# Education and Social Mobility 1870-1914:
## a Study of Four Schools in the Registration District of Hitchin in Hertfordshire

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# Abstract

Social mobility and how it should be measured is an important topic for sociologists and historians. However, there have been very few studies on the link between social mobility and the introduction of a state education system into England. Previous studies have measured social mobility using occupational data from the census and then have related occupations to social status due to the nature of occupations being relevant to social status, as well as a person's economic situation. This study contributes to existing research by conducting a localised case study, to drill deep into the records and thus offer more specific evidence than generalised surveys. The research involves using a main sample group of two hundred scholars taken from four schools in the registration district of Hitchin, all of whom underwent education soon after the 1870 Education Act. Examining the occupation of their head of household as a scholar and then the occupation they themselves went on to experience is used as a comparison to measure social mobility. A comparative group of another two hundred children from the same area who were of schooling age in 1851 are examined and their social mobility measured in the same way, using their head of household's occupation in 1851 and their adult occupation in 1871, to emphasise the difference in social mobility between the two groups and show the difference between the two time periods. Using an occupational hierarchy system from an 1895 census return as a measurement of social mobility demonstrates upward social mobility of the sample group, demonstrating a link between social mobility and the introduction of state education.

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Introduction

Many historians of the nineteenth-century have studied Victorian education, but few have thoroughly examined its connection with social mobility in this period. The aim of this dissertation is to explore the influence a newly established system of state education, which came into place after the 1870 Education Act, had on the social mobility of those pupils who were some of the first to experience it. There are various ways in which the effects of the act on social mobility could be approached, such as the use of autobiographies, prosopography and more personal documents, for example letters. However, this dissertation uses a less anecdotal and more statistical methodology by using the wealth of information available in the census. The research will involve taking a sample of pupils listed in schools admission registers, locating these pupils in either the 1871 or 1881 census, finding the occupation of their head of household as a child in the same census year and comparing this with their future occupation taken from the 1901 or 1911 census.

There are certain elements within the methods of the census that must be recognised when relying on it as a source. Problems of inaccuracies that occurred in the census returns are difficult to overcome and sometimes impossible to rectify, such as the census enumerators recording incorrect information.[1] This research relies on the census as a crucial primary source as it involves using census returns for two years to gather information about the pupils, one year for their childhood head of household and one year for the female subjects' spouses' details. Although the census has its flaws to be aware of, which will be discussed in more detail

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[1] For a critical analysis of the Census see: Edward Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census* (London, 1996); *Census Records for England and Wales 1801-1901, A Handbook for Historical Researchers* (London, 2005); or *Life, Death and Statistics, Civil Registration, Censuses and the Work of the General Register Office, 1836-1952* (Hertfordshire, 2004).

in chapter two on methodology, its accuracy and availability as a source for the period of this project is invaluable to the research.

The other main primary research sources are school admission registers. Admission registers can be unreliable due to the children listed in the registers not necessarily attending school on a full time basis. The benefit and flaws of these sources, with reference to this research, will be discussed in chapter two. These sources are, however, an invaluable source to discover the names of scholars that attended the school, information about them and sometimes their parents. These background details about each subject make locating each scholar in the census returns an easier task.

It must be remembered that compulsory education was not introduced until 1880 and even then it was only between the ages of five and ten. Before this children would not have attended school regularly due to work or other family commitments, such as looking after younger siblings. The difficulty for poorer families was that education was not made free until 1891 and children were considered another wage earner for their parents, taking that away worsened the families' incomes. Although scholars were listed on admission registers, before education became compulsory, it did not necessarily mean that they attended school on a regular basis. In some census records children may have been recorded as scholars to hide the fact that they worked.

A localised approach will be taken in this project by using pupils from four schools in the registration district of Hitchin in Hertfordshire. It is important in this methodology to take a

local approach because using a smaller sample area will ensure a more thorough investigation of a complex topic. The exploratory date range of this dissertation will begin in 1870 and finish in 1914, as the beginning of the Great War was so influential on occupational status. This was due to the need for men as soldiers and women to take over the positions they left behind: using samples from during the war would create anomalies because of its vast impact on the society of England at the time.[2] This dissertation will begin to fill the historiographical gap in the literature surrounding education and social mobility due to its local based research and its main focal aspect of the effect that education had on social mobility.

The sample of scholars are taken from the admission registers of four schools: the Hitchin British Boys' School, the Hitchin British Girls' School, the Ickleford Mixed School and the Pirton Board School. In previous historiography the working class have been left out in favour of elite groups and political figure heads as they did not make important national decisions.[3] This dissertation is focused on those from working class backgrounds, as the majority of the sample who attended the four schools would have been from this type of household, as those with more assets would have sent their children to schools with higher fees or paid to have them educated at home. These schools were also chosen as they were all in the county of Hertfordshire and the registration district of Hitchin during the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These specific schools were originally established and run in different ways because of the various types of charitable organisations in charge of them. The methods used in teaching by the different organisations could have affected the quality of the pupils'

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[2] Andrew Miles, 'How open was nineteenth-century British Society? Social Mobility and equality of opportunity 1839-1914' in Andrew Miles and David Vincent, *Building European Society, Occupational Change and Social Mobility in Europe, 1840-1940* (Manchester, 1993), p.35.
[3] J.F.Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain 1875-1901* (London, 1990), p.67.

education used in this project and therefore been a contributing factor in their future social mobility.

The Hitchin British Boys' School and the Hitchin British Girls' School were both originally set up by the British and Foreign School society. The Boys' School opened in 1810 and the Girls' School in 1819. The teaching methods originally used in both schools were based on the monitorial system as Joseph Lancaster had seen it.[4] This method had phased out by 1862, when the Revised Code was introduced, as it was seen as a poor method of teaching that used unqualified older pupils to teach the younger ones, with the master or mistress of the school overseeing them.[5] The new system was to have pupil teachers, whom can best be described as apprentices in teaching, as older pupils were trained to teach the younger ones and had to pass examinations regularly in order to continue in this role.[6]

In 1832, following the announcement that the government would give grants to help local efforts to build schools, Thomas Thirwall who was the rector for the parish of Ickleford, began making plans and raising funds towards building a school in Ickleford.[7] Thirwall succeeded in his aim and the school was built in November 1839.[8] After the 1870 Education Act those running the school attempted to change the curriculum to widen the subject matter the children were taught. However, this resulted in geographical definitions and history stories being the only extra subjects to be added to the curriculum.[9] The school became Ickleford Voluntary

[4] Jacky Birch, Scilla Douglas, Pauline Humphries, Elizabeth Hunter, Rosemary Ransome and Terry Ransome, *Educating Our Own: The Masters of Hitchin Boys' British School 1810 to 1929* (Hitchin, 2008), p.10.
[5] Birch et al, *Educating Our Own*, p.10.
[6] Birch et al, *Educating Our Own*, p.55.
[7] H. G. Western, *A History of Ickleford* (Surrey, 1975), p.45.
[8] Western, *Ickleford,* p.46.
[9] Western, *Ickleford*, p.50.

Church of England School in 1902 due to the Local Education Authorities replacing school boards and the new categories for schools, which fell into the categories of provided or council schools and non-provided or voluntary schools.[10]

St Mary's National School was built in Pirton in 1842, but unfortunately the managers of the school had many problems from the time of its opening until 1876. Parents wanted their children to be spending their time working to contribute to the family income, which meant children spent most of their time straw plaiting and only one and a half hours at school.[11] In order to establish better educational facilities for the children of Pirton, the vicar, Ralph Loughborough, proposed to parishioners that a school board was needed, which was organised and set up by ratepayers.[12] In 1876 the Public Works Loans Commissioners gave Pirton School Board a grant of £2420 to pay for the site and buildings for a new school. Two separate departments were built; one for infants and one for a mixed elementary school. This meant the school board could receive 10s per infant, which was the highest grant available. The Pirton Mixed Board School and Pirton Infants Board School were opened on 15 January 1877.[13]

The industrial and occupational opportunities in the registration district of Hitchin and the county of Hertfordshire are important areas to explore when investigating social mobility in the area and especially when using occupational data, as in this project. Hitchin had a population of 7,077 in 1851 and was the centre of a growing area for barley, with brewing and malting industries being of importance to the town's economy.[14] Breweries that needed new

[10] Western, *Ickleford*, p.52.
[11] Joan Wayne (ed.), *A Foot on Three Daisies, Pirton's Story* (Hitchin, 1987), p.135.
[12] Wayne (ed.), *Pirton's Story*, pp.135-136.
[13] Wayne (ed.), *Pirton's Story*, p.136.
[14] John N. Young, *Great Northern Suburban* (Devon, 1977), p.14.

capital in Hertfordshire gained this from men of wealth such as William Wilshere, 1754-1824, who was a lawyer in Hitchin.[15] He eventually became a partner in Whitbread's Brewery based in London.[16] Lucas of Hitchin was a brewer in the 19th century, who acted as a banker in loans to other breweries.[17] Bowman and Sons was a Millers based in Hitchin. It was also home to the herb distillery of William Ransom and Son Ltd, founded in 1846.[18] Malting, Brewing, Milling and Papermaking all relied on the agricultural resources of Hertfordshire.[19] The introduction of a railway station in Hitchin that opened in 1850, with first and second class season tickets issued between there and Kings Cross from 1855 provided new occupational opportunities.[20]

Ickleford and Pirton were small villages and the main source of employment for both was farming. Straw platting was also an important industry in the registration district of Hitchin, due to the use of platting for the hat trade, with factories based in Luton and St Albans. It was the source of many jobs as it was a cottage industry undertaken by women and children.[21] The hat and bonnet sewing industry was of great importance, in Luton the growth of the industry improved the growth of the town.[22] In 1801 Luton had a population of 3,095, which by 1851 had grown to 12,787 and by 1871 had reached 20,732.[23]

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[15] Young, *Great Northern*, p.41.
[16] Young, *Great Northern*, p.41.
[17] Young, *Great Northern*, p.41.
[18] W. Branch Johnson, *Industrial Archaeology of Hertfordshire* (1970, Devon), p.79.
[19] Johnson, *Industrial Archaeology*, p.28.
[20] Young, *Great Northern*, p.21.
[21] Johnson, *Industrial Archaeology*, p.19.
[22] Patrick O'Doherty, *The Straw Plaitting and Straw Hat and Bonnet Trade with a Digest of Recent Census for the Luton District* (Luton, 1871), preface (no page numbers).
[23] O'Doherty, *Straw Plaitting*, preface.

This background to the occupational opportunities in Hitchin, Hertfordshire and Britain as a whole aid in the evaluation process of occupational information recorded for the scholars' Head of Household, their occupation in 1901/1911 and their Head of Household in 1901/1911, if the subject was an unemployed female or not Head of Household. The occupational opportunities in the area also help explain scholars' mobility by 1901/1911, looking to explore if the subjects moved from where they were living in 1871/1881 to somewhere else by 1901/1911 and if this move appears to be due to occupational opportunities in different areas or not. This research will show that there were those within the sample group who moved to London and other areas in England from the registration district of Hitchin in this period. Therefore the main industrial and occupational opportunities in London and nationally in this period are important to this project.

This dissertation is set out in four sections: Social Mobility and Education: Previous Research and Accompanying Theories; Social Mobility and Education: Methodological Approaches and Outcomes; Social Mobility and Education: Occupational Analysis; and Social Mobility: Occupational Comparisons and the Link to Education.  The first explores historiographical areas surrounding this topic: including class definitions, success literature and labour aristocracy. The second chapter is based on methodological approaches and explores the research aims in more detail with reference to previous studies. The occupational analysis section, chapter three, takes the results from the main sample group and assesses the outcomes: looking at them against a comparative sample group from an earlier period; children of schooling age in 1851 and their adult details from 1871. Both sample groups contain 200 entries and through analysis a link between education and social mobility has been found from these results, which is explained and further explored in the final chapter. The main sample, that experienced the changes to the education system, show a high level of upward social mobility,

compared with the earlier sample that has a higher rate of downward social mobility. These results demonstrate more upward social mobility for those scholars who experienced the educational changes after 1870 in comparison to the children from the same areas whom were of schooling age in 1851. Although there are other factors that affect social mobility, the outcomes of this research show an obvious link between education and social mobility. This being a localised project means that it may be even clearer to see in larger scale projects. However, although a localised project, this dissertation begins to contribute to the knowledge on the topic of education and social mobility for the period 1870 to 1914.

Social Mobility and Education: Previous Research and Accompanying Theories

Introduction

Social mobility has been defined by historians in different ways depending upon the types of sources and methods employed in their studies. While some have used occupational status to explain movements up or down the social ladder, others have tried to examine and explain social class in this period, which has sometimes resulted in complicating this already difficult topic further. Many historians, for example Moser and Hall, have looked at different aspects of social mobility in their research, however, previous studies of social mobility have neglected to analyse the effects of the new Victorian education system on the topic, due to this and having focused on modern periods. This has left a gap in the literature to which those who have written on the topic have only provided a partial solution. This dissertation aims to begin to fill in the gap by analysing the relationship between education and social mobility between 1870 and 1914, looking specifically at case studies of elementary school pupils. The problem with the historiography is that education and social and occupational changes have been more commonly studied for the period before 1870: with points of study such as what Harrison refers to as 'success literature'.[24] Success literature is contemporary works, first published around the 1840s, that gave examples of those who had achieved upward social mobility and advice on how to achieve similar goals. A class based debate began in the 1960s and ended in the 1980s surrounding the concept of social mobility: 'labour aristocracy'. This is a concept that has had many conflicting definitions discussed in this chapter.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the main theories surrounding social mobility by analysing success literature, the concept of labour aristocracy and exploring works that have had to resolve the issue of class interpretation and overcome the problem of measuring social

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[24] J.F.C. Harrison, 'The Victorian Gospel of Success', *Victorian Studies*, vol.1, no.2 (December, 1957), pp.155-164.

mobility. These literatures will be considered in relation to the effects of education on social mobility: looking at the argument that education played a role in the upward social mobility of scholars who experienced changes to the education system after the 1870 Education Act.


Success literature

Success literature is an example of how those contemporaries of higher status saw the education of the working classes and felt the need to create literature to encourage the working class to improve their social status: there is also the argument that this was seen as a way to control the working classes. It is important to the background of a study of social mobility and education as the leading author of this literature campaigned for better education for the working class. Success literature comprised publications that were written with the purpose of encouraging and demonstrating to those of lower social status that upward mobility was achievable even for the working classes. Publications after 1848 reflected the need of the population for adjustments to their lives in England's new industrial society.[25] The introduction of examples of working class people who had achieved upward social mobility was added to success literature and gave it originality, although the idea of the self-made man was not a new concept.[26] The definition of success being a man born in a low station and by industry, integrity and perseverance could reach a distinction in various fields, commercial, industrial and mechanical so as to relate to the working class man.[27] According to Harrison, the men in these examples were seen as an 'almost mystical figure' to the working class audience of success literature, which implies that the working class saw these examples as unachievable.[28]

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[25] Harrison, 'Success', p.155.
[26] Harrison, 'Success', p.156.
[27] Kenneth Fielden, 'Samuel Smiles and Self-Help', *Victorian Studies*, vol.12, no.2 (December, 1968), pp.155-176.
[28] Harrison, 'Success', p.156.

However, in a conflicting point Harrison refers to writers of success literature, such as Samuel Smiles, as having tried to make the achievements of these figures attainable for the average man, which was one of the reasons for the popularity of this literature.[29]

Samuel Smiles (1812-1904), was born into a family with strong Calvinist views and beliefs in the benefits of education.[30] When he was fourteen he became an apprentice to a medical doctor and progressed to Edinburgh University to study medicine, where he graduated as a surgeon in 1832.[31] However, finding medical practise precarious in Haddington he moved to a career in literature and was the editor of the Leeds Times from 1839 to 1845, publishing several hundred articles and two books.[32] In the late 1840s and early 1850s Smiles got involved with legislation concerning public health and the national education movement.[33] The outlook Smiles had on society was one that included the concept of a child's environment being influential to them and that education in adolescence was of great value.[34] He was influenced by the words of J.S. Mills on education: 'It is help towards doing without help', in other words teaching the working class how to improve their situation and have less reliance on charity or poor relief.[35] Travers makes a related point that Smiles was interested in encouraging the 'Victorian helpless' to help themselves, especially with the 'removal of ignorance', which demonstrates how the Victorian higher social classes have been interpreted by historians as having viewed those of lower status in society to be lacking intellectually.[36] Smiles' influence is seen in other works such as Thomas S.D. Floyd's pamphlet *The Power of Pence*, 1872, which in the preface gives ' the

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[29] Harrison, 'Success', p.161.
[30] T.H.E. Travers, 'Samuel Smiles and the Origins of "Self-Help": Reform and the New Enlightenment', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol.9, no.2 (Summer, 1977), pp.161-187.
[31] Travers, 'Smiles', p.162.
[32] Travers, 'Smiles', p.162.
[33] Travers, 'Smiles', p.178.
[34] Travers, 'Smiles', p.165.
[35] Travers, 'Smiles', p.183.
[36] Travers, 'Smiles', p.180.

admirable work of Samuel Smiles on "self- help" ' as one of the sources of inspiration for his own work.[37] The work of Smiles is also mentioned in Henry Rose's pamphlet *Are we Educating Our Children? : being a Lecture, etc.*, 1889, again showing the influence of his work.[38]

In order to increase the readership of 'success literature' new versions were written to target women and children. Children's success literature related to the idea of preparing them to achieve as high as they could by having examples of ambition, piety and temperance in literature such as Mrs Clara Lucas Balfour's Morning Dewdrops, 1853.[39] The early years of state education meant an increase in literacy among children.[40] Moore, author of *Literature at Nurse or Circulating Morals* published in 1885, made the point that writers had to consider if what they were writing would be suitable for children and display traditional beliefs to aid parents and guardians in enforcing these morals on their children.[41] He was against the idea of novelists having to write under these restricted conditions.[42] The literature available to parents would have meant more encouragement given to children to achieve higher goals for their future. The purpose of success literature links with the main argument of this dissertation: that education in the latter Victorian era could improve children's future occupations and therefore their social standing, using occupations as a measure of social mobility. Success literature has connections to social mobility through education, involving those behind the literature in the campaign for an education system in England. Exploring the influence of one of the most popular authors of success literature in this period, Samuel Smiles, demonstrates this influence.

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[37] Thomas S.D. Floyd, 'The Power of Pence', *LSE Selected Pamphlets* (1872), p.2.
[38] Henry Rose, 'Are we educating our children?', *LSE Selected Pamphlets* (1889),p.1.
[39] Harrison, 'Success', p.157.
[40] Felicity A. Hughes, 'Children's Literature: Theory and Practice', *ELH*, vol.45, no.3 (Autumn, 1978), pp.542-561.
[41] Hughes, 'Literature', pp.547-548.
[42] Hughes, 'Literature', p.543.

Smiles's belief in the idea of upward social mobility for the working class was demonstrated in his publications and his involvement with legislation surrounding the national education movement in the late 1840s and early 1850s.[43] It could be argued that writers of success literature helped the campaign for national education in England: they made the working class reader realise their potential, and through examples of those who had previously achieved upward social mobility, gave the reader of a higher social position a new outlook on the working class. This it seems would have increased support for a national education system.

Harrison refers to Smiles as having not invented the idea of self-help literature.[44] There had been previous writers that influenced Smiles, making his work not completely original. The important point to mention, however, is that it was more the timing that these publications were produced, rather than the originality of the work that made them popular. The mid-Victorian period was a time when those of poorer sections of society were looking for a way to improve their situation: a new industrialised society was developing around them and as others prospered, where they did not, questions were raised as to how they could experience the same comforts as others. Success literature gave the answers to some of these issues at a time when the government was not dealing with the issues that were important to the working class, such as universal suffrage. Not having the vote meant that the working class was left out of decisions about reform in England. The literature produced gave the working class examples of realistic changes they could make in order to alter their social, if not economic, situation.

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[43] Travers, 'Smiles', p.186.
[44] Harrison, 'Success', p.163.

Fielden made the argument that success literature was a form of distraction for the working class intended to take their attention away from more important issues surrounding their class such as universal suffrage and involvement in strike action for reform.[45] He goes as far as to state that: 'where social mobility ended social control began, without change of doctrine', demonstrating the literature as a controlling method.[46] Harrison gave a negative view on success literature as well commenting that Smiles' *Self Help* later became the middle-class reply to workers' demands. [47] This appears to be a verifiable argument as the literature was produced at a time when the country was going through great industrial changes that required some type of reform to cope with the social as well as economic situation at the time. Previous strike action by the working class would also have been a factor that made those of a higher status cautious of it happening again. Success literature could have been used as an attempt to control the working class in a new way and at the same time have been seen as a way to create a stable community for those higher up the social scale.

There is however, the other view that Smiles believed in his work and having gone through the education system of the time, felt that the working class were just as entitled to an education as those of higher status with the funding for schooling. This was the opposite view of Henry Brougham and other reformers of the 1820s and 1830s who were of the opinion that an education society should have to recognise 'a necessity for the upper classes coming forward to assist in making the first step'.[48] This demonstrates that higher society did not trust the poor with an issue as important as introducing an education system to England. In 1845 Smiles gave

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[45] Harrison, 'Success', p.161.
[46] Fielden, 'Self-Help', p.162.
[47] Harrison, 'Success', p.163.
[48] Alexander Tyrrell, 'Class Consciousness in Early Victorian Britain: Samuel Smiles, Leeds Politics, and Self-Help Creed', *Journal of British Studies*, vol.9, no.2 (May, 1970), pp.102- 125.

an address to the Leeds Mutual Improvement Society which demonstrated his opposing view to that of the early Victorian reformers on education in England:

> 'It is alleged that education would give them [the working classes] aspirations to rise above their present position, and might endanger institutions now established among us, and held to be 'glorious'. Welcome to all such aspirations! Welcome the education which shall make men respect themselves and aim at higher privileges and greater liberties than they now enjoy! Welcome all means which shall introduce and elevate the mass into the full communion of citizenship- no matter whose ease may be disturbed by the change.'[49]

In another speech, given to the members of the Bradford United Reform Club on 14 February, 1842, Smiles again pleads the case of the working classes:

> 'They [the working classes] perceive that they too are a part of the state, and a most important one,- that society, in fact, could not exist without them,- and that therefore they deserve the respect and the gratitude of their fellow-men of every class.'[50]

In the same speech Smiles moves on to the issue of education and states that:

> 'A large proportion of them [the working classes] have never had the advantage of elementary education, even of the rudest kind.'[51]

The speech also demonstrates that when Smiles refers to the working classes this includes those working in agriculture as well as in trade:

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[49]Tyrrell, 'Class', pp.116-117.
[50] Samuel Smiles, 'The Diffusion of Political Knowledge Among the Working Classes: An Address Delivered Before Members of the Bradford United Reform Club, February 14, 1842', *Hume Tracts* (1842), p.4.
[51] Smiles, 'The Diffusion', p.5.

'You must make common cause against your common oppressor. You must unite to put down monopoly in all its forms- in agriculture, in commerce, in trade, in legislation. Industry must be emancipated, and the labourer must obtain the due reward of his labour.'[52]

Smiles also refers to Chartism as 'one of the most notable steps in the march of modern civilization', showing his support for the movement.[53] It seems that Smiles was not concerned about the reactions of those already established at a high position in society: his main concern was about making education and knowledge available to all to ensure that those of the working class had the opportunity for upward social mobility through education.

Success literature and those behind it were of great importance to the introduction of a national education system in England. Without the expression of opposing views to those of high status in society, afraid of a working class uprising, made public by people like Smiles and writers of success literature the progress made in education in the latter Victorian period could have been prolonged. This would have had detrimental effects for the schooling of children with a working class background, giving them less of an opportunity to gain a good education and improve their status in society by learning skills to increase the chance of gaining a well-paid occupation in the future that would mean an escape from the conditions of a working class lifestyle. Success literature underpinned both the political impetus behind the 1870 Education Act and increased working class engagement with education.

Labour Aristocracy

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[52] Smiles, 'The Diffusion', p.15.
[53] Smiles, 'The Diffusion', p.14.

The term labour aristocracy was part of a historical debate in the 1960s and continued until the end of the 1980s. It is an important term, for the period of this study that needs to be understood in order to grasp a better understanding of class, society and how previous historians have reached this terminology in their research. Labour aristocracy is a term that has been used to describe a section of the nineteenth century working class who through higher wages or better moral values than others of their class were thought to have formed a new section of this class above the working class, but below the middle class. Why this debate disappeared from literature is uncertain, however, a vast amount of work on the topic had been undertaken, so it could have been that new ideas for debate were lacking on this topic. Breuilly, writing in the 1980s reasons that in the 1980s the labour movement responded for a short period of time by relating economic and political matters to one another: the result being the demolition of the labour aristocracy concept.[54] This relationship between economic and political matters seems to have drawn a close to the debate as the two do not always relate, causing the concept to present difficulties. Since the debate on labour aristocracy faded out of new literature there has been a lack of explanations for the situation of the working class and the movement of some towards a higher social class in the Victorian period.

Hobsbawm, writing in the 1960s during the early stages of the debate, put emphasis on a labour aristocracy having been created due to some workers, in the Victorian period, earning more than others.[55] Moorhouse, produced a counter argument in the 1970s, describing labour aristocracy as 'a concept, referring to an upper and favoured stratum of the manual working

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[54] John Breuilly, 'The Labour Aristocracy in Britain and Germany: a comparison', *Bulletin-Society for the Study of Labour History*, issue: 48 (Spring, 1984), pp.58-71.
[55] Breuilly, 'Labour', p.59.

class.'[56] Melling, also writing in the 1970s, takes the wording of the concept in a more literal sense describing labour aristocracy as a metaphor intended to juxtapose two contrary notions.[57] Although these definitions have conflicting aspects it is fair to conclude that the use of the term labour aristocracy is a way of describing a section of the working class who were trying to increase their social standing.

The source of the theory of labour aristocracy, according to Moorhouse, is Lenin.[58] Moorhouse describes the concept as the basis of an explanation for many Marxist scholars as to why in the first capitalist society class formation, class consciousness and class conflict did not follow the patterns predicted by Marx.[59] Stedman Jones criticises this idea by calling it 'ambiguous and unsatisfactory', but makes the point that 'it pointed towards a vacant area where an explanation should be.'[60] It seems that Marxist historians have had the need to justify the errors in the work of Marx: labour aristocracy, as stated by others in this debate, was this justification. The changes taking place among the working class at the time meant that there were those closer to the middle class lifestyle than others and whether socially or economically based an explanation was needed by historians to describe this: the Marxist explanation of labour aristocracy, although flawed, was an early attempt to achieve this.

Reid argued that the continuation of craft skills and control gave rise to endemic sectionalism rather than a labour aristocracy.[61] Whereas Shepherd concluded that there were four possible

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[56] H.F. Moorhouse, 'The Marxist Theory of the Labour Aristocracy', *Social History*, vol.3, no.1 (January, 1978), pp.61-82.
[57] Joseph L. Melling, 'Aristocrats and Artisans', *Bulletin-Society for the Study of Labour History* (1979), pp.16-22.
[58] Moorhouse, 'Marxist', p.62.
[59] Moorhouse, 'Marxist', p.61.
[60] Moorhouse, 'Marxist', p.61.
[61] Breuilly, 'Labour', p.62.

explanations for labour aristocracy: genesis of phrase depended on emergence of a 'tripartite social "structure" within the working class; related to the occurrence of economic trade depressions; French intellectual sociology "crossing the channel"; different political experiences of the 1840s.'[62] Although Shepherd used a vast amount of primary source material to support his four points, mainly from newspapers such as *Lloyds Weekly London Newspaper* and *The Artizan*, his work was more focused on the content of these sources than resolving which of the four explanations were more likely to be the reason for the term labour aristocracy.[63] Reid's contribution to the debate gives an alternative to the Marxist theory that is plausible, however it lacks depth for explaining the changes that took place amongst the working class as Victorian England became more industrialised and those of a skilled craft were replaced by machinery. In contrast Shepherd has explored the reasoning for the term labour aristocracy, giving four possible reasons for it, but his indecisiveness leaves questions about the origin of labour aristocracy unanswered.

The concepts of social class and the measurement of social mobility

The model of social class in the Victorian era is a topic which has raised many questions, such as: How many categories of class were there and how should they be defined? In an attempt to answer questions such as these Neale, writing in the late 1960s, suggested that the three class model of the aristocracy, the middle class and the working class has been used by previous historians without a thorough explanation for each and so introduced the idea of his own five class system (see appendix A).[64] The five class model, according to Neale, takes into

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[62] Melling, 'Aristocrats', p.16.
[63] Melling, 'Aristocrats', p.16.
[64] R.S. Neale, 'Class and Class-Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century England: Three Classes or Five?', *Victorian Studies*, vol.12, no.1 (September, 1968), pp.4-32.

consideration the instability of the middling classes during industrialisation in England.[65] However, Tholfsen states that the concept of Neale's work is a 'nonproblem of his own creation': in that historians have not just solely used the three class system in their work.[66] Tholfsen uses Harrison's study *The Early Victorians* as one example that 'emphasises the extent of stratification within both the "middle classes" and "working classes".'[67] Therefore Harrison has not taken the three class model as being the grounding of his research, which leaves Tholfsen's critical work to conclude that Neale underestimated the complexity of the topic at hand.[68] The complexity of the class system leads onto other factors that need to be considered, such as those that contributed to class prejudices in Victorian society and thus made upward social mobility difficult for the working class.

Rowe argues that in the first half of the nineteenth century the middle classes developed a consciousness of the gap that was between them and the labouring classes.[69] He makes a following point that the middle classes were aware that they had to maintain this gap in order to keep the prosperous lifestyle to which they had become accustomed.[70] In the early nineteenth century this middle class consciousness was present, however, whether or not a working class consciousness was also present at this time has been debated.[71] E.P. Thompson places the working class presence having been felt 'in every county in England, and in most fields of life' from 1832 to 1833.[72] Rowe responds to Thompson's point by referring to the later 1830s that

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[65] Neale, 'Class-Consciousness', p.4.
[66] Trygve R. Tholfsen, 'Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century by R. S. Neale', *The American Historical Review*, vol.78, no.4 (October, 1973), pp.1059-1060.
[67] Tholfsen, 'Ideology', p.1060.
[68] Tholfsen, 'Ideology', p.1060.
[69] D.J. Rowe, 'The London Working Men's Association and The "People's Charter" ', *Past and Present*, issue: 36 (April, 1967), pp.73-86.
[70] Rowe, 'London', p.73.
[71] Rowe, 'London', p.73.
[72] Rowe, 'London', p.73.

from his research he believes 'deny the existence of a working-class consciousness.'[73] Although the Chartist movement was made up in majority by the working class, Rowe argues that working class political consciousness was not strong enough at the time for their own ideas and programmes to be created.[74] This meant that support from the middle class was essential at this time.[75]

Johnson argues that middle class mid-Victorian prejudice against the character and behaviour of the manual working class was 'embodied in the civil law' and created a 'long-term influence on class relationships and self-perceptions.'[76] Both civil law and public administrative practise relating to the working class's economic and financial activities created new deliberate biases against their interests instigated by parliament and the courts.[77] It seems that this need to control the working classes would have made social mobility for those of this background difficult due to the influences of higher classes in administration, law and society.[78]

Marxist and other historians of left-wing positions describe research into social mobility as being 'ideologically biased'.[79] Criticisms have been made by Van Heek, who describes Marxism as having attached minor importance to mobility and places 'the revisionist socialist movement and the radical current within liberalism' as those responsible for commencing research into mobility.[80] Marxism dismisses the possibility of upward social mobility from the

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[73] Rowe, 'London', p.73.
[74] Rowe, 'London', p.85.
[75] Rowe, 'London', p.85.
[76] Paul Johnson, 'Class Law in Victorian England', *Past and Present*, no.141 (November, 1993), pp.147-169.
[77] Johnson, 'Law', p.150.
[78] Johnson, 'Law', p.150.
[79] John H. Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 1987), p.1.
[80] Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility*, p.3.

working class as 'a liberal myth', believing that the working class could only gain this move through the labour movement, class struggle or revolution, which explains the reason why the concept of a Labour Aristocracy is a theory that has been explored by Marxist historians such as Hobsbawm.[81] This also demonstrates Marxists seeing classes in Victorian England as fixed groups that could not easily be changed in conventional ways. Whether or not all aspects of a new industrial society were taken into consideration by Marxist writers is unclear, however if they had explored more of these aspects their results may have differed.

Approaching the idea of measuring social mobility has caused difficulties for many historians. Knowing what area of a person's life to use as a basis for measuring social mobility has been the main stumbling block and as Moser and Hall point out: 'the range of possible criteria of social status is very wide.'[82] The outcome of many historians' work on this topic has resulted in the use of occupations to measure a person's social status due to the link it has to economic status and educational background.[83] The decision to use occupational status to classify social status presents another difficulty: the most accurate way to group occupations according to their social standing in the era being studied.

In Moser and Hall's work on social mobility they describe the 'Standard Classification' for grouping occupations as:

'1. Professional and High Administrative;

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[81] Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility*, p.4.
[82] C.A. Moser and J. R. Hall, 'The Social Grading of Occupations' in D.V. Glass, ed, *Social Mobility in Britain* (London, 1954), p.30.
[83] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.30.

2. Managerial and Executive;

3. Inspectional, Supervisory and other Non-Manual, Higher Grade;

4. Inspectional, Supervisory and other Non-Manual, Lower Grade;

5. Skilled Manual and routine grades of Non-Manual;

6. Semi-Skilled Manual;

7. Unskilled Manual.'[84]

This 'Standard Classification' is a clear and concise way of grouping occupations into their social standing.[85] However, the work completed by Moser and Hall is based on measuring social mobility in the 1940s, applying it to measure social mobility in the Victorian period could give varied results and placing Victorian occupations into these categories may prove difficult. Although results produced for social mobility could never be entirely accurate, due to the nature of the primary source material, in order to produce outcomes that are as valid as possible, establishing an occupational grouping system relevant to the time of study is essential.

In Cowlard's work on social class areas in the nineteenth century he describes the census enumerator's returns as being 'the most comprehensive source of data for the social stratification of nineteenth century populations.'[86] Armstrong's occupational classification in his work in the 1960s was based on the General Register Office's Classification of Occupations.[87] This is a good starting point for grouping occupations and in this research a

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[84] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.31.
[85] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.31.
[86] Keith A. Cowlard, 'The Identification of Social (Class) Areas and Their Place in Nineteenth-Century Urban Development', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol.4, no.2 (1979), pp.239-257.
[87] Cowlard, 'Identification', p.240.

classification of occupations from a census return is used as a coding system as a measure of social mobility and a comparison to the modern coding system of Moser and Hall, which is also used in the same way.

Education and Social Mobility

Although historians have previously debated the topic of social mobility and education, the specific material available on the topic is lacking and there have not been any in-depth local studies completed: the purpose of this dissertation is to begin the process of resolving this gap in the literature. Glass argues that 'in looking at the changes in social mobility resulting from increasing state provision of education, we are in the main limited to the period spanned by the Education Acts of 1870 and 1902.'[88] Glass has a point, however, by researching those who were in the education system from 1870 to 1902, when these acts were passed, the period of study can be increased by looking at the occupation the pupil went on to do and comparing this to the occupation of the head of the household they inhabited as a child, through census research. This process is the basic structure of the primary research for this dissertation.

The nineteenth century saw the state taking action to lower the prestige of school teaching when compared with other professions in order to minimise the costs of public education.[89] There may have been deliberate public and private action at the same time to help raise the prestige of skilled manual work compared to non-manual occupations.[90] However, as Glass points out:

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[88] D.V. Glass, 'Introduction' in D.V.Glass, ed, *Social Mobility in Britain* (London, 1954), p.13.
[89] Glass, 'Introduction', p.26.
[90] Glass, 'Introduction', p.26.

'employment in occupations requiring high ability and long training and carrying high social status need not be the only means of gaining social prestige; there are other ways of serving the community and there should, correspondingly, be other paths to social prestige.'[91]

Glass is right in that there are other ways of gaining social prestige other than by occupational status. However, when looking at nineteenth century upward social mobility, occupational status groupings are the most accurate way to measure social mobility. There are of course misdemeanours that occur in this type of research, however, the use of census data makes researching occupations a viable method that provides the most accurate results with the primary source material available. Unfortunately there is no documentation from the nineteenth century that allows us to measure social prestige in its own right, even if it were mentioned in some documentation from the period, such as diaries, the information would not be available for everyone from the period and would also not be easily measurable.

Jason Long's approach to social mobility in Victorian Britain involved him looking at the census details of fathers and sons across censuses, 1851-1881 and 1881-1901, and measuring social mobility by examining their occupations.[92] Long's approach is viable, however, in his work he compares these outcomes to social mobility in the 1970s claiming that 'mobility in the 1850s was only slightly less than in the 1970s', which may be the case, but linking these two dates across such a large time-scale seems problematic.[93] The factors that affect the rate of social mobility in 1850 in comparison with 1970 would have been very different. The way in

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[91] Glass, 'Introduction', p.26.
[92] Jason Long, 'The Surprising Social Mobility of Victorian Britain', *European Review of Economic History*, vol.17 (2013), pp.1-23.
[93] Long, 'The Surprising Social Mobility', p.1.

which occupational statuses were perceived, the value of money and the occupational opportunities at these two times would have been completely different. Other factors such as that by 1970 Britain had taken part in two world wars, which would have affected the economy, amongst other areas of society, in comparison to 1850. Long also states that: 'The development of mass public education in England after 1870 thus had surprisingly modest effects over the long run.' It leaves to question if he can make such a statement without having collected his original subjects, the sons, from school admission registers. Long has not specified how he chose his subjects for the fathers and sons census data he collected. If he chose children who were not listed as scholars this would affect his research. Also if Long used children who were listed as scholars in his early census research there is the possibility that they were not scholars, as parents did sometimes lie about this to hide the fact that their children were in employment.

In the work of R.A. Butler, he points out that education cannot by itself create the social structure of a country.[94] This is a valid statement as England coped without a formal education system before the nineteenth century and maintained a stable social structure, as did other countries. However, it does not take into account that it is a contributing factor to social structure that needs to be explored.[95] Butler's point will be investigated through the examination of the data collected for this dissertation, which will demonstrate the role of education on upward social mobility and therefore its contribution to the social structure of Victorian England.

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[94] Glass, 'Introduction', p.27.
[95] Glass, 'Introduction', p.27.

As well as historiographical studies on social mobility, a lot of work has been completed by sociologists on the topic. Sorokin, writing as early as 1927 makes the link between occupations and social status:

> 'we may say that in any given society, the more occupational work consists in the performance of the functions of social organisation and control, and the higher the degree of intelligence necessary for its successful performance, the more privileged is that group and the higher the rank does it occupy in the interoccupational hierarchy, and vice versa.'[96]

It is important to take into account Anthony Heath's point that:

> 'one of the most important changes now taking place in the social sciences is the recognition that the boundaries which hitherto have separated one discipline from another are artificial.'[97]

Although this research is not focusing the sociological side of the topic in detail there will be points of interest to the field of sociology as well as history: due to the nature of this research and the interest that is already apparent from sociological studies on the topic of social mobility. Separating the interests of the two subject fields entirely would be of great difficulty.

Recent literature on Victorian education and society

The latest literature on Victorian education and society has covered many topics. Manton, writing in 2001 on socialism and education in Britain, looked at the educational policies in the

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[96] Anthony Heath, *Social Mobility* (Glasgow, 1981), p.23.
[97] Heath, *Social Mobility*, p.8.

late nineteenth century that were promoted by British socialists of the time.[98] He argues that British socialism in the early twentieth century affected the field of education by causing a shift in focus, to try and provide places for working class children in elitist grammar schools.[99] Prior to this, the main focus in the field of education had been to create new free, compulsory, secular, democratically controlled schools that provided primary and secondary education.[100] Manton views the crucial development of education between 1883 and 1902, as the 1902 Education Act, which meant locally elected school boards were abolished and therefore socialists had lost their source of influence on education.[101] This was the result of county authorities now making decisions and the schools not being under direct democratic control.[102]

Cronin, also writing in 2001, took a different approach to the topic of education by focusing his work on the development of technical education in the nineteenth century and the conflict surrounding technology and industry of the time.[103] One of his main arguments is that the emergent technical education 'movement' after the Paris Exhibition was not a natural change in the British education system, but the effort of employers to exert greater control over their employees and financial issues such as the rate of pay.[104] Cronin's work demonstrates the degree of concerns involving technical education in the nineteenth century and the conflicts surrounding it, however, for cultural historians his narrow focus on mechanical engineering and methodology would be received with criticism.[105]

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[98] Joyce Senders Pedersen, 'Socialism and Education in Britain, 1883-1902 (review)', *Victorian Studies*, vol.45, no.4 (Summer, 2003), pp.755-757.
[99] Pedersen, 'Socialism', p.755.
[100] Pedersen, 'Socialism', p.755.
[101] Pedersen, 'Socialism', p.755.
[102] Pedersen, 'Socialism', p.755.
[103] Christopher Keep, 'Technology, Industrial Conflict and the Development of Technical Education in 19th-Century England (review)', *Victorian Studies*, vol.47, no.2 (Winter, 2005), pp.299-301.
[104] Keep, 'Technology', p.299.
[105] Keep, 'Technology', p.301.

Birch, in 2008, wrote of Victorians as being the 'first conceived of education as a formal process…crucial to the life of the nation' having 'outcomes measurable by examination'.[106] The main topic of interest for Birch is what education could do with regards to improving the lives of individuals and society.[107] Her work provides a study of Humanist education that teaches children independence of thought and action, by creating bonds of admiration and emotion.[108] Smith, in 2009, gave a 'comprehensive examination of the relationships between the local school teachers and their clerical managers', which was one of the first on this specific topic.[109] The focus groups of this research were Roman Catholic, Wesleyan and Anglican religious denominations.[110] The study is an excellent insight, although when looking at elementary teachers he neglects gender issues, as most of his analysis concerns men or neglects to be specific as to whether women are included in the points he makes.[111]

Two more recent works surrounding Victorian education have centred on John Ruskin, a critical thinker of the Victorian period with a background in education. Atwood, writing in 2011, argues that Ruskin's educational ideas were based on a Platonic idea of the Law of Help and explains the sort of education he wanted, aimed at 'social harmony rather than individual attainment'.[112] In Eagles's work he argues that Ruskin gave the British Labour Party 'a new language and grammar of political economy' to stand up to the injustices of industrial

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[106] Vicki Macknight, 'Our Victorian Education (review)', *Victorian Review*, vol.35, no.2 (Autumn, 2009), pp.165-167.
[107] Macknight, 'Our Victorian', p.166.
[108] Macknight, 'Our Victorian', p.167.
[109] Ruth Watts, ' "A Victorian Class Conflict?" School teaching and the Parson, Priest and Minister, 1837-1902 (review)', *Victorian Studies*, vol. 53, no. 1 (Autumn, 2010), pp.129-131.
[110] Watts, 'Class Conflict', p.130.
[111] Watts, 'Class Conflict', p.131.
[112] Caroline Reitz, 'Ruskin's Educational Ideals, and: After Ruskin: The Social and Political Legacies of a Victorian Prophet, 1870-1920 (review)', *Victorian Studies*, vol. 54, no. 4 (Summer, 2012), pp.707-709.

capitalism.[113] Both pieces of literature approach Ruskin's work differently, Atwood focusing on his educational ideals and Eagles on Ruskin's social and political involvement. Although these recent studies do not directly relate to this dissertation, they give different views of Ruskin's life work and his involvement in the field of education in the nineteenth-century.

Conclusion

The historiography of the topic of education and social mobility demonstrates different aspects of class in the Victorian period, the debates surrounding these aspects, as well as the problems surrounding social mobility and the difficulty of measuring it. All the topics discussed in this chapter: the concepts of social class and the measurement of social mobility; labour aristocracy and success literature can be linked to education and social mobility. The historiography of education currently fails to address the impact of the 1870 Education Act on mobility. In order to undertake a study that fills this gap, a measurement of social order, such as class, is needed. However, in order to use class as a measurement in this way awareness of the cultural impact of phenomenon like 'success literature', that was influential to lower sections of society, is needed. The knowledge of divisions within the working class, with concepts such as 'labour aristocracy', forming a group who might be supported towards social mobility with the help of a national education provision, is important. This dissertation will begin to fill this gap in the historiography of education and social mobility through the analysis of the future occupations of pupils who were in education during or after important changes were made in the latter half of the nineteenth century, specifically after the 1870 Education Act.

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[113] Reitz, 'Ruskin's', p.708.

Social Mobility and Education: Methodological Approaches and Outcomes

Introduction

This chapter examines the advantages and limitations of several approaches to the study of social mobility in relation to education. The different methods examined include Moser and Hall's system of measuring social mobility in the late 1940s, early 1950s and other methodologies used by: Goldthorpe; Cowlard; Prandy and Bottero and Miles. The methods of research on social mobility assessed in this chapter are taken from different disciplines: Moser and Hall's work is a sociological study; Goldthorpe is a sociologist by profession; Bottero is also a sociologist whereas Prandy has a background in sociology, political science and history; Cowlard's is a geographical study and Miles is a historian. The variations in backgrounds of those who have completed research on social mobility demonstrates how the topic is of interest to those from different disciplines. Some of the similarities in their research show how those researching the topic have come up with similar aspects in their methodologies, despite their different backgrounds. The reason behind reviewing the methods of those from different disciplines is because, although they are not all historiographical studies, the majority of their work can be applied to this research due to the nature of their studies crossing over into the subject. After making an assessment of these methods, the approach used in this research is explained. It uses an occupational hierarchical system taken from an 1895 census return document as a coding system to measure social mobility. Moser and Hall's seven category system is also used to determine its use as a measurement of social mobility for data from an earlier period than originally designed. Other aspects of the research are explained and examined in this chapter, including documents used for various parts of the research such as the census to obtain occupational data and admission registers to gain the names of pupils from the four schools that will be used in this study. The approach of using two sample groups to gain social mobility data, the main sample and the comparative group sample, is examined in this chapter. The methodology for this research is made clear before analysing and evaluating the outcomes in the final two chapters.

Ways of measuring social mobility

Moser and Hall's work on the social grading of occupations contains an occupational status system that they designed specifically to distinguish between occupations in terms of their social prestige.[114] Moser and Hall referred to this system of seven occupational categories as the 'Standard Classification', which is listed below:

1. Professional and High Administrative;

2. Managerial and Executive;

3. Inspectional, Supervisory and other Non-Manual, Higher Grade;

4. Inspectional Supervisory and other Non- Manual, Lower Grade;

5. Skilled Manual, and routine grades of Non-Manual;

6. Semi-Skilled Manual;

7. Unskilled Manual.[115]

The following is the classification of the categories given by Moser and Hall:

'Category 1 includes all occupations calling for highly specialized experience, and frequently the possession of a degree or comparable professional qualification necessitating a long period of education and training. Category 2 includes those responsible for initiating and/or implementing policy, e.g. personnel manager, headmaster (elementary school), whilst those in category 3 do not have such responsibility but may have some degree of authority over others, e.g. police inspector, assistant teacher (elementary school). In category 4, authority over others is

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[114] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.30.
[115] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.31.

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restricted, but the nature of the job itself involves a measure of responsibility, e.g. costing clerk, relieving officer.

The distinction between skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled is sometimes difficult to draw. Skilled work implies special training or apprenticeship, and responsibility for the process on which the individual is engaged. Where no special skill or responsibility is involved, but the individual is doing a particular job habitually and usually in association with a certain industry or trade, it is rated as semi-skilled. Unskilled work requires no special training and is general in nature rather than associated with a particular industry.'[116]

Moser and Hall's research focused on results they gathered in the 1940s, which gave them the advantage of being able to give their focus group surveys as part of their investigation. Their use of surveys was to determine how their focus group perceived different occupations when related to social status at that time. This was then used to assess their own 'Standard Classification' and decipher whether: 'the term 'social status', when applied to occupations, have any generally accepted meaning'.[117] The table below shows the Standard Classification that Moser and Hall originally allocated each of the occupations covered by their experiment.

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[116] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.31.
[117] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.31.

Table 1: The Standard Classification of the Occupations used in Moser and Hall's Social Grading Investigation[118]

| Occupation | Standard Classification |
|---|---|
| Medical Officer | 1 |
| Company Director | 1 |
| Country Solicitor | 1 |
| Chartered Accountant | 1 |
| Civil Servant (Exec.) | 2 |
| Business Manager | 2 |
| Works Manager | 2 |
| Nonconformist Minister | 2 |
| Farmer | 1 |
| Elementary School Teacher | 3 |
| Jobbing Master Builder | 3 |
| News Reporter | 3 |
| Commercial Traveller | 3 |
| Chef | 4 |
| Insurance Agent | 4 |
| Newsagent and Tobacconist | 4 |
| Policeman | 5 |
| Routine Clerk | 5 |
| Fitter | 5 |
| Carpenter | 5 |
| Shop Assistant | 5 |
| Brick layer | 5 |
| Tractor Driver | 6 |
| Coal Hewer | 5 |
| Railway Porter | 7 |
| Agricultural Labourer | 6 |
| Carter | 6 |
| Barman | 7 |
| Dock Labourer | 7 |
| Road Sweeper | 7 |

The thirty occupations listed are described by Moser and Hall as 'reference points': to include more occupations in a research project of this kind the additional occupations would have to be looked at in relation to the original thirty and added to the Standard Classification

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[118] Simplified version of a table taken from: Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.34.

accordingly.[119] It should also be taken into account that Moser and Hall completed their research in the early years after the Second World War due to the impact on the society of the time after such an influential event. Those who moved through the ranks of the army during the war may have arrived home to then have to undertake their previous occupation, which may have been of a low social status. However, those who were of lower ranking occupations, before they entered the forces, may not have experienced upward social mobility through their original occupation to this extent in their lifetime had it not been for the circumstances of the Second World War.

Previous historians researching social mobility have taken other approaches to their work. Goldthorpe's methodology involved: 'using occupation (understood in a more qualified way than usual) as an indicator of class position rather than of prestige or of socio-economic status'.[120] Adopting this approach sets aside his research from other studies of post-war mobility influenced by Glass's 1949 study.[121] Goldthorpe's main interest was to look at mobility between class positions to find the implications of mobility with regard to class formation.[122] The analysis of this research aimed to make observations of 'patterns, of trends through time, of the relation between inter- and intra-generational movement etc.'[123] This approach, focused on social class rather than social positioning, has also been explored by Cowlard in the late 1970s.

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[119] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.37.
[120] Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility*, p.29.
[121] Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility*, p.29.
[122] Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility*, p.29.
[123] Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility*, p.29.

Cowlard approached his research with the aim of determining social class groups in Victorian towns using occupational information, evidence of servants, lodgers, children at work or school, wives in employment and shared dwellings from the enumerators' return of the 1851 and 1861 censuses.[124] The purpose of his research was to identify social (class) areas using three representative areas.[125] Cowlard's main argument is: 'realistic appraisals of nineteenth-century urban growth could begin, not end, with social stratification and its expression in social (class) areas.'[126] Although Cowlard's research was to determine a different outcome to Goldthorpe, by exploring social class groups in Victorian towns his approach was focused, as Goldthorpe's was, on social class.

A series of studies into social mobility in Britain were published as a volume in 1951. In this collection a piece by Floud explores research into social mobility and education that uses men and women who were aged eighteen years and over in July 1949 as the sample group.[127] This research focuses on the stages of the education system experienced by those within the sample group with reference to their fathers' social status.[128] Floud concludes that in the period this sample group relates to, the education system had 'become the primary agency of occupational and social selection'.[129] This conclusion is valid for the research undertaken by Floud, however, the sample group were taken at a later date with different methods than those that shall be used in this research, which will result in different outcomes.

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[124] Cowlard, 'Social (Class)', p.239.
[125] Cowlard, 'Social (Class)', p.239.
[126] Cowlard, 'Social (Class)', p.239.
[127] Jean Floud, 'The Educational Experience of the Adult Population of England and Wales as at July 1949', in D. V. Glass (ed), *Social Mobility in Britain* (London, 1954), pp.98-140.
[128] Floud, 'Educational Experience', p.98.
[129] Floud, 'Educational Experience', p.123.

In the same group of essays Hall and Glass reflect on their research into education and social mobility by giving the following conclusions: the type and level of education the sample group had experienced depended on the social status of the subjects' fathers, which were measured in terms of occupation; using only male subjects meant parental and filial status had linked significance at all levels of the status hierarchy used in the research.[130] The final point that they state, which is important to remember, is that the education any individual in the sample experienced depended on the social status of their father in the period. This is why the social status of the sample and their fathers related to each other in such a way.[131] The research for this dissertation will differ in that it will use both male and female subjects providing different outcomes to the research of Hall and Glass. It will show less of a linked significance between fathers and daughters, as the view of women in the period being inferior to men, meant their role in the working world was limited, with the exception of widows who could inherit and then run their late husband's business. In order to add further research outcomes the occupation of the women's spouses or head of household from the 1901 or 1911 census will also be explored.

The methods used by Prandy and Bottero in their research into 'Social Reproduction and Mobility in Britain and Ireland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries' used social position, rather than class categories to measure social mobility.[132] In order to achieve this they followed families for up to five generations through maternal and paternal lives using data on social interaction from correspondence analysis of cross-tabulations of the occupations for

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[130] J. R. Hall and D.V. Glass, 'Education and Social Mobility', in D. V. Glass (ed), *Social Mobility in Britain* (London, 1954), pp.291-307.

[131] Hall and Glass, 'Education and Social Mobility', p.307.

[132] Kenneth Prandy and Wendy Bottero, 'Social Reproduction and Mobility in Britain and Ireland in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Sociology*, vol. 34, no. 265 (2000), pp.265-281.

marriages taking place in the periods 1777 to 1866 and 1867 to 1913.[133] Then each individual's

social location at ages twenty and fifty was found to demonstrate each individual's social

position summarised by a work-life trajectory.[134]

Miles, like Prandy and Bottero, also used marriage records from the nineteenth century. The

1836 Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages Act, meant that marriage records had to

provide the occupational information about the partners and their parents that Miles used in his

research.[135] He collected samples of these from across Registration Districts in order to

demonstrate the variations of the nineteenth century British economy at regular intervals

between 1839 and 1914.[136] Miles notes the inaccuracy with which occupations were recorded

and states the impossibility to achieve the same differentiation as modern studies.[137] In the

analysis process of his study, Miles used 'the Registrar General's occupational and five-class

social classification from the 1951 census' and made adaptions 'from comparisons with the

less comprehensive first attempt at a social classification in 1911, and the work of local

historians in the districts sampled.'[138] The original research into marriage records was then

supplemented by studying intra-generational mobility through autobiographical material.[139]

These sources would have been investigated in conjunction with the marriage records due to

the unrepresentative nature of autobiographical sources from the nineteenth century. Those that

do remain are important to historical research on this topic, however, it is difficult to test the

validity of this source type. This study uses census data to gather information about the sample

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[133] Prandy and Bottero, 'Social Reproduction', p.265.
[134] Prandy and Bottero, 'Social Reproduction', p.265.
[135] Miles, 'Social Mobility', p.21.
[136] Miles, 'Social Mobility', p.21.
[137] Miles, 'Social Mobility', p.21.
[138] Miles, 'Social Mobility', p.22.
[139] Miles, 'Social Mobility', p.23.

groups as it gives the occupational data for everyone in the country the year it is taken, which means it is unnecessary to look at another source to back this information up, as this is the main detail needed.

In this dissertation the school admission registers for Hitchin British Boys' School[140], Hitchin British Girls' School[141], Pirton Board School[142] and Ickleford Mixed School[143] are used to gain information about the scholars. This information includes the name of each scholar, as well as their date of birth, date of admission to the school, location and their parent's or guardian's first name. The criteria needed for each scholar in this research is that they attended school after 1870, so that they were in education after the government took control of it. The details taken from the admissions registers were used to locate each scholar in the 1881 census; from which their details, as well as the details of their head of household are recorded. The focal aspect of the head of household is their occupation, which is used as a comparison with the occupation the scholar goes on to undertake, as recorded in the 1911 census. In cases where women got married and had no occupational information listed in the 1911 census, the occupation of the head of household at that time is recorded to establish an idea of their lifestyles. Marriage records are also used in order to find the married name of females in the sample groups so they can be traced in the 1911 census, if they were married before then. Male scholars from the sample, who were not head of their household according to the 1911 census, will have the data of their head of household recorded to make a further comparison of their

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[140] Hitchin British Schools' Archive, Boys' School Admission Register 1874-1901.
[141] Hitchin British Schools' Archive, Girls' School Admission Register 1874-1883.
[142] Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Pirton Board School Admission Register, Ref No. HEd1/83/8, Title: Admission Register, Date: 1872-1900, Extent: 1 vol., Level: File, System ID: CHEd/3/83/4/1/1/1.
[143] Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Ickleford Mixed School Admission Register, Ref No. HEd1/134/12, Title: Admission Register, Description: Juniors, Date: 1867-1904, Extent: 1 vol., Level: File, System ID: CHEd/3/134/4/1/3.

positions at the time of the 1911 census. In this way the research will focus on social mobility in relation to occupational status. However, other aspects will be looked at, such as the location of scholars as adults, in the 1911 census, to demonstrate levels of migration in the area at this time.

The main sample consists of two hundred scholars from the four schools, fifty from each school, however, there is also a comparative group sample. The comparative group sample consists of two hundred children who were of schooling age in 1851: this sample contains four sections; Hitchin males, Hitchin females, Pirton and Ickleford. The data for these children are taken from the 1851 census, their head of household data at the time also recorded and then their adult details are taken from the 1871 census. This sample is recorded and used in the same way as the main sample. Its purpose is to be used as a comparison from an earlier period, before educational change in 1870, to the main sample group.

In the nineteenth century, before education became compulsory, if a child was listed in a school's admission register it did not necessarily mean that they attended the school on a full-time basis. Many aspects of life could prevent attendance such as the weather, ill health, helping with the family business or looking after younger siblings. There were also incidents where children would attend in the morning, go home for lunch and not return to the afternoon lessons due to other commitments or distance to get to school, which was a struggle when the weather was particularly bad. For example an extract from the Hitchin British Boys' School log book stated that:

'Very bad weather all the week. In addition to this small pox, measles and other sickness have for the last few weeks been prevalent. Thus the average this week 152 $^{3}/_{5}$ is very bad for a school of 204 boys.'[144]

The census also has its flaws[145], such as the generalisation of occupations, for example the term 'general labourer' could cover a number of occupations. However, for researching social mobility, using occupational data taken from the census, it is a source that records data for the masses, which is not available to this extent from another source in this period. Therefore this research and its findings will be as accurate as possible using the sources available. These outcomes will then be assessed using two occupational ranking systems to measure the status of occupations and produce an analysis of the results.

One way of measuring occupational status will be taken from a Census Return document from 1895. The document lists an occupational hierarchical system that was created using the occupational headings in the census reports for 1871, 1881 and 1891, with corrections to make the 1871 and 1881 occupational system comparable with the 1891 census returns. The occupational hierarchical headings taken from the 1895 census return originate from those used for the 1871 census and were altered in 1881 and again in 1891 and some variations were made to the groupings of the individual occupations under the headings, but the titles of the headings were left unchanged.[146] This system seemed an appropriate contemporary one to use in analysis due to the information used to create it having been merged from three census dates that fall into the period of this study, 1870-1914. A code will be created from the occupational status

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[144] Hitchin British Schools' Archive, Boys' School log book, 1863-1899, Friday 4 March, 1864, p.17.

[145] For a detailed explanation of the issues surrounding research using the census see: Edward Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census* (Norwich, 1996), Edward Higgs, *Life, Death and Statistics: Civil Registration, censuses and the work of the General Register Office, 1836-1952* (Hertfordshire, 2004) and Edward Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited* (London, 2005).

[146] House of Commons Archive, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, LXXX. 245 [468], 1895, p.2.

list in the return so that each occupation found will be assigned a number for the main category it falls under and a letter to make a more specific rating within the main category (see appendix B for the full coding system). A simplified version of this code is shown below:

1. Professional Class

    (a) The General or Local Government of the Country.

    (b) The Defence of the Country.

    (c) Professional Occupations (with immediate subordinates).

2. Domestic Class

    (a) Domestic Offices or Services.

3. Commercial Class

    (a) Commercial Occupations.

    (b) Conveyance of Men, Goods, and Messages.

4. Agricultural and Fishing Class.

    (a) Agricultural.

    (b) Fishing.

5. Industrial Class

    (a) Books, Prints, Maps.

    (b) Machines and Implements.

    (c) Houses, Furniture, and Decorations.

    (d) Carriages and Harness.

    (e) Ships and Boats.

    (f) Chemicals and Compounds.

    (g) Tobacco and Pipes.

    (h) Food and Lodging.

    (i) Textile Fabrics.

(j) Dress.

(k) Animal Substances.

(l) Vegetable Substances.

(m) Mineral Substances.

(n) General or Unspecified Commodities.

(o) Refuse.

6. Unoccupied Class

(a) Unspecified Occupations.[147]

The 1895 Return contains a summary of points of inaccuracy from the census returns for the years it covers and the statistical data it displays. These are summarised in eight points, which are important to take into consideration as the issues raised will affect the accuracy of the sample being used in this piece, the points are laid out below:

'(1.) The figures "under 20," both for males and females, include, for 1871 and 1881, all persons returned with definite occupations aged between 5 and 20 years: whereas for 1891 the figures include no persons so returned under the age of 10 years. It should be stated, however, that the number of children aged 5-10 years returned with definite occupations was, even in 1871, relatively small.

(2.) In 1871 persons described as "retired," or in receipt of pensions in connection with any occupation, were classed to such occupation, if stated; whereas in 1881 and in 1891 such retired and pensioned persons (with the exception of officers in the Army and Navy, Clergymen, and Medical Practitioners) were included with the "Unoccupied

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[147] This is a simplified version of the occupational classification system to be used to measure social mobility. It is taken from: House of Commons Archive, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, LXXX. 245 [468], 1895, pp.4-28. (for a detailed version see appendix B).

Class" (Order 24). It has been necessary, for the purpose of this Return, to ignore this change, which affects, however, the value of the figures for comparative purposes.

(3.) In 1871 all the inmates of Workhouses, Lunatic Asylums, Prisons, and other institutions were referred to their stated occupations. In 1881 and in 1891, however, all the inmates of Lunatic Asylums, and the inmates of Workhouses over 60 years of age, were referred to the Unoccupied Class, on the ground that such inmates would improbably again be able to follow their previous occupations. This change has also been necessarily ignored in this Return.

(4.) In 1871 all persons (with few exceptions) engaged in or connected with any branch of Manufacture or Trade were classed to that branch, if stated; whereas in 1881 and in 1891 Clerks, Porters, Carmen, Engine Drivers, Tenders, Stokers, &c., were not classed to the Manufacture or Trade in which they were engaged, but were referred to the separate headings "Commercial Clerk," "Messenger, Porter, &c.," &c.

(5.) At each Census very large numbers of the labouring classes were vaguely and indefinitely returned in the Census Schedules as Labourer, Artisan, Mechanic, Apprentice, Warehouseman, Miner, Weaver, Factory Hand, Engraver, &c., &c., and were classed to such headings as "General Labourer," "Artisan, Mechanic, Apprentice (undefined)," "Warehouseman (not Manchester)," "Miner (undefined)," "Weaver (undefined)," &c., &c. As the result of special instructions issued to the enumerators in 1881 and in 1891, and also of general educational progress, the occupations were, at those Censuses, far more definitely returned, although the Returns for 1891 still left much room for further improvement in this respect. This improvement of the returns, and the consequent increase in the numbers returned under many of the definite

occupational headings should not be ignored, as it undoubtedly affects the value, for comparative purposes, of the figures at successive Censuses.

(6.) In 1891 an attempt was made, in deference to criticism on previous Census Reports, to separate Makers and Dealers, in other words, Producers and Distributers, more completely than at previous Censuses. This change naturally adds somewhat to the difficulties in the way of detailed comparison of the figures for 1891 with those for 1871 and 1881. It was, moreover, pointed out in the Report on the Census in 1891 that much practical difficulty stands in the way of this attempt to separate Producers from Distributors, inasmuch as the maker and dealer are often one and the same person, while in other cases the maker and the dealer bear the same occupational title, thus equally preventing their separate classification in the Census Returns.

(7.) In 1871 and 1881 Students and Pupils aged upwards of 15 years were, with a few exceptions which are specially referred to in the Notes to this Return, classed to the various professions or trades in connection with which they were engaged. In 1891, however, all students aged over 13 years were classed to a separate heading, "Students (15 years or over)," 3:4. It has been impossible, for the purpose of this Return, to make any correction in the figures for this change, which naturally affects a considerable number of headings.

(8.) The figures given under the headings "Others," in a very large proportion of the Sub-Orders, have little value for comparative purposes, for the reason that much was necessarily left to the discretion of the Abstracting Clerks at successive Censuses as to the inclusion thereunder of occupations indefinitely returned or not provided for by definite headings in the several Sub-Orders. An increase or decrease in the figures under

these headings may, therefore, often be balanced by a decrease or increase under the definite headings in the same Sub-Order.'[148]

These eight points are mainly self-explanatory, however, in point (5.) the category 'Warehouseman (not Manchester)' is used to categorise a warehouseman on a smaller scale to a warehouseman in the large industrial warehouses in Manchester at this time. The inaccuracies explained in these points aid in the understanding of the occupational status system from the 1895 Return. Although there are flaws with the system, it will aid in the analysis by contributing to the understanding of how contemporaries saw the status of various occupations in the society of the time. The other occupational hierarchical system to be used in this research will be one devised and interpreted from a more modern study taken from the work of Moser and Hall.

Moser and Hall used occupational information to classify social status as it can be linked to both economic status and educational background.[149] Carrying out any study of social mobility using occupational information requires the grouping of occupations in terms of prestige or social status.[150] There are occupational classification systems that could be used in this study other than that from the 1895 return and that from Moser and Hall's research, for example, those of the Registrar-General, the Population Investigation Committee and Social Survey.[151] However, for a historian creating a social survey for a sample group from the nineteenth century is not possible, which leaves the choice of a contemporary occupational system or a modern one for analysis: the reason for choosing both is to undertake a further evaluation of both for comparative research. The system from the 1895 census return reflects how the statuses of

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[148] H of C, 19th Century Sessional Papers, LXXX.245 [468], 1895, pp.2-3.
[149] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.30.
[150] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.30.
[151] Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.30.

different occupations were seen in society by those who worked on the census returns at that time. This does mean that it will only reflect the social grading opinions of those from high social positions working within the government at the time. However, social grading of occupations for the nineteenth century created by those of lower social statuses are not available, which means in order to evaluate occupations of this period and gain insight into the opinions of even a small section of society is more valuable to this research than only being able to use a modern system.

Conclusion

The evaluation of these research projects demonstrates the difficulty of measuring social mobility. Those projects based on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have involved creating methodologies that will give the most accurate results for the period with the source material available and creating analogies to produce informative outcomes. The more recent studies have had the privilege of being able to use surveys on their sample group to gain results, a privilege those studying the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries do not have. Assessing the methods used in past studies of social mobility has demonstrated that the census, being representative of the country as a whole, is a valuable source when researching this topic. The decision to use occupational information as a measurement of social mobility in this research has been re-enforced as valid representative data when examining the various research techniques previous studies have undertaken. The outcomes of using occupational information demonstrate a person's economic situation as well as their position within society and should give good analytical results.

Moser and Hall's occupational rating system has been successful in the previous research they have used it for: the 1895 coding system has not been used for this purpose as it has been adapted from a census return for 1895. In this research the outcomes of both systems are interpreted to make comparisons between not only occupations, but the two hierarchal systems. The details of the methodology chosen in this research provide the results needed to demonstrate that the introduction of a government run education system increased the chances of social mobility for those scholars who were some of the first to experience it. This is demonstrated in the following analytical chapter.

# Social Mobility and Education: Occupational Analysis

Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of the results collected for the four schools from the main sample and the comparative group, with particular reference to the occupational data. This overview demonstrates patterns and trends within the results that are in keeping to the trends of occupational opportunities at this time of study, the late 19th century to the early 20th century. Factors such as migration are discussed in relation to employment opportunities. The comparative sample is investigated in the same way as the main sample in order to compare occupational opportunities in the two different time periods. The two occupational coding systems will be placed under scrutiny to see if they demonstrate accurate results when used to evaluate the status of occupations in this type of research. Comparisons between the two codes are assessed to demonstrate the 1895 coding system to be more accurate in this research. Its accuracy over Moser and Hall's coding system results in it being used as a measurement of social mobility, examined in the final chapter, to show the link between social mobility and education in this research.

Results

Main Sample

A general overview of the occupational results for the main sample shows that the data for the three areas, Hitchin, Ickleford and Pirton, varies. The dominant occupations of the scholars' heads of households, 1871/1881, show a wide range of occupations with no one occupation that stands out for Hitchin British Boys' School: the same applies for the Hitchin British Girls' School sample results. Ickleford Mixed School and Pirton Board School give results that show the dominant occupation for the heads of households in 1871/1881 in the two villages, to be agricultural labour followed by straw platter. These outcomes are consistent with the

employment opportunities in the three areas. The variety of industries that the results for Hitchin British Boys' and Girls' Schools demonstrate correspond with the employment opportunities available in the town at the time.

Academic occupations are in the minority of the results for 1871/1881 in the main sample. This was due to the type of families that the scholars came from, which in this period of study includes a large amount of low-paid manual workers, which is clear from the occupational results of their heads of households. Those with money or influence would have sent their children to different schools or had them schooled at home with a governess.

The occupational data for the scholars as adults in 1901/1911 from the Hitchin British Boys' School shows a wide variety of occupations having been undertaken, with low frequencies. Again this is also apparent for the results from Hitchin British Girls' School. The difference between these later occupational results, in comparison with the 1871/1881 occupational results is that Ickleford Mixed and Pirton Board Schools' occupational frequencies follow a similar pattern to the Hitchin British Boys' School and Hitchin British Girls' School. However, Pirton Board School's results do have a few exceptions: farmer, shepherd, farm labourer and general labourer. A main factor that affects the difference between the 1871/1881 results and the 1901/1911 results is the place the scholars were living as adults, which demonstrates 59.5% of the main sample no longer living in the area. This means their occupational results were not only restricted to the opportunities in the registration district of Hitchin.

The pupils' reasons for leaving the area could have been due to looking for different employment opportunities or because of family commitments, such as getting married and moving to where their spouse lived. Whatever the reason, migrating from the area would have been easier over a wider distance at this time due to the developments and improvements of the transport industry. In the last quarter of the nineteenth-century the extension of the railway network into outlying areas meant that it became easier for more people to live further away from their place of birth.[152] The census results for the scholars' adult data, 1901/1911, shows 58% of the sample from Hitchin British Boys' School having left the registration district of Hitchin; 44% of the Girls' School; 60% of Ickleford Mixed School and; 42% of Pirton Board School. These results are a substantial proportion of the main sample: with a total of 51% altogether of the 1901/1911 results having left the Hitchin registration district by this time. These results demonstrate a high level of migration for an area in this period of study. This can also be broken down to show that 54% of the females in the main sample had moved away from Hitchin, Ickleford or Pirton by 1901/1911 and 63% of the males in the main sample had also moved from the area. This research is focused on the effect of education on social mobility and although if a woman has no occupation her head of household's occupation is used, the head of household is not always her husband and as this research is focused on education and social mobility the argument as to whether marriage effected social mobility is not debated in this dissertation.

Migration levels can also be observed by looking at the heads of households' results for 1871/1881 and using their place of birth to see if they had migrated to the area. There are problems with this as they may have moved more than once, however, it is a method that gives

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[152] H.J. Dyos and D.H. Aldcroft, *British Transport: An economic survey from the seventeenth century to the twentieth* (Leicester, 1969), p.149.

an idea of migration levels and the distances that people travelled to get to the area. The towns are used here for accuracy as the place of birth section in the census is given as the village or town, not the registration district. The results of this process give the data for Hitchin British Boys' School's heads of households, 1871/1881, as 60% not born in Hitchin, Ickleford or Pirton; Hitchin British Girls' School 40%; Ickleford Mixed School 36%; and only 4% for Pirton Board School. These results were higher for Hitchin as there were more occupational opportunities for people to move there for, whereas in the villages of Pirton and Ickleford occupational opportunities were not as vast. Overall the heads of households for the main sample has a result of 35% who were not born in Hitchin, Ickleford or Pirton. This is much lower when compared with the migration results for the scholars as adults in 1901/1911, lowered by the result for Pirton. The migration rates for the scholars' adult details being higher could have been due to better employment opportunities in other areas in later years, as England's economy and industries developed, or due to transportation improvements that made it easier to move to other parts of the country by 1901/1911 than it had been in 1871/1881.

Examples from the main sample of those heads of households from 1871/1881 born away from Hitchin, Ickleford or Pirton include: from the Hitchin British Boys' School data, John R. Maddock, head of household for the scholar William Henry Maddock, aged 34 at the time of the 1881 census, who was a railway signalman living in Hitchin, but had been born in Mary Tavy in Devon, 190.49 miles away. The Hitchin British Girls' School data shows Robert Douglas, head of household for the scholar Annie Douglas, aged 49 at the time of the 1881 census, as a Whitesmith living in Hitchin, but born in Alnwick in Northumberland, 246.55 miles away. John Moorhouse, head of household for the scholar Katharine I. Moorhouse, a case study taken from the Ickleford Mixed School data, lived in Ickleford in 1881 at the age of 46, but was born in Almondbury in Yorkshire, 129.98 miles away. The results for the Pirton

Board School data show that the furthest place from Pirton someone was born in the 1871/1881 data, as Hexton, which is still in the same county and only 2.76 miles away. Therefore those who moved to Pirton in this sample were mainly from the local area, especially as the only other places they were born, apart from Pirton, were Ickleford and Hexton, both in Hertfordshire.

In the occupational results recorded in the table for the main sample (see Appendix C) if the occupation for the scholars' adult details were not applicable in the census, the occupation for their heads of households were recorded instead. This gives an idea of their household income rather than missing out these records. Non applicable results show a majority as women because their occupations were rarely recorded in the census due to their husbands' occupations being thought of as the main form of income; they had no occupation due to their position in the household at this time as housewife and mother; or their husband did not want others to know their wife worked due to perceptions at this time, which the husband would have control over as the head of a household filled out the census details for their household. The Hitchin British Girls' School data has many examples, a case study being Elizabeth Spicer whose details as an adult gave no entry for her occupation in the 1901/1911 census, which meant Frederick Spicer, her head of household has his occupational results used instead: he was a fishmonger at this time.

If the 1901/1911 scholars' adult occupation was not applicable and the occupation of their head of household was also not applicable then these results are left out of the occupational results table. An example is from the Ickleford Mixed School: Sarah Lee aged 42 and single in 1901/1911 has no occupation recorded and her head of household, Martha Lee aged 79 and a

widow, also has no occupation listed. This means that no occupational data is recorded for this entry due to none being available. Widows in this period would have gained control of their husband's business after their death, or taken on work such as straw platting, needlework and dress-making if their husband had no business, trade or assets. Other occupational results that have been left out are those with two occupations listed from different areas of employment, as this anomaly would alter the results when placing them into an occupational hierarchy: it would make it difficult to compare two occupations to one and coding two occupations from different areas under one category would provide inaccurate results. An example of this can be seen from the Hitchin British Boys' School data for James Males who in 1881 was a head of household, aged 38 and listed as a publican and carpenter. These particular results have led to the main sample producing an inconsistency for each school resulting in less than fifty occupations listed for each of the school samples in the tables for this chapter.

The occupational frequency results reflect the employment opportunities in the area of research at the time. The migration of scholars by 1901/1911 meant that the results also partly demonstrate occupational opportunities in other areas of the country. In order to demonstrate whether or not these results have any trends to occupational frequency results from an earlier period the comparative sample group will now be analysed.

Comparative Group

The comparative group is made up of a sample of those who were of schooling age in 1851 to use as a comparison to the occupational results collected for the four schools in the main sample. The sample consists of 200 individuals; a quarter from Hitchin who were male; a quarter from Hitchin who were female; a quarter from Ickleford; and a quarter from Pirton. The research for this sample group has been carried out in the same way as the main sample: taking the children's details from the 1851 census and their head of household's details from the same year, as well as the children's details as adults, from the 1871 census, and their head of household's details if the children as adults were themselves not the head of their household.

In 1851 the results for the children's heads of households were predominately all agricultural labourers. In Hitchin, the male sample has a total of nine agricultural labourers and the female sample has ten. Although these results are low they are the highest frequency outcomes for an occupation in both samples. Ickleford and Pirton, being small villages demonstrate higher occupational frequency results for the occupation of agricultural labourer: Ickleford has a result of 23 and Pirton a total of 37. These results demonstrate the agricultural nature of both villages at the time, with agricultural labourer having a result much higher than any other occupation in the sample for the 1851 Heads of Households.

The children's adult occupational frequency results from 1871 produce different trends to those of the heads of households in 1851. The male sample for Hitchin has agricultural labourer as the highest frequency, as in 1851, however, the total itself is low at only five. The dominant occupation for the female sample from Hitchin is straw platter and the second highest is dress maker. Ickleford's highest frequency result is different in 1871 in comparison to the 1851 results. The dominant occupation is straw platter; followed by agricultural labourer. Pirton's

dominant occupation is the same for 1871 as it is for 1851: agricultural labourer, however, the total in 1871 is lower.

The migration of the heads of households in 1851 for each area, Hitchin, Ickleford and Pirton, demonstrate a majority of the sample having been born in the same town or village in which they were living in at the time of the 1851 census. Those from the male sample for Hitchin who were born in the same town totalled 66% and the female sample 68%. In Ickleford 60% are not from other areas, they were born in the village. The same is true of Pirton with 68% of this section of the sample born in the village. The migration of the children as adults in 1871 away from the area varied in the different sections of the sample. The Hitchin male sample shows 50% still living in Hitchin and 50% having moved away from the town. The Hitchin female sample demonstrates 60% still living in the town. In the Ickleford sample 66% of the adults, 1871, no longer lived in the village and the Pirton sample demonstrates 76% still living in the village. This contrasts with the main sample as 58% of those in the Pirton Board School group still lived in Pirton as adults in 1911.

When looking at the occupational frequency results for the main sample and the comparative sample, from an earlier period, differences can be seen. The results for the main sample's heads of households in 1871/1881 have no dominant occupation for the Hitchin British Boys' School and Hitchin British Girls' School's results. Whereas the Hitchin male and Hitchin female results of the heads of households in 1851 both demonstrate the same dominant occupation to be agricultural labourer. The results for Ickleford Mixed School's heads of households in 1871/1881 and Pirton Board School, demonstrate a dominant occupation of agricultural labourer. When comparing these with the earlier comparative sample results for heads of

households from 1851 the results are similar, as agricultural labourer is the dominant occupation, however, the figures for 1851 are higher. All areas from the earlier results have a dominant occupation of agricultural labourer and have high results for Ickleford and Pirton: showing that farming is a high employment section, important to the economy at this time and more in the comparative sample group results than in the main sample.

The scholars' adult details, 1901/1911, from the main sample show no dominant frequency for the Hitchin British Boys' School, Hitchin British Girls' School and Ickleford Mixed School. The exception is Pirton Board School, however, the highest result is only five for farm labourer and general labourer. The children's adult details from the comparative sample are different in that each area has a dominant occupation: however, the frequency results are not that high. Straw platting was a common occupation in the area in this period of study, later years saw competition from abroad, which meant the industries in England could not compete with the low prices of these imports and the hat trade industry started to decline. This is apparent when looking at the results of scholars as adults, 1901/1911, in which straw platting is not a dominant occupation. Whereas 2 of the 4 sample groups for the children's details as adults, 1871, have straw platting as the dominant occupation, although the frequencies are low. A larger sample may show higher results and further reflect the situation in the trade at the time.

Comparing the migration rates of the heads of households from both samples, 1851 and 1871, Hitchin British Boys' School show 60% not born in the area: whereas the results for the Hitchin male sample for 1851 gave a total of 66% born in the town. These outcomes could be due to reasons such as developments in transport being better in later years. The Hitchin British Girls' School results show 40% not born in the area, which is similar to the Hitchin female sample,

1851, with 32% not born in the area. The Ickleford Mixed School from the main sample and the Ickleford sample, from the comparative sample group in 1851, also have similar results with 36% not born in the area and 40% not born in the village. Pirton Board School's results from 1871/1881 were very low with only 4% not born in the area. The Pirton results for 1851 show 32% of the sample not born in the village.

The scholars' adult details show similar results of those who by 1901/1911 had left the registration district to the children's adult data for 1871. The Hitchin British Boys' School sample saw 58% having left the registration district and the Hitchin male sample for 1871 saw 50% having left the town. Hitchin British Girls' School results gave 44% having left and the Hitchin female sample from the comparative group a total of 40%. Ickleford Mixed School shows 60% who migrated to elsewhere and the Ickleford comparative sample: 66%. The results for Pirton Board School and the Pirton sample from the comparative group are two sets of figures that have the greatest difference: with Pirton Board School having 42% leave the area and the Pirton sample having 24%. These results show that there was not a huge difference in those who had migrated from the area by 1901/1911 compared to those from the comparative sample in 1871. This demonstrates a continuity of migration from the earlier date to the latter.

Having a comparative group has meant a more thorough analysis can be achieved when looking at occupational frequency results as shown above. However, it will also add to further analysis when placing the occupational results into the two coding systems: giving not just an insight into the coding for the main sample, but also being able to achieve an insight into how the coding works on an earlier sample group. A comparison of the two groups coding results will also be made adding further detail to the research.

<u>Occupational Coding: Main Sample Group</u>

The occupational results have been placed into the two coding systems, as described in chapter two, by referring to the detailed 1895 system (see appendix B) and using Moser and Hall's notes within their article to place each occupation as accurately as possible into a category with the available data.

The main sample results when applied to the 1895 coding presents some interesting findings; the highest sub-category result is 4a for the heads of households, 1871/1881, and the scholars' adult results. This sub-category represents 'work in agriculture', which maintained a high level of employment, especially in the two villages, Ickleford and Pirton. The largest result for a whole category is number 5, which has 15 sub-categories. Category 5 represents the Industrial Class, the 15 sub-categories are as follows: Books, Prints, Maps; Machines and Implements; Houses, Furniture, and Decorations; Carriages and Harness; Ships and Boats; Chemicals and Compounds; Tobacco and Pipes; Food and Lodging; Textile Fabrics; Dress; Animal Substances; Vegetable Substances; Mineral Substances; General or Unspecified Commodities and Refuse Matters. This category represents a majority of working class occupations and its high outcome reflects the intake from the four schools at the time. Categories with no frequency results include 4b and 5g, which is not surprising as the first is for fishing, which was not a big industry in the area as Hertfordshire is landlocked, and the latter is for tobacco and pipes: again not an industry in the area.

The heads of households' results for 1871/1881 all have the highest overall category result of 5, except for Pirton Board School with the highest results for category 4. Pirton Board School's highest overall category being 4 fits with the main employment area of the village: agriculture. Ickleford Mixed School's results for the highest overall category are 4 and 5, which again relates to the nature of the small agricultural village at this time. The sub-category of 4a, agriculture, in the 1895 coding system, is the highest result for both the Ickleford Mixed School and Pirton Board School's results. The Hitchin British Boys' School's sample has 5j as its highest sub-category result, which represents dress: including a vast amount of occupations such as straw hat manufacture, tailor and shoe-maker. The Hitchin British Girls' School's highest sub-category in the 1895 coding system is 5m, which is the category for Mineral Substances, including many types of work, for example; railway labourer; blacksmith and whitesmith.

The four sample groups for the scholars' adult data results all have the highest frequency rate for the overall category of 5. The sub-category with the highest frequency for the Hitchin British Boys' School was 3b, 'Conveyance of Men, Goods and Messages', including occupations such as coachman, porter and telegraph and telephone service. The Hitchin British Girls' School results for the scholars' adult occupations did not have a very high overall total, as many of the occupations in the census were given as non-applicable. The coding tables include results for the scholars' heads' of households in 1901/1911 that are separate from the scholars' adult details to give a better overview of the two coding systems. This is one reason why the single highest category for that sample is 2a, 'Domestic Offices or Services', with low results as women's occupational results were not always recorded in the census and by using these records on their own the highest category is likely to be one that fits with the occupations

women were expected to have, if any: therefore domestic offices or services relates to the norms of the society at this time.

The results for heads of households in 1901/1911 vary in number as a result has only been included if the scholar, as an adult, 1901/1911, have no occupation listed in the census, or is not the head of their household. Overall the 4 schools, in the main sample group, show category 5 to have the highest frequency, except Hitchin British Boys' School, which has category 6 with the same frequency total as 5. The highest sub-category for Hitchin British Boys' School's results is 6a: 'unspecified occupations', which include results such as retired from a business or a pensioner. Table 1 below demonstrates these outcomes by showing the occupational frequency of the main sample when the 1895 coding system was applied to the three sets of results recorded within each of the four schools.

Table 1: Occupational frequency results for the 1895 coding system when applied to the main sample

| | | HBBS | | | HBGS | | | Ickleford | | | Pirton | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1895 Code | | 1[153] | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | Σ |
| 1 | a | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

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[153] 1: Scholars' head of household's results 1871/1881, 2: Scholars' adults results 1901/1911, 3: Scholars' Head of household as adults results (if they are not head of household) 1901/1911.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | b | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| | c | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 7 |
| Σ | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 9 |
| 2 | a | 4 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| Σ | | 4 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 26 |
| 3 | a | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 10 |
| | b | 9 | 14 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 53 |
| Σ | | 9 | 16 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 63 |
| 4 | a | 5 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 20 | 3 | 4 | 32 | 13 | 7 | 96 |
| | b | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Σ | | 5 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 20 | 3 | 4 | 32 | 13 | 7 | 96 |
| 5 | a | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| | b | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| | c | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 26 |
| | d | 3 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| | e | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | f | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | g | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | h | 6 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 39 |
| | i | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | j | 10 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 38 |
| | k | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | l | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | m | 2 | 3 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 49 |
| | n | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 24 |
| | o | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Σ | | 30 | 26 | 3 | 32 | 6 | 32 | 20 | 19 | 7 | 15 | 14 | 8 | 212 |
| 6 | a | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Σ | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Σ | | 49 | 50 | 6 | 49 | 13 | 48 | 50 | 34 | 17 | 48 | 35 | 19 | 418 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Moser and Hall's coding system, when used on the results for the main sample, demonstrate that the majority of occupations fall into the lower categories of 5, 6 and 7: few of the occupational results meet the necessary criteria to be classified in categories 1, 2, 3 or 4. However, the highest result for a category overall, for the four schools, is category 6. This category, as previously discussed in chapter 2, is defined by Moser and Hall as a category to rate occupations that are 'semi-skilled manual'. In Moser and Hall's research this resulted in

occupations such as; tractor driver; agricultural labourer; and carter being given as examples.[154] A categorisation that contains agricultural labourer has the highest results for Moser and Hall's code, due to Ickleford and Pirton, as previously discussed, both being small villages with a high level of farming in 1871/1881. Overall for the 4 schools 1871/1881 heads of households' occupational data: category 6 gave the highest result for all except Hitchin British Girls' School, with category 7 as the highest result. However, this is only by a frequency that is two higher than for category 6. Category 7 is described by Moser and Hall as 'Unskilled Manual': results for this category include occupations such as; railway porter; barman; dock labourer and road sweeper.[155]

The results of Moser and Hall's code on the scholars' adult data, 1901/1911, show a majority of occupations for Hitchin British Boys' School data falling into category 5. However, Hitchin British Girls' School has the highest occupational frequency as category 4 and 7. The occupational data for Ickleford Mixed School has the highest result as category 5, however, Pirton has the majority of its occupational results as category 7. The heads of households' details, 1901/1911, have different trends to the previous results. Hitchin British Boys' School's majority of occupations are in category 5 and 7. Hitchin British Girls' School's highest category is 6; Ickleford Mixed School's highest occupational frequency categories are 5 and 6 again with a low total for both and Pirton Board School also has category 6 as its highest frequency. Table 2 below shows how the above analysis has been reached and demonstrates the occupational frequency of the main sample, as in table one, however this time the results

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[154] Taken from Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.34 (recorded in Chapter 2).
[155] Taken from Moser and Hall, 'Social Grading', p.34 (recorded in Chapter 2).

have been changed to show the outcomes of applying Moser and Hall's coding to this sample group.

Table 2: Occupational frequency results of the main sample when applied to Moser and Hall's Coding System

| | HBBS | | | HBGS | | | Ickleford | | | Pirton | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| M & H | 1[156] | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | Σ |
| 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 10 |
| 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| 4 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 19 |
| 5 | 15 | 16 | 2 | 15 | 3 | 14 | 11 | 11 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 103 |
| 6 | 20 | 14 | 0 | 15 | 0 | 17 | 21 | 9 | 6 | 32 | 11 | 8 | 153 |
| 7 | 10 | 14 | 2 | 17 | 4 | 13 | 13 | 10 | 3 | 11 | 12 | 5 | 114 |
| Σ | 49 | 50 | 4 | 49 | 13 | 48 | 50 | 34 | 17 | 46 | 35 | 19 | 414 |

The overall total of the main sample for both coding systems has a difference of four, 418 for the 1895 coding and 414 for Moser and Hall's coding, due to the nature of both coding systems. Moser and Hall's coding table has a total for number 3, head of household 1901/1911, for Hitchin British Boys' School of 4, rather than 6 as in the 1895 coding table. This is because two of the entries for this sample were widows that have no occupation given in the census data for that year and Moser and Hall's coding system does not have a category for this type of entry, however, in the 1895 coding system these two entries are in sub-category 6a. Pirton's number 1 sample, head of household 1871/1881, has a total two less than the 1895 coding system, due to the sample having two entries with two occupations listed for each of these entries in the census data for that year. However, as they were both occupations that fit in the same category for the 1895 system these entries were placed under that single category. The

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[156] 1: Scholars' head of household's results 1871/1881, 2: Scholars' adults results 1901/1911, 3: Scholars' Head of household as adults results (if they are not head of household) 1901/1911.

nature of Moser and Hall's coding system, not being as detailed as the 1895 coding system, makes placing two occupations for one entry into the same category difficult and would produce inaccuracy. This is why these two results have been left out of the table of results for Moser and Hall's coding system.

Analysing the two tables for the two coding systems requires the knowledge that in the sample group from 1871/1881 the majority of those within the sample were living in the registration district of Hitchin at the time, so their occupations reflect employment opportunities within the area. Also the 1901/1911 sample group are the scholars at adult age who originated in the area, however, by the time of these census results some had left the area, for various reasons, as previously mentioned. Therefore the two groups of results show some different occupations, as the 1871/1881 sample results would relate to the opportunities available in the registration district of Hitchin and those scholars that had moved by adult age, 1901/1911, would have different employment opportunities, depending on where they moved.

The 1895 coding system having sub-categories for each numbered category, where necessary, makes placing an occupation into a category a lot easier than with Moser and Hall's coding system. Moser and Hall's categories are generalised which means each one can refer to many different occupations. Therefore using this code as a measure of social mobility is possible; however, the 1895 coding system has proved to give more accurate and detailed results. This generalisation of categories in Moser and Hall's coding system is apparent from the large number of occupations that fall into only three of the categories from the code, which makes the accuracy of the coding system as a measure of social mobility for this period questionable. The most accurate coding system of the two for this research is the 1895 system, due to its

detail and amount of specific categories. Moser and Hall's system has given results that are difficult to interpret because of the vague title of each category.

The occupational situation in England in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries meant manual work was a high area of employment and therefore some of the categories in Moser and Hall's coding system, such as category 1: 'Professional and High Administrative', gives low results. However, Moser and Hall's code is a much more modern coding system and was not intended to be used for this period of research. The purpose of using it is to observe if it is a system that could be adaptable for use in research with data from other time periods. In order to make it more suitable for these results the generalisation of the categories would have to be addressed, before it could be of use for the analysis of occupational data from the Victorian period in a research project such as this, or on a larger scale.

Occupational Coding: Comparative Sample Group

The two coding systems were also used on the occupational results for the comparative sample group of this research. This part of the research has been carried out using the same method as used when applying the two codes to the main sample group results.

The 1895 coding system when applied to the comparative group male sample from Hitchin, demonstrates a similarity in the children's results as adults, 1871, to the heads of households' results from 1851. The outcomes of the 1895 coding system for the heads of households, 1851, show that the overall category with the highest outcome is 5 and the highest sub-category outcome is 4a, which represents agricultural work, followed by 5m. The children's adult

details, 1871, show again that the highest category is 5 and again 4a has the highest sub-category. The highest category for the heads of households' in 1871 is 5 and 6a has the highest sub-category total. However, as these heads of households' results only total 8 altogether, due to the nature of recording the head of household if the children from 1851 were not the head of their household in 1871, which makes the results difficult to analyse.

The results of using the 1895 coding system on the Hitchin female sample demonstrate that the highest sub-category for the heads of households' results is 4a and the highest sub-category for the children's adult details in 1871 is 5j. The total number of results for the children's adult details is only 25 as for some of the female results no occupations were given in the 1871 census and women were rarely the head of a household at the time, unless they were widowed. This is why the total for the heads of households in 1871 for this sample is as high as 48, because for those who were married their husbands were the heads of households. The reason behind the children's adult details from 1871 having 5j as its highest sub-category is that at the time occupational opportunities for women in the area fell mainly into this sub-category, which represents dress and includes occupations such as straw platter, dress maker and 'others working and dealing in clothes'.[157] Also women were rarely documented as working in agriculture, which is why out of the results for the children's adult details, 1871, for the Hitchin female sample none of the occupational entries fell into the sub-category of 4a.

The results for those born in the two villages, Ickleford and Pirton, were similar due to the occupational opportunities in these rural villages. The heads of households' results for 1851

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[157] H of C, 19th Century Sessional Papers, LXXX. 245 [468], 1895, p.20.

for Ickleford show the highest sub-category to be 4a, agricultural work and the same set of results for Pirton demonstrates that its highest sub-category result is also 4a. Both Ickleford and Pirton's results for the children as adults in 1871 show a decline in agricultural work with Ickleford's highest sub-category being 5j and Pirton's also being 5j. The two sets of results next highest sub-category is 4a. The results for 4a in 1871 are low, which demonstrates the decline of agriculture in this period, as new machinery is introduced and more widely used, reducing farmers' needs for the vast amount of manual agricultural labourers they previously employed. These results have shown this change starting over only a matter of 20 years, from 1851 to 1871 in the occupational results. Table 3 below has been set out in the same way as Table 1, in the previous chapter, to demonstrate the occupational frequency when the 1895 coding system is applied to the results. However, this time the results in the table are for the comparative group sample and the table helps to verify the above analysis.

Table 3: Occupational frequency results for the 1895 coding system when applied to the comparative sample group

| | | Hitchin (male) | | | Hitchin (female) | | | Ickleford | | | Pirton | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1895 Code | | 1[158] | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | Σ |
| 1 | a | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| | b | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

[158] 1: Scholars' head of household's results 1851, 2: Scholars' adults results 1871, 3: Scholars' Head of household as adults results (if they are not head of household) 1871.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Σ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | c | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Σ | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| 2 | a | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 13 |
| Σ | | 3 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 13 |
| 3 | a | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| | b | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| Σ | | 2 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23 |
| 4 | a | 10 | 10 | 1 | 13 | 0 | 3 | 30 | 9 | 13 | 40 | 18 | 18 | 165 |
| | b | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Σ | | 10 | 10 | 1 | 13 | 0 | 3 | 30 | 9 | 13 | 40 | 18 | 18 | 165 |
| 5 | a | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | b | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| | c | 4 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 26 |
| | d | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| | e | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | f | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | g | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | h | 5 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 38 |
| | i | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| | j | 5 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 21 | 7 | 5 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 19 | 3 | 82 |
| | k | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | l | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| | m | 6 | 9 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 41 |
| | n | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 15 |
| | o | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Σ | | 29 | 30 | 3 | 26 | 21 | 37 | 14 | 21 | 6 | 10 | 25 | 7 | 229 |
| 6 | a | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 24 |
| Σ | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 24 |
| ■ | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Σ | | 47 | 50 | 8 | 46 | 25 | 48 | 48 | 44 | 23 | 50 | 49 | 26 | 464 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

When applying the Moser and Hall coding system to the comparative sample group, all four sections of the sample group; Hitchin male; Hitchin female; Ickleford; and Pirton, demonstrate some obvious similarities. The main one being that the lowest three categories, 5, 6 and 7, give the highest frequency results for all sections of this sample group. Taking the Hitchin males' results as an example, this section demonstrates that: from focusing on the heads of households' results, the highest frequency category is 5, followed by 7 and 6. The children's adult details, 1871, for this section, also have the highest frequency results in category 5, followed by 6 and

7. The only occupations in the comparative sample group that have been placed into the highest category are those such as schoolmaster classical and commercial and medical general practitioner, as well as farmer, which Moser and Hall have placed into category 1 of their coding system. Category 2 and 3 also show low results and the fourth category has a higher result with occupations such as shoe maker and tailor. However, compared to categories 5 to 7, with results over one hundred, category 4 has a relatively low frequency rate.

The table below shows that the frequency results for the first 4 categories, 1 to 4, are very low and in some sections of the sample non-existent. This is partly due to the nature of the sample containing a majority of occupations that could be seen as working class and low level in their nature. However, it is also due to Moser and Hall's coding system, remembering, as previously discussed, that this coding system was designed for occupational results gathered in the late 1940s and early 1950s, taken from questionnaires. This is the reason why it is not surprising that the system gives the results it has for the type of occupations in this sample group from the Victorian period that are in the lower categories. Many of the occupations listed in this sample are by the late 1940s, early 1950s, no longer available occupations due to the innovations developed throughout this period and up to the time of Moser and Hall's research. Therefore even placing the results into a category in Moser and Hall's system is difficult, as the more modern 1940s/1950s occupations that have been used in Moser and Hall's research have to be taken and compared with those from the 1851 and 1871 census to be able to make use of the coding system. The explanation of each category also makes it hard to place an occupation in it, as many of the Victorian occupations in this sample are hard to categorise under the 7 categories (see chapter 2, pp.33-34 for the list of Moser and Hall's categories and information). Table 4 is set out in the same way as Table 2, in the previous chapter, to demonstrate occupational frequency results when applied to Moser and Hall's coding system. However, this

table shows the results of using the code on the comparative sample group, rather than the main sample group.

Table 4: Occupational frequency results of the comparative sample group when applied to Moser and Hall's Coding System

| M & H | Hitchin (male) | | | Hitchin (female) | | | Ickleford | | | Pirton | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1[159] | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | Σ |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 15 |
| 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 7 |
| 4 | 5 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 27 |
| 5 | 15 | 16 | 1 | 14 | 5 | 17 | 8 | 8 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 102 |
| 6 | 12 | 14 | 2 | 14 | 0 | 7 | 30 | 14 | 13 | 39 | 17 | 18 | 180 |
| 7 | 14 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 16 | 19 | 9 | 18 | 5 | 2 | 23 | 2 | 133 |
| Σ | 47 | 50 | 8 | 46 | 25 | 48 | 49 | 44 | 23 | 50 | 49 | 26 | 465 |

When looking at the occupational results of the main sample group, using the 1895 coding system against the comparative sample group's results, progressions in industry and occupational opportunities can be inferred. The highest category of the main sample and the comparative sample groups are both 5, with similar totals: both sample groups also have the same highest sub-category result of 4a. However, in the comparative sample group, which is taken from an earlier time-scale, has a higher frequency result for the sub-category. It can be speculated that this demonstrates the decline in agricultural work in the latter nineteenth century, 4a being the category for this occupational area of employment in the 1895 coding system. The results for the two villages, Pirton and Ickleford, in the comparative sample give the highest results for 4a, agricultural work, which is appropriate due to the agricultural nature

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[159] 1: Scholars' head of household's results 1851, 2: Scholars' adults results 1871, 3: Scholars' Head of household as adults results (if they are not head of household) 1871.

of occupational opportunities the villages had in this period. This is also true of the results, in the main sample, for Pirton Board School and Ickleford Mixed School.

The decline in agricultural work meant that by 1901/1911 other occupational categories appeared to have higher frequencies in that section of the sample group. The 1901/1911 scholars' adult details show Hitchin British Boys' School having 3b as its highest sub-category; Hitchin British Girls' School 2a; Ickleford Mixed School 3b; and Pirton Board School 4a. The sub-category 3b represents 'Conveyance of Men, Goods, and Messages' and includes occupations within the railways, which by this time were expanding and providing occupational opportunities for many in England. The results for Hitchin British Girls' School at this time have a majority in the sub-category of 2a, as this is representative of 'Domestic Offices or Services' seen even by this latter date of the period as women's work; including occupations such as charwoman, domestic and cook.

The results for Moser and Hall's coding system when applied to both the main sample group and the comparative sample group only give vague results: they are not specific to an occupational area due to the form the coding system takes. Both sample groups' results demonstrate higher frequency results for the three lowest categories, 5, 6 and 7 and give similar totals. The results are so similar due to the coding system used: it is not detailed enough for data of this type from the period of this research. Even though Moser and Hall explain in their work how they used the coding system, it gives rather vague outcomes when studying social mobility: a lot of what can be taken from results using this coding system would involve making assumptions about the data. The explanation for each category makes it difficult to place some occupations, which results in many falling into the same category: apparent here with

categories 5, 6 and 7, and makes analysing specific occupations or discovering the occupational opportunities of an area from the results almost impossible.

Conclusion

The two sample groups, having been assessed with regard to the occupational data, demonstrate employment in fitting with the registration district of Hitchin at the time. The level of migration apparent from these results is important to keep in mind when exploring occupational opportunities, as the movement away from the area gave different opportunities to the sample groups. This movement also shows that transport networks had improved seen from the high percentage of those from the main sample that left the area: more than the comparative sample group as developments in transport were further along by the time the latter group were in employment.

Assessing the two coding systems shows the 1895 coding system to be the more accurate coding system of the two, due to the detailed categories. Using the 1895 coding system demonstrates the level of upward social mobility in the main sample: whereas the comparative sample has a high level of downward social mobility. Analysing these two sample groups indicates the visible link between educational improvements and social mobility, which will be discussed further in the final chapter.

## Social Mobility: Occupational Comparisons and the link to Education

Introduction

The final chapter will use the occupational coding results from both sample groups to examine the link between education and social mobility in the period of research. This will be carried out using the two occupational coding systems, the 1895 coding system and Moser and Hall's coding system, to reach a conclusion to the main part of this research and show from the research outcomes that education and social mobility are linked. The link between education and social mobility is difficult to prove outright due to other social and economic factors.

However, through the further analysis of results in this section it will be assessed and explained in relation to the main sample. This will then be looked at against the comparative group sample in order to demonstrate the stronger and more visible link in the scholars' later sample when compared to the social mobility of those, who may not have been in education, from the earlier sample.

Education and Social Mobility

Table 5 below takes the main sample group results a step further from the occupational frequency tables of the previous chapter, by using the data from Table 1 and Table 2 to examine the heads of households' occupations alongside the scholars as adults' occupations in order to provide further analysis of the similarities and differences between them. The table deals with the named occupation details as well as the occupational data taken from the two coding systems.

Table 5: Similarities and differences of the occupations of the heads of households (1871 and 1881) and the scholars' as adults (1901 and 1911) taken from the main sample group

| School | Same occupation | Different occupation | Total | Same coding 1895 | Different coding 1895 | Total | Same coding Moser and Hall | Different coding Moser and Hall | Total |
|--------|-----------------|----------------------|-------|------------------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|
| HBBS | 7 | 43 | 50 | 12 | 37 | 49 | 20 | 29 | 49 |
| HBGS | 1 | 49 | 50 | 7 | 42 | 49 | 18 | 31 | 49 |
| Ickleford | 3 | 44 | 47 | 10 | 37 | 47 | 20 | 27 | 47 |
| Pirton | 3 | 46 | 49 | 13 | 32 | 45 | 16 | 29 | 45 |
| Total | 14 | 182 | 196 | 42 | 148 | 190 | 74 | 116 | 190 |

In order to compare the occupational data a step further than Table 5 and in relation to social mobility, results of the main sample have been produced in the table below, showing the

number of scholars as adults entries, 1901/1911, that has a higher, the same or lower occupational code than their heads of households in 1871/1881 when applied to both coding systems to provide further details for analysis.

Table 6: A comparison of the 1901/1911 coding results to the 1871/1881 coding results in the main sample when placed in the two coding systems

| School | Entries from 1901/1911 with a higher occupation code than 1871/1881 (1895 coding) | Entries from 1901/1911 with the same occupation code as 1871/1881 (1895 coding) | Entries from 1901/1911 with a lower occupation code than 1871/1881 (1895 coding) | Total | Entries from 1901/1911 with a higher occupation code than 1871/1881 (Moser and Hall's coding) | Entries from 1901/1911 with the same occupation code as 1871/1881 (Moser and Hall's coding) | Entries from 1901/1911 with a lower occupation code than 1871/1881 (Moser and Hall's coding) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HBBS | 25 | 12 | 12 | 49 | 15 | 20 | 14 | 49 |
| HBGS | 23 | 7 | 19 | 49 | 20 | 18 | 11 | 49 |
| Ickleford | 20 | 10 | 17 | 47 | 16 | 20 | 11 | 47 |
| Pirton | 14 | 13 | 18 | 45 | 18 | 16 | 11 | 45 |
| Total | 82 | 42 | 66 | 190 | 69 | 74 | 47 | 190 |

The occupational data in table 5 shows the probability of the scholars going on to the same occupation as their head of household to be a rarity from these results: the majority having gone onto different named occupations. When looking at the results from using the 1895 coding system a low total having the same coding can be seen from Table 5, which demonstrates a similarity to the low total for the same named occupation in the same table. The results with the same coding from Moser and Hall's coding system are altogether higher, which is due to the nature of the coding system having fewer categories with much less specific details and description: resulting in each category covering a wider range of occupations than the categories in the 1895 coding system.

Table 6 uses the results of the two coding systems to demonstrate those occupations that have higher, the same, or lower coding categories in 1901/1911 when compared with the 1871/1881 heads of households occupational coding results for both coding systems. The 1895 coding results demonstrate that the majority of the scholars as adults, 1901/1911, went onto occupations of a higher coding than that of their previous head of household. Moser and Hall's coding system gives different results, showing that the majority of the scholars as adults went into the same occupational category group as their previous head of household. The categories of this coding system are at fault here and explain why the two coding systems produce different outcomes for the same sets of results. Moser and Hall's coding system has been previously discussed as having vague explanations for each category: this has meant that when the occupations from the main sample group were placed into this coding system a lot more fell into the same category. Therefore, explaining Moser and Hall's results in Table 6 being different from the results of the 1895 coding system. In order to measure the social mobility of the scholars as adults a coding system must be used to measure the movement through the numbered categories. Due to the inaccuracy of Moser and Hall's coding system on these results, the 1895 coding system's results will be evaluated in more detail against the occupational data of the main sample group as a measurement of social mobility. Measuring the social mobility of the main sample in this project using the 1895 coding system means that the first part of Table 6 needs to be explored in more detail. Table 7 below shows the part of Table 6 that is needed for further analysis, which includes the 1895 coding results only, due to the detail of the coding system, which has been chosen for further analysis because of the accuracy of results it produced.

Table 7: A comparison of occupational results from 1871/1881 and 1901/1911 of the main sample when applied to the 1895 coding system

| School | Entries from 1901/1911 with a higher occupation code than 1871/1881 (1895 coding) | Entries from 1901/1911 with the same occupation code as 1871/1881 (1895 coding) | Entries from 1901/1911 with a lower occupation code than 1871/1881 (1895 coding) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| HBBS | 25 | 12 | 12 | 49 |
| HBGS | 23 | 7 | 19 | 49 |
| Ickleford | 20 | 10 | 17 | 47 |
| Pirton | 14 | 13 | 18 | 45 |
| Total | 82 | 42 | 66 | 190 |

In order to explore upward social mobility the first column of Table 7 needs further analysis. Looking at the scholars' adult entries from 1901/1911 that have a higher 1895 occupational coding than their head of household in 1871/1881 helps demonstrate their upward social mobility. When comparing these results with those that have the same or lower coding, it can be seen that the largest amount of the sample group fall into this first column. However, for Pirton Board School the highest result is for those entries that have a lower occupational coding. These outcomes demonstrate a higher level of upward social mobility for Hitchin British Boys' School, Hitchin British Girls' School and Ickleford Mixed School: with 51% of the Boys' School; 47% of the Girls' School and 43% of Ickleford Mixed School's results showing upward social mobility. The results for Pirton Board School show the highest level of results in 1901/1911 as having a lower occupational coding than in 1871/1881, however, there is only 9% difference between the lower coding result and the higher coding result. The overall total for the 3 columns in the table above show 43% have a higher coding result in 1901/1911 than 1871/1881; 22% of the results have the same occupational coding; and 35% have a lower coding. The results of the comparative group will now be explored before putting the results of both sample groups into context. Table 8 below is set out in the same way as table 5, however, it demonstrates the occupational results for the comparative sample group instead, focusing on whether named occupations were the same or different for 1851 and 1871 and if the coding results for the 1851 results and 1871 results were different or not. This table leads onto further analysis of this sample in relation to social mobility.

Table 8: The similarities and differences of the occupations of the heads of households (1851) and the children as adults (1871) taken from the comparative sample group

| Sample | Same occupation | Different occupation | Total | Same coding 1895 | Different coding 1895 | Total | Same coding Moser and Hall | Different coding Moser and Hall | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hitchin (male) | 6 | 42 | 48 | 8 | 39 | 47 | 16 | 31 | 47 |
| Hitchin (female) | 5 | 44 | 49 | 7 | 39 | 46 | 17 | 29 | 46 |
| Ickleford | 6 | 43 | 49 | 12 | 35 | 47 | 17 | 31 | 48 |
| Pirton | 17 | 33 | 50 | 19 | 30 | 49 | 19 | 30 | 49 |
| Total | 34 | 162 | 196 | 46 | 143 | 189 | 69 | 121 | 190 |

The table shows that the two sets of results have a majority of different named occupations with 83% of the total sample for the children's adult occupations having different named occupations. Both sets of coding results also show a higher amount that have different coded occupations: the 1895 coding system having 76% different and Moser and Hall's coding system having 64% in different categories. Table 9 below is set out as Table 6 was, but again demonstrates the results of the two coding systems in more detail, when applied to the results of the comparative sample group.

Table 9: A comparison of the 1871 coding results to the 1851 coding results in the comparative sample when placed in the two coding systems

| Sample | Entries from 1871 with a higher occupation code than 1851 (1895 coding) | Entries from 1871 with the same occupation code as 1851 (1895 coding) | Entries from 1871 with a lower occupation code than 1851 (1895 coding) | Total | Entries from 1871 with a higher occupation code than 1851 (Moser and Hall's coding) | Entries from 1871 with the same occupation code as 1851 (Moser and Hall's coding) | Entries from 1871 with a lower occupation code than 1851 (Moser and Hall's coding) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hitchin (male) | 22 | 8 | 17 | 47 | 20 | 16 | 11 | 47 |

| | 13 | 7 | 26 | 46 | 13 | 17 | 16 | 46 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hitchin (female) | 13 | 7 | 26 | 46 | 13 | 17 | 16 | 46 |
| Ickleford | 14 | 13 | 20 | 47 | 15 | 17 | 16 | 48 |
| Pirton | 4 | 20 | 25 | 49 | 8 | 19 | 22 | 49 |
| Total | 53 | 48 | 88 | 189 | 56 | 69 | 65 | 190 |

The comparative results, demonstrate a majority of the children as adults occupations in 1871 to have a lower occupational coding then their heads of households in 1851 with a total of 47% having a lower code, in the 1895 coding system, 25% having the same code and 28% having a higher occupational code. Moser and Hall's coding system show the majority of the coding results to have the same occupational code, however, this coding system produces inaccurate results, for reasons previously discussed in this chapter. Therefore in order to explore the social mobility of this sample the first section of Table 9 will be looked at in more detail. Table 10 below, in the same way as part of Table 6 was reproduced in Table 7, is a reproduction of Table 9. However, only the part that applied to the 1895 coding system is reproduced in Table 10, due to the inaccuracy of Moser and Hall's coding and the need for further analysis of the 1895 coding results.

Table 10: A comparison of occupational results from 1851 and 1871 of the comparative sample when applied to the 1895 coding system

| Sample | Entries from 1871 with a higher occupation code than 1851 (1895 coding) | Entries from 1871 with the same occupation code as 1851 (1895 coding) | Entries from 1871 with a lower occupation code than 1851 (1895 coding) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hitchin (male) | 22 | 8 | 17 | 47 |
| Hitchin (female) | 13 | 7 | 26 | 46 |
| Ickleford | 14 | 13 | 20 | 47 |
| Pirton | 4 | 20 | 25 | 49 |
| Total | 53 | 48 | 88 | 189 |

The 4 groups from the comparative sample show a majority to have lower coding than their heads of households, except for the Hitchin male sample, the majority of which has higher coding, however, the difference between the higher and lower results is only 11%. This demonstrates a higher level of downward social mobility overall for the comparative sample

group. Below in Table 11 the results for the main sample group and the comparative sample group when the 1895 coding is applied, are placed next to each other in order to demonstrate the differences in social mobility in both sample groups.

Table 11: A Comparison of the Social Mobility Results for the two Sample Groups (the main sample and the comparative sample)

| Group 1851/School 1871/1881 | 1851 children (as adults in 1871) | | | | 1871/1881 children (as adults 1901/1911) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1871 Higher than 1851 | 1871 Same as 1851 | 1871 Lower than 1851 | Total | 1901/1911 Higher than 1871/1881 | 1901/1911 Same as 1871/1881 | 1901/1911 Lower than 1871/1881 | Total |
| Hitchin males/HBBS | 22 (47%) | 8 (17%) | 17 (36%) | 47 | 25 (51%) | 12 (24%) | 12 (24%) | 49 |
| Hitchin females/HBGS | 13 (28%) | 7 (15%) | 26 (57%) | 46 | 23 (47%) | 7 (14%) | 19 (39%) | 49 |
| Ickleford/Ickleford School | 14 (30%) | 13 (28%) | 20 (43%) | 47 | 20 (43%) | 10 (21%) | 17 (36%) | 47 |
| Pirton/Pirton School | 4 (8%) | 20 (41%) | 25 (51%) | 49 | 14 (31%) | 13 (29%) | 18 (40%) | 45 |
| Total | 53 | 48 | 88 | 189 | 82 | 42 | 66 | 190 |

The social mobility results for the main sample group demonstrating a majority to have upward social mobility, in this period, reflects the original theory that education and social mobility are linked. The comparative group sample showing a majority of downwards social mobility is reflective of the state of education in this earlier period. The main sample group were educated after 1870, which was when improvements and changes had already begun within the English education system. The start of these changes was the introduction of state education in 1870, which led to other changes during the latter 19th century. State education was seen as a financial burden on the family due to loss of earnings and having to pay school fees.[160] In 1871 the amount of children in employment had decreased from previous years to 21, 000.[161] Education

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[160] Henry Pelling, *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), p.4.
[161] F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London, 1988), p.81.

was made compulsory to the age of ten from 1876, which meant by this time children in the age bracket were receiving regular education.[162] This would have improved children's education who were at school at this time, including the main sample of this research.

The quality of education those from the main sample experienced is clearly visible from some of the occupations they went on to work in, which were of higher occupational status than their heads of households in 1871/1881. Examples of this include Frederick William Thackeray, whose head of household in 1871/1881, when he was a scholar at Hitchin British Boys' School, John Thackeray, was a courier[163], however, by 1901/1911 Frederick was a merchant's clerk.[164] Henry Buckingham who was also a scholar at Hitchin British Boys' School went on to be a Post Office clerk[165], whereas his head of household, James Buckingham was a steed groom in 1871/1881.[166] Arthur Lewis Odell, a scholar at Ickleford Mixed School, became a Stock Exchange clerk[167], whereas his head of household in 1871/1881, John Odell was a Railway porter.[168] George W. Young, attended Pirton Board School and became a teacher[169]: his head of household, 1871/1881, Azel Young, was a carpenter.[170] These examples demonstrate employment areas that were made possible to achieve due to a good education.

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[162] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, p.81.
[163] Ancestry.com [online database] 1881 England Census, ED, I or V: 15, Household Schedule Number: 31, Piece: 1366, Folio: 25, p.5.
[164] 1911 England Census, ED, I or V: 4, H.S. no: 29, Piece: 6871.
[165] 1911 England Census, ED, I or V: 1, H.S. no: 201, Piece: 7887.
[166] 1881 England Census, ED, I or V: 7, Piece: 1418, Folio: 116, p.9.
[167] 1911 England Census, ED, I, or V: 78, H.S. no: 176, Piece: 9752.
[168] 1881 England Census, ED, I, or V: 41, Piece: 1596, Folio: 53, p.18.
[169] 1911 England Census, ED, I, or V: 13, H.S. no: 85, Piece: 7582.
[170] 1881 England Census, ED, I, or V: 28, Piece: 1421, Folio: 90, p.16.

The social mobility results for the comparative sample showing higher levels of downward social mobility is reflective of the time in which the sample were educated. The sample was taken to be able to compare the main sample with an earlier period sample: those in it were not found in admission registers and therefore even if in the 1851 census they were described as being a scholar this could mean that they went to Sunday school, which would have only been once a week. In early census results scholar could refer to many variations of education. For example by 1851 almost 2.5 million children were attending Sunday schools, which meant those attending could have been recorded in the census as scholars, although they were only being taught once a week.[171]

Conclusion

The main sample group of this research demonstrating higher upward social mobility and examples of occupations that would have needed a good education to undertake shows a link between education and social mobility. Those in the main sample experienced education after and during some important changes to the English education system: the 1870 Education Act having started the process leading onto compulsory education and eventually free education for all. This is made clearer by the results of the comparative group sample that showed downward social mobility in this earlier period due to the lack of regular schooling, which would have made it difficult to gain better paid and higher status employment.

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[171] Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, p.140.

The conclusion to this dissertation will bring all the previous sections together and finalise what the link between education and social mobility, shown in this research, adds to the historiography on this topic and how further research could help emphasise this link.

## Conclusion

The main objective of this research piece is to provide the beginning of the answer to whether the 1870 Education Act and the changes that followed it affected the social mobility of those who were in education around the time of its implementation. Through the outcomes of primary source research it has been found that upward social mobility is higher for the scholars in the main sample group than the earlier comparative group: in fact the comparative group has a high level of downward social mobility. The level of upward social mobility for the main sample group, having gone through schooling at the time of these educational changes, shows that the changes to the education system did affect the social mobility of these scholars.

The Marxist view of seeing classes in Victorian England as fixed groups that could not easily be changed in a conventional way is challenged by the outcomes of this research through the idea of education contributing to the upward social mobility of those so called fixed groups. It could be argued that those who improved their social mobility through education became part of the new higher section of society described as the labour aristocracy, discussed in the historiography. This research has also come away from the idea of the three class system, which many historians who have previously researched the Victorian period have also avoided, by using the 1895 coding system created from the 1895 census return that includes six class categories relating to the individuals' working status.

Butler's point, also discussed in the historiography, that education cannot by itself create the social structure of a country is true: other factors would obviously contribute to such a change. However, this research has shown that education played a role in changing the social structure by giving the working class a chance to change their social status through the experience of a better developed educational system than in previous years. Samuel Smiles's involvement in the national education system and the idea of helping the working class help themselves is demonstrated by the upward social mobility of the working class after the improvements put into place by the 1870 Education Act and the further developments that followed.

The method used for the research was decided upon after evaluating the work of previous researchers of social mobility. Looking at this research has brought to the forefront the cross-over of the topic into other disciplines. The methodologies examined are those of sociological,

geographical and political science as well as historiographical studies. The interest of other disciplines in social mobility is not surprising as the topic has aspects of interest to the different fields mentioned. The methodologies of those from the different disciplines have similarities: cross-overs of these types are becoming more apparent in the field of academic research, which is important to the expansion of this field.

Measuring social mobility is an aspect that has been addressed by others researching the topic and after reviewing these studies and exploring the primary sources available the most logical way to carry this out is, for the late 1800s and early 1900s, using occupational data and a hierarchical system to measure this data. Occupational data can represent a person's economic situation as well as their position within society; which is why when looking at social mobility it becomes a valid measurement. The issues surrounding the sources used in this research, as in any, must be accounted for, however, even with the flaws surrounding the census, marriage records and admission registers, the results are as accurate as they can be for this type of primary source research.

The occupational results from the main sample relate to the employment opportunities in the area at the time: Hitchin having a wide variety of employment areas within the town and Ickleford and Pirton having the majority of results in agricultural work due to both being small farming villages. However, the comparative sample group gave higher frequency results for agricultural work due to the sample being taken from an earlier period: this demonstrates a decline in the need for agricultural labourers in the latter period as new innovations were introduced to farming methods.

Migration is an important aspect to take into consideration when researching social mobility, as a person's occupational opportunities change if they move to a different area. The other part of migration in this research involves the heads of households, for the scholars in the main sample, 1871/1881, and for the children, 1851, who were not born in the area, which could mean that they migrated to the Registration district of Hitchin for employment opportunities or other reasons, such as moving to where their spouse lived after marriage. Over half of the main sample had left the registration district of Hitchin by 1901/1911, which is a substantial amount. Innovations and improvements in transport also made migrating away from an area easier by this time. Migration levels for each area for the Heads of Households in the comparative sample demonstrate the majority having been born in the same town or village in which they lived by 1851: showing a lower level of migrating to the area for this earlier sample group. There was however, not a great difference in the results for those who had migrated from the area by 1901/1911 in the main sample to those from the comparative sample by 1871. This demonstrates continuity in migration from the earlier period to the latter in the area.

The purpose of using Moser and Hall's coding system was to evaluate its adaptability for use with occupational data from other time periods. In order for Moser and Hall's coding to be adaptable for the type of data used in this research and to give more accurate results alterations need to be made: including the number of categories and the description of the categories. This became apparent from the results of using Moser and Hall's coding, showing both sample groups to give very similar results when the coding is applied. The explanation of each category makes it difficult to place occupations resulting in very different occupations ending up in the same category: seen from the high results for the lower three categories in Moser and Hall's

coding system. The coding also makes analysis of specific occupations difficult, which is detrimental to social mobility research that uses occupational information to form conclusions surrounding the topic, as it has to include assumptions about the data, which in turn produces inaccuracies that can be avoided by using a different coding system. This is why the 1895 coding was used further into this study to produce more accurate results: the 1895 coding is more detailed, than Moser and Hall's, which makes it easier to place occupational data into the categories. It also produces more accurate results as it is more suited to the period of this study, as it has been created from an 1895 census return.

There are other obvious variables within a society that can affect social mobility, however, this research has shown education to be an important one for the period of study due to the many changes that occurred at the time. The occupations that scholars from the main sample went on to undertake as adults and the rate of upward social mobility for this sample overall demonstrates that education was improving at this time and providing more occupational opportunities for those from working class backgrounds.

This research has begun the process of filling the gap on education and social mobility after the 1870 Education Act in England through a regional study. However, in order to gain a broader view on this topic, research such as this is needed for other schools in different regions of England and in order to make a comparison, researching education systems from other countries at this time would be an interesting way of expanding the topic on a larger scale. Research on social mobility has been completed across the academic disciplines: the need for more historiographical studies on this topic is essential for an insight into the development of

hierarchical statuses within societies in England at a time when vital alterations were being made to the education system as a whole.

## Appendices

Appendix A:

Diagram of the Five - Class Model

Appendix B:

Occupational Hierarchy used as a coding system. Taken from: House of Commons Archive, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, LXXX. 245 [468], 1895, pp. 4-28.

Appendix C:

Disc Contains: Main sample Occupational Frequency Table- excel document

Comparative Group Occupational Frequency Table- word document

Hitchin British Boys' School data- excel document
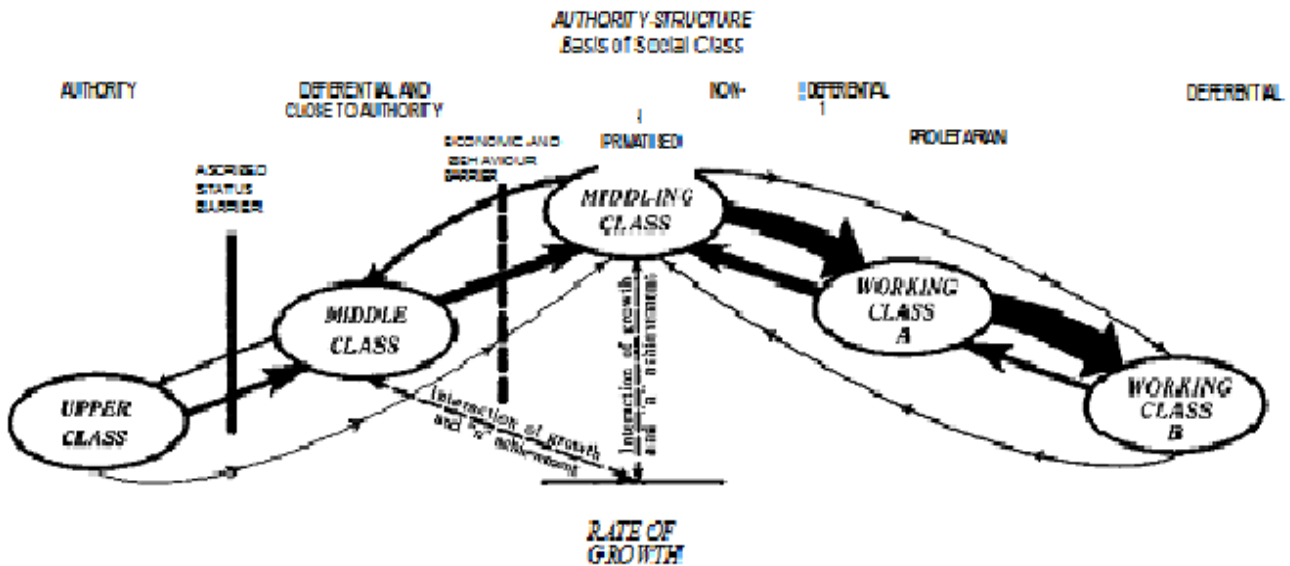
Hitchin British Girls' School data- excel document

Ickleford Mixed School data- excel document

Pirton Board School data- excel document

Comparative Group data- excel document

Map of Ickleford 1898

## DIAGRAM OF THE FIVE-CLASS MODEL

AUTHORITY-STRUCTURE
Basis of Social Class

AUTHORITY    DEFERENTIAL AND    NON-    DEFERENTIAL    DEFERENTIAL
CLOSE TO AUTHORITY

PRIVATISED

PROLETARIAN

ECONOMIC AND
BEHAVIOUR
BARRIER

ASCRIBED
STATUS
BARRIER

MIDDLING
CLASS

MIDDLE
CLASS

WORKING
CLASS
A

UPPER
CLASS

Interaction of growth
and 'n' achievement

WORKING
CLASS
B

RATE OF
GROWTH

Map of Pirton 1898

Appendix D:

The British Schools in Hitchin c.1890

Appendix E:

The Village of Ickleford c19th Century

Appendix F:

Extract from an Ordnance Survey Map of 1851, showing the British Schools in Dead Street.

## Appendix A

Arrows indicate direction of flow. Thickness of line indicates guessed probability of moving from one class to another circa 1800 (probabilities will vary with rate of growth, "n" achievement, time, population growth, and the strength of barriers). Given sustained growth the probabilities of moving from low to high increase, the probabilities of moving from high to low decrease.

Appendix B

Occupational Hierarchy used as a coding system. Taken from: House of Commons Archive, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, LXXX. 245 [468], 1895, pp. 4-28.

# I.—PROFESSIONAL CLASS.

1. THE GENERAL OR LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF THE
   COUNTRY : (a)

   (1.) *National Government:*
   Civil Service (Officers and Clerks) (b) - -
   Civil Service (Messengers, &c.) (c) - - -
   Prison Officer, &c. - - - -

   (2.) *Local Government :*
   Police - - - - - - -
   Municipal, Parish, Union, District, Officer -
   Other Local or County Official (d) - -

   (3.) *East Indian and Colonial Service :*
   East Indian and Colonial Service - - -

2. THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY : (e)

   (1.) *Army (at Home) : (f)*
   Army Officer (Effective and Retired) - -
   Soldier and Non-Commissioned Officer - -

   (2.) *Navy (Ashore and in Port) :*
   Navy Officer (Effective and Retired) - -
   Seaman, R.N. - - - - -
   Royal Marines (Officers and Men) - - -

3. PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS (WITH IMMEDIATE
   SUBORDINATES) :

   (1.) *Clerical Profession : (g)*
   Clergyman (Established Church) - - -
   Roman Catholic Priest - - - - -
   Minister, Priest, of other Religious Bodies -
   Missionary, Scripture Reader, Itinerant Preacher
   Nun, Sister of Charity - - - - -
   Church, Chapel, Cemetery—Officer, Servant -

   (2.) *Legal Profession : (h)*
   Barrister, Solicitor - - - - - -
   Law Clerk (i) - - - - - -

3. PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS (WITH IMMEDIATE SUBORDINATES)—*continued.*

(3.) *Medical Profession:* (*a*)

Physician, Surgeon, General Practitioner  -

Dentist, Dental Apparatus Maker  -     -     -

Veterinary Surgeon (*b*) -     -     -     -     -

Sick Nurse, Midwife. Invalid Attendant (*c*)     -

Subordinate Medical Service (*c*)

(4.) *Teachers and Students:*

Schoolmaster, Teacher. Professor, Lecturer     -

Student (15 years or over) (*d*)     -     -     -

School Service, and others concerned in Teaching.

(5.) *Literary and Scientific:*

Author, Editor. Journalist     -     -     -     -

Reporter. Shorthand Writer (*e*)     -     -     -

Persons engaged in Scientific Pursuits     -     -

Literary, Scientific. Institution—Service, &c.     -

(6.) *Engineers and Surveyors:*

Civil and Mining Engineer (*f*)     -     -     -

Land. House, Ship—Surveyor (*g*) -     -     -

(7.) *Artists:* (*h*)

Painter. Engraver, Sculptor (Artist) (*i*) -     -

Architect     -     -     -     -     -     -     -

Musician, Music Master -     -     -     -     -

Photographer     -     -     -     -     -     -

Actor  -     -     -     -     -     -     -     -

Art, Music, Theatre—Service, &c.  -     -     -

(8.) *Exhibitions, Games, &c.:*

Performer, Showman; Exhibition, Games—Service.

## II. DOMESTIC CLASS.

**4. DOMESTIC OFFICES OR SERVICES:**

(1.) *Domestic Service:*

Domestic. Indoor Servant (*a*) - - - -

Lodge. Gate. Park—Keeper (not Government)

Inn. Hotel—Servant (*b*) - - - -

College. Club—Service (*c*) - - - -

(2.) *Other Service:*

Office Keeper. Caretaker (not Government) -

Cook (not domestic) (*d*) - - - -

Charwoman - - - - - -

Washing and Bathing Service - - - -

Hospital and Institution Service (*e*) - -

Others engaged in Service (*f*) - - -

## III. COMMERCIAL CLASS.

**5. COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS:**

(1.) *Merchants and Agents:*

Merchant (*g*) - - - - - -

Broker. Agent. Factor (*h*) - - -

Auctioneer. Appraiser. Valuer. House Agent (*i*)

Accountant (*j*) - - - - -

Salesman. Buyer (not otherwise described) -

Commercial Traveller - - - -

Commercial Clerk (*k*) - - - -

Officer of Commercial Company. Guild. Society. &c. (*l*).

(2.) *Dealers in Money:*

Banker - - - - - - -

Bank Officials and Clerks (*m*) - - -

Bill Discounter. Broker. Finance Agent (*n*) -

(3.) *Insurance:*

Life. House. Ship, &c.. Insurance Service (*o*) -

**6. CONVEYANCE OF MEN, GOODS. AND MESSAGES:**

(1.) *On Railways.*

Railway Engine Driver. Stoker (*p*) - -

Railway Guard - - - - -

Pointsman ; Level Crossing Man - - -

Railway Porters and Servants (*q*) - -

Railway Officials and Clerks - - - -

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### III.—COMMERCIAL CLASS—*continued.*

**6. CONVEYANCE OF MEN, GOODS, AND MESSAGES—** *continued.*

*(2.) On Roads :*

Toll Collector, Turnpike Gate Keeper - -

Livery Stable Keeper; Coach, Cab, Proprietor -

Coachman, Cabman. Groom, Horsebreaker (*a*)   1

Carman, Carrier, Haulier, Carter, Waggoner (not Farm). (*b*)   1

Tramway Service - - - - -

Wheel Chair—Proprietor, Attendant, &c. -

*(3.) On Canals, Rivers, and Seas :*

Navigation Service (not Crew) - - -

Merchant Service; Seaman, Pilot; Boatman on   1
Seas.

Bargeman. Lighterman, Waterman - - -

Dock Labourer, Wharf Labourer - - -

Harbour. Dock, Wharf, Lighthouse—Officials and Servants.

*(4.) In Storage :*

Warehouseman (*c*) - - - - -

Meter, Weigher - - - - -

*(5.) Messages and Porterage :*

Messenger, Porter, Watchman (not Railway or Government). (*d*)

Telegraph, Telephone Service - - - -

### IV.—AGRICULTURAL AND FISHING CLASS.

**7. AGRICULTURE :**

*(1.) In Fields and Pastures :*
Farmer, Grazier - - - - -

Farmer's, Grazier's—Son, Grandson, Brother, Nephew.

Farm Bailiff (*e*) - - - - -

Shepherd (*f*) - - - - -

Agricultural Labourer, Farm Servant (*g*) -

Horsekeeper, Horseman, Teamster, Carter -

Agricultural Machine—Proprietor, Attendant -

Others engaged in, or connected with, Agriculture

*(2.) In Woods :*

Woodman - - - - - -

*(3.) In Gardens :*

Gardener, Nurseryman, Seedsman - - -

*(4.) About Animals :*

Cattle, Sheep, Pig—Dealer, Salesman - -

Drover - - - - - - -

Gamekeeper - - - - - -

Dog, Bird, Animal—Keeper, Dealer - -

Knacker, Catsmeat—Dealer; Vermin Destroyer

**8. FISHING :**

*(1.) In Fishing :*

Fisherman (*h*) - - - - -

## V.—INDUSTRIAL CLASS.

**9. Books, Prints, Maps:**

(1.) *Books:*

Publisher, Bookseller, Librarian (a) - -

Bookbinder - - - - - - -

Printer (b) - - - - - - -

Newspaper Agent, News Room Keeper - -

(2.) *Prints and Maps:*

Lithographer; Copper and Steel Plate Printer -

Map and Print—Colourer, Seller (c) - -

**10. Machines and Implements:**

(1.) *Machines:*

Millwright - - - - - - -

Engine and Machine Maker (d) - - -

Fitter and Turner (Engine and Machine) -

Boiler Maker - - - - - - -

Spinning and Weaving Machine Maker - -

Agricultural Machine and Implement Maker -

Domestic Machinery and Implement—Maker, Dealer. (e)

(2.) *Tools:*

Tool Maker - - - - - - -

Cutler and Scissors Maker - - - -

File Maker - - - - - - -

Saw Maker - - - - - - -

Pin Maker - - - - - - -

Needle Maker - - - - - -

Steel Pen Maker - - - - - -

Pencil Maker (Wood) - - - - -

(3.) *Watches and Philosophical Instruments:*

Watchmaker, Clockmaker - - - -

Philosophical Instrument Maker; Optician -

Electrical Apparatus Maker - - - -

Weighing and Measuring Apparatus Maker -

(4.) *Surgical Instruments:*

Surgical Instrument—Maker, Dealer - -

(5.) *Arms:*

Gunsmith, Gun Manufacturer - - - -

Sword, Bayonet—Maker, Cutler - - -

(6.) *Musical Instruments:*

Musical Instrument—Maker, Dealer - -

(7.) *Types, Dies, Medals, Coins:*

Type—Cutter, Founder - - - - -

Die, Seal, Coin, Medal—Maker - - -

(8.) *Tackle for Sports and Games:*

Fishing Tackle, Toy, Game Apparatus—Maker, Dealer.

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**11. Houses, Furniture, and Decorations:**

*(1.) Houses:*

Builder (*a*) - - - - - - -

Carpenter, Joiner (*b*) - - - - -

Bricklayer - - - - - - -

Mason (*c*) - - - - - - -

Slater, Tiler - - - - - -

Paper Hanger, Plasterer, Whitewasher - -

Plumber - - - - - -

Painter, Glazier - - - - - -

*(2.) Furniture and Fittings :*

Cabinet Maker, Upholsterer, Furniture Dealer, French Polisher (*d*).

Locksmith, Bellhanger, Gasfitter - - -

House and Shop Fittings—Maker, Dealer -

Funeral Furniture Maker; Undertaker - -

*(3.) House Decorations :*

Wood Carver (*e*) - - - - -

Carver and Gilder - - - - -

Dealer in Works of Art (*f*) - - - -

Figure, Image—Maker, Dealer - - -

Animal, Bird, &c., Preserver; Naturalist -

Artificial Flower Maker - - - - -

**12. Carriages and Harness:**

*(1.) Carriages ;*

Coach, Carriage—Maker - - - - -

Bicycle, Tricycle—Maker, Dealer - - -

Wheelwright - - - - - -

Others - - - - - - -

*(2.) Harness :*

Saddler; Harness, Whip—Maker - - -

**13. Ships and Boats : (*g*)**

*(1.) Hull :*

Shipwright; Ship, Barge, &c., Builder (Wood)

Shipwright; Ship, Barge, &c., Builder (Iron) -

*(2.) Masts, Rigging, &c. :*

Ship—Rigger, Fitter; Mast, Yard, Oar, Block—Maker.

Ship Chandler - - - - - -

Sail Maker - - - - - -

## V.—INDUSTRIAL CLASS—*continued.*

### 14. CHEMICALS AND COMPOUNDS:

(1.) *Colouring Matter:*

Dye. Paint, Ink, Blacking, Manufacture (*a*)   -

(2.) *Explosives:*

Gunpowder, Guncotton. Explosive Substance, Manufacture.

Fusee, Fireworks, Explosive Article, Manufacture (*b*).

(3.) *Drugs and other Chemicals and Compounds:*

Chemist, Druggist -   ·   ·   ~   ·   ·

Manufactu·ing Chemist, Alkali Manufacture (*c*)

Drysalter   -   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

### 15. TOBACCO AND PIPES:

(1.) *Tobacco and Pipes* (*d*):

Tobacco Manufacturer; Tobacconist   ·   ·

Tobacco Pipe, Snuff Box, &c., Maker   ·   ·

### 16. FOOD AND LODGING:

(1.) *Board and Lodging;*

Innkeeper, Hotel Keeper, Publican (*e*)   ·   ·

Lodging, Boarding—House Keeper (*f*)   ·   ·

Coffee. Eating House—Keeper   ·   ·   ·

(2.) *Spirituous Drinks:*   ·

Hop—Merchant, Dealer -   ·   ·   ·   ·

Maltster   -   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

Brewer -   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

Beerseller. Ale, Porter, Cider, Dealer   ·   ·

Cellarman   -   ·   ·   ·   ~   ·   ·

Wine and Spirit—Merchant, Agent (*g*)   ·   ·

(3.) *Food:*

Milkseller, Dairyman   -   ·   ·   ~   ·

Cheesemonger, Butterman (*h*) -   ·   ~   ·

Butcher, Meat Salesman   ·   ·   ·   ·

Provision—Curer, Dealer (*i*) -   ·   ~   ·

Fishmonger, Poulterer, Game Dealer   ·   ·

Corn. Flour, Seed—Merchant, Dealer   ·   ·

Corn Miller   -   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

Baker   -   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

Confectioner, Pastrycook   ·   ·   ~   ·

Greengrocer, Fruiterer   -   ·   ·   ·   ·

Mustard, Vinegar, Spice. Pickle—Maker, Dealer (*k*).

Sugar Refiner   -   ·   ·   ·   ·   ·

Grocer; Tea. Coffee, Chocolate—Maker, Dealer (*l*)

Ginger Beer. Soda, Mineral Water—Manufacturer, Dealer.

17. TEXTILE FABRICS:

(1.) *Wool and Worsted :* (a)

Woolstapler - - - - - -

Woollen Cloth Manufacture (b) - - -

Wool, Woollen Goods—Dyer. Printer (c) -

Worsted, Stuff. Manufacture - - - -

Flannel, Blanket, Manufacture - - -

Fuller (d) - - - - - - -

Others working in Wool and Worsted - -

Dealers in Wool and Worsted Goods - -

(2.) *Silk :* (e)

Silk, Satin, Velvet, Ribbon. Manufacture (f) -

Silk—Dyer, Printer (g) - - - - -

Crape, Gauze, Manufacture - - - -

Silk—Merchant, Dealer - - - - -

(3.) *Cotton and Flax :* (h)

Cotton, Cotton Goods. Manufacture (i) - -

Cotton, Calico— Printer, Dyer, Bleacher (j) -

Flax, Linen. Manufacture (k) - - -

Lace Manufacture - - - - - -

Fustian Manufacture - - - - -

Tape Manufacture - - - - - -

Thread Manufacture - - - - -

Cotton. Linen, Lace, Fustian, Tape, Thread—
Dealer.

(4.) *Hemp and other Fibrous Materials :* (l)

Hemp, Jute, Cocoa Fibre, Manufacture (m) -

Rope, Twine, Cord—Maker - - - -

Mat Maker - - - - - - -

Net Maker - - - - - -

Canvas, Sailcloth, Sacking. Manufacture - -

Others working in Hemp - - - -

Dealers in Hemp, Jute, &c. - - - -

17. TEXTILE FABRICS—*continued.*

    (5.) *Mixed or Unspecified Materials:*

      Weaver (undefined) (*a*) -  -  -

      Dyer, Scourer, Bleacher, Calenderer (undefined) (*b*).

      Factory Hand, Textile (undefined) (*c*) -  -

      Felt Manufacture -  -  -  -  -  -

      Carpet, Rug, Manufacture -  -  -  -

      Manchester Warehouseman -  -  -  -

      Draper, Linen Draper ; Mercer -  -  -

      Fancy Goods (Textile)—Manufacturer, Worker, Dealer (*d*).

      Trimming Maker, Embroiderer (*e*) -  -

      Other Workers (*e*) -  -  -  -  -

      Other Dealers (*f*) -  -  -  -  -

18. DRESS :

    (1) *Dress*

      Hatter, Hat Manufacture (not Straw) -  -

      Straw—Hat, Bonnet, Plait, Manufacture -

      Tailor -  -  -  -  -  -  -

      Milliner, Dressmaker, Staymaker -  -  -

      Shawl Manufacture -  -  -  -  -

      Shirt Maker, Seamstress (*g*) -  -  -  -

      Hosiery Manufacture -  -  -  -  -

      Hosier, Haberdasher -  -  -  -  -

      Glover, Glove Maker -  -  -  -  -

      Button Maker (*h*) -  -  -  -  -

      Shoe, Boot, Patten, Clog—Maker -  -  -

      Wig Maker, Hairdresser -  -  -  -

      Umbrella, Parasol, Stick—Maker (*h*) -  -

      Others working and dealing in Clothes (*i*) -

19. ANIMAL SUBSTANCES :

    (1.) *In Grease, Gut, Bone, Horn, Ivory, and Whalebone :* (*j*)

      Tallow Chandler, Candle, Grease, Manufacture

      Soap—Boiler, Maker -  -  -  -  -

      Glue, Size, Gelatine, Isinglass—Maker -  -

      Manure Manufacture (*k*) -  -  -  -

      Bone, Horn, Ivory, Tortoise-shell—Worker -

      Others -  -  -  -  -  -  -

    (2.) *In Skins :*

      Furrier, Skinner -  -  -  -  -  -

      Tanner, Fellmonger -  -  -  -  -

      Currier ; Leather Goods—Maker, Dealer -

      Parchment, Vellum—Manufacturer, Dealer -

**19.** ANIMAL SUBSTANCES—*continued.*

    (3.) *In Hair and Feathers:*

        Brush, Broom—Maker; Hair, Bristle—Worker, Dealer.

        Quill, Feather—Dresser, Dealer  -  ·  ·

**20.** VEGETABLE SUBSTANCES:

    (1.) *In Oils, Gums, and Resins:*

        Oil Miller, Oil Cake Maker (*a*)  -  ·  ·

        Oil and Colourman (*b*)  -  -  ·  ·  ·

        Floor Cloth, Oil Cloth, Manufacture (*c*)  -  ·

        Japanner  ·  -  -  -  -  ·  ·

        India Rubber, Waterproof Goods—Worker (*c*)

        Others (*d*)  -  ·  ·  -  -  ·

    (2.) *In Cane, Rush, and Straw:*

        Thatcher  -  ·  -  -  ·  -  ·

        Willow, Cane, Rush—Worker; Basket Maker (*e*)

        Hay, Straw, Chaff—Cutter (*e*)  -  ·  ·

        Dealers (*f*)  -  ·  -  ·  ·  ·

        Other Workers  ·  ·  -  -  ·  -

    (3.) *In Wood and Bark:* (*g*)

        Sawyer -  ·  ·  -  ·  ·  ·  ·

        Lath, Wooden Fence, Hurdle—Maker  -  -

        Cooper; Hoop—Maker, Bender  -  ·  ·

        Wood Turner; Wooden Box Maker (*h*)  -  ·

        Timber, Wood, Cork, Bark—Merchant, Dealer

        Cork, Bark—Cutter, Worker -  -  ·  ·

        Others working in Wood, Cork, Bark, &c.  -

    (4.) *In Paper:*

        Paper Manufacture (*i*)  -  ·  ·  -  ·

        Envelope Maker  -  ·  ·  -  -  -

        Stationer, Law Stationer (*j*)  -  ·  ·  ·

        Card, Pattern Card—Maker  -  ·  ·  -

        Paper Stainer  -  ·  -  -  ·  ·

        Paper Box, Paper Bag—Maker (*k*) -  ·  ·

        Ticket, Label—Writer  -  ·  ·  -  ·

        Others -  ·  -  -  ·  ·  -  -

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**21.** Mineral Substances:

   (1.) *Miners:* (*a*)

      Coal Miner (*b*) - - - - - -

      Ironstone Miner - - - - - -

      Copper Miner - - - - - -

      Tin Miner - - - - - -

      Lead Miner - - - - - -

      Miner in other, or undefined. Minerals - -

      Mine Service (*c*) - - - - -

   (2.) *Coal. Coal Gas. &c.:*

      Coal, Coke. Peat, &c., Dealer (*d*) - - -

      Coke, Charcoal. Peat—Cutter, Burner (*d*) -

      Coalheaver; Coal—Porter, Labourer (*e*) - -

      Gas Works Service - - - - - -

   (3.) *Stone, Clay, and Road Making:* (*f*)

      Stone—Quarrier, Cutter, Dresser (*g*) - -

      Slate—Quarrier, Worker - - - -

      Lime Burner (*h*) - - - - -

      Clay, Sand, Gravel, Chalk—Labourer - -

      Well—Sinker, Borer - - - -

      Plaster, Cement, Manufacture - - -

      Brick, Tile—Maker. Burner - - -

      Dealers in Stone, Slate, Tiles, &c. - -

      Pavior, Road Labourer (*i*) - -

      Road—Contractor, Surveyor. Inspector -

      Railway Contractor - - - -

      Platelayer, Railway Labourer, Navvy -

      Others - - - - - -

   (4.) *Earthenware and Glass:*

      Earthenware. China, Porcelain. Manufacture -

      Glass Manufacture - - - - -

      Earthenware, China, Porcelain, Glass, Dealer -

21. MINERAL SUBSTANCES—*continued.*

(5.) *Salt:*

Salt—Maker, Dealer    -    -    -    -    -

(6.) *Water:*

Waterworks Service -    -    -    -    -    -

Others    -    -    -    -    -    -    -    -

(7.) *Precious Metals and Jewellery:*

Goldsmith, Silversmith. Jeweller    -    -    -

Lapidary -    -    -    -    -    -    -    -

Others    -    -    -    -    -    -    -    -

(8.) *Iron and Steel:*

Blacksmith. Whitesmith (*a*)    -    -    -    -

Nail Manufacture    -    -    -    -    -    -

Anchor, Chain, Manufacture    -    -    -    -

Other Iron and Steel Manufactures (*b*)    -    -

Ironmonger ; Hardware—Dealer. Merchant (*c*)

(9.) *Copper:* (*d*)

Copper, Copper Goods—Manufacturer, Worker (*b*)

(10.) *Tin and Zinc:* (*d*)

Tin. Tin Plate. Tin Goods—Manufacturer.
  Worker (*b*)

Zinc, Zinc Goods—Manufacturer. Worker    -

(11.) *Lead:* (*d*)

Lead, Leaden Goods—Manufacturer, Worker (*b*)

(12.) *In Other, Mixed, or Unspecified Metals:* (*d*)

Metal - Refiner. Worker, Turner, Burnisher,
  Lacquerer.

Brass. Bronze—Manufacturer, Brazier    -    -

White Metal, Plated Ware, Manufacturer.
  Pewterer.

Wire—Drawer, Maker, Worker, Weaver -    -

Bolt, Nut, Rivet, Screw, Staple—Maker    -    -

Lamp, Lantern. Candlestick—Maker    -    -

Others working in Sub-Orders 9 to 12    -    -

Dealers in Sub-Orders 9 to 12 -    -    -    -

## V.—INDUSTRIAL CLASS—*continued.*

22. GENERAL OR UNSPECIFIED COMMODITIES: (*a*)

    (1.) *Makers and Dealers (General or Undefined):*

        General Shopkeeper, Dealer  -  -  -  -

        Pawnbroker  -  -  -  -  -  -  -

        Costermonger, Hawker, Street Seller   -  -

        Contractor, Manufacturer, Manager, Superintendent (undefined).

    (2.) *Mechanics and Labourers (General or Undefined):*

        General Labourer  -  -  -  -  -  -

        Engine Driver, Stoker, Fireman (not Railway, Marine, nor Agricultural). (*b*)

        Artizan, Mechanic, Apprentice (undefined)   -

        Factory Labourer (undefined) (*c*)  -  -  -

        Machinist, Machine Worker (undefined) (*d*)  -

23. REFUSE MATTERS:

    (1.) *Refuse:*

        Town Drainage Service  -  -  -  -  -

        Chimney Sweep, Soot Merchant   -  -  -

        Scavenger, Crossing Sweeper (*e*)  -  -  -

        Rag Gatherer, Dealer  -  -  -  -  -

## VI.—UNOCCUPIED CLASS.

24. UNSPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS: (*f*)

        Retired from Business (not Army, Navy, Church, Medicine).

        Pensioner  -  -  -  -  -  -  -

        Living on own means  -  -  -  -  -

        Others (over 10 years)  -  -  -  -  -

Disc Contains:

Main sample Occupational Frequency Table- excel document

Comparative Group Occupational Frequency Table- word document

Hitchin British Boys' School data- excel document

Hitchin British Girls' School data- excel document

Ickleford Mixed School data- excel document

Pirton Board School data- excel document

Comparative Group data- excel document

Map of Ickleford 1898

Map of Pirton 1898

# Appendix E

## The Village of Ickleford c19th Century

Extract from an Ordnance Survey Map of 1851, showing the British Schools in Dead Street.

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