

Persistence in a local community: Kingston-Upon-Thames 1851-1891

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Introduction

It is no easy task to measure the degree of persistence within a local community, or, in particular, to identify those individuals who remained within their local community over a number of years. The records required to carry out such an inquiry undoubtedly exist – in the form, for example, of parish registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, municipal burial registers, poll books, electoral registers and census enumerators' books – all of which list individuals at various stages of their life. However, in order to trace the same individuals through a number of these records, it is necessary first of all to build a comprehensive database containing details on all of the individuals in the records chosen. The second stage is then to apply techniques of record linkage to this data in order to identify individuals who appeared more than once in the database. For any medium-sized community, both tasks are extremely time-consuming and require a reasonable degree of computing competence. But once these two stages of research have been completed, the historian is in a position to build up a comprehensive picture of the local community being studied. In particular, it will be possible to subject those individuals who appeared more than once (and often many times) in the records to detailed analysis.

This paper sets out to explore the level of persistence in Kingston upon Thames in the second half of the nineteenth century and to examine some of the characteristics of those individuals who remained as part of the local community over this period. It begins by describing how the data on which the analysis is based was constructed, before moving on to indicate the type of research questions which can be addressed by analysing the profiles and characteristics of those who will be called collectively “the Kingston persisters”.

Sources and Methodology

Persistence can be identified at a number of different spatial and social levels – for example, persistence over time within a specific geographical area; within a given administrative area; within a specified street or address; and, more problematically, within a defined community – however that community may be defined. Traditionally, persistence has been measured by calculating the number of individuals in a given locality who could be identified in two or three consecutive censuses. Residential persistence required individuals to live at the same address over the two or three censuses.¹

As with these earlier studies, the major sources used in this analysis of Kingston persisters are the census enumerators' books (CEBs), but not for only 2 or 3 censuses or for sample areas but for the whole of the Kingston census area for each census year between 1851 and 1891. These books were all photocopied from the original and entered into an Access database by a number of closely supervised volunteers working within Kingston University's Centre for Local History Studies. Records of all individuals were entered as they appeared in the original returns, providing information on name, address, age, sex, marital status, relationship to head of household, occupation and county of birth. Extra fields were added to the database in order to standardise information (e.g. on street names) or to code information (e.g. on occupations and relationship to head of household) in order to facilitate subsequent analysis. This census database was enriched

by the addition of all of the baptism, marriage and burial entries in the parish registers covering the Kingston area, plus the entries in the municipal burial registers held at Bonner Hill Cemetery, following the same strategy and principles as for the census data. Although reference will be made to this second data inputting stage of the project, the analysis in this paper will be largely based on the data derived from the CEBs. Table 1 sets out the number of records in the Kingston census database.

The next stage of the methodology was to trace individuals through the data sets by employing techniques of record linkage which necessitated the creation of a “person record” for everybody in the census returns. Subsequent censuses, baptisms, marriages and burials are then linked to this person record. Record linkage was achieved in stages

Table 1 Number of Records in the Kingston Census Database

Census Year	Number
1851	12,454
1861	17,730
1871	27,905
1881	36,748
1891	43,908
Total	138,745

Sources: The Kingston CEBs for 1851-1891

by running a number of algorithms to link the 1851 and 1861 censuses, followed by the 1861 and 1871 censuses etc until all of the censuses were linked.² At each stage the algorithms suggested a large number of potential matches. All of these potential matches were checked by a researcher and declared true, false or in need of a second opinion. At the end of the record linkage phase of the research, a significant number of valid links identifying the same person in more than one census had been established and the Kingston persisters, in particular, could be identified.

The data on persistence in Table 2 indicates that nearly 5% of the 1851 population were still living in Kingston forty years later; nearly 10% of Kingstonians persisted through four censuses; just under 20% through three censuses; and well over a third of Kingstonians persisted in Kingston between one census and the next. It is difficult to indicate whether this was a typical picture for a medium-sized, commercial town on the outskirts of London due to a lack of comparable studies on persistence. However, the Kingston case does now provide a benchmark against which the level of persistence in other towns can be compared.

Table 2 Population Persistence in Kingston upon Thames 1851-1891

	Years	Number	% of base pop
5 censuses	1851-1891	593	4.8
4 censuses	1851-1881	1,187	9.5
	1861-1891	1,728	9.7
3 censuses	1851-1871	2,230	17.9
	1861-1881	3,437	19.4
	1871-1891	4,929	17.7
2 censuses	1851-1861	4,301	34.5
	1861-1871	7,017	39.6
	1871-1881	10,436	37.4
	1881-1891	13,643	31.1

Sources: as for Table 1.

Note: These are straight links. In other words, for example, the 1,187 individuals who could be identified in the 4 censuses 1851-1881 include the 593 individuals who lived to appear in the 1891 census as well.

Table 2 shows that 593 individuals could be identified as living in Kingston in each of the five census years between 1851 and 1891. Two other groups were also identified from the database as Kingston persisters: (a) those who, according to their year of birth, calculated from their age, were born after 1851 and then could be traced through the next four censuses (277 in total); (b) those who appeared in the four censuses 1851 to 1881 but then, according to the burial dataset, died before the 1891 census (380 in total). This produced a total of 1,250 potential Kingston persisters. Finally, however, since the database covered the whole of the Kingston census area – including outlying villages such as Ham and Malden Rushett – it was decided to exclude the 113 persisters who, according to the census returns, spent their lives in such villages. They could not really be identified as Kingston persisters. This left a grand total of 1,137 genuine Kingston persisters ready for analysis.³

Persisters' Profiles

The next aim of this paper is to analyse the profiles of these 1,137 persisters, with particular emphasis on areas of residence and residential mobility, and on occupational profiles and mobility. By taking the individual as the main unit of analysis, this analysis will differ from most studies using the CEBs as their core source which tend to produce conclusions based on aggregate data. Such data will, of course, be used in the following analysis, but aggregate data will be illustrated by the experience of named individuals - ordinary men and women living and working in Kingston in the second half of the 19th century whose experiences have been “rescued from history”. The final section of this

analysis will incorporate information on the Kingston persisters drawn from parish registers and burial records in order to provide complete 'life-cycles' of a number of nineteenth century Kingstonians. To begin with, however, certain characteristics of the persisters will be identified, and throughout the analysis comparisons will be drawn between the characteristics of the persisters and those of the population of Kingston as a whole.

Of the 1,137 persisters, 658 (58%) were male and 479 (42%) were female.⁴ For Kingston as a whole, the gender balance was rather different consisting of 48% male and 52% female in 1851 dropping to only 45% male and 55% female in each of the remaining censuses of the nineteenth century. A possible explanation for this difference can be found in the rapid expansion of job opportunities for female domestic servants. Domestic service was the major employer of women in Kingston during the nineteenth century, and the majority of female domestic servants were young, single and born outside of the Kingston area.⁵ Their migration into Kingston helped to tip the gender balance in favour of females. Another possible reason is that some Kingston women, having married husbands from outside of the area, moved away from Kingston with their husbands, thereby reducing the potential number of female persisters.

Analysis of place of birth information in the CEBs in a little more detail also indicates differences between the persisters and the local population as a whole. A large proportion of all Kingstonians were born outside of the area before settling in Kingston, whereas - not surprisingly - the majority of the persisters were also born in Kingston. Thus the proportion of the total population born in the Kingston area was a reasonably consistent 40% in 1851; 36% in 1861; 35% in 1871; 36% in 1881 and 37% in 1891, whereas the percentage of the persisters born in Kingston was a significantly higher 61%.⁶ As indicated, this is not unexpected given that it is *persistence* which is being analysed here, but it is rather surprising that as many as 447 (39%) of the persisters were in fact born outside of Kingston before moving into - and staying - in Kingston. Of these, there was virtual equality between females (226) and males (221); but for those persisters who were also born in Kingston, there was a clear majority of males (430) over females (258). In fact, 65% of all male persisters were also born in Kingston whereas this was true of only 54% of all female persisters. The tentative conclusion to be drawn from these variations - and from the fact that male persisters significantly outnumbered female persisters - is that female Kingstonians were generally more physically mobile than male Kingstonians.

In certain respects, therefore, the characteristics of the Kingston persisters were rather different from the characteristics of the local population as a whole. The next step in the analysis is to examine the persisters in more detail as they lived through the second half of the nineteenth century and, in particular, to consider their residential and occupational mobility. It will be shown that the general profile of these persisters, with one or two exceptions, was one of a predominance of working class Kingstonians engaged in both skilled and unskilled occupations, and living in the poorer parts of the town. The better off, better educated and more ambitious professional classes, on the other hand, were more mobile and did not feature to any great extent in this list of persisters. However, *within* Kingston the persisters were very mobile and one question which can be

considered from the linked material underpinning this analysis is the extent of residential mobility. As Pooley and Turnbull have argued: “The only way to create life-time residential histories is to undertake large-scale record linkage at the individual level.”⁷ For example, of the 530 individuals appearing in each of the five censuses, 1851-1891, we have the five streets of residence for 450 of them. Table 3 indicates the degree of residential mobility undertaken by these 450 individuals.⁸

It can be seen that half of the persisters had at least four different addresses over the study period, and only 20 individuals had the same address in each census. This, of course, does not include any residential movements made between census years and would indicate that Kingston was characterised by a high degree of residential mobility.

Table 3 Residential Mobility in Kingston 1851-1891

Different Addresses	Number of Individuals	Percentage of Individuals
Five	94	20.9
Four	133	29.6
Three	114	25.3
Two	89	19.8
One	20	4.4
Total	450	100.0

Sources: as for Table 1

This seems to have been typical of other communities – especially those which were predominantly working class – in the nineteenth century. For example, in four streets in the Lower Ward in Tottenham “there was a high rate of residential mobility in the study area, not only on a decennial basis, but throughout the period 1861 to 1891.”⁹

Possible explanations for this level of residential mobility among the Kingston persisters include, obviously, children leaving the parental home, especially in order to marry and to set up (or join) another household. This is reflected in the changing household status of the persisters as they moved through their lives from a state of dependency to independence. For example, in 1851 only 72 (14%) of the persisters were recorded as heads of household, whereas 296 of them were recorded as offspring of the head. By 1891, however, 354 (67%) of the persisters were now heads of their own household, and only 18 were recorded as offspring to the head. Residential mobility also resulted from the fact that before 1914 the majority of households rented their accommodation from the private housing sector and did not have security of tenure.

Although the persisters moved frequently, they tended to move short distances. One reason for this could have been the importance of ‘community ties’ especially, once again, among the working classes wishing to remain close to family, friends and social networks. For example, 25 of the Kingston persisters were living in the notoriously poor Acre Road in 1851 and proceeded to move house even more frequently than the persisters

as a whole - 8 (32%) had five different addresses, 10 (40%) had four different addresses and the remaining 7 (28%) had three different addresses. Typical moves were never of a great distance and frequently only into the next street such as Cowleaze Road, Richmond Road, Elm Road or Gibbon Road. Table 4 details the residential movements of the 8 persisters who lived in Acre Road in 1851 and had different addresses in each of the next four censuses.

Table 4 Example of Residential Movements in Kingston 1851-1891

Name	1851 Street	1861 Street	1871 Street	1881 Street	1891 Street
George Crawl	Acre Road	Old Bridge Street	Watermans Passage	Vicarage Lane	Watermans Passage
Lucy Lee	Acre Road	Villiers Avenue	Surbiton Hill Road	Minniedale	Villiers Avenue
Frederick Ling	Acre Road	Richmond Road	Apple Market	Richmond Road	Deacon Road
Jonah Wells	Acre Road	Canbury Alley	Brook Street	Eden Street	Gibbon Road
Ann Duffell	Acre Road	Cowleaze Road	Albert Road	Cambridge Grove Road	Burritt Road
William Burton	Acre Road	Cowleaze Road	Acre Road	Cowleaze Road	Elm Road
Mary Ann Urish	Acre Road	Cowleaze Road	St Andrews Road	Cottage Grove	Clayton Road
Robert Burton	Acre Road	Cowleaze Road	London Road	Fairfield East	Hardman Road

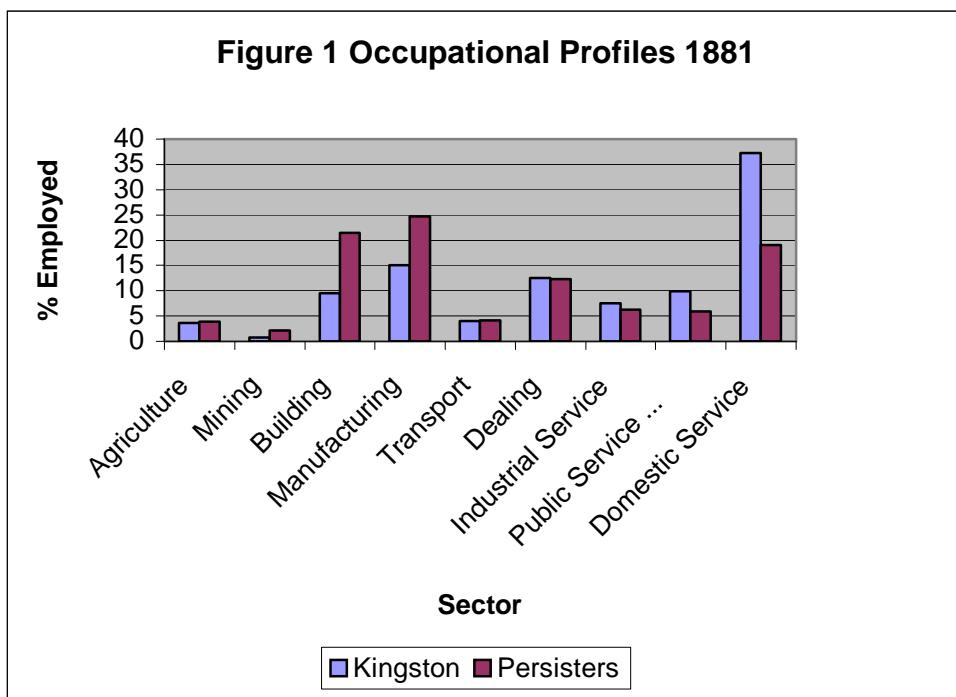
Sources: as for Table 1

Although the Kingston persisters tended to move house frequently over relatively short distances, they exhibited much less change when it came to occupations. Analysis of the occupations of the Kingston persisters indicates that their occupational profile was rather different to the occupational profile for Kingston as a whole; that the persisters tended to stay in the same occupations throughout their working lives; and that these occupations were largely manual occupations – some skilled and semi-skilled, but many of an unskilled nature. Each of these three areas will be examined in the next section of this paper.

Occupational and Social Class Profiles

In order to compare the occupational profile of the persisters with that of Kingston as a whole, the census of 1881 has been chosen on the grounds that in 1881, 796 of the 1137 persisters recorded their occupation and this 70% employment rate was the highest achieved by the persisters in each of the census years 1851 to 1891. The results of this comparison are shown in Figure 1, indicating that the service sectors (dealing, industrial service, public service and domestic service) were the more important employment sectors for Kingstonians as a whole, whereas the building and manufacturing (especially dress) sectors occupied a larger proportion of the persisters - 22% and 25% respectively. Nearly half of the persisters, therefore, worked in sectors of the local economy which

were dominated by manual skilled and unskilled occupations including painters, plasterers, carpenters, slaters, bricklayers and plumbers from the building sector; general labourers; and dressmakers, tailors and bootmakers from the manufacturing sector. For example, among the 796 persisters recording their occupations in 1881 there were 82 unskilled labourers of various types, but also 41 carpenters and joiners, 30 painters and decorators, 18 bricklayers, 12 plasterers, 7 plumbers, 36 dressmakers and milliners, 11



tailors and clothiers, and 28 boot and shoe makers. Clearly, the persisters were concentrated in occupations which provided necessary skilled manual services for the increasing number of middle and lower middle class incomers who in turn tended to work in the service and professional sectors of the economy. This profile is confirmed by looking at the class make-up of the persisters in 1881 - by translating the occupations of the heads of household among the persisters into the five broad social classes enumerated by the Registrar General's *Classification of Occupations* in 1951 and comparing this profile with that for all Kingston heads of household in 1881.¹⁰ For example, only 3% (14) of the persisters male heads of household were classified as social class I compared with 8% (460) for Kingston as a whole, whereas 56% (251) of the persisters were classified as social class III compared with a lower 48% (2639) for Kingston as a whole.¹¹

Nor did the majority of the persisters experience any significant occupational mobility. For example, of the 530 persisters who can be traced through all five censuses, 1851 to 1891, 134 of them recorded their occupation each time and of these, 66 (49%) remained in the same - largely skilled and semi-skilled - occupations throughout their working lives. Similarly, of the 277 persisters who appeared in each of the four censuses, 1851-1881, and then died before the 1891 census, 113 of them recorded their occupation each time and 69 (61%) of these again remained in the same job. The majority of those who did change occupations tended to do so between different labouring/unskilled types of

jobs such as agricultural labourer, general labourer, gardener and carman. To illustrate such trends, Table 5 gives the occupations - where known - of the 8 persisters already highlighted in Table 4.

Table 5 Example of Persisters' Occupations in Kingston 1851-1891

Name	1851 Occupation	1861 Occupation	1871 Occupation	1881 Occupation	1891 Occupation
George Crawl	---	---	Coal Porter	Labourer	Coal Porter
Lucy Lee	---	Dressmaker	---	---	Shopkeeper
Frederick Ling	---	Scholar	Cattle Dealer	General Dealer	General Dealer
Jonah Wells	Tailor	Tailor	Tailor Employing 1 man	Tailor Master Employing 8 men	Tailor's Foreman
Ann Duffell	---	Labourer Smith's Wife	---	---	---
William Burton	Scholar	Painter	House Painter	House Painter	House Painter
Mary Ann Urish	---	---	---	Laundress	Retired Laundress
Robert Burton	Scholar	Grocer's Assistant	Plumber Journeyman	Plumber	Plumber

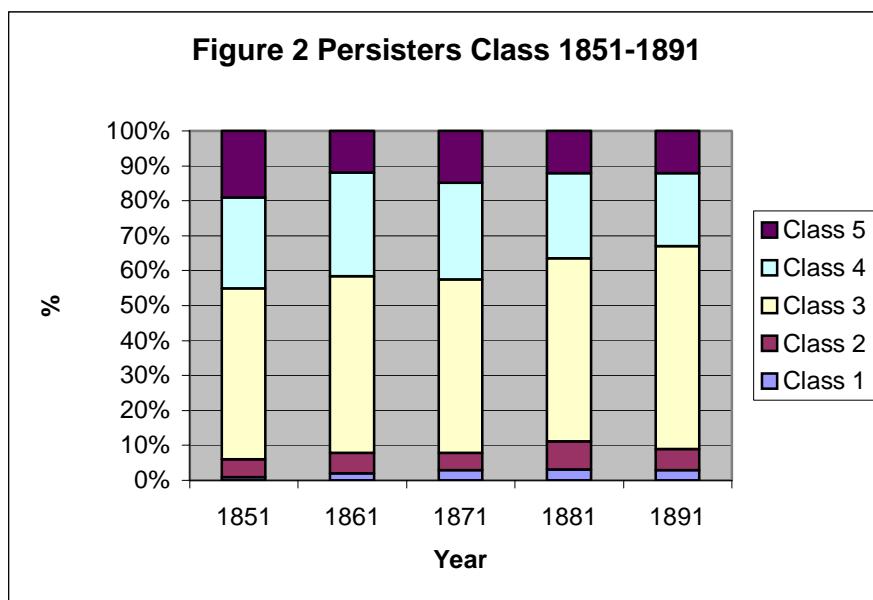
Sources: as for Table 1

However, for a number of these Kingston persisters there is evidence of intra-generational upward occupational mobility. For example, William Brown began his working life as a carpenter's apprentice in 1851, rising to a carpenter in 1861, a carpenter and builder in 1871 and a builder employing 5 men in 1881. A similar path from skilled worker such as carpenter, bricklayer, plumber or stonemason to builder was followed by John Chester, Joseph Goulter, Adam Gilley, George Mudie, William Blackall, James Boxall, Frank Hamilton and James Wood, whilst James Goodchild progressed from an agricultural labourer in 1851, to a labourer in both 1861 and 1871, to a bricklayer in 1881 and, finally, to a builder ten years later. Opportunities for the building industry were generated by the belated arrival of the railway at Kingston in 1863 and the rapid population growth which followed – from 17,730 in 1861 to 27,905 in 1871. Speculative builders and developers drove forward the physical expansion of the town, operating, for example, on lower Kingston Hill – where plots of land were purchased by the developers from the National Freehold Land Society – from the 1850s onwards; on the Spring Grove estate where 110 houses were built in the first ten years of the estate's life, following the first sale of in 1865; and on the Canbury estate, much of which was developed by the British Land Company from 1869 onwards.¹²

A sharper perspective on the make-up of the Kingston persisters and on their occupational stability and limited degree of occupational mobility can be provided by

further analysis of their class profile as indicated by their occupations. In the first place, the majority of persisters remained in the same type of occupation - and therefore the same class - throughout their working lives. By comparing the social class (as indicated by occupation) of the 147 Kingstonians recording occupations which could be translated into class in both censuses of 1851 and 1891, 102 (69%) remained within the same class, 35 (24%) improved their class and 10 (7%) experienced a decline in their class position. Of the latter, the movement was normally from Class IV to Class V (e.g. from an agricultural labourer to a general labourer or from a laundress onto parish relief) although Lewis Loveland is recorded as a schoolmaster in 1851, a tailor 10 years later and a gardener in each of the next three censuses, taking him out of Class II, through Class III and into Class IV.

Yet there is clear evidence of some social movement in an upward direction. Not only do we have the examples of upward occupational/social mobility quoted above but also it has been shown that 35 of the Kingston persisters in total improved their class position as indicated by their changing occupations between 1851 and 1891. For example, Thomas Wright graduated from a garden labourer to a railway smith; Henry Day from an agricultural labourer to a house painter; Reuben Jelly from an agricultural labourer to a



printer's assistant; George Young from a labourer to a greengrocer; and William Bryden from a tallow chandler's porter to a bookseller and stationer. This - admittedly - limited degree of upward social mobility can, finally, be illustrated by looking at the overall class profile of those persisters out of the total of 1,137 who recorded their occupation in each of the censuses between 1851 and 1891 - a total of 313 in 1851; 472 in 1861; 663 in 1871; 846 in 1881;¹³ and 644 in 1891. The overall class profile of these persisters is given in Figure 2.

Clearly, the dominant class of the Kingston persisters was Class III (rising from 49% of all persisters in 1851 to 57% in 1891) with only a minority of persisters being in Classes I and II. However, there was some upward mobility since in 1851 6% of the persisters were in Classes I and II and 45% in Classes IV and V, whereas by 1891, Classes I and II

had increased their proportion to 10%, whilst Classes IV and V had experienced a decline to 33%. This limited change in the overall class profile of the persisters was due not only to the fact that a small number of individuals were experiencing upward occupational/class mobility during their working lives (intra-generational mobility) but also to broader developments within the Kingston economy which facilitated inter-generational mobility. As more and more of the persisters entered the job market in the late nineteenth century, the opportunities for employment in the professions and in the service sector of the local economy (i.e. those sectors associated with higher social status) were much greater than they had been around the middle decades of the century.

Typical Persisters?

This paper has so far analysed a number of aspects of the profile of those individuals who lived out their lives in Kingston in the second half of the nineteenth century. Comparisons have been drawn between these persisters and the population of the town as a whole and any differences and similarities between the two groups highlighted. Where relevant a number of named Kingstonians have been used as supporting evidence. This final section of the paper extends the analysis by focusing on the life-cycles of four named individuals – “from baptism to grave”. They have been chosen from the 17 individuals (11 males and 6 females) whose life histories can be traced through the baptism, marriage and burial records and through each of the five censuses between 1851 and 1891, highlighting the considerable variety of life experiences often hidden by averages and aggregate data. For as Pat Hudson has indicated:

“...only local studies can uncover the varied experiences which remain hidden and unexplored in national level accounts, their existence disguised by the attention focused upon national averages which may reflect no real experiences at all. It is likely that deviations are more important than averages in understanding much economic and social history, hence the importance of local and micro-level approaches.”¹⁴

These four case studies are given here as examples of the type of material which can be generated by linking different sources together.¹⁵ When a sufficient number of life-cycles have been generated, a number of important questions concerning movements within a local community can be illustrated.

(1) Louisa Steer (nee Goose) (1842-1902)

Born:	09/11/1842 in Kingston, Surrey
Baptism:	11/12/1842; Father's Occupation: Labourer
Census 51:	Age 8; Lived in Terry's Lane
Census 61:	Age 18; Lived in Brighton Road; Occupation: Servant
Census 71:	Age 28; Lived in Eden Street; Occupation: General Servant
Census 81:	Age 38; Lived in Eden Street; Occupation: Housekeeper

Marriage: 25/08/1881; Age 38; To Richard Steer of Kings Road, a Veterinary Surgeon, Age 28; Groom's Father's Occupation: Carpenter; Bride's Father's Occupation: Gardener

Census 91: Age 48; Lived in Arthur Road; No occupation

Died: 03/06/1902

Buried: 06/06/1902; Age 59; Lived in Arthur Road

(2) Henry Duffell (1824-1900)

Born: 18/12/1824 in Kingston, Surrey

Baptism: 16/01/1825; Father's Occupation: Labourer

Marriage: 30/03/1843; Age 19; Occupation: Labourer; To Sarah Parker of Ham, Age 19; Groom's Father's Occupation: Shoemaker; Bride's Father's Occupation: Waterman

Census 51: Age 26; Lived in Forty Acres; Occupation: Painter; 3 sons (6,4,0); & 1 daughter (2)

Census 61: Age 36; Lived in Cowleaze Road; Occupation: House Painter; 4 sons (16,14,10,1) & 2 daughters (7,12)

Sarah died in 1863 aged 39

Marriage: 17/12/1864; Age 39; Occupation: Painter; To Louisa Boxell of Kingston Hill, Age 27; Groom's Father's Occupation: Cordwainer; Bride's Father's Occupation: Gardener

Census 71: Age 46; Lived in Fairfield South; Occupation: Painter and Paperhanger; 2 sons (10,3)

Census 81: Age 56; Lived in Fairfield South; Occupation: Painter; 3 sons (21,13,8) & 2 daughters (6,4)

Census 91: Age 66; Lived in Fairfield South; Occupation: House Painter; 1 son (18) & 2 daughters (15,16)

Died: 28/04/1900

Buried: 02/05/1900; Age 75; Lived in Fairfield South

(3) Sarah Stacey (nee Tugwell) (1826-1909)

Born: 20/08/1826 in Cranley, Surrey

Baptism: 15/10/1826; Father's Occupation: Labourer

Marriage: 12/09/1850; Age 24; No Occupation; To Charles Stacey of Norbiton, a Coachman, Age 23; Groom's Father's Occupation: Brewer; Bride's Father's Occupation: Farmer

Census 51: Age 25; Lived in George Street; No Occupation

Census 61: Age 34; Lived in Paragon Place; Occupation: Needlewoman; 5 daughters (10,8,5,3,0)

Census 71: Age 40; Lived at 2 Paragon Place; Occupation: Needlewoman; 2 daughters (16,11); A Widow (no record of Charles' death)

Census 81: Age 55; Lived at 31 Browns Road; Occupation: Needlewoman

Census 91: Age 65; Lived at 31 Browns Road; Occupation: Needlewoman
Died: 16/12/1909
Buried: 21/12/1909; Age 84; Lived in Browns Road, Surbiton Hill

(4) William Clark (1824-1896)

Born: 27/08/1824 in Kingston, Surrey
Baptised: 03/10/1824; Father's Occupation: Saddler
Census 51: Age 24; Lived in Thames Street; Occupation: Harness Maker
Census 61: Age 36; Lived in Thames Street; Occupation: Saddle & Harness Maker
Marriage: 24/09/1867; Age 43; Occupation: Harness Maker; To Louisa Gardner of Surbiton, Age 34; Groom's Father's Occupation: Harness Maker; Bride's Father's Occupation: Domestic Servant
Census 71: Age 46; Lived in Thames Street; Occupation: Harness Maker; 1 son (1)
Census 81: Age 56; Lived in Wood Street; Occupation: Harness Maker; 2 sons (11,9)
Census 91: Age 66; Lived in Wood Street; Occupation: Harness Maker; 2 sons (21,19)
Died: 14/03/1896
Buried: 19/03/1896; Age 71; Lived in Wood Street

To a certain extent, the profile of these four Kingston persisters are typical of the persisters as a whole, following skilled/semi-skilled manual occupations, largely from social class III and experiencing residential mobility – especially in the earlier years of their lives – but limited occupational mobility. William Clark, for example, followed his father as a saddle and harness maker – a trade he followed for all of his working life. Yet in other respects they may not have been typical at all. For example, Louisa Goose, whose father was a labourer and then a gardener, graduated from a general servant to a housekeeper and then married a veterinary surgeon ten years younger than herself. Similarly, Henry Duffell was certainly not typical in that, according to the census returns, he had ten children by two different wives (six by Sarah and four by Louisa) and all of these children survived the dangerous years of infancy at a time when infant mortality was high.¹⁶ However, by tracing the Duffell family in the baptism dataset, it can be seen that Henry and Sarah Duffell in fact had 8 children, two of whom did not appear in the census returns. But they do appear in the burial dataset because two of the Duffell children did indeed die in infancy – Edward aged 4 months and Arthur aged 7 weeks, with the former being buried in All Saints churchyard in 1852 and the latter in Bonner Hill Cemetery in 1856.

Three generations of the Duffell family also provide another case of upward social mobility. Henry Duffell's father was a labourer and Henry himself began his working life – and his married life – in the same occupation. By the time of the 1851 census, Henry Duffell had graduated to a painter and he remained with this occupation for the rest of his working life. However, his 18 year old son, Augustus, still living in the family home in 1891, worked as a solicitor's clerk. In addition, the family also moved up the residential

ladder from the slum area of Forty Acres in 1851, to round the corner to Cowleaze Road by 1861, and finally to the relative respectability of Fairfield South where the family lived for at least 30 years. There is clear evidence here of both intra- and inter-generational upward social mobility, but such clear cut examples are not typical of the persisters as a whole.

Typical or not, such life histories as the ones presented here open up many fascinating insights into the experiences of individuals living in one local community. Given time, it is relatively straightforward to build up the socio-economic profile of a community and to show how that profile (covering, for example, occupational, class and household structures; and occupational, class and residential mobility) changed over time. Such profiles, of necessity, are based largely on averages and aggregates and, indeed, this paper is also based on such foundations. But to really appreciate the essence of, for example, social or residential mobility in the nineteenth century, it is necessary to illustrate the averages and aggregates with the experiences of real people who lived out their lives at that time. Such experiences were far too varied – between different individuals and between different local communities – to be obscured by an all-embracing average. With this case study of Kingston upon Thames, once sufficient life histories – similar to the four outlined in this paper – have been recreated, then this exercise in micro-history will help our understanding of general social change in the nineteenth century.

The author would like to acknowledge the help he has received in carrying out the work on which this paper is based. Financial support was provided by the Nuffield Foundation (SGS/00398/C) and the British Academy (SG-30297) to enable the burial dataset to be compiled and linked to the census dataset. Peter Tilley devised the technique of record linkage used and these were implemented by himself and Juliet Warren within the Centre for Local History Studies. All data was inputted by a dedicated band of volunteers supervised and monitored by Annie Sullivan. Juliet Warren's comments on earlier drafts of this paper were invaluable. Any remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

¹ For example in R.J.Dennis, "Intercensal mobility in a Victorian city", *Transactions of Institute of British Geographers*, new series vol 2, (1977), pp.349-63; and C.Pooley, "Residential mobility in the Victorian city", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, new series vol 4, (1979), pp.258-77. The larger the geographical (or administrative) unit used as the unit of analysis, the greater will be the number of persisters identified.

² Other algorithms were then run to link the census returns to the marriage and burial data, but the results of this second stage of record linkage will not really feature in this particular paper. The baptism records have not yet been fully linked to the rest of the data.

³ Because the census returns only allow persistence to be established at ten-yearly intervals, the birth places of children of the persisters was also analysed to see to what extent – if at all – the persisters moved out of Kingston (and back again since they appeared in the next census) between censuses as indicated by where their children were born. This was done by filtering out of the database all households with a male head aged between 20 and 40 for each census year 1861-1891 – a total of 591 households. Such a sample would identify most of the children born to the persisters between 1851 and 1891. Analysis showed that the vast majority of children born to Kingston persisters were also born within the Kingston census area, with only

34 families moving once between censuses and one family moving twice as indicated by their children's place of birth.

⁴ It is possible that some female persisters could be missed because as a result of marriage and a subsequent change of name, record linkage has not identified them. However, the techniques of record linkage used in this project have included marriage registers and many brides have been identified. So the numbers of any female persisters which have been missed should be relatively small.

⁵ An analysis of domestic service in Kingston is provided in Peter Tilley and Christopher French, "From local history towards total history": recreating local communities in the 19th century", *Family and Community History*, vol 4, 2 (2001), pp.139-49.

⁶ The starting point for deciding on places of birth was the 1861 town of birth field since all of the persisters in this analysis appeared in the 1861 census. The 1861 information could then be compared with that given in three or four of the censuses of 1851, 1871, 1881 and 1891 depending on which group of persisters was being considered. In most cases, the town of birth was recorded consistently and where an individual's town of birth was not given in the 1861 census, this could be added from the other census returns (although in two cases the town of birth was not recorded in any of the census returns). However, in 32 cases where the town of birth was given as Kingston in 1861, there was sufficient doubt in the other census returns for these 32 not to be included as being born in Kingston. For this analysis, all those born within the Kingston census area are defined as having been born in Kingston

⁷ Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain Since the 18th Century* (UCL Press, London, 1998), p.26.

⁸ Analysis of residential persistence/mobility is based only on the persisters who could be traced through each of the 5 censuses, 1851-91.

⁹ S.Murray-Jones, "A stable past? Residential persistence in Tottenham 1861-91", *Genealogists' Magazine*, vol 26, 3 (1998), p.85.

¹⁰ In order to determine an individual's social class based on his/her occupation, this analysis has used the Registrar-General's 1951 *Classification of Occupations* (and not earlier classifications) as advocated by Armstrong. The analysis has also followed the guidelines given by Armstrong for making modifications to the official classifications and then making adjustments "upon consideration of individual cases." On these issues see W.A.Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', in E.A.Wrigley (ed), *Nineteenth Society. Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge, 1972), chapter 6. On occupations and class also see D.Mills and J.Mills, "Occupation and social stratification revisited: the census enumerators' books in Victorian Britain", *Urban History Yearbook*, (1989), pp.63-77.

¹¹ For the other three classes the profiles of the male heads of household of the persisters and Kingston as a whole were similar – social class II: persisters 10% (44) and Kingston 9% (517); social class IV: persisters 18% (80) and Kingston 21% (1151); and social class V: persisters 13% (59) and Kingston 13% (712).

¹² The development of these three areas is discussed in G.N.Gandy, "The life of a Victorian suburb", *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol 63 (1966), pp.157-166; I.Robinson, *Spring Grove 1865-1880. Birth of a Community* (Kingston, 1998); and J.Sampson, *All Change. Kingston, Surbiton & New Malden in the 19th Century* (Surbiton, 1991), pp.55-7.

¹³ This number of persisters recording their occupation in 1881 is higher than the 796 given on page 10 since the number recorded here includes those who gave their occupation as, for example, 'annuitant' or 'independent means' whereas the earlier number only includes those who gave a definite occupation.

¹⁴ Pat Hudson, "Industrialization in Britain: the challenge of micro-history", *Family & Community History*, vol 2, 1 (1999), pp. 6-7.

¹⁵ For a similar study indicating how “...the combination of qualitative and quantitative sources through multiple-source linkage can considerably enrich our comprehension of the detailed patterning of family lives” see Andrew Blaikie, “Problems with ‘strategy’ in micro-social history: families and narratives, sources and methods”, *Family & Community History*, vol 4, 2 (2001), pp.85-98. The quote is on p. 88.

¹⁶ See Chris French, “‘Death in Kingston upon Thames’: analysis of the Bonner Hill Cemetery burial records, 1855-1911”, *Archives*, vol XXVIII, number 108 (2003), pp.36-47.