas	83	46	0	14	12	9	0	6	170
13. St. Peter	42	13	0	8	1	9	0	0	73
14. SS Philip & Jacob	52	23	1	40	16	4	1	1	138
15. St. Stephen	173	109	0	21	29	13	0	4	349
16. St. Thomas	75	33	0	26	28	14	1	2	179
17. St. Werburgh	7	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	12
18. Temple	104	35	1	1	20	7	0	1	169
19. St. James Outp'sh	1	0	13	49	19	1	0	0	83
20. Trinity	23	5	0	0	10	9	1	0	48
City	1095	487	68	533	363	189	4	51	2790

ii) Per cent in each class

Parish	Building Class								% Tot.
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
1 All Saints	2.5	2.7	4.4	0.9	2.8	2.6	25.0	7.8	2.6
2 Castle	2.5	3.1	1.5	2.6	0.8	2.1	0.0	0.0	1.4
3 Ch. Ch.	2.5	1.8	0.0	5.8	0.8	5.3	0.0	5.9	3.1
4 St. Aug.	4.2	4.7	1.5	2.1	7.4	4.2	0.0	3.9	6.8
5 St. Ewen	2.7	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.8	3.2	0.0	7.8	1.6
6 St. Jas. C.	7.4	7.4	22.0	22.1	26.7	19.6	0.0	21.6	23.5
7 St. John	6.2	5.3	1.5	6.6	3.9	10.6	0.0	9.8	3.6
8 St. Leo.	3.5	4.7	0.0	0.2	1.7	2.1	0.0	9.8	0.9
9 St. M. Port	4.3	3.1	3.0	0.2	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	3.2
10 St. M. Red.	11.1	8.4	27.9	27.8	11.8	10.6	0.0	0.0	9.7
11 St. Mich.	2.1	1.6	16.2	1.9	5.5	2.1	0.0	5.9	6.2
12 St. Nich.	7.6	9.4	0.0	2.6	3.3	4.8	0.0	11.8	6.0
13 St. Peter	3.8	2.7	0.0	1.5	0.3	4.8	0.0	0.0	3.0
14 SS P. & J.	4.7	4.7	1.5	7.5	4.4	2.1	25.0	2.0	5.7
15 St. Steph.	15.8	22.4	0.0	3.9	8.0	6.9	0.0	7.8	7.5
16 St. Thos.	6.8	6.8	0.0	4.9	7.7	7.4	25.0	3.9	5.1
17 St. Werb.	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	1.3
18 Temple	9.5	7.2	1.5	0.2	5.5	3.7	0.0	2.0	3.9
19 St. Jas. O.	0.1	0.0	19.1	9.2	5.2	0.5	0.0	0.0	2.8
20 Trinity	2.1	1.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	4.8	25.0	0.0	2.3
Total	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.2

Note:

The final column is the number of entries in each parish as a percentage of 6,711, the total number of entries.

It can be seen from Table 7:3 i) and ii) that there was some variation in the recording practices of the parish collectors. Those for St. Mary Redcliff and St. Stephen were very conscientious in recording the nature of the buildings they visited and those for St. James City parish were rather remiss in noting the many industrial and commercial buildings known to have been located there. In many historical records it is the case that if a phenomenon is too widespread and familiar it escapes registration simply because of its familiarity and this may well account for some under-recording here. In general, however, there were no serious differences in the quality of recording amongst the parishes.

Table 7:4: Building Types recorded in Sketchley's Directory

i) Number in each class

Parish	Building Class									Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H		
0 Unknown	14	7	0	0	0	0	18	1	40	
1 All Saints	2	56	0	0	0	0	7	4	69	
2 Castle Precincts	7	3	0	0	2	0	7	0	19	
3 Christ Church	12	38	0	0	2	0	14	1	67	
4 St. Augustine	1	5	0	0	3	0	36	0	45	
5 St. Ewen	10	13	0	0	0	0	3	0	26	
6 St. James City	36	23	0	0	4	0	85	0	148	
7 St. John	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	5	
8 St. Leonard	2	0	0	0	1	0	8	0	11	
9 St. Mary le Port	12	12	0	0	0	0	3	0	27	
10 St. Mary Redcliff	25	15	0	0	0	0	28	0	68	
11 St. Michael	2	2	0	0	0	0	7	0	11	
12 St. Nicholas	13	5	0	0	8	0	25	1	52	
13 St. Peter	3	1	0	0	0	0	8	0	12	
14 SS Philip & Jacob	4	6	0	0	2	0	24	0	36	
15 St. Stephen	16	32	0	0	0	0	40	1	89	
16 St. Thomas	14	8	0	0	0	0	23	0	45	
17 St. Werburgh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
18 Temple	12	4	0	0	0	0	28	0	44	
19 St. James Outp'sh	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	
20 Trinity	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
21 Clifton	2	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	9	
22 Bedminster	3	1	0	0	0	0	25	0	29	
City	193	231	0	0	24	0	400	8	856	

ii). Per cent in each class

Parish	Building Class								% Tot.
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
0 Unknown	7.3	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	12.5	5.1
1 All S'ts	1.0	24.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	50.0	3.4
2 Castle	3.6	1.3	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	3.5	12.5	3.4
3 Ch. Ch.	6.2	16.5	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	3.5	12.5	4.9
4 St. Aug.	0.5	2.2	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	9.0	0.0	11.7
5 St. Ewen	5.2	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	1.3
6 St. Jas. C.	18.7	10.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	21.3	0.0	25.2
7 St. John	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.6
8 St. Leo.	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	2.0	0.0	1.3
9 St. M. Port	6.2	5.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	2.5
10 St. M. Red.	13.0	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.0	0.0	6.0
11 St. Mich.	1.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	3.9
12 St. Nich.	6.7	2.2	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	6.3	12.5	5.3
13 St. Peter	1.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	1.2
14 SS P. & J.	2.1	2.6	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	6.0	0.0	5.2
15 St. Steph.	8.3	13.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	12.5	5.2
16 St. Thos.	7.3	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.8	0.0	3.4
18 Temple	6.2	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.0	0.0	5.2
19 St. Jas. O.	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	1.8
20 Trinity	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
21 Clifton	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.6
22 Bedmin.	1.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.3	0.0	1.8
City	100.0	100.1	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.2	100.0	100.1

Table 7:4 i) and ii) shows the information derived from

Sketchley's directory. This information was collected by one man rather than a number of parish collectors and was only subsequently assigned to parishes, so any anomalies amongst the parishes are fortuitous or the result of the assignment method (e.g. the systematic under-representation of some parishes e.g. St.Werburgh, here with no records). There are some important differences between the sources. Firstly some information, for example on the distribution of open ground or poor people's houses, appears only in the rate returns. Information on inns and taverns is found in both sources but overwhelmingly in the directory (400 out of 404 entries). This was surprising as studies using tax returns, particularly hearth tax returns, have found inns very easy to identify from the sources (Hibberd,1983,63): these buildings, though were recognised by their high number of hearths, rather than because they were explicitly labelled inns. Secondly the directory covers Clifton and Bèdminster parishes whilst the rate returns do not. These two parishes then cannot have information of the types which appear only in the rate returns. Thirdly there is far more information in the rate returns than in the directory: this is to be expected as the rate collectors were concerned primarily with buildings, Sketchley with residents.

The assessment of land use in the city is a useful confirmation of the distribution of economic activity inferred from data on occupation and suggests that there was perhaps a clearer separation of commercial from industrial activity than the occupational data implied. It is unfortunate that the study cannot say more about the separation of workplace and home, a

process which began at this time and which is extremely important in giving the modern city its character. It has been mentioned that some merchants gave separate addresses in the directory for their counters or offices, but this was less a separation of workplace and home than a splitting of dealing and office transactions from storage and other business functions which were still carried out in the same complex of buildings in which the merchant lived. This pattern is evident for some manufacturers too. Thus Richard Cannington had entries in the directory for his warehouse and for his home; but the former was at 89, Temple Street, the latter at 91, Temple Street. Similarly, Richard Champion had an entry for this house at 17, Castle Green and another for his china manufactory at 15, Castle Green. It is a sign of the old order that workplace and home were so close; but it is perhaps a suggestion of the new that special business premises like the Exchange in Corn Street existed and that some manufacturers wanted to list their home separately, no matter how near to their works it might be.

The discussion on land use points to the partiality of data from individual sources and the advantages to be gained from combining data sets. Nonetheless, the study suggests that directories can profitably be used to suggest patterns of land use in a city where there are no rate or tax returns and that rate returns can be used to give some indication of the patterns of economic activity of an area for which there is no information on occupations.

Chapter 9.

FINAL ASSESSMENT OF SOURCES AND METHODS

Much has been said of the content and reliability of the sources chosen and of the usefulness of the methods used in the course of the discussion and it is not the intention to repeat this here. Some final systematic assesment is needed here, however, to summarise the usefulness of the sources and methods and to consider how their limitations and potentials have shaped the study.

Sketchley's Directory

The directory proved simple to use, accurate in content and particularly useful in a number of respects. It contained information on women who are generally far less well covered in sources than are men. This information was very valuable in assessing differences in the occupation and status of men and women and in their roles in the economy. The directory provided useful information on those in the new and growing professions and service trades which are of especial interest in showing changes in the economy. It has particularly helpful information on the new leisured group in Bristol's population and recorded some of those involved in the provision of accommodation for the spa visitors. Since the directory information was not collected for official purposes it does not cover a predetermined area of the city and so information was available for the residents of the newer suburbs; this is again important given our interest in change in the city.

Poll Book

The Poll Book contained valuable information on the traditional craft trades which were less well covered by the directory. As it was not designed largely for outsiders the Poll Book had more information on the ordinary trades of the city and less on the town's specialised and unusual crafts which were of interest to Sketchley. The two sources were thus remarkably complementary and together covered a large number and wide spectrum of the Bristol workforce. Their partiality, though, was surprising and suggests caution where only one type of source is available. Like the directory, the Poll Book covered out-parishes and hence the rapidly developing suburbs of the city. Fears that occupational information in the Poll Book would be out of date and greatly at variance with that in the directory proved to be unfounded.

Rate and Tax Returns

The analysis of these rather unpromising sources proved very rewarding and yielded much valuable information on wealth which would otherwise have been unavailable. Wealth levels can be inferred from occupational data (e.g. for America, Turner Main, 1965; for England, Lindert, 1980), but the use of the fiscal sources allowed wealth levels to be analysed directly and then compared with occupation data. It is not clear, however, how representative Bristol's fiscal sources are. Bristol had many more city rates than most other towns and each was used as a control for the others. This check would not be possible for

towns with, for example, only Poor Rate returns. Similarly occupational data was needed as a control of the quality of the fiscal data: the returns for St. Michael's parish were judged untrustworthy in the light of occupational data. The fiscal data thus proved very useful indeed in this study and can be commended for wider general use. They are especially helpful given the dearth of alternative sources. However caution is still needed and in particular the need for checks of the data through linking is stressed.

Nominal Record Linkage

The usefulness of the sources is very much dependent on the other sources with which they were combined. Just as the first link converted individually useless rate and tax returns into one useful source, so the second link, which joined this fiscal data with the Poll Book and directory, greatly enhanced the value of all three individual sources and provided a context against which their representativeness could be gauged. The idea of using a number of sources is hardly revolutionary (see e.g. Bloch, 1954, 67) and the use of nominal record linkage is growing (Dennis & Daniels, 1981, 7). Nonetheless, much remains to be done with nominal data linkage firstly to produce more comprehensive sources and secondly to assess the quality of individual sources.

The Cross Section or Synchronic Method

This is not a method generally favoured by the English

historian, although it is used by, for example, French and Swedish historians (e.g. Daumard & Furet, 1961 and Söderberg, 1982). Its use is strongly advocated by Coones on the grounds that the search for a complete picture at one time is a necessary counterbalance to our instinctive search for the new, the changing and the different, that which seems important to the twentieth-century historian but which perhaps had limited meaning for the man of the time (1979). A cross section cannot directly reveal the struggles, re-adjustments and re-alignments which take place within society in a period of transition; but it can give a complete picture of the city at one moment and enable us to assess how far change had progressed and, perhaps just as important, which areas had remained little affected by change. We need not dispute that each "now" is a moment of becoming, of alternative possibilities (Thompson, 1978b, 295) whilst asserting that it is still valuable to know quite what the ingredients for change at any one time were.

One cross section is clearly of less value than a series of sections. An obvious choice of date for another section of Bristol society would be the end of the seventeenth century with the use of the rich tax returns for 1696 (Ralph & Williams, 1968). Very promising research on this source (that of J. Holman of Bristol University) is now unfortunately posted as "abandoned", but it is to be hoped that subsequent study of this and of nineteenth-century census material will enable a more critical assessment of results for eighteenth-century Bristol to be made.

Scale of Analysis

An important criticism which may be made is that, despite the lengthy and complicated linking method to join records relating to individuals, it is the characteristics very largely of groups within the city which are discussed. It is analysis on the aggregate scale that nominal record linkage is expressly designed to avoid. Some of the worst features of aggregate analysis are avoided: by mapping the sources severally it could, for example, have been established that St. Mary Redcliff parish had many artisans and many poor people and the inference could have been drawn that artisans were in general poor. Using linked data it can be directly established that artisans were poor. In this rather obvious case the inference would have been correct, but there are many less clear cases, concerning for example distributors, women and professional men, in which false inferences could easily have been drawn. This idea of collating data prior to analysis rather than collating results subsequently is central to the idea of nominal record linkage and makes impossible some of the worst dangers of aggregate analysis.

Nonetheless, it may readily be conceded that more detailed discussion of individual occupation types, the drawing up of social profiles of individual streets, consideration of precisely which jobs women were doing and so on would have been of great value, both in bringing substantive results and in testing the sources further: for example: wealth profiles of individual occupations could shed interesting light on the range of meanings covered by eighteenth-century occupation titles. This type of

study has not been possible, except in the case of some voting patterns for individual occupations, within the constraints of such a thesis: but the potential for extracting more information from the database subsequently is clear.

The Limited Source Base

Whilst the sources used here are comprehensive in that they cover a broad spectrum of society, there has clearly not been use of a comprehensive range of sources. This is especially serious perhaps given our interest in communities as functioning groups, but was unavoidable given the constraints a thesis imposes. It must again be stressed that such a quantified study is by no means seen as an alternative to more traditional research, but rather as a complement to it. The use of other types of source (records of non-Conformist groups and of other clubs and societies) in conjunction with the database already established should now be possible and will further contribute to our understanding of Bristol society at this time.

Cluster Analysis

In order to draw together the statistical analysis of the data a cluster analysis was attempted using the CLUSTAN package. A cluster analysis groups individuals together on the basis of the similarity of their attributes. The package produces a number of clusters based on the size of the whole population (i.e. if given 30 individuals it will produce a 30 cluster solution, a 29 cluster solution and so on down to a 1 cluster solution) and, in some instances, it will identify the most satisfactory solution

(i.e. the number of clusters where variation within clusters is minimised and that amongst clusters is maximised). This is clearly advantageous to avoid the temptation of picking the solution which best fits one's pre-conceptions.

Several problems were encountered. First the data were categorical not interval or ratio: that is attributes in the main fell into named classes such as "women", "artisans" or "parishioners of St. John's parish". Although these classes might be numbered in coding (e.g. the numbering of candidates from 1 to 4) they clearly do not bear the same relationship to one another as the continuous data classes of height in feet from 1 to 4. To allow the use of the CLUSTAN package the data were converted into binary form so that "man"

became

Male	Female	Unknown
1	0	0

This is rather unsatisfactory as it means that both men and women have a non-attribute in common i.e. they are both not "unknown". It becomes increasingly problematic as the number of variables of an attribute increases. There are 24 parishes so binary displays for a parishioner of St. John's parish and a parishioner of St. Leonard's parish have 22 non-attributes in common; there were 22 parishes in which neither of them lived. People who lived in different parishes thus appear more similar to one another than people of different sexes: the degree of apparent dissimilarity is inversely proportional to the number of variables of an attribute. In order to reduce this effect parishes rather than

streets, occupational groups rather than individual trades and wealth classes not rateable assessments were used, but the method was still felt to be rather unsatisfactory.

A maximum of 999 cases can be considered by CLUSTAN. Of the combined table of 10,872 (Chapter 3(v)) a 10% stratified sample was taken until 999 cases were extracted.

There are two ways of clustering the cases. In a hierarchic procedure, of the 999 cases the two most similar are clustered. Of the resultant 998 groups the two most similar are again clustered and the process is repeated until there is one cluster consisting of all cases. Existing clusters are never split and the cases re-grouped. In a non-hierarchic procedure, the 999 cases are grouped randomly and the most ill-placed cases are moved in stages to more appropriate clusters. It was felt instinctively that the second method was rather dubious and it has the added disadvantage that the RULES procedure cannot be invoked to identify the solution with the most satisfactory fit and fewest discrepancies. Some trial runs were made under the non-hierarchic procedure but it was decided, especially in view of there being no way independently to pick the best solution, that it was very unsatisfactory and was abandoned.

Attempts to run hierarcical clustering jobs failed repeatedly as there were so many variables for each case and because binary data demand great storage space. After alterations to the programme to expand work files a 450 case sample (about 5%) with the RULES procedure was successfully performed. It was felt, however, that to present these findings

could be misleading. With 450 cases and so many possible attributes for each variable (up to 24 in the case of parishes) anomalies could easily occur, especially given the doubt about the binary data.

It is hoped later to investigate alternative procedures more closely; perhaps the data could be transformed in a more sophisticated way or multi-dimensional scaling or some other method could be used. CLUSTAN offers no graphical representation of binary data and the possibility of incorporating such representation into a future scaling or grouping procedure would be advantageous. The lack of a comprehensive statistical procedure to draw together the discussion is thus acknowledged as a shortcoming in the method, and one which it is hoped to rectify in the future. In the meantime the conclusions presented in in the study are based on the simpler but less dangerous statistical results discussed in Chapters 4 to 7:

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION

In Chapter 1 four suggestions were made:

- i) that change in social organisation in the eighteenth century could be termed modernisation, the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft transition or moral to market economy transition
- ii) that this transition and the changes it brought about in the divisions and groupings within society were apprehendable through the examination of the external characteristics, whether quantifiable or not, of individuals
- iii) that suitable characteristics were occupation, wealth, voting allegiance and place of residence and
- iv) that the examination of the last of these, place of residence, would help show to what extent social groups in the eighteenth century were geographically distinct and thus to what extent neighbourhood was a significant factor in shaping social divisions.

In Chapter 2 it was further suggested

- i) that of the current two- and three-class interpretations of Bristol society at this period, it seemed more likely that three classes existed and
- ii) that the overseas merchants formed the top stratum of the social hierarchy.

In order to test these suggestions information for about 80% of the Bristol heads of households have been examined in some detail using three comprehensive sources (Sketchley's directory, the 1774 Poll Book and rate and tax returns). Data from these were linked together to allow the construction of a detailed

picture of the occupational structure, the division of wealth, voting allegiance and residential differentiation in the city.

The reconstruction suggested that, to some extent, the economy and society of the city had remained unchanged since the early eighteenth century. The dominance of overseas commerce and shipping in certain occupational groups and in certain distinct areas of the city is clear, whether this was amongst the rich merchants of St. Nicholas parish or the poor ships' craftsmen of St. Mary Redcliff parish. Overseas trade was also linked to internal commerce and distribution which again involved a geographically distinct subset of the population - the distributors of the central trading parishes.

It seems clear that the dominance of these two sectors in the Bristol economy was increasing disparities in wealth both within the city and between the city and the surrounding countryside. Amongst those involved in overseas commerce were the poor seagoers and the only slightly wealthier ships' craftsmen and suppliers on the one hand and the very rich merchants and prosperous retired captains on the other.

Similarly if the city was increasingly drawing to it the distribution, as opposed to production, of many sectors of the economy and since that distribution was conspicuously better rewarded than production, it seems reasonable to suggest that inequalities in wealth within the Bristol region were increasing. The nature of growth in the city seems to have caused concentration of wealth and the increasing gulf between poverty and prosperity throughout the city region.

On top of these increasing disparities, physical changes in the character of the city parishes were taking place as many overseas and other merchants set up homes separate from their place of work in the new suburbs. It was suggested in Chapter 2 that many merchants lived as a traditional urban patriciate in Queen Square in the immediate sight, sound and smell of their trade. This impression, gained from the existing literature, was found to be correct only in part and there were numerous examples of merchants moving out to the new streets growing up on the edge of the city. This change in location tended to leave artisans in increasingly homogeneous artisan parishes and thus the divide between the élite and the plebs widened in physical terms as well as in terms of their material wealth.

These divisions in the traditional city population were to a certain extent mirrored in their voting patterns. It has been shown in Chapter 6 that both socio-economic factors and religion (and possibly some untested factors such as local party organisation and the amount of money spent on the campaign by the various candidates) influenced the voter's choice of candidate. Deference ensured that the city corporation and others from the élite could vote on the first day and thus support Lord Clare as well as Brickdale. Where the influence of the church was strong poorer voters followed suit, but were not in time to vote for Lord Clare, whilst poorer men free from church influence voted in the way their inclinations might have dictated - for Cruger and Burke. The influence of traditional authority is still evident and prevents a clearer division based on socio-economic differences.

By 1775 there had thus been some very profound change within Bristol's established society, within the old geographical limits of the city and within the traditional social hierarchy. There were, however, equally great changes which were being imposed from the outside. Simultaneous with the increasing disparity in wealth and increasing geographical separation of traditional groups was the growth of the new professional and leisured group, distinct in its place of residence, its wealth and its political allegiance. This prosperous suburban group included many leisured people with no stated occupation as well as professional men and they showed far more wholehearted support for the Administration candidates in the election than did, for example, the city corporation or the merchants, the traditional voices of authority in the city. They could show a reluctance to become free of the city and to participate in its political life by voting in elections (there are, for example, many more professional men of all types in the the directory than in the Poll Book) and were thus perhaps not only distinct but also in a sense isolated from the old city. This isolation was reflected in and re-inforced by their geographical separation from the old city in the elegant streets of the new suburbs. Partly, of course, speculative builders had no choice but to build where there was space - on the fields which surrounded the city - and the locality of the Hotwells spa was to an extent determined by geology; but not all fields were chosen as sites for elegant houses and not all springs became spas and the conclusion that there was an increasing desire for isolation on the part of the

new middle class is inescapable. Choice of residence could be deliberate designed, then as now, to foster feelings of exclusiveness and hence of cohesion within the group. It could be used as a way of re-inforcing and making plainly visible the distinctiveness which prosperity allowed. Thus neighbourhood, particularly amongst the new middle class, was a powerful instrument in shaping social cohesion. Clearly it depended on wealth, but perhaps Verdon is correct in considering residence as a process in its own right in the shaping of communities (1980).

From the impressions gained from the existing literature it was not expected that this group would yet be making a powerful impact on the social structure of the city, though their influence on architecture and high culture has been recognised. The fact that these impressions have had substantially to be revised vindicates the choice of method used here.

It also suggests that to adjudicate between the two- and three-class interpretations of Bristol society in the eighteenth century, as outlined in Chapter 2, is to misunderstand the nature of change in the city. Society was rapidly ceasing to be cast in the traditional mould and it is a characteristic of both the interpretations that the place of the merchants in the top stratum of society is assumed a priori. It is suggested that neither interpretation is wholly satisfactory for Bristol at the end of the eighteenth century as change had progressed too far and the position of the new middle class had become too well established.

That the professional and leisured class were having a greater effect on Bristol society than was anticipated also

suggests that, although the analysis of individual communities through their institutions can be particularly revealing, it can also have a serious defect. The choice of institution can itself influence our whole perception of the way in which society was structured. If an institution of the traditional élite, such as a Society of Merchant Venturers, is chosen and its members examined for their cohesion and their relations as a body with lower groups in society, it can be difficult to avoid the conclusion that society is structured in a traditional way. If a new type of institution, such as a Friendly or Co-operative Society, is chosen for similar analysis it can be difficult to avoid giving the impression that society as a whole had been transformed and was now structured in very different ways. Whilst the general point that one should not make inferences which go beyond the evidence available is in theory clear, it is often difficult to avoid doing so in practice in the absence of some broad investigation as to how society as a whole was organised, so that it can be seen to what extent the chosen institutions were representative or atypical.

The need for a study such as this to complement more traditional work is then evident and leads us back to the important question of how social groups or communities are to be apprehended. It is clear that the sources and method used here can shed no light on the internal workings of classes or communities - communities as institutions, formally constituted groups or as informal social networks and the need for such investigation is obvious. These networks and institutions,

though, exist within a broader economic and social framework and Ellis suggests that

"Social relationships are subject to an immense variety of influences but the concentration of population within a particular community and the nature and scale of its economic organization are clearly among the most formative" (1984,192).

and from a practical point of view Phillips finds

"The hopelessly muddled, if very popular, 'nondefinitions' of class are analytically useless and such untestable positions, though often interesting heuristically, have no place in [a] search for measurable cleavages, socio-economic or otherwise, in English society" (1982,259).

The need for both types of study is then suggested, not least because a variety of methods is always required to enable us to understand anything so complex and controversial as class or community.

This study then aims to present some substantive conclusions, to provide a context for the assessment of research on religious communities and élite groups reviewed in Chapter 2 and to offer the means to link the two by adding further sources to the database. This last would increase the confidence with which inferences, for example as to the affect of religion on voting patterns, could be made and, by assessing the degree to which Dissenters' social and economic attributes differed from or were the same as those of the whole population, would remove the impression that these religious communities existed independently of the social and economic life of the town. Finally it is hoped that the methods used here might be more widely adopted to further interest in the important but neglected field of eighteenth-century urban history.

Notes to Appendices

1. Appendix 1; Occupation Codes

A list of all occupations found in the three sources was drawn up. Occupations which were indistinguishable from one another (e.g. "Butcher" and "Butcher and Tripe Seller"; "Mason", "Stone Cutter and Mason", "Stone Cutter and Marble Mason" and "Freemason") were combined respectively into single classes. The resultant list of occupations forms Appendix 1. The idea of this was to avoid producing a list which was unmanageably long and in which occupations indistinguishable from one another were differentiated in exactly the same way (i.e. by being given different code numbers) as they were from significantly different occupations. This was not a classification, but a clarification of terms.

2 Appendix 2 Status Codes

All status titles found in the sources were listed. Titles such as "Captain", "Rev.", "Major", "Dr." etc. were deemed to be occupations rather than statuses, although it was realised that some people bearing these titles might not practise the suggested occupation.

3 Appendix 3 Street Codes

A comprehensive list of streets assigns each street to a parish where possible. Where a street crossed parish boundaries, as happened frequently in the city centre with its tiny parishes, each section of the street was numbered separately, e.g.;

Baldwin Street, St. Nicholas's Parish Code Number 15

Baldwin Street, St. Stephen's Parish Code Number 16

Baldwin Street, St. Leonard's Parish Code Number 17

Where a street listed in the directory crossed parish boundaries and hence it was not clear which parts of the street were in which parish a different code number was used, e.g.;

Baldwin Street, no parish given Code Number 14

4 Appendix 4 Building Type Codes

This lists the character of buildings or land as noted in the sources.

5. Appendix 5 Parish Codes

The Castle Precincts, though not a parish, were treated by contemporaries as such and the practice continues here. Trinity and Temple wards overlap in parts with parishes. Where possible entries made for these wards have been assigned to parishes; where the parish in question is not known, the streets have been coded with ward code numbers instead of parish ones. "Clergy" and "Corporation" are clearly not parishes, but appear as such since it was under these groupings that men voted in the election when they were not listed in their parish of residence.

Appendix 1

Occupation Title Codes

Code	Occupation
1	Accomptant / Bookkeeper
2	Anchor Smith
3	Apothecary:
4	Army Officer / Colonel / Capt. etc.
5	Attorney / N.P. / M.C. / K.C. / Solicitor in Chancery / Clerk to the Justices / Stamp Distributer
6	Auctioneer
7	Bacon Maker
8	Baker / Bread shop
9	Banker
10	Barber / Hairdresser
11	Basket Maker
12	Bell Founder
13	Bellows Maker
14	Blacksmith
15	Block Maker / Block Maker's Office
16	Blue Maker
17	Bookbinder
18	Bookseller / Old Bookshop Keeper / Keeper of a Circulating Library
19	Bottle Wholesaler
20	Brazier / Brass Founder
21	Breeches Maker
22	Brewer
23	Bricklayer
24	Brickmaker
25	Bridewell Keeper
26	Bridle Cutter
27	Broker / Dealer / Compting House / West India Broker
28	Broker of Household Furniture / Clothes Broker
29	Brush Maker
30	Buckle Maker
31	Butcher / Butcher and Tripe Seller
32	Butter Dealer / Butter Merchant
33	Button Maker
34	Cabinet Maker
35	Cabinet Wholesaler
36	Calenderer
37	Captain (naval or unspecified) / R.N. / Lieutenant in the Royal Navy
38	Carpenter / House Carpenter
39	Carrier (to London)
40	Carver
41	Chairmaker
42	Chairman
43	Chandler

- 44 : Cheesemonger / Cheesefactor
45 Chimney Sweeper
46 : China Dealer / China Shop Keeper
47 China Maker / China Mender / China Painter
48 China Wholesaler
49 Chocolate Maker
50 Cider Merchant
51 Clearstarcher / Laundress
52 Clerk (inc. Clerk to Bank, Church etc.) / Permit Writer / Scribe / Scrivener
53 : Clock Maker
54 : Clothier
55 Clothworker
56 : Coach Maker / Carriage Maker
57 : Coachman / Coachmaster / Postchaise man
58 Coach and Sign Painter
59 Coffee House Keeper
60 Colourman / Anatto Maker
61 Comb Maker
62 Confectioner
63 Cookshop / Cook / Pastrycook
64 Cooper / Wine Cooper
65 Coppersmith
66 : Cork Cutter
67 Corn and Malt Wholesaler / Corn and Flour Wholesaler / Mealman / Cornfactor / Corn Chandler / Corn Broker
68 Coroner
69 Crate Maker
70 Cryer
71 Currier / Leatherdresser / Oil-Leatherdresser
72 : Custom House Officer / Excise Officer / Collector of Excise / Collector of Customs / Collector of the Salt Duties / Land Surveyor of the Customs / Coast Officer / Port Officer / Water Bailiff / Searcher at the Custom House / Intelligence Officer / Controller of the Customs / Supervisor / Port Gauger / Tide Waiter / Land Waiter / Stamp Officer / Tidesman etc.
73 Cutler / Edge Tool Maker
74 Distiller / Malt Distiller
75 Doctor of Medicine / Doctor of Physic
76 : Draper / Woollen Draper / Ribbon and Stuff Wholesaler
77 Drover
78 Druggist / Chemist
79 Drysalter
80 Dyer / Silk and Scarlet Dyer
81 : Earthenware Maker
82 Earthenware Shop
83 : Earthenware Wholesaler
84 Embroiderer
85 Engineer / Crane Maker / Engine Smith and Screw Maker
86 : Engraver / Coffin Plate Chaser / Chaser
87 : Farrier
88 Felt Maker
89 File Cutter
90 Fishmonger

91. Flax Dresser
92 Flour Seller
93 Fruit Merchants / Orange Merchants / Lemon and Orange Merchants
94 Furrier
95 Gallipot Maker
96 Gardener / Nurseryman
97 Gilder
98 Gingerbread Baker / Cake and Biscuit Baker / Biscuit Baker / Muffin Maker
99 Glass Cutter / Glass Grinder
100 Glass Dealer
101 Glass Maker
102 Glass Wholesaler / Glassman
103 Glazier
104 Glove Dyer
105 Glover
106 Glue Maker
107 Goldsmith
108 Greenshop Keeper / Lemon and Orange Shop Keeper
109 Grinder's Shop Keeper
110 Grindstone Dealer
111 Grocer
112 Grocer (wholesale)
113 Grutt Maker
114 Gun Wholesaler
115 Gunpowder Dealer
116 Gunsmith / Gun Maker / Gunstock Maker
117 Haberdasher
118 Hair Merchant / Hair Wholesaler
119 Hair Cloth Maker / Hair Weaver / Hair Sack Weaver
120 Hallier
121 Harness Maker / Collar and Harness Maker / Collar Maker
122 Hat Maker / Hat Manufacturer / Cap Maker / Velvet Cap Maker / Hatter / Haberdasher of Hats / Millener
123 Hooper / Wine Hooper
124 Hop Merchant / Hop Factor / Hop Wholesaler
125 Hosier
126 Hospital, Governor of
127 Hour Glass Maker
128 Innholder / Inn and Tavern Keeper / Publican
129 Insurance Broker / Agent to Insurance Office / Insurance Office Keeper
130 Instrument Maker (Surgeon's)
131 Instrument Maker (Mathematical, Philosophical and Optical) / Spectacle Maker
132 Instrument Maker
133 Iron Merchant / Iron Wholesaler / Old Iron Merchant
134 Ironmonger / Hardwareman / Seller of Wholesale Fishhooks and Needles
135 Old Iron Shop
136 Ivory Turner / Hartshorn Cutter / Horn Button Maker / Horn worker / Horner
137 Jeweller
138 Joiner / Bed Joiner

139 Key Porter / Porter
 140 Labourer
 141 Lace Dealer
 142 Lace and Fringe Manufacturer / Lace Weaver
 143 L.B. / L. / B. / (person offering lodging and/or boarding accommodation)
 144 Leather Cutter
 145 Leather Wholesaler
 146 Lighterman / Waterman / Bargemaster
 147 Lime Burner
 148 Linen Draper
 149 Linen Draper (wholesale) / Linen Merchant / Linen Factor
 150 Livery Stabler / Stable Keeper / Hirer of Horses and Coaches / Riding Master
 151 Locksmith
 152 Looking Glass Manufacturer
 153 Lottery Office Keeper
 154 Maltster / Malt Maker
 156 Mantua Maker / Sacque Maker
 157 Marble Cutter / Marble Mason
 158 Mason / Freemason / Stone Cutter / Free Stone Cutter
 159 Mast Maker
 160 Mayor's Officer / Sherrif's Officer / Serjeant at Mace
 161 Measurer of Timber / Sworn Measurer / Corn Measurer / King's Weigher / Clerk to the Market / Court of Conscience Officer / Assayer of Metal
 162 Mercer / Mercer and Manufacturer / Stuff Mercer
 163 Merchant Taylor
 164 Miller
 165 Mill Maker
 166 Millwright
 167 Mop Maker
 168 M.P.
 169 Musical Instrument Maker / Organ Builder / Harpsichord Maker
 170 Music Master / Musician / Organist
 171 Music Seller
 172 Mustard Maker
 173 Nail Shop Keeper / Nailer / Nailmaker
 174 Night Constable
 175 Nurse / Midwife
 176 Oilman / Oil Wholesaler
 178 Packer
 179 Painter
 180 Painter of Miniatures / Limner
 181 Paper Box Maker
 182 Paper Maker / Paper Maker and Stainer
 184 Paper Shop
 185 Parchment Maker
 186 Passage House Keeper
 187 Patten Maker / Patten Tie Maker / Patten Ring Maker / Clog Maker / Heel and Patten Maker
 188 Pawn Broker
 189 Pencil Maker
 190 Perfumer

191 Peruke Maker / Hair Manufacturer
 192 Pewterer
 193 Picture Frame Maker
 194 Pin Maker
 195 Pipe Maker
 196 Pitcher
 197 Plane Maker / Glazier's Vice Maker / Last Maker / Hoe
 Maker
 198 Plasterer
 199 Plumber
 200 Postman / Postmaster
 201 Potter
 202 Poulterer
 203 Presser / Hot Presser
 204 Printer / Copper Plate Printer
 205 Print Seller
 206 Pump Maker
 207 Rag (old) Shop Keeper / Old Clothes Shop Keeper
 208 Rag Wholesaler
 209 Reverend / Minister / D.D. / Bishop / Dean / Lay Clerk /
 Sub-Sacristan etc. / Jew Preacher
 210 Rider
 212 Rigger / Ship's Rigger
 213 Rope Maker / Rope Weaver / Hemp Dresser
 214 Sack Weaver / Sacking Maker / Sack Cloth Maker
 215 Sadler / Saddle Tree Maker / Pack Sadler
 217 Sailcloth Weaver / Sailcloth Maker
 218 Sail Maker
 219 Salt Merchant
 220 Salt Refiner
 221 Sawyer
 222 Schoolmistress / Schoolmaster / Keeper of a School /
 Keeper of a Boarding School etc.
 223 Seedsman
 224 Seedsman (wholesale)
 225 Sexton
 226 Sherrif / Under Sherrif / Mayor / Alderman / Member of the
 Corporation / Town Clerk / Chamberlain
 227 Shoe and Saddle Wholesaler
 228 Shoemaker / Bootmaker / Cordwainer / Heel Maker / Heel
 Cutter
 229 Shoe Shop Keeper
 230 Shopkeeper / Salesman / Sale Shop Keeper / Keeper of a
 Shop / Huxter's Shop
 231 Ship's Ballast Dealer
 232 Ship Broker
 233 Ship Caulker / Caulker
 234 Ship Carpenter / Shipwright / Boatbuilder
 235 Ship's Surgeon
 236 Shot Maker
 237 Silk Mercer / Silkman
 238 Silversmith
 239 Skinner
 240 Slop Seller
 241 Smith

242 Snuff Maker
 243 Snuff Seller
 244 Snuff Wholesaler
 245 Soap Chandler
 246 Soap Maker / Soap Boiler
 247 Spirit Seller / Brandy Merchant / Dealer in Spirits
 248 Starchmaker
 249 Stationer
 250 Statuary and Architect
 251 Stay Maker / Truss Maker
 252 Stay Wholesaler
 253 Stocking Maker / Framework Knitter
 254 Stocking Shop Keeper
 255 Sugar Refiner / Sugar Baker / Journeyman Sugar Baker
 256 Sugeon / Barber Surgeon / Bleeder
 257 Surveyor
 258 Tallow Chandler
 259 Tanner
 260 Taylor / Taylor and Habit Maker
 261 Teacher of French / Professor of Languages
 262 Tea Dealer
 263 Tiler / Journeyman Tiler
 264 Timber Merchant / Timber Dealer / Timber Importer / Keeper
 of Timber Yard etc.
 265 Tinman / Tin Shop / Tin Plate Worker / Whitesmith /
 Brightsmith
 266 Tobacconist
 267 Tobacconist Wholesaler
 268 Tobacco Roller / Tobacco Cutter
 269 Toymaker / Toyman
 270 Trimming (French) Maker / Mohair, Silk and Twist Button
 Maker
 280 Trow Owner / Boat Keeper / Ship Keeper / Trow Owner's
 Agent
 281 Trunk Maker
 282 Turner
 283 Turnpike Man
 284 Turpentine Wholesaler
 285 Twine Spinner
 286 Undertaker
 287 Upholster / Upholsterer / House Upholsterer
 288 Victualler / Victualler's Shop
 289 Vinegar Maker
 290 Warehouse Keeper / New Warehouse Keeper / Custom House
 Watchman
 291 Watchmaker
 292 Water (distilled) Seller
 293 Well Sinker
 294 Wharfinger / Wharfinger and Crane Keeper
 295 Wheelwright / Coach Wheeler
 296 Whip Maker
 297 Whitawer
 298 Whitener of Woollens
 299 Wine Maker / Raisin Wine Maker
 300 Wine Merchant / Wine Seller / Vaults Keeper / Vintner

301 Wireworker / Wirodrawer
302 Weaver / Weaver of Plush, Velvet etc. / Serge Maker
303 Wooden Toy Maker
304 Wool Card Maker
305 Woolcomber / Scribbler
306 Woolstapler
307 Wool Hall Keeper
308 Writing Master
309 Yeoman / Farmer
310 Mariner / Mate
311 Merchant
312 Collier
313 Paper Warehouseman
314 Cornshop Keeper
315 Iron Founder
316 Dancing Master
318 Founder
319 Wool Card Maker
320 Butter Seller
321 Vinegar Wholesaler
323 Seller of Oil, Wax and Candles
324 Copper Company Owner / Copper Refiner
325 Brass Worker
326 Steel Mill Maker

Appendix 2

Status Codes

Code	Status
1	Widow
2	Gent. / Esq.
3	Poor
4	Freeholder
6	Sir / Lord
7	Mr.
8	Mrs. / Miss
9	Lady / Countess, etc.

Appendix 3

Street Codes

Code	Street	Parish
1.	Adam and Eve Lane	Christ Church
2	Albermarle Row	Clifton
3	Aldridge Key Lane	St. Stephen
4	Alexander's Court	SS. Philip and James
5	All Saint's Lane	All Saints
6'	Ann Street	St. James Outparish
7	Ashley Court	St. Stephen
8	Assembly Lane	St. James
9	Avenue	Temple
10	Avon Street	
11	Back Church Lane	
12	Back Church Lane, near St. Michael's Church	St. Michael
13.	Back Street	St. Nicholas
14	Baldwin Street	
15	Baldwin Street	St. Nicholas
16'	Baldwin Street	St. Stephen
17	Baldwin Street	St. Leonard
18	Bank (under the)	St. Augustine
19	Bars Lane	St. James
20	Barton Alley	St. James
21	Barton Court	St. James
22	Barton Street	St. James
23	Beauford Court	St. James
24	Bedminster	Bedminster
25	Bedminster Causeway	Bedminster
26'	Berry's Court	
27	Bishop's Park	St. Augustine
28	Black Friars	
29	Blinkerd's Court	
30	Bloomsbury Court	
31	Borough Walls	Temple
32	Brandon Hill	St. Augustine
33	Brandon Street	St. Augustine
34	Bridewell Lane	
35	Bridewell Lane	Trinity
36'	Bridewell Lane	St. James
37	Bridge Foot	St. Thomas
38	Bridge Street	
39	Bridge Street	St. Thomas
40	Bridge Street	St. Mary le Port
41	Bridge Street	St. Nicholas
42	Bridge Street	St. Peter
43	Bristol Back	St. Nicholas
44	Broad Mead	St. James
45	Broad Street	

46	Broad Street	Christ Church
47	Broad Street	St. John
48	Broad Street	Trinity
49	Broad Street	St. Ewen
50	Broad Ware (or Weir)	St. Peter
51	Bull Lane	SS. Philip and James
52	Bush Street	St. James Outparish
53	Butter Lane	
54	Butts	St. Augustine
55	Butts and Rope Walk	St. Augustine
56	Callow Hill Street	St. James
57	Cannons Marsh	St. James
58	Cannon Street	
59	Carey's Lane	SS. Philip and James
60	Carolina Street	St. James Outparish
61	Cart Lane	
62	Castle Ditch	
63	Castle Ditch	SS. Philip and James
64	Castle Ditch	Castle Precincts
65	Castle Green	Castle Precincts
66	Castle Mill Street	Castle Precincts
67	Castle Street	Castle Precincts
68	Cathay (Day Street)	St. Mary Redcliff
69	Chapel Row	
70	Charles Street	St. James
71	Charlotte Street, Queen Square	St. Nicholas
72	Checker Lane	
73	Cheese Lane	SS. Philip and James
74	Cherry Alley	
75	Cherry Lane	St. James
76	Christmas Street	
77	Christmas Street	Trinity
78	Christmas Street	St. Ewen
79	Christmas Street	St. John
80	Church (round St. Stephen's)	St. Stephen
81	Church Lane (Temple)	Temple
82	Church Lane (SS. Philip and James)	SS. Philip and James
83	Church Lane (St. Michael)	St. Michael
84	Church Street	Temple
85	Church Yard	SS. Philip and James
86	Clare Street	St. Stephen
87	Clifton Hill	Clifton
88	Cock and Bottle Lane	
89	Cock Lane	St. Nicholas
90	College Green	St. Augustine
91	College Street	St. Augustine
92	Corn Street	
93	Corn Street	All Saints
94	Corn Street	St. Ewen
95	Corn Street	St. Leonard
96	Counter Slip	Temple
97	Cow and Limekiln Lane	St. Augustine
98	Cross Street	St. John
99	Culver Street	St. Augustine

100	Cumberland Street	St. James
101	Currant Lane	St. Stephen
102	Custom House	St. Nicholas
103	Dake Street	
104	Dalton Court	St. James Outparish
105	David Street	SS. Philip and James
106	Denmark Street	St. Augustine
107	Dighton Street	St. James
108	Dolphin Street	
109	Dolphin Street	St. Mary le Port
110	Dolphin Street	St. Peter
111	Dove Street	St. James Outparish
112	Dowry Square	Clifton
113	Drews Court	
114	Duck Lane	
115	Duck Lane	Trinity
116	Duck Lane	Christ Church
117	Duke Street	
118	Duke Street	St. James Outparish
119	Duke's Court	
120	Earl Street	St. James
121	Ellbroad Street	SS. Philip and James
122	Eugene Street	St. James
123	Exchange	All Saints
124	Fiddler's Alley	St. Mary Redcliff
125	Fisher Lane	St. Stephen
126	Fish Market	St. Stephen
127	Fort or Royal Fort	St. Michael
128	Fort Lane	St. Michael
129	Frog Lane	St. Augustine
130	Gay Street	St. James Outparish
131	Gloucester Lane	SS. Philip and James
132	Great George Street	St. Augustine
133	Green Street	
134	Green Street, Hotwells	Clifton
135	Griffin Lane	St. Michael
136	Guinea Street	St. Mary Redcliff
137	Gay Street	
138	Halliers Lane	
139	Halliers Lane	Trinity
140	Halliers Lane	St. John
141	Hampton Court	
142	Hanover Street	St. Augustine
143	Harford's Court	
144	Harford's Court	St. Leonard
145	Harford's Court	St. Ewen
146	Harris's Court	
147	Hawkin's Lane	Temple
148	High Street	
149	High Street	St. Nicholas
150	High Street	All Saints
151	High Street	St. Mary le Port
152	Hilgrove Street	St. James
153	Holton Street	St. James
154	Horfield Lane	St. Michael

155	Horse Fair	St. James
156	Horse Fair	
157	Horse Street	St. Michael
158	Horse Street	St. Augustine
159	Hotwell Road	Clifton
160	Hotwells	Clifton
161	Ireland Court	
162	Jacob Street	SS. Philip and James
163	Jacob's Well	Clifton
164	Jamaica Street	St. James
165	Jeague's Court	SS. Philip and James
166	John Ball's Lane	St. Michael
167	Kingsdown	St. James Outparish
168	Kingsdown Parade	St. James
169	King's Head Court	Christ Church
170	King's Head Court	Trinity
171	King's Square	St. James
172	King's Street	
173	King's Street	St. Nicholas
174	King's Street	St. Stephen
175	Lamb Street	St. Augustine
176	Lambwell Lane	
177	Lead House Lane	SS. Philip and James
178	Leek Street	St. James
179	Lewins Mead	
180	Lewins Mead	St. James
181	Lewins Mead	St. Michael
182	Lewis's Buildings	
183	Lime Kiln Lane	St. Augustine
184	Lime Kilns	
185	Little George Street	SS. Philip and James
186	Little King Street	St. Nicholas
187	Lewellin's Court	
188	Lodge's Court	SS. Philip and Jacob
189	Lodge's Court	
190	Lower Ashley	St. James Outparish
191	Lower College Green	St. Augustine
192	Lower Maudlin Lane	
193	Lower Maudlin Lane	St. James
194	Lower Maudlin Lane	St. Michael
195	Marlborough Street	St. James
196	Marsh Street	St. Stephen
197	Margaret Street	
198	Margaret Street	St. Mary le Port
199	Margaret Street	St. Peter
200	Maudlin Lane	
201	Maudlin Lane	St. James
202	Maudlin Lane	St. Michael
203	Mayor's Paddock	St. Mary Redcliff
204	Merchant Street	St. James
205	Milk Street	St. James
206	Montague Street	St. James
207	Morning Street	
208	Narrow Ware	St. Peter
209	Narrow Wine Street	St. Peter

210	Newgate (Below)	St. Peter
211	New Market Passage	Christ Church
212	New Parade, Dowry Sqaure	
213	New Parade, Hotwells	
214	New Street	
215	North Street	St. James
216	Old King Street	St. James
217	Old Market	SS. Philip and James
218	Orchard Street	St. Augustine
219	Owen's Court	
220	Paradise Row	Clifton
221	Park	St. Michael
222	Park Street	St. Augustine
223	Parson's Court	SS. Philip and James
224	Pembroke Court	St. James
225	Penn Street	St. James
226	Pennywell Lane	SS. Philip and James
227	Peter Street	
228	Peter Street	St. Mary le Port
229	Peter Street	St. Peter
230	Philadelphia Street	St. James
231	Pievet Street, Cathay	St. Mary Redcliff
232	Pile End	St. Stephen
234	Pipe Lane	St. Augustine
235	Pithay	
236	Pithay	Christ Church
237	Pithay	Trinity
238	Portwall Lane	St. Mary Redcliff
239	Prince Eugene Lane	Temple
240	Prince Eugene Street	
241	Princess Amelia's Court	St. Augustine
242	Prince's Street	St. Stephen
243	Prior's Hill	St. James Outparish
244	Quakers Friars	St. James Outparish
245	Quay (Head of)	
246	Quay (Head of)	St. Ewen
247	Quay (Head of)	St. Leonard
248	Quay (on the)	St. Stephen
249	Quay Street	
250	Quay Street	St. Leonard
251	Quay Street	St. John
252	Queen's Lane	St. Mary Redcliff
253	Queen Square	
254	Queen Square, Back of	St. Nicholas
255	Queen Square Lane	
256	Queen Street	
257	Queen Street	Castle Precincts
258	Queen Street	St. Michael
259	Redcliff Backs	St. Mary Redcliff
260	Redcliff Churchyard	St. Mary Redcliff
261	Redcliff Hill	St. Mary Redcliff
262	Redcliff Parade	St. Mary Redcliff
263	Redcliff Paving	St. Mary Redcliff
264	Redcliff Pit	St. Mary Redcliff
265	Redcliff Street	

266	Redcliff Street	St. Mary Redcliff
267	Redcliff Street	St. Thomas
268	Redcross Street	SS. Philip and James
269	Red Lane	St. Mary Redcliff
270	Red Lodge Street	St. Michael
271	Rosemary Lane	St. James
272	Rose Street	Temple
273	St. Augustine's Back	St. Augustine
274	St. James's Back	St. James
275	St. James' Barton	St. James
276	St. James' Church Yard	St. James
277	St. James's Court	St. James
278	St. James's Square	St. James
279	St. James' Street	St. James
280	St. John's Bridge	
281	St. John's Bridge	St. John
282	St. John's Bridge	St. James
283	St. John's Street	St. John
284	St. Leonard's Lane	St. Leonard
285	St. Mark's Lane	St. Augustine
286	St. Mary le Port Church Yard	St. Mary le Port
287	St. Mary: Port Street	St. Mary le Port
288	St. Michael's Church Lane	St. Michael
289	St. Michael's Church Yard	St. Michael
290	St. Michael's Hill	St. Michael
291	St. Nicholas' Steps	St. Leonard
292	St. Nicholas Street	
293	St. Nicholas Street	All Saints
294	St. Nicholas Street	St. Nicholas
295	St. Philip's Plain	SS. Philip and James
296	St. Thomas Lane	St. Mary Redcliff
297	St. Thomas Street	St. Mary Redcliff
298	Shannon Court, Corn Street	All Saints
299	Silver Street	St. James
300	Sloper's Lane	SS. Philip and James
301	Small Street	
302	Small Street	St. Leonard
303	Small Street	St. Ewen
304	Somerset Square	St. James Outparish
305	Southwell Street	St. Michael
306	Spring Lane	
307	Squire Lane	
308	Steep Street	St. Michael
309	Stoke's Croft	St. James
310	Stoney Hill	St. Augustine
311	Stripe Street	St. Michael
312	Swan Lane or Court, off Marsh Street	St. Stephen
313	Temple Back	Temple
314	Temple Church Lane	Temple
315	Temple Church Pavement	Temple
316	Temple Cross	Temple
317	Temple Gate	Temple
318	Temple Street	Temple
319	Terrell Street	

320	Thomas Street	St. Thomas
321	Three Crown's Lane	SS. Philip and James
322	Tinker's Close	St. Michael
323	Tower Lane	
324	Tower Lane	St. John
325	Tower Lane	Christ Church
326	Tower Lane, Needless Bridge and Duck Lane	St. John
327	Tower Street	Temple
328	Trenchard Lane	
329	Trenchard Lane	St. Augustine
330	Trenchard Lane	St. Michael
331	Trinity Street	St. Augustine
332	Tucker Street	
333	Tucker Street	St. Thomas
334	Tucker Street	Temple
335	Turnpikes, the other side of the	St. James Outparish
336	Union Street	Trinty
337	Union Street	St. Peter
338	Union Street	St. James
339	Unity Street	
360	Unity Street	Trinty
361	Unity Street	SS. Philip and James
362	Unity Street	St. Augustine
363	Upper Maudlin Lane	St. James
364	Wade Street	SS. Philip and James
365	Wapping	
366	Water Lane	Temple
367	Wells Street	St. Augustine
368	Welsh Back	St. Nicholas
369	West Street (or West Street St. James)	St. James
370	Whitson Court	St. James
371	Wilder Street	St. James
372	Wine Alley	
373	Wine Street	
374	Wine Street	Trinity
375	Wine Street	Christ Church
376	Wine Street	St. Mary le Port
377	Wine Street	St. Peter
378	Back Lane	
379	Bell Lane	
380	Bell Lane	St. Leonard
381	Bell Lane	St. Ewen
382	Bell Lane	St. John
383	Water Lane	St. James
384	Queen Square	St. Stephen
385	Queen Square	St. Nicholas
386	Stokes Croft	St. James Outparish
387	Temple Street without the Gate	Temple
388	Kingsdown Parade	St. James Outparish

Appendix 4

Building Type Codes

Code	Building Type
1.	Bake House
2	Dwelling House
3.	Land / Ground / Field / Garden / Way
4.	Malt House
5	Mill
6.	Office / Counter / Shop
7	Public Building
8	Rented (name of Landlord appearing)
9.	Stable / Coach House
10	Storage Area (Loft etc.)
11.	Sulphur House
12	Tavern / Inn / Public House
13.	Tenement
14	Warehouse
15	Yard
16.	Manufactory / Business premise other than 6' above
17	Crane
18	School
19	Dock
20	Rope Walk
21.	Glass House
22	Back House
23.	Summer House
24	Void
25	Sugar House
26.	Lead House
27.	Brew House
28	Pot House
29	Slaughter House
30	Lime Kiln / House
31.	Bank
32	Soap House
34.	Copper Works

Appendix 5

Parish Codes

Code	Parish
1.	All Saints
2	Castle Precincts
3.	Christ Church
4	St. Augustine
5	St. Ewen
6.	St. James City
7.	St. John the Baptist
8	St. Leonard
9	St. Mary le Port
10	St. Mary Redcliff
11.	St. Michael
12	St. Nicholas
13.	St. Peter
14	SS. Philip and James
15	St. Stephen
16.	St. Thomas
17.	St. Werburgh
18	Temple (ward)
19.	St. James Outparish
20	Trinity (ward)
21	Clifton
22	Bedminster
23	Clergy
24	Corporation

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