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Apprenticeship and Occupations in Southern England, 1710-1760

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APPRENTICESHIP AND OCCUPATIONS IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND, 1710-1760

Although apprenticeship had been part of the life-cycle of a high proportion of youths and a smaller number of girls since the later middle ages until 1710 it is patchily documented, except for towns with apprenticeship registers. From 1710 to 1811 the Inland Revenue Stamp Duty records provide information for villages and towns of all sizes.[1] Two types of apprenticeship are usually distinguished. The more common was what is often termed the "family" form when the parents (or relations in the case of orphans) arranged for a boy or a girl to be placed with a master or mistress. Less frequent, though widespread, was parish apprenticeship when the parish overseers of the poor placed pauper or orphaned boys and girls as apprentices. Parish apprentices were more likely than "family" apprentices to be apprenticed in their home parish and they were usually bound at a younger age. Parish apprentice boys were mostly apprenticed to agriculture or poor trades and girls to domestic service and premiums were much lower than for the "family" form of apprenticeship.[2]

The Stamp Duty Records

This study uses the printed Stamp Duty records of three counties, non-metropolitan Surrey, Sussex and Wiltshire, to examine the "family" form of apprenticeship in southern England between 1710 and 1760.[3] The original returns are in the Public Record Office[4]. It investigates the social background of rural and urban apprentices and the rôle of apprenticeship in promoting social and geographical mobility in urban and rural society; the significance of the premiums charged by different trades and crafts and the spatial distribution of male and female occupations in these counties.

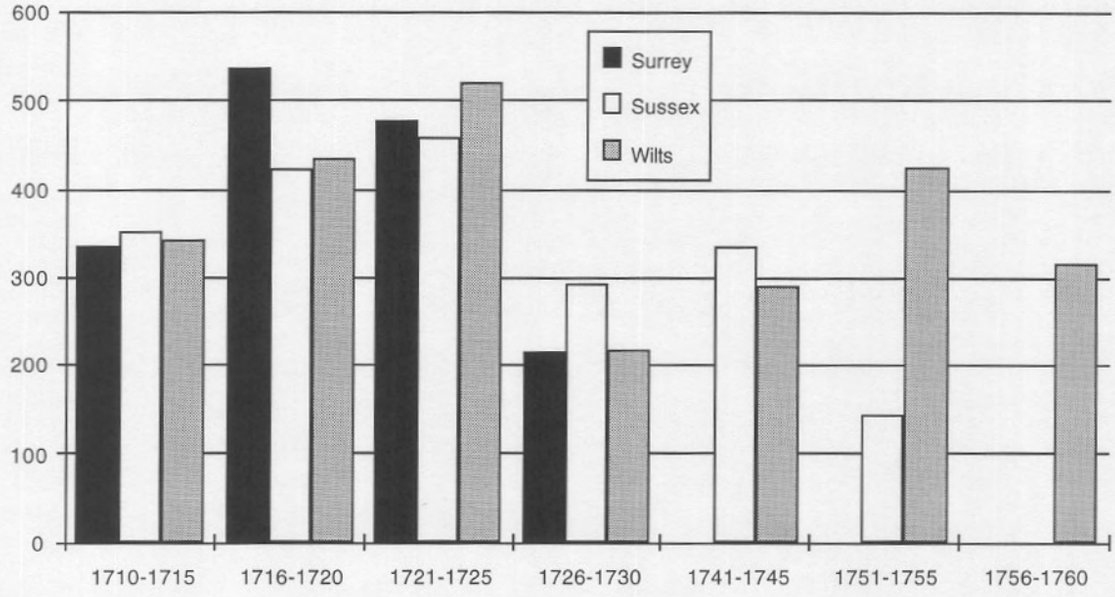
The population and economies of these three counties varied, though each was predominately agricultural. By the early 18th century the old Sussex iron industry was in an advanced stage of decline. Surrey, outside the metropolitan area and the riverside parishes, was also largely agricultural. Wiltshire, however, still had an important though waning textile industry.[5] The best estimates of county populations in the eighteenth century are those of Rickman. He calculated that in 1710 Surrey had 130,965 inhabitants, Wiltshire 150,307 and Sussex 97,199. In 1801 the population of these counties lived in 143, 309 and 297 parishes respectively. Many inhabited places were not parishes but outlying hamlets or chapelries within a larger parish and most towns had more than one parish. In 1801 over 130 settlements in Wiltshire were not parishes. For example, the parish of Steeple Ashton contained four small settlements in addition to Steeple Ashton itself.[6]

The statute 8 Anne, 1709 c.5 was one of the fiscal measures introduced to finance the war with France. It was maintained after the war and after later amendments it was repealed in 1804.[7] The statute enacted that a variable *ad valorem* duty was to be levied on any premium paid when a 'Clerk, Apprentice or Servant [was] put or placed to or with any Master or Mistress in any Profession, Trade or Employment'. Anyone 'put or placed out at the common public Charge of any Parish or Township, or by or out of any Publick Charity' was exempt from the duty. The statute required masters and mistresses to register the indenture and pay the appropriate duty either to a local collector or at the Stamp Duty Office in London. Local collectors regularly sent the sums they had collected together with the indentures to Stamp Duty Office where they were

stamped and details entered in the County Register series. The procedure was different for indentures made within the area bounded by the London Bills of Mortality and a radius of 50 miles beyond. They had to be registered in London and the details were entered in the City Register series. However, many provincial apprenticeships were also recorded in London and therefore appear in this, not the County Register series. The Act embraced clerks and servants as well as apprentices but the great majority of entries relate to apprenticeships to trades. Domestic servants and servants in husbandry were exempt because customarily no premium was paid. Initially the Stamp Duty clerks recorded the date the indenture was made; when the duty was paid (there was often a lapse of up to several years between these dates); the amount of the duty; the names of the parties; the place of residence and social status or trade of the apprentice's father or mother and of the master; the length of the term and the premium paid. Unfortunately for the historian from the 1720s the omission of various items of information, including the occupation of the apprentice's parent, became increasingly common and from the 1750s the place of origin was seldom recorded. Occasionally even the place where the master lived was left out. From 1760 the Stamp Office clerks usually transcribed only the essential information: the master's name, the date and the duty paid. It was a never an important source of revenue. In its first full year it contributed only £3,792-10-0 of the £185,635 the Stamp Office received in that year. Two-thirds of the money came from London and the Home Counties. In the 1720s, when revenues were high, only £36 was collected in Wiltshire.[8]

Comparisons between the three counties based on the printed records are hindered by the fact that they do not cover the same years: the Surrey volume runs from 1711-31, the Sussex from 1710-52 and the Wiltshire from 1711-60. The topics examined here show few changes over time so fortunately the difference in the years covered does not create serious problems. There are

Figure 1. *Total apprenticeship bindings in Surrey, Sussex and Wiltshire 1710-60, excluding 1731-40 and 1746-50.*



Source: P.R.O., Apprenticeships Books, IR1/1-12, 16-17, 19-53.

also gaps in the sources. A few years are missing from the City Registers. More seriously almost the whole decade 1731-41 and most of the years 1745-50 are missing from the Country Registers. Figure 1 shows a sharp fall in the total number of bindings in the late 1720s. The figures relate to the year when the indenture was made, not when it was registered, so there are some entries for years when there are gaps in the records. The combined total for Sussex and Wiltshire for the two years 1723-24 (when the bindings peaked) and 1751-52 slumped from 426 to 271. It is not clear how far this reflects a decline in apprenticeship or problems in enforcing the Act. There is, however, evidence from some large towns, including Bristol, that the number of apprentices fell during the eighteenth century even though urban populations were rising.[9]

The printed Wiltshire volume only includes information from the County Registers and therefore it omits Wiltshire apprentices who were bound to masters in London as well as Wiltshire indentures that were registered directly in London. The printed Surrey and Sussex volumes list information from both the County and the City series and thus include apprentices who were bound to London masters as well as indentures registered directly in London at the Stamp Office. Because a large proportion of the population of Surrey lived in or close to Southwark and places south of the Thames that were slowly being absorbed into the London built-up area most Surrey apprentices fall within the latter category. Where both apprentice and master lived either outside the three counties or within the London conurbation the entry has been excluded. There remain 7138 apprenticeship bindings: 1658 for Surrey, 2795 for Sussex and 2685 for Wiltshire.

Outside London and Surrey the Stamp Duty collectors (usually local attorneys) worked in the main county towns: Chichester and Lewes for Sussex and Devizes and Salisbury for Wiltshire. Perhaps as a consequence these places appear to be over-represented. Thirty-two per cent of Wiltshire entries involved Salisbury or Devizes although in 1801 they contained only just over 6 per cent of the population of the county. The percentage of apprenticeships involving the two Sussex county towns was lower (20 per cent), although as in Wiltshire in 1801 about 6 per cent of the population of the county lived in the two county towns. The collectors were presumably better able to keep track of apprentices who came to and left these towns. It is also possible that in small communities formal apprenticeship not only often went unrecorded but was also less common. Apprenticeship was still frequent but it was no longer regarded as the only way of meeting the terms of the 1563 Statute of Artificers. Seven years training in a trade was now accepted as the equivalent of serving an apprenticeship and it avoided the payment of Stamp Duty.[10] It is likely that even in the early 1720s when the records are fullest the Stamp Duty registers did not record all apprenticeships. In the eighteenth century Salisbury's population was over 7000 but apprenticeships averaged only fourteen for those years in which the records are full, with a maximum of 29 in 1717. Chichester, which had a mid eighteenth-century population of about 3700, averaged just 10, with a maximum of 19. One would anticipate larger numbers of apprentices in towns of this size and importance. Salisbury ranked in the 30 largest English towns. Salisbury, Chichester, Devizes and Lewes were the largest towns in their counties.[11] Although late seventeenth-century Bristol had a population that was only twice that of Salisbury the city's own apprenticeship register recorded thirty times the number of apprentices, averaging 300 each year.[12] The low numbers accord with other evidence that the 1710 Act was laxly enforced. The statute 20 George 11, 1747, c.45, section iv, noted that masters and mistresses 'do still frequently neglect and omit to pay the severall Rates and Duties'. The nature of local government

in eighteenth-century England made such an ambitious law hard to administer. The local collectors, usually only two for each county, had no effective way of monitoring the number of apprenticeships in the town in which they worked, let alone those made in the hundreds of other places within their jurisdiction. Even the requirement that it was necessary to produce a stamped indenture to prove that Stamp Duty had been paid in order to establish a settlement by apprenticeship failed to induce full compliance. Nevertheless, in spite of their limitations the Stamp Duty records provide information that is not available from any other source and they shed light on social and spatial mobility as well as the distribution and diffusion of many male and female occupations.

Apprenticeship and premiums

Apprenticeship remained the norm in most trades - it was not legally required either for a few occupations that were specifically exempted from the 1563 Statute of Artificers or for occupations that did not exist when statute was passed. The decline of gilds and their control of many aspects of urban economic activity in London and other large towns that had set in by the early eighteenth century did not bring about the collapse of the system of apprenticeship. In corporate towns apprenticeship had an additional function. It had been the usual way to acquire the freedom of the town and access to civic rights and urban political life. However, it lost this rôle too as entry to the civic élite became increasingly acquired by redemption (purchase) or patrimony. Nevertheless, its economic and social function continued. The apprenticeship clauses of the 1563 statute were not repealed until 1814 and Dr Snell has demonstrated that in southern England apprenticeship retained its vigour until after the mid eighteenth century.[13] However, it has been indicated above that not all industrial training, even in traditional trades, took place within the apprenticeship system.

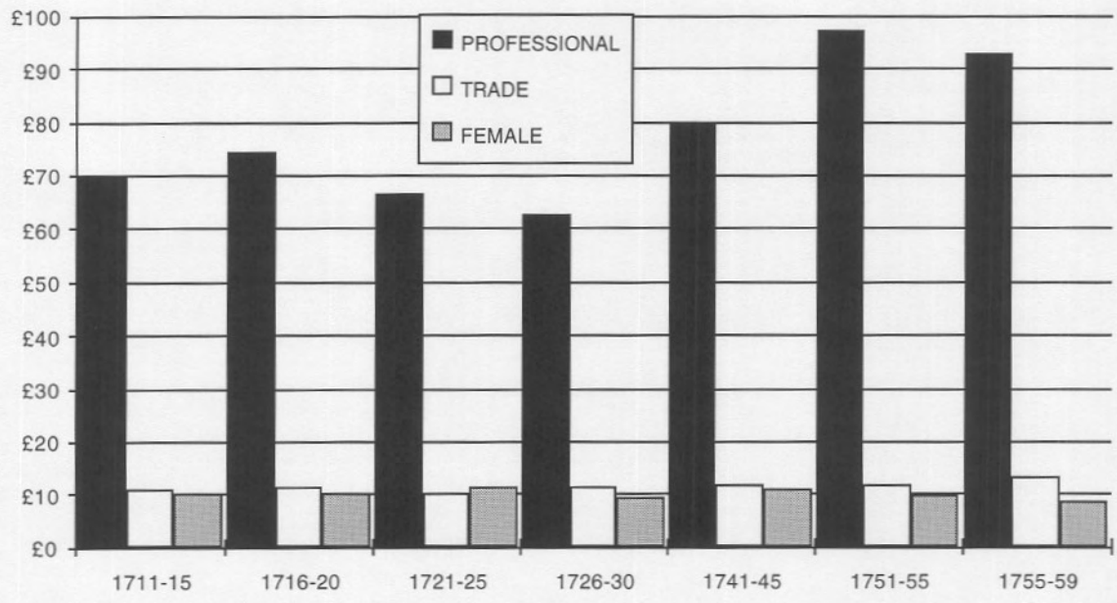
There were both economic and social reasons for the continuation of a flexible system that could be advantageous to masters and to apprentices. It could contract or expand to adapt the recruitment and training of skilled and semi-skilled labour to local conditions without formal regulation. As well as its economic rôle it also provided a socialisation process outside the parental home. Like domestic service and service in husbandry it was part of the life-cycle of many young people of both sexes. It was a period of subordination and dependency during the years from adolescence to youth. It extended into adult life for those still serving out their indentures up to the legal age of 24. Whatever the national or local economic circumstances between 1710 and 1760 it continued to provide cheap labour for masters and training for youths and girls, despite criticism from lawyers who deemed compulsory apprenticeship to be a restraint on trade and thus contrary to common law rights and those like Adam Smith who believed in the economically harmful effects of apprenticeship legislation. Its critics also contended that many masters were only interested in the premium, failed to provide proper training and often ill-treated their apprentices. Ill-treatment certainly occurred and in 1747 legal protection for apprentices from brutal masters was extended. Training was not the main purpose of parish apprenticeship. It was largely a means of providing cheap labour for local employers and keeping down the poor rate.[14]

It would be instructive to examine what impact local wage rates, local employment opportunities and local economic conditions had on the numbers taken on as apprentices and on the terms of their apprenticeship but evidence is not available to investigate these factors at a county level, let alone a local level. Within the 50 year period covered by the printed Sussex and Wiltshire

volumes fluctuations in economic activity had no significant impact on trends in the level of premiums, except for the professions, or of the number of years contracted. After 1760 apprenticeship in its traditional form rapidly fell into decline. Changes, however, have been detected before 1710. Christopher Barry has argued that from the mid seventeenth century a shift in the social background of urban apprentices occurred, away from husbandmen and artisans and towards the sons of yeomen and lesser gentry. His data are from London, and a handful of other major towns. It is not clear whether towns in Surrey, Sussex and Wiltshire experienced the same shifts.[15]

The need to pay premiums limited access for children from the poorest sections of society whose parents would have had difficulties in scraping up or borrowing even the modest sums needed for such common trades as cordwainer, wheelwright and carpenter.[16] The mean male premium was £14-6-0 for apprentices bound in the three counties: £15 for Sussex and Wiltshire and just under £13 for Surrey. The median was lower at £9 because the mean is distorted by a relatively small number of substantial premiums, especially clerkships for entry to the professions of attorney and surgeon (see Table 2). Their mean was £71-10-0. When the professional occupations are excluded the mean falls to £11-0-1 though the median remains £9. Male premium levels for non-professional occupations remained stable at around £11 per annum during the years where the records survive (see Figure 2). Because of gaps in the records figures for the 1730s, late 1740s and early 1750s are based on a small number of cases and are liable to distortion. The mean for

Figure 2. *Mean premiums in Surrey, Sussex and Wiltshire 1711-15 to 1756-59, excluding 1731-40 and 1746-50.*



Source: P.R.O., Apprenticeships Books, IR1/1-12, 16-17, 19-53.

Note: 'Professional' includes attorneys, apothecaries, gentlemen, doctors and surgeons; 'Trade' all other male occupations. Total 'Professional' = 220; total 'Trade' = 4232; total 'Female' = 292.

women in all three counties was £10-2-0. Female premiums (only 292) remained just below the non-professional male mean, except in the years 1721-25. Professional premiums (only 220) tended to rise between 1711-15 and 17161-20 and then fell in the 1720s. By 1741-45 they were back to the level of 1716-20 and they continued to rise until 1756-59, though there were only 16 between 1751-1755 and eight between 1756-59. Male premiums were higher in the larger towns and cities and highest of all in London and Bristol, the destination of a large number of Wiltshire apprentices.[17] Chichester premiums were the highest in the three counties at £26-5-0, followed by Salisbury at £21-4-0, Lewes at £20-19-6 and Devizes at £20-9-6. When the main market towns are removed the male mean for all occupations, including the professions, falls to £11.10.0.

The social background of apprentices

Most studies of apprenticeship have focused on towns. One of the valuable aspects of the Stamp Duty registers is that they provide information about rural apprentices and show that apprenticeship was also common in many rural occupations. Unfortunately, only 1393 of the 7138 entries record the social/occupational background of the apprentice. Even so, the small number of the children of the less well-off is striking. Most apprentices came from the middling and lower middling section of society. Pauper children were bound as parish apprentices. Just 41 entries described the father's occupation as 'labourer' although labourers made up about a fifth of the population. They paid well below-average premiums of just over £6. Only four labourers laid out £10 or more to have their children apprenticed.[18] The opportunities for the daughters of labourers were even worse. None appears as an apprentice in these records, though like the sons of labourers and paupers, some would have been placed as parish apprentices.

Higher up the social scale apprenticeship becomes increasingly common. The offspring of husbandmen were more numerous (113 or 8.1 per cent). If they may be identified as the group King labelled 'farmers' they comprised just over 7 per cent of all families at the end of the previous century. Ten Sussex and 7 Surrey fathers (none in Wiltshire) were described as 'farmer'. The mean of the premiums they paid was on a par with those paid by husbandmen and it seems that they were the same group. Kenyon noted that the term 'farmer' was first used in wills from the Sussex village of Kirdford in 1669. Although husbandman, like yeoman and gentleman, is an imprecise description and though there was an overlap in their wealth and life-styles, probate inventories show these labels give some indication of relative wealth.[19] Wealth is also reflected in premium levels. Surrey and Sussex husbandmen paid well below-average premiums of £7 and Wiltshire husbandmen £8. These were only half the mean sums paid by yeomen. Although the range of premiums paid by husbandmen and farmers was from £0-5-0 to £25 only 14 were over £10.

The children of yeomen made up the largest group whose parental occupation/status was listed (204 or 14.6 per cent). The premiums they paid reflect their greater wealth when compared with labourers and husbandmen but even so their mean premium of £13-10-0 was slightly below the general male mean of £15. However, twenty-two spent more than £25 and five £50 or more. The largest premium paid by a yeoman was £100 to an attorney in the Sussex town of Battle in 1730.[20] Yeomen's children were apprenticed to the largest number of trades - not surprisingly since they were the biggest group. In many cases the occupations to which the children of husbandmen and yeomen were apprenticed overlapped and both groups paid similar premiums

for entry into crafts which though neither prestigious nor well paid, nevertheless, according to Defoe, provided an adequate living.[21] The most common were carpenters, cordwainers and wheelwrights. However, some yeomen's children, unlike the children of labourers and husbandmen, entered the higher status occupations that attracted the sons of gentlemen, esquires and clergy. These required considerably larger premiums than the occupations which sons of labourers, farmers and husbandmen entered. These included some retailers (especially grocers and mercers), apothecaries and the professions of attorney and surgeon.[22] (See Table 3.)

Gentlemen's children were fewer (147 or 10.6 per cent) but also over-represented if King's estimate that gentlemen's families made up only just over 2 per cent of the population is accurate.[23] Their over-representation may be due to their having been more conscientious in obeying the law or more visible to the collectors. Almost all the gentlemen provided their sons with good openings in trade or the professions and they paid premiums that were well above the mean, ranging from £45 in Surrey, to £46 in Sussex and £59 in Wiltshire. Although the full range extended from £5 to £276 only four were below the £15 male mean. Thirty-seven were able to pay over £50 and 22 (25 per cent) laid out over £100. A few of the occupations to which their sons were bound were not those normally associated with the status of a gentleman's son - barber, currier, fisherman, and periwig-maker. However these were the exception. Higher status and better paid occupations such as attorneys, apothecaries and urban retailers predominated. These were the 'genteel trades' Campbell had in mind when he observed *à propos* of London that 'the lesser gentry think it a dishonour to put their children into any branch of business, that is not termed a genteel trade'.[24] The sons of gentlemen also became barristers and physicians but entry to these élite sectors of the legal and medical professions, that claimed the right to bear arms and the courtesy title of 'esquire', was not through apprenticeship.[25] From the late seventeenth century use of the label 'gentleman' was becoming increasingly loose and some of those described in eighteenth-century England as 'gentlemen' possessed only modest wealth and had weak claims to gentility as traditionally defined. It is possible that the handful of gentlemen's children who entered the more humble trades were younger sons or came from the ranks of these poor 'gentlemen'. Everitt noted the existence of landless 'pseudo-gentry' in some large towns who were younger sons of gentlemen, the descendants of landed gentry or the sons of wealthy townsmen.[26] But not only their sons. Many urban 'gentlemen' were prosperous townsmen, including attorneys. James Goble of Petworth described himself as a tobacco merchant in his will but his appraisers deemed him a gentleman.[27] The income of genuine gentry families varied greatly and Campbell is likely to have been correct when he characterised apprentices from gentry background as coming from the 'lesser gentry', what modern historians have termed 'parish gentry', the group from which many eighteenth-century barristers originated.[28]

Esquires were the highest members of rural society whose children appear in these records and they expended the largest sums. But they were rare - only twenty-six. They spent an average of £82 to get their sons apprenticed to masters living outside London. Esquires, like gentlemen, tended to apprentice their sons to urban occupations, especially the professions, often in the larger towns, and frequently outside their native county. London was the most common destination. There opportunities were greater and premiums often higher - over twice as high in the case of the sons of esquires. Almost three times more sons of esquires were apprenticed in London than in provincial towns. Half of the sons of Wiltshire gentlemen who were bound outside the county travelled to Salisbury or Bristol and almost the same proportion of the sons of Sussex gentlemen

went to Chichester, Lewes or Rye. Though esquires, yeomen and clergy paid much higher premiums in London the mean London premiums for the other groups were much the same (see Table 1). The highest sum paid in the three counties was for a London apprenticeship by an esquire. In January 1717 Henry Pelham esquire of Lewes paid £860 to have his son Thomas bound to the wealthy London merchant Sir Randolph Knipe, a member of the Levant, Muscovy and Eastland Companies.[29]

Table 1. *Premiums paid by children of esquires, gentlemen, clergy, yeomen, husbandmen, farmers and labourers, living in Surrey, Sussex and Wiltshire*

Occupation or Social status	**Number of apprentices**		**Number of trades**		**Average premiums**	
	excluding London	including London	excluding London	including London	excluding London £	including London £
Esquire	9	26	6	14	199	82
Gentleman	78	147	34	64	55	50
Clergy	25	59	16	32	64	45
Yeoman	160	204	43	59	16	14
Husbandman	85	113	27	39	7	7
Farmer	16	28	11	16	7	7
Labourer	24	42	10	19	6	5

Source: P.R.O. Apprenticeships Books, IR1/1-53

Considering the number of clergy their sons and daughters (59 or 4.2 per cent) appear disproportionately often. They apprenticed their sons to much the same occupations as the children of gentlemen. Except for three boys who were bound to a carpenter, a joiner and a wheelwright, the clergy paid above-average premiums that were in excess of £20. For example, between 1718 and 1720 the Rev. John Staples of East Grinstead in Sussex apprenticed his sons to a London cooper for £60 and two London lawyers for £107-10-0 and £100 respectively.[30]

The parental ability to pay premiums and other expenses involved in binding a child as an apprentice were among the factors that restricted access to trades and occupations. Thus the opportunities for the children of the poor to acquire skills that offered the prospect of learning a trade and earning a better or more secure living were few. They were locked into a familiar cycle of deprivation. At best they might become parish or pauper apprentices, destined for menial and poorly paid occupations. Their families lacked the money to have their offspring apprenticed to prosperous trades. At the end of the seventeenth century King estimated that the average family annual income of labourers was £15, not enough to meet all the family's expenses. It did not allow the accumulation of savings to pay apprenticeship premiums. The money could be borrowed but even so apprenticeship would have been a considerable financial burden for a large proportion of the population. Even many husbandmen would not have found the money easy to raise or borrow. With an average family income of only £44 and outgoings of £42-10-0 even £10 was a large sum, especially if there were other children to provide for. Ben-Amos suggests that premiums

Table 2. *Distribution of premiums*

Premium	MALE			FEMALE		
	number	%	Cumulative %	number	%	Cumulative %
<£10	2888	50.96	50.96	158	41.91	41.91
£10-19	1781	31.43	82.39	126	33.42	75.33
£20-29	412	7.27	89.66	81	21.49	96.82
£30-39	183	3.23	92.89	11	2.92	99.73
£40-49	139	2.45	95.34	1	0.27	100
£50-74	86	1.52	96.86	0		
£75-99	44	0.78	97.64	0		
£100-199	129	2.28	99.91	0		
>£200	5	0.09	100	0		
TOTAL	5667	100	100	377	100	100

Source: P.R.O. Apprenticeships Books, IR1/1-53

were not a barrier for poor people and that labourers were often apprenticed but the evidence of the Stamp Duty records for these three counties casts doubt on this view for the eighteenth century.[31]

The need for literacy placed a further obstacle in the way of children from poor backgrounds where illiteracy rates were high. They were unable to enter jobs that required the ability to read and write. A study of West Sussex in the eighteenth century illustrates the familiar finding that literacy levels were strongly associated with class and gender and that literacy was higher in towns for both sexes. Even so in Chichester only 29.5 per cent of male labourers were able to sign their name when they married. In two rural parishes the figure for husbandmen bridegrooms was even lower figure at 10 per cent but bridegrooms from a professional, retailing and yeomen background were 100 per cent literate. These are maximum figures. The ability to sign one's name is not evidence of full literacy, the ability to read and write fluently.[32]

The range of most premium payments was narrow. Eighty-two per cent of male premiums were below £20 and only 4.7 per cent were above £50. The spread was even narrower for female apprentices. Though proportionately fewer female than male premiums were under £20 it was rare for a girl to pay a large sum - only one paid over £40 and none over £50. Averages can, as ever, be misleading. Within most trades there was a wide range of premiums. For example, apothecaries formed a well-paid occupation that was evolving from retailing drugs to giving medical advice. However, unlike their more exalted medical colleagues the physicians, entry into their ranks was by apprenticeship. Their mean premium was high at just over £51 but the range was from £1 to £137. At the other end of the earning spectrum, cordwainers charged a mean premium of only £6-13-4. Their generally poor income earning opportunities meant that few charged high premiums, but even so amounts varied from under £1 to £65. However, in a few trades, where prospects were uniformly poor, the premium range was narrow. Gardeners charged between £1 and £14, weavers between £0-9-0 and £15 (apart from one payment of £105, almost certainly to a clothier-cum-weaver), and broad-weavers between only £1 and £7.10.0.[33]

Table 3. *Average premiums for all counties, excluding London and Bristol, listed in descending order.*

Occupation of master	Number of premiums	Average in £s	Median in £s	SD	Range in £s
Attorney	76	91	100	48	1-275
Gentleman	47	88	100	31	1-129
Surgeon	85	66	60	34	1-210
Apothecary	103	51	50	23	1-137
Mercer	115	41	37	22	0.25-105
Grocer	66	38	36	22	4.2-105
Clothier	86	33	34	34	1-210
Soap-maker	23	30	30	13	1-49
Shipwright	30	24	14	38	5-21
Tallowchandler	84	24	25	11	0.25-50
Milliner (female)	21	22	20	14	5-57
Chandler	18	21	20	13	2-45
Cabinet-maker	20	21	21	9	5-35
Tanner	42	19	20	10	3-40
Woolstapler	47	18	20	9	5-50
Cutler	52	17	18	7	1-40
Saddler	67	17	17	7	1-35
Mantua-maker (male)	7	17	14	11	6-40
Brazier	20	16	20	9	5-30
Currier	41	16	15	8	2.5-40
Drugget-maker	13	15	10	11	1-40
Plumber	26	14	14	7	4.2-30
Clockmaker	40	13	10	7	1-30
Barber & periwig-maker	23	12	10	5	1-21
Glazier	43	12	12	6	4-30
Joiner	112	12	10	6	1-51
Periwig-maker	50	12	11	7	1-38
Staymaker (male)	31	12	10	7	3-35
Sailor	27	12	10	7	1-30
Woolcomber	11	11	10	6	2-25
Merchant tailor	17	11	10	6	6.2-30
Barber	146	11	10	5	1-31
Mantua-maker (female)	122	11	10	7	1-13
Cooper	109	11	10	5	1-40
Baker	206	10	10	7	0.25-49
Collarmaker	47	10	10	6	1-30
Watchmaker	10	10	10	4	5-20
Tailor (female)	37	10	10	5	2.5-25
Butcher	314	9	10	5	0.25-37
Feltmaker	22	9	8	6	1-24
Glover (male)	79	9	10	6	0.25-35
Tailor (male)	441	9	8	8	0.25-141
Staymaker (female)	6	8	8	2	5-10
Carpenter	576	8	8	4	0.125-30
Farrier	11	8	5	8	1-30
Bricklayer	92	8	6	7	0.25-46
Fellmonger	27	8	8	5	1.5-20
Mason	40	8	6	6	0.25-28
Millwright	10	8	10	5	1-15
Wheelwright	298	8	8	4	0.25-50
Cordwainer & shoemaker	824	7	6	4	0.05-65
Clothworker	23	7	3	11	0.25-48
Blacksmith	365	6	5	4	0.05-47
Gardener	24	6	5	3	1-14
Glover (female)	14	6	7	3	3-10
Weaver (male)	129	5	4	9	0.45-105
Basketmaker	12	4	5	3	0.25-12
Kersey weaver	10	4	5	2.6	1-10
Weaver (female)	12	4	4	3	1-10
Broadweaver	34	3	3	2	1-7.5

Source: P.R.O. Apprenticeships Books, IR1/1-53.
Note: Apart for female occupations only trades with ten or more apprentices are included. Except for the final column all figures have been rounded.

It may be presumed that the mean level of premiums for an occupation reflected its status and earning potential. Table 3 shows a range from £91 for attorney to £3 for weavers - weaving was a notoriously poorly paid trade. Grocers and mercers headed the non-professional occupations. The urban élite, who paid premiums of between £30 and £50, included goldsmiths, and retailers - mercers, grocers and various sorts of draper. The Petworth inventories show a similar grouping of occupations for its wealthiest townsmen, plus a haberdasher, a tallow-chandler and a chapman. In the same premium bracket were some trades represented by only a handful of apprentices - bookbinders, soap-boilers, barge and boat builders and glass makers. These made up the "middling sort of people" who dominated urban civic life in this period.

Below £30 the hierarchy of trades widened to take in lesser retailers, such as general shopkeepers, tallow-chandlers and some skilled artisans and artisan-retailers - curriers, braziers, cutlers, tanners and saddlers. Next was a group of trades with premiums around or just below the £15 mean. They included skilled artisans such as plumbers, glaziers, periwig maker, coopers and a small number of watch and clockmakers, as well as chandlers, shipwrights and cabinet-makers.

Almost all the trades with the largest number of apprentices charged premiums that were well below the mean. These were the fourth category of people in Defoe's 1709 division of the English population, - 'the mechanic part of mankind', manual trades that drew their apprentices from yeomen, husbandmen and urban artisans.[34] The 824 cordwainers and shoemakers, 576 carpenters, 441 tailors, 365 blacksmiths, 314 butchers, 298 wheelwrights and 206 bakers were the largest and most widely diffused of all the trades listed in the Stamp Duty records. They were still amongst the largest non-agricultural trades in the next century. In 1831 in a sample of 17 rural counties shoemakers and carpenters headed the list of trades that employed the largest percentage of the adult labour force, followed by publicans, tailors, blacksmiths, shopkeepers, masons, butchers, bakers and bricklayers. All these trades were practised in both towns and villages. The six trades that are common to both the Stamp Duty records and the 1831 list comprised 11.9 per cent of the adult labour force in 1831 compared with 41.9 per cent of those appearing in the Stamp Duty records (see Table 4).[35] An exact comparison is not possible because the sample of 17 counties did not include Surrey and Sussex but it is unlikely that the proportion would have fallen so greatly between these dates. It provides further illustration of the limitations of the Stamp Duty records as a source for eighteenth-century occupations. In Hertfordshire too in 1759 these six were the leading trades, together with three that rarely appear in apprenticeship records - innkeeping, milling and victualling.[36] Publicans were the third most common non-agricultural occupation in 1831. Probate inventories show that these six trades required little capital in the form of stock. A Petworth cordwainer who ranked high in the town's inventories might seem to be an exception but his position was due not to his trade. His stock was valued at only £13, but he held a £300 leasehold property and was owed substantial sums. Masons and bricklayers belonged to much the same level of society as these trades. They required premiums that were well below those charged by the more skilled building trades of glazier, plasterer and plumber.[37]

The Stamp Duty records and occupations

Although from the seventeenth century men were increasingly given occupational labels in official records occupational tables derived from such sources provide an erroneous impression that men normally followed a single trade.[38] Seasonal by-employment and dual occupations, including

the combination of agriculture with a trade, were very common so even groupings of "agricultural" or "industrial" occupations are misleading. For example, brickmaking was a common occupation in the Sussex Weald, though as formal apprenticeship was unusual it was under-represented in the Stamp Duty records. It was a seasonal activity and many brickmakers were also farmers (sometimes quite large farmers working over 100 acres), lime-burners, potters, maltsters or employed in the building trade. Occasionally apprenticeship indentures noted dual occupations by such combinations as 'barber and weaver' or 'mercer and cordwainer' as well as the more obviously related occupations of 'carpenter and joiner', and 'barber and periwig-maker'. The modern notion of a single and often life-long occupation is anachronistic for the eighteenth century. As Malcolmson commented, "regular, full-time employment at a single job was not the norm".[39] Meaningful classification is further rendered difficult because many occupational labels did not indicate wealth. Also men occupying the same occupation can be variously described. Thus the Petworth mason Robert Trew was also called a stone healer.[40] Many occupational labels do not provide a clear indication of the type of trade or business that was actually carried out and it is often impossible to distinguish between producers and what Patten called "artisan retailers" who combined production and retailing.[41] Bricklayers could be wage earning bricklayers or bricklayers-cum-builders, shoemakers prosperous urban bespoke shoemakers or poor rural cobblers. Even the familiar classification of trades into retailing, food and drink etc imposes a misleading order on the occupational structure of communities and provides no reliable indication of the relative wealth or incomes of individuals or occupations.

The modern rural/urban division does not hold for a world in which common occupations such as those of blacksmith and wheelwright were carried out in towns and villages and a good deal of industry was located in the countryside. Towns marketed local produce, their millers, tanners, butchers and maltsters processed agricultural products and many agricultural labourers and farmers lived within them. Both small town and village artisans kept livestock or held parcels of land outside the town or village in which they lived and combined trade and agriculture. However, the traditional economy was changing. Shammas has argued that by the eighteenth century livestock-holding had declined amongst all classes in the towns and Kenyon contended that the eighteenth-century Petworth inventories showed that 'the town tradesmen were wholly urban: few kept a horse and very few a pig', unlike the inhabitants of neighbouring villages who were often smallholders. However, his evidence also showed that Petworth residents he did not classify as tradesmen did combine urban and non-urban occupations: two butchers were also large farmers (a common occurrence elsewhere), as was one maltster and one wheelwright.[42]

As with all sources for occupations in this period there are limitations in the Stamp Duty records. For example, Defoe described Petworth as 'a large handsome county market-town'.[43] Its population was about 1500 at the time he visited it in the 1720s. The Stamp Duty records show 31 trades but a later (1793) trade directory listed 50, although the other trades included some in which apprenticeship was not required.[44] Almost three-quarters of the 741 places in the three counties that appear in the Stamp Duty records are recorded as taking apprentices in fewer than five trades, though in some instances the small number of recorded occupations may be simply a reflection of their size - many were mere hamlets or just farmsteads. In Sussex 43 out of the 293 places in the 1801 census had under 100 inhabitants and a further 48 places under 200. Under-registration due to non-compliance to the statute was one reason why some small trades are not found and why even important trades are not properly represented. Additional information about occupations can be derived from entries where the occupation of the apprentice's father is

listed but only a small minority (19.4 per cent) noted such details, and they include status labels, such as yeoman or gentleman. However, deliberate non-compliance with the 1709 Act was only one reason why the total number of apprenticeships and different trades in the Stamp Duty records is so low. Boys and girls who received training from their parents were rarely formally apprenticed. Many trades were exempt from the 1563 Statute of Artificers and apprentices were rarely taken on in many new trades, such as sugar refining and soap-boiling, that were not bound by the Act. However, historians have not noted that apprenticeship was common in some of these new trades, notably cabinet-making, periwig-making, clock- and watch-making and the large and mainly female occupation of mantua-making. Apprenticeship was uncommon in some older occupations such as innkeeping, victualling and brewing.[45] These trades and agricultural workers such as gardeners, shepherds, millers and thatchers only (or mostly) appear in this source as the occupation of the father of an apprentice. Market gardening was a common occupation in Surrey and London but only 26 of the 74 gardeners were apprentices. The others were the fathers of apprentices.

The Stamp Duty Records show only twenty-seven places, including the county towns and the major market towns, with more than 20 trades. A 1690 list indicates that there were 64 market towns in the three counties but many of them were already small and unimportant.[46] For the largest towns these records provide a better indication of the number and range of trades: 60 in Devizes, 61 in Chichester, 67 in Lewes and 93 in Salisbury. Salisbury, characterised by Defoe when he visited it in the early 1720s as 'full of a great variety of manufactures', was the largest town in the three counties and it had the highest number of apprentices (118).[47] The number of occupations for Chichester and Lewes can be compared with data from later in the century derived from Poll Books. For these large towns, unlike Petworth, the totals are similar when allowance is made for trades in which apprenticeship was not common. The 1782 Poll Book for Chichester records 88 occupations, excluding clergy, gentlemen, esquires and baronets (of whom there were more than in Lewes). The 1774 Lewes Poll Book records 68 occupations. A further 11 were listed in a 1784 trade directory.[48] It should, however, be noted that occupational descriptions are context sensitive and that men might be differently described in a Poll Book, a will or inventory and a trade directory. Morris has observed that 'wills are end of life cycle documents, the poll books are claims to status, whilst the trade directory titles are advertisements seeking business'.[49] Both Chichester and Lewes were county market towns with strong service and retailing sectors, and it has been noted that the apprenticeship records do not fully reflect the retailing and victualling trades. For example, innholding was the second most common occupation in probate records in Chichester and Lewes between 1680 and 1730. Both towns included a large number of resident gentry and farmers. Like most towns in this period neither had any significant industrial sector.

Male and female apprentices were bound to 253 different occupations in the three counties: 141 in Sussex, 122 in non-metropolitan Surrey and 156 in Wiltshire where the many trades connected with the textile industry inflate the total. The most common urban occupations were baker, barber, blacksmith, carpenter, cooper, cordwainer, joiner, mercer, surgeon, tailor, mantua-maker and wheelwright. They are found in three quarters of the 20 largest towns, though only three (carpenter, cordwainer and tailor) appeared in all of them. These were also amongst the most common trades found in probate records in Chichester and Lewes between 1680 and 1730. It might be expected that such basic occupations would be found in every town and that their absence in some places may be a consequence of the limitations of the data but this pattern is

Table 4. *Distribution of trades with 5 or more representatives. Apprentices bound in Surrey, Sussex and Wiltshire.*

Note: The occupations of fathers and masters have been conflated. Percentages for individual counties have been rounded to whole numbers. Occupations derived entirely or mostly from the occupation of the father are indicated by an *.

Occupation of master or father	**Surrey**		**Sussex**		**Wiltshire**		**Total**	
	total	%	total	%	total	%		%
Cordwainer	131	12.19	378	14.12	250	9.69	759	11.98
Carpenter	124	11.53	299	11.17	154	5.97	577	9.11
Tailor	60	5.58	209	7.80	195	7.56	464	7.33
Blacksmith	65	6.05	172	6.42	121	4.69	358	5.65
Butcher	63	5.86	137	5.12	107	4.15	307	4.85
Wheelwright	42	3.91	143	5.34	98	3.80	283	4.47
Baker	37	3.44	11	0.41	146	5.66	194	3.06
Weaver	5	0.47	40	1.49	112	4.34	157	2.48
Barber	16	1.49	82	3.06	40	1.55	138	2.18
Mercer	15	1.40	96	3.58	20	0.78	131	2.07
Mantua-maker	18	1.67	40	1.49	66	2.56	124	1.96
Joiner	9	0.84	50	1.87	57	2.21	116	1.83
Cooper	13	1.21	51	1.90	34	1.32	98	1.55
Clothier	2	0.19	1	0.04	94	3.64	97	1.53
Bricklayer	43	4.00	49	1.83	4	0.16	96	1.52
Glover	7	0.65	37	1.38	49	1.90	93	1.47
Apothecary	12	1.12	43	1.61	34	1.32	89	1.41
Tallow chandler	25	2.33	24	0.90	35	1.36	84	1.33
Surgeon	9	0.84	48	1.79	20	0.78	77	1.22
Attorney	5	0.47	40	1.49	26	1.01	71	1.12
Saddler	4	0.37	30	1.12	25	0.97	59	0.93
Grocer	3	0.28	18	0.67	37	1.43	58	0.92
Shoemaker	11	0.52	7	0.26	40	1.55	58	0.92
Cutler	0	0	6	0.22	47	1.82	53	0.84
Tanner	14	1.30	22	0.82	12	0.47	48	0.76
Periwig-maker	7	0.65	22	0.82	18	0.70	47	0.74
Woolstapler	0	0	2	0.07	45	1.74	47	0.74
Collarmaker	8	0.74	9	0.34	28	1.09	45	0.71
Glazier	11	1.02	25	0.93	8	0.31	44	0.69
Gardener*	29	2.70	4	0.15	6	0.23	39	0.62
Mason	4	0.37	7	0.26	27	1.05	38	0.60
Currier	2	0.19	12	0.45	24	0.93	38	0.60
Mason	4	0.37	7	0.26	27	1.05	38	0.60
Staymaker	2	0.19	11	0.41	24	0.93	37	0.58
Clothworker	2	0.19	3	0.11	31	1.20	36	0.57
Clockmaker	3	0.28	27	1.01	6	0.23	36	0.57
Broadweaver	0	0	0	0	36	1.40	36	0.57
Sailor	3	0.28	29	1.08	0	0	32	0.51
Fellmonger	1	0.09	23	0.08	7	0.27	31	0.49
Plumber	1	0.09	10	0.37	13	0.50	24	0.38
Miller*	7	0.65	11	0.41	4	0.16	22	0.35
Innholder*	5	0.47	5	0.09	11	0.43	21	0.33
Feltmaker	1	0.09	6	0.22	14	0.54	21	0.33
Cabinet-maker	0	0	1	0.04	19	0.74	20	0.32
Milliner	1	0.09	5	0.19	14	0.54	20	0.32
Maltster*	3	0.28	6	0.22	9	0.35	18	0.28
Soap-maker	0	0	9	0.34	9	0.34	18	0.28
Victualler*	4	0.37	9	0.34	4	0.16	17	0.27
Chandler	4	0.37	6	0.22	6	0.23	16	0.25
Merchant-tailor	2	0.19	10	0.37	4	0.16	16	0.25
Brazier	4	0.37	1	0.04	10	0.39	14	0.22
Shipwright	0	0	14	0.52	0	0	14	0.22
Spinster	2	0.19	5	0.19	6	0.23	13	0.21
Druggett-maker	0	0	0	0	12	0.47	12	0.19
Parchment maker	0	0	0	0	5	0.08	5	0.19
Seamstress	1	0.09	6	0.22	5	0.19	12	0.19

Table 4 (contd.)

Occupation of master or father	Surrey total	Surrey %	Sussex total	Sussex %	Wiltshire total	Wiltshire %	Total	Total %
Watchmaker	5	0.47	6	0.22	1	0.04	12	0.19
Basketmaker	3	0.28	0	0	8	0.31	11	0.17
Glazier-plumber	1	0.09	5	0.19	5	0.19	11	0.17
Kersey-weaver	0	0	0	0	10	0.39	10	0.16
Farrier	2	0.19	5	0.19	2	0.08	9	0.14
Hatter	2	0.19	2	0.07	5	0.19	9	0.14
Knacker	0	0	9	0.34	0	0	9	0.14
Needlemaker	0	0	9	0.	0	0	9	0.14
Pattenmaker	3	0.28	5	0.19	1	0.04	9	0.14
Sawyer	5	0.47	4	0.15	0	0	9	0.14
Waterman	8	0.74	0	0	0	0	8	0.13
Dyer	0	0.	0	0	8	0.31	8	0.13
Stone mason	0	0	0	0	8	0.31	8	0.13
Turner	1	0.09	5	0.19	2	0.08	8	0.13
Woolcomber	0	0	0	0	8	0.31	8	0.13
Draper	2	0.19	4	0.15	1	0.04	7	0.11
Bodicemaker	1	0.04	0	0	6	0.23	7	0.11
Flaxdresser	2	0.19	5	0.19	0	0	7	0.11
House-carpenter	0	0	6	0.22	1	0.04	7	0.11
Housewife	0	0	3	0.11	4	0.16	7	0.11
Linen-draper	0	0	0	0	7	0.27	7	0.11
Painter	3	0.28	4	0.15	0	0	7	0.11
Pipemaker	2	0.19	4	0.15	1	0.04	7	0.11
Upholsterer	0	0	2	0.07	5	0.19	7	0.11
Shopkeeper	2	0.19	4	0.15	0	0	6	0.09
Woollen draper	0	0	4	0.15	2	0.08	6	0.09
Gunsmith	0	0	1	0.04	4	0.16	5	0.08
Ironmonger	0	0	1	0.04	4	0.16	5	0.08
Linen weaver	0	0	3	0.11	2	0.08	5	0.08
Ropemaker	0	0	2	0.07	3	0.12	5	0.08
Sergemaker	0	0	0	0	5	0.19	5	0.08
Shearmaker	0	0	0	0	5	0.19	5	0.08
Writing master	4	0.37	0	0	1	0.04	5	0.08
Millwright	5	0.47	4	0.15	2	0.08	11	0.07
TOTAL	895	82.75	2415	88.94	2366	91.65	5675	89.64

Source: P.R.O. Apprenticeships Books, IR1/1-53

found in another southern county. In Hertfordshire in 1759 a different source shows that carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, butchers and shoemakers were found in only about half the market towns.[50] The lower end of the early and mid eighteenth-century urban hierarchy may have been less developed than urban norms derived from studies based on larger towns suggest. In this respect small market towns were closer to villages than to large urban centres.[51] Urban occupational structures have received a good deal of study, though mostly for larger towns, but there has been little investigation of rural occupations in eighteenth-century England, apart from areas of rural industry.[52]

Shoemakers/cordwainers, carpenters and tailors were recorded in over a third of the towns and villages; butchers and bakers in over a quarter of all places. Weavers were found in 77 places, although they were mostly but not entirely confined to the cloth-making county of Wiltshire.

Mantua-making was the most widespread female occupation. Mantua-makers worked in 44 places, including small villages. Seamstresses and milliners were less common and were mostly confined to the larger towns.

As well as not fully indicating the total number of trades in eighteenth-century England the Stamp Duty records also do not accurately reflect the numbers engaged in the occupations that are recorded. Even when data from the occupation of parental and master/mistress are combined the most occupations have only a few representatives: 189 (74.7 per cent) appear only once or twice and 227 (81.8 per cent) fewer than ten times.

The figures in Table 4 differ from some of the figures for the same occupation given elsewhere in this paper because (i) only apprentices coming from or bound in Surrey, Sussex and Wiltshire have been included and (ii) the table conflates figures derived from the occupation of the apprentice's father and the master's trade. Because the latter outnumber the former by over 4 to 1 the numbers and percentages derived from occupations for which all or most of the figure derive from the occupation of the father are misleadingly small. They are indicated in the table by an *.

Apart from trades connected with clothmaking that are mostly confined to Wiltshire and watermen and gardeners in Surrey most occupations are found in each of the counties, but there are often large differences in the proportions. In some instances this is due to the economy of the county but in others the differences probably derive from gaps in the source. It is not clear why Wiltshire should have proportionately more collarmakers and curriers, cabinet makers, milliners, bakers and shoemakers than the other two counties. However, the large number of masons and stone masons in this county clearly reflects the use of stone rather than brick as the main building material in the county. The small Sussex pinmaking industry shows up, but there is only one representative from the iron industry, a forgeman, no basketmaker, and only 10 merchant tailors. On the other hand the county had 27 youths apprenticed as clockmakers, the highest by far in any of the three counties, as well as 23 fellmongers and 40 weavers. The latter two figures suggest that Sussex had a cloth industry that has largely passed unnoticed by historians. The small numbers in Surrey for some occupations may be due to the concentration of these trades in London. For example, there are no cutlers or soap-makers. No occupations were exclusively urban, even the professions (a dangerous term to apply in the eighteenth century), though they tended to concentrate in towns. Attorneys practised in 28 and surgeons and apothecaries in 13 places outside the 20 largest towns. The existence of rural attorneys is more fully documented in the return of attorneys made after the 1729 Act for 'The Better Regulation of Attorneys and Solicitors' (2 Geo 11, c. 23) which showed that almost 17 per cent of attorneys lived in places with a population under 1000 and almost ten per cent in places with a population under 600. These returns show that Sussex had the most favourable ratio of attorneys - 1:1273 inhabitants compared with 1:1892 in Surrey and 1:1697 in Wiltshire. Sussex had 75 attorneys, Surrey 70 and Wiltshire 91.[53]

Apprenticeship records under-state the retail trades. Shopkeepers, woollen-drapers and ironmongers prop the bottom of the list with only a handful of representatives. Recent research has, however, demonstrated that shopkeeping was becoming increasingly common outside towns in eighteenth-century England as the general village shop replaced the market for poor labourers

and their families.[54] As early as 1681 a contemporary had contended that it was no longer an urban monopoly and that every village, however small, had a shop selling a wide range of goods. Yet the Stamp Duty records show comparatively few retailers outside towns, and fewer in towns than one would expect. Petty shopkeepers in town and country (who often combined shopkeeping with other trades) did not normally take apprentices. Campbell commented that it did not take seven years to learn to be a London shopkeeper and it was sensible to set up shop without serving an apprenticeship, which in any case seldom led to employment. The survey made in connection with the proposed 1759 Shop Tax shows that shopkeeping was indeed more widespread than the Stamp Duty records indicate. In that year Sussex had a ratio of 1 shop for every 35 persons and Surrey one to every 37, both above the national average of 1:42. The average volume of business must have been very low. Grocers and, to a lesser extent, drapers seldom traded in small communities whose shops catered mainly for artisans and agricultural labourers and mostly stocked food and a limited range of general basic items.[55] 'Shopkeepers' were recorded in only six places. Mercers were the most widely diffused retailer in the apprenticeship registers. They occurred in 74 places, not all of which were towns. Like grocers they were often less specialised than the name implies and the Petworth mercer who also acted as a grocer and tallow-chandler was not unusual. Next most common were tallow-chandlers who were found in 41 towns and villages and grocers in 33. The only chapman was in Horsham in Sussex, and the only haberdashers in Lewes, Marlborough and Wandsworth. When the totals for retailers of various kinds are combined they were recorded in only 14.7 per cent of the 741 places (many of which were very small) in the three counties. There are no eighteenth-century listings for any villages in these three counties but the 1782 listing of the Bedfordshire village of Cardington records that 5 heads of households were shopkeepers in a community of some 800 people. The 1785 Shop Tax enumeration provides better evidence for the distribution of shops than the 1759 Shop Tax survey. This showed that just over half of the rural parishes (51 per cent) in Surrey had at least one shop, followed by Sussex with 34 per cent. Both were above the national average. Wiltshire, however, had only 19 per cent, one of the lowest figures outside the four northern counties.[56] Thus for two of the three counties this enumeration suggests that only a minority of places had a shop. However, shops that were rented for less than £5 p.a. were omitted from the 1785 returns so many very small shops (often run as a part-time occupation) would have been excluded. No eighteenth-century source shows the full extent of rural shopkeeping but it was clearly more widespread than the Stamp Duty records suggest, though not necessarily universal.

Terms of apprenticeship

Premiums were usually paid in money. However, a few entries noted that the premium combined "consideration money" and a further payment in cash (sometimes in kind) for diet, or occasionally for clothes. Diet was valued either by the master or by the Stamp Duty clerks so that the appropriate duty could be paid. The £50 paid to a Chichester surgeon comprised £30 in "consideration money" and £20 for four years diet.[57] The usual sum for diet was £4 p.a. and the maximum payment £8 p.a. In one case no "consideration money" was paid - only diet worth £24 was specified.[58] Little evidence survives about apprenticeship negotiations and there are few extant indentures to provide full details but one would imagine that the premium would normally have included both a lump sum and payment for board and lodging. It is not clear why they were recorded only in a handful of cases, unless the payment was in kind and therefore had to be valued. Although in return for the premium the master usually provided board, lodging and

sometimes clothes as well as instruction several entries in the early eighteenth-century Surrey town of Kingston upon Thames apprenticeship register specified that the parent would provide 'apparell', though it was occasionally noted that the master would provide working clothes. Apprentices were also sometimes given cash to buy their own clothes. Holmes noted that in the late seventeenth century a West Country surgeon charged a higher premium if he rather than the parent or relations provided clothes but there are not sufficient extant indentures to be confident about the norms and whether there were regional or local customs. The rule that apprentices should not receive wages was no longer always observed. At the end of the term the master customarily gave the apprentice new clothes and occasionally the tools of his trade.[59]

Few apprenticeship indentures have survived for rural England and the Stamp Duty officials did not record all the terms. A specimen indenture from a 1729 *Law-Dictionary* shows that they had changed little since the earlier thirteenth century,[60] although an extant 1750 Wiltshire indenture departed from tradition by omitting the ban on fornication - though marriage remained forbidden to apprentices. This indenture also specified that the apprentice would pay half of his medical expenses and contained the unusual clause that the apprenticeship had bound himself with the consent of his brother and friends.[61] The usual form of printed indenture simply stated that the apprentice had bound him or herself. Minors could legally enter into apprenticeship indentures, though in practice parents (where still alive), relatives or friends were usually involved in finding a suitable master. Parents and sometimes grandparents sought to provide for young children by bequeathing money to have them bound apprentice. Even so some children made their own way to a town and then sought out a master or mistress. Newspapers carried advertisements by masters who needed apprentices, though they were also addressed to parents, relations and friends looking for a master for a child. In the eighteenth century Campbell and Collyer wrote books to advise parents on suitable occupations for their children in London but there were no comparable works for provincial towns.[62]

In this period the traditional and statutory seven year period was still the norm in town and country. Eighty-five per cent of male apprentices were bound for seven years and many of those apprenticed for shorter periods were boys articled to attorneys or gentlemen for a five year term. Attorneys were frequently described as "gent" and it is likely that most if not all the men described as "gentleman" who took on male apprentices were in fact attorneys.[63] Twenty-four had commonly been prescribed as the minimum age when apprentices could become free but in practice 21 had become the norm by the mid seventeenth century and this was legally recognised in 1778 when it became the statutory age.[64] Evidence from Settlement Examinations and the occasional biography reveal that in the eighteenth century apprentices were usually placed when aged between 13 and 16. The mean age in 71 cases of male apprentices cases of leaving home in the eastern and midland counties during the period 1700-1760 was 14.0 and 14.7 for apprentices who later wrote autobiographies, between the sixteenth and the early eighteenth centuries.[65] A seven year term therefore implies that most would not have reached 24 before ending the period of their indentures. This is confirmed by the thirty-seven male apprentices from Sussex who were bound not for a term of years but until a specified age which was usually 21. However out of 15 parish apprentices in the Sussex village of Salehurst in the years 1710-37 eight were bound until the age of 24 and only seven until the age of 21.[66] Campbell suggested that the age of entry should vary according to the needs of the job. For occupations requiring physical strength, such as leatherdressers, he proposed 15 or 16 rather than 14 as an appropriate minimum age. How many apprentices actually served out their full term is only known for a few individual cases that

appear in other sources. The fifty per cent drop-out rate caused by flight or death for London apprentices earlier in the century may have been equally common outside the capital. Dr Snell has noted that from 1750 terms became shorter than the traditional seven years and that after the 1760s the proportion of prematurely terminated indentures began to rise. Once they had completed their term apprentices were free to move elsewhere to practise their trade.[67]

Parents often accompanied their children to their new place of work and were sometimes present when their child became free. They might subsequently assist their sons or daughters by buying stock and fitting out a shop. In *The Trade of England Revived* (1681) it was suggested it required at least £50-60 to set up a boy as a shopkeeper in a market town. William Stout borrowed from his mother and brother and sold some land to supplement his father's inheritance in order to raise £119-10-0 to set up his shop in Lancaster in 1687. He then spent £200 buying goods in London. For the next century Campbell gives figures for setting up in trade in London, though provincial costs would presumably have been lower. He estimated that many trades needed an outlay of over £100. Mantua-makers were close to the bottom at £20 and saddlers and apothecaries could start up with as little as £50 but milliners, barbers and weavers etc required upwards of £100. For the retailing élite such as mercers, grocers, linen-drapers and woollen-drapers sums of over £1000 were needed. Many apprentices, however, never legally qualified to set up as a master. They remained journeymen for the rest of their lives.[68]

Female apprentices

Because of its often part-time and domestic nature women's employment is poorly documented. Recently historians have shown that these records provide better evidence for female occupations than other sources that are commonly quarried, such as parish registers, wills and probate inventories. The data overwhelmingly relate to male apprentices. Only 369 (5.5 per cent) of the 7138 apprentices in this sample were female. However, Bridget Hill notes that women were proportionately more numerous in parish apprenticeship records, though still a small minority.[69] Although they very seldom appear as apprentices in gild and corporation records they are found as mistresses taking on apprentices.[70] Female artisans and traders were not unusual in eighteenth-century England and (outside corporate towns) they were not, as was once supposed, necessarily widows occupying their former husband's trade. Girls were apprenticed to learn a trade to support them until they married and to provide a second family income after marriage. One hundred and ninety-one women had apprentices bound to them, of whom 28 were males. These female employers were clearly exercising their trade in their own right. Female apprentices were bound to 67 different "occupations", including husbandmen, labourers, yeoman as well as wife/ housewife, widow and spinster. Apprenticeship for "housewifery" could involve training in more than purely domestic skills and this might be extended to some of the other occupations not obviously linked to a trade.[71] Almost half of the female apprentices (138) were bound to men and 22 were bound to a husband and wife jointly. It has been argued that in such cases the girl followed the occupation of the wife but the fact that 38 men were also bound to a husband and wife suggests that this is not necessarily the case. It is more likely that the husband and wife were jointly involved in the trade or that local custom prevented women who were not widows from taking on apprentices in her own right. However, a Sussex girl apprenticed to man described as 'carpenter and mantua-maker' may well have disguised the fact that the apprenticeship was to the man's wife, a mantua-maker. Such a dual male occupation is possible but unlikely.[72]

The range of the mean of female premiums was narrower than for male occupations, from £9-2-0 for Wiltshire and £11-12-6 for Sussex. There were, however, only a small number of female premiums (292). Across the three counties the mean was £10-10-0, compared with the male mean of £11-0-1 for non-professional occupations (see Figure 2, above). The female median was £10. Premium payments support other evidence that milliners were the most prosperous female workers. They were the only occupation to charge more than twice the female mean (see Table 3). Campbell believed that London shopkeeping milliners were successful women who made 'vast profits on every article they dealt in; yet give but poor, mean wages to every person they employ under them'.[73] The more common female trade of mantua-maker was less profitable and required only half the sum that milliners charged. It is noticeable that only three out of the 274 female parish apprentices in Dr Snell's 18th century sample were bound to mantua-makers and none to milliners. They were more often apprenticed to the less attractive trades of weaving, seamstressing and gloving.[74] Both female and male glovers and weavers entered poorly paid occupations that demanded premiums that were well under half the mean. Female tailors paid slightly more than their male counterparts, glovers slightly less and seamstresses paid the same premiums as tailors. Male and female weavers of all kinds - weavers, broad weavers and kersey weavers - propped up the bottom of the table at £3-5-0.

A few girls entered predominately male occupations - for example as apprentices to carpenters, blacksmiths and watch-makers but the overwhelming majority of them entered the clothing industry: glovers, lace-makers, milliners, seamstresses, staymakers, tailors and mantua-makers accounted for 70 per cent of the female workers.[75] Hill noted that over 60 per cent of the apprenticeships to mantua-makers came after 1750 and argues that this might be an indication of the increasing sexual division of labour in the second half of the century.[76] However, though the proportion of female apprentices who bound to mantua-makers almost doubles, from 25 per cent to 49 between 1711-20 and 1751-60, the proportion apprenticed to other cloth making occupations fell slightly between these dates from 27 per cent to 23 per cent. The increase in apprentices to mantua-making, may, therefore, have less significance than Hill believed and might be attributable to changes in demand and in fashion rather than to women's changing position in the workplace. Girls learnt needlework at home and at school where they were also instructed in knitting as well as reading and writing. Pinchbeck noted that millinery and mantua-making were 'the favoured occupations for those in the class "a little above the vulgar"', even though Campbell, with London in mind, described the latter as a morally dangerous occupation for young girls.[77] Some trades had a large female minority, for example women made up over ten per cent of glove-makers. Even though Campbell characterised staymaking as a male occupation, because it required physical strength, it attracted a few girls (5 out of 36) and by the end of the century female staymakers were more common.[78] Apprenticeship records, unfortunately, do not provide a full picture of female employment. Most women workers were not required to serve an apprenticeship. Daughters who worked with their father or mother would not normally be apprenticed to them, though in one case a Wiltshire girl was apprenticed to her mother for reasons that are not clear.[79] Widows could practise their deceased husband's occupation, even if they had not been apprenticed. Male tradesmen and artisans often left their stock and the tools of their trade to their widow.[80] Women who were engaged in agricultural work, domestic service, and the widespread domestic occupation of spinning do not appear in the Stamp Duty records. A 1739 work commented that women were well-suited to the retail trade and Pinchbeck noted their considerable involvement but the Stamp Duty records are an unreliable guide to the extent of retailing.[81] However, they do indicate the limited range of

female employment even before the late eighteenth century when it was reduced with the expansion of industrialisation. For the most part women were apprenticed to low status trades that required limited skill and training and that, apart from millinery and perhaps mantua-making, were unlikely to provide more than a poor living. It is not known how many women finished their apprenticeship and traded independently. Capital was a particular problem for them because if a family had sons it was customary to leave the bulk of the estate to them. Women who had no brothers might have been more fortunate and there was the possibility of bequests from other kin.[82] Female employment reflected contemporary views of women's status and abilities. Most of it took place in the household economy and it seldom involved formal apprenticeship.

Girls were usually apprenticed for shorter periods than boys, perhaps because the trades to which they were apprenticed required a limited range of skills, though this was also true of many male occupations. Eighty-four per cent of boys but only 56 per cent of girls were bound for seven years.

Generational and spatial mobility

In both town and country occupational mobility between generations was high. Sons entered their father's trade in only 37 out of the 954 cases that included information about the father's trade. Family connections are often assumed to have been an important factor in apprenticeship but very few boys or girls were apprenticed to masters with the same surname, though surnames do not reveal relations on the mother's side.

Whatever the trade in which they were bound, geographical mobility was usually short-distance, as in other types of intra-rural movement.[83] Few apprentices moved far from their home in search of a master. The apprentice remained in his or her community in just over a fifth of the entries where both the home parish and the apprentice's destination were recorded. Eighty-four per cent of Surrey, 86 per cent of Sussex and 91 per cent of Wiltshire apprentices originated in the county in which they were bound and nearly all the remainder came from immediately neighbouring counties. If Sussex and Surrey apprentices who moved to London are excluded the percentage who moved to another county to take up an apprenticeship falls to twelve per cent for Surrey and Wiltshire and only six per cent for Sussex. Here again the evidence indicates under-registration. It seems unlikely that in the 42 year period covered by the Sussex volume only 27 boys and girls from Hampshire moved to the neighbouring county of Sussex to seek an apprenticeship and only 34 in the opposite direction. The very small number of London boys and girls who moved outside the capital to be apprenticed is striking. Only twenty-one left the capital for apprenticeships in Surrey, five moved to Sussex and four to Wiltshire.

In most cases it is not possible to calculate distances moved because the place of origin or, less frequently, the place of destination was either not recorded or is ambiguous. A small number of places have not been identified - the Stamp Duty clerks often made errors of transcription. The mean straight-line distance moved by the 1953 male and 82 female apprentices who were bound outside their home parish and for whom the relevant details were listed ranged from 21.7 km in Sussex to 23.7 km in Wiltshire. This calculation excludes those who moved to London or to Bristol. When Bristol is included the Wiltshire mean increases slightly to 25.7 km. Mean distances, however, are a crude measure of the migration field of a community because a small number of

unrepresentative long-distance migrants can distort the figure. The median distance is a better measure and this was only just over 14 km for males and 15 km for females. Over a third (36 per cent) of male apprentices travelled less than 10 km and just over a fifth (21.7 per cent) more than 30 km.

Except in Surrey, male and female apprentices travelled similar distances. Of the 158 girls whose place of origin and destination can be identified 35 did not move and another 46 went from Surrey or Sussex to London. The mean distance travelled by the remaining 82 female rural migrants was 22.7 km, just above the male mean of 22 km. Most studies of migration have found that men travelled longer distances than women. The number of females was, however, very small and the difference insignificant. Except for entering domestic service or moving home to get married women seeking training were subject to the same economic constraints as men. Surrey, however, was more typical. Surrey women travelled shorter distances than men.

Table 5. *Average distance travelled, by county and by sex*

County	Number	Average distance	Median distance	Standard deviation
Surrey female	21	14.3	13.2	13.7
Sussex female	35	22.4	15.3	24.6
Wiltshire female	26	30.1	18.7	30.2
Total female	82	22.7	15.3	24.8
Surrey male	477	22.4	12.75	36.2
Sussex male	817	18.7	13.0	18.2
Wiltshire male	659	25.8	17.1	28.4
Total male	1953	22.0	14.1	27.2

Source: P.R.O. Apprenticeships Books, IR1/1-53.

Table 6. *Distances travelled by male apprentices*

Distance in Km	Number	Cumulative %
<5	244	12.5
6-10	460	36.0
11-20	532	63.6
21-30	281	78.3
31-40	157	86.4
41-50	96	91.4
51-60	56	94.2
61-100	76	98.2
101-150	18	99.1
151-200	11	99.6
201-300	6	99.9
301-400	1	100.00
TOTAL	1943	100.00

Source: P.R.O. Apprenticeships Books, IR1/1-53

The apprenticeship field of the four main towns in Sussex and Wiltshire was 23.4 km, only very slightly wider than the mean for all places, although it might be expected that their pulling power would have been substantially greater than that of smaller towns and villages. Salisbury, the largest town in the three counties, had the widest migration field of the four major towns, but not by much. Apprentices travelled a mean of 27.1 km to it and 31.6 km from it. Even so, its attractive power was less than that of the provincial capital of Bristol and much less than that of London.[84] As Barry Stapleton found for the Hampshire market town of Odiham, migrants travelled slightly further *from* large towns than *to* them: a mean of 21.2 km against 24.2 km.[85] Marlborough was an inexplicable exception, though the number of cases was only 27. The 12 apprentices who left this small Wiltshire town travelled a mean distance of 41.9 km and the 15 who moved to it a mean distance of 39.1 km. Apart from Marlborough only Chippenham in Wiltshire and Burwash and Battle in Sussex sent apprentices mean distances of more than 30 km and only Salisbury received apprentices from a mean distance that was greater than 30 km.

Social background and spatial mobility

In order to determine whether social background influenced the mean distances apprentices moved the distances travelled by the sons of gentlemen, yeomen, husbandmen and labourers were calculated. These status and occupational labels provide a better indication of wealth than trades, which, as the premiums show, embraced a wide range of wealth. Also the number of cases is too few to allow distances travelled by parental occupation or by masters' occupations to be meaningfully analysed. The familiar tendency for higher status people to move longer distances than lower status people is apparent. The sons of gentlemen and esquires travelled much longer mean distances than sons of the other groups. Labourers' children travelled the shortest distances but the number of labourers' children is very small. The correlation between social status and distance is not consistent for all groups because husbandmen travelled slightly longer mean distances than yeomen.

Table 7. *Average distances travelled and social status or occupation of father*

Social status or occupation of father	Number	Average distance in km
Gentlemen and esquires	71	47.8
Yeomen	101	16.2
Husbandmen	47	18.3
Labourers	7	11.8

Source: P.R.O. Apprenticeships Books, IR1/1-53

These mean distances can be compared with those of other groups in rural society. The mean (22.3 km) and median (12 km) distances travelled for 359 individuals listed in settlement and removal orders in eight East Sussex parishes in this period were very similar to the distances travelled by apprentices. Fifty-six per cent of settlements for the East Sussex market town of East Grinstead between 1700-50 involved people who came from within 16 km. However, the mean distance travelled by 65 parish apprentices from the village of Salehurst was only 14.2 km,

considerably shorter than the mean distance of apprentices listed in the Stamp Duty records. As was usually the case, these parish apprentices were much more often bound in their own community than other apprentices.[86]

Conclusion

Although the system was under attack and already in decline, until after the mid-eighteenth century formal apprenticeship remained a common, if no longer perhaps the usual, mode of entry into a wide range of occupations, from attorneys and merchants to rural weavers and wheelwrights. Most male apprentices still contracted to serve seven years, though not all of them lasted out their full term. Girls usually served shorter terms. Although apprenticeship was not the norm in all trades and in spite of the fact that the 1709 statute could not be fully enforced, the Stamp Duty records provide valuable and in some cases unique information about the range and distribution of trades not only in towns but also in rural communities and their earning potential and relative status that cannot be obtained from any other source. The evidence they provide about female occupations is especially useful because other sources, such as urban apprenticeship records and freedom registers, wills, inventories, muster returns, poll books and trade directories throw little light on what is still a problem area for historians of the pre-industrial economy. They show that very few girls were bound as apprentices and that the majority of them were to occupations, usually poorly paid, in the clothing trade. Apprenticeship was one of the main causes of geographical mobility in eighteenth-century England. Boys and girls moved not only from the countryside to the town but also (though less often) in the opposite direction in search of training in a master's or mistress's household. As in other forms of migration most of the movement was short distance. However, the premiums demanded even in humble trades limited the rôle that apprenticeship could play in promoting social mobility. The prosperous and prestigious trades in London and provincial towns usually demanded substantial sums that were well beyond the means of most families. Unlike the gentry and clergy only a few yeomen families were able to pay the large sums required to have their children bound to the high status and prosperous urban trades, to surgeons or to lawyers. An ambitious minority looked outside their home county, to London or a provincial capital such a Bristol for greater rewards.

NOTES

(Books referred to below were published in London unless otherwise stated.)

[1] The fullest account of apprenticeship in this period remains O. Dunlop and D.Denman, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: A History* (1912). Other relevant works include I. Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (Yale Univ. Press, 1994); B. Hill, *Women, Work, and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1989); D. Simonton, 'Apprenticeship, training and gender in eighteenth-century England' in M. Berg (ed.), *Markets and Manufacture in Early Industrial Europe* (1991); J. Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (1981), ch. 4 'Apprenticeship'. C. Brooks 'Apprenticeship, social mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800' in Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (eds.), *The Middling Sort of People. Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (1994), pp. 52-83 is chiefly about urban apprenticeship. Until recently the Stamp Duty records had been little used by historians. K. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor. Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), especially chapter 5, uses them in his discussion of apprenticeship in southern England in the eighteenth century. Printed urban apprenticeship registers include W. Rising and Percy Millican (comps.), *An Index of Norwich apprentices enrolled with the Norwich assembly, Henry VII-George II*, Norfolk Record Society, 29 (1959), and E. Ralph and N. Hardwick (eds.), *Calendar of the Bristol Apprenticeship Book, 1532-1565*, pt. i: 1532-42 (ed. D.Holleis) and pt. ii *1542-52* (ed.) E. Ralph, Bristol Record Society, 14 (1949) and 33 (1980).

[2] For parish apprenticeship see A. Willis and A. Merson (eds.), *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740*, Southampton Record Society XII (1968), 'The Poor Child Register', pp. 61-108. Also B. Hill, *Women, Work, and Sexual Politics,* pp. 87-91; I. Pinchbeck and M. Hewitt, *Children in English Society, from Tudor Times to the Eighteenth Century* (1969), pp. 101, 237 and 239-40; Snell, *Annals*, pp. 233 and 287; B. Stapleton, 'Migration in pre-industrial southern England: the example of Odiham', *Southern History,* 10 (1988), pp. 47-93; Joan Thirsk and J. Cooper (eds.), *17th Century Economic Documents* (Oxford, 1972), p. 86.

[3] C. Dale (ed.), 'Wiltshire apprentices and their masters 1710-1760', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society,* VXII (1961); R. Rice (ed.), 'Sussex apprentices and their masters, 1710-1752', *Sussex Record Society*, XXVIII (1924), H. Jenkinson (ed.), 'Surrey apprentices, 1711-31', *Surrey Record Society*, X (1929). These are edited transcripts of P.R.O Apprenticeship Books (Stamp Office Registers), IR1. The Board of Inland Revenue acquired the records as the successor to the Commissioners of Stamp Duties.

[4] P.R.O., IR1.

[5] For Sussex and Surrey see H. Cleere and D. Crossley, *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (Leicester, 2nd. edn. 1995), pp. 187-216; J. Lowerson, 'Sussex and Industrialisation: economic depression and restrictive elements 1700-1820' in M. Palmer (ed.), *The Onset of Industrialisation* (Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 1976), pp. 19-23; P. Brandon and B. Short, *The South East from AD 1000* (1990), chapter 5, 'Innovation and stress, 1660-1837'. For Wiltshire see J. Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England, 1640-1880* (Oxford, 1971), especially chapter 2; R. Pugh (ed.), *The Victoria County History of Wiltshire*, vol. IV, pp. 152-66.

[6] Rickman's estimates are printed in Phyllis Deane and W. Cole, *British Economic Growth 1688-1959* (Cambridge, 1964), Table 24, p. 103; number of parishes from E. Wrigley and R. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871* (Cambridge, 1981), Table

A7.10, p. 621. They note that Rickman's estimate of the total population in 1701 was close to theirs. 1801 census figures for Wiltshire from *The Victoria County History of Wiltshire* vol. IV (1959), pp. 339-61.

[7] 44 Geo. (1808) c.98.4. Apprenticeship bindings continued to be registered after the Act was repealed.

[8] C. Dale (ed.), 'Wiltshire apprentices', p. ix.

[9] Barry, 'Apprenticeship, social mobility and the Middling Sort', p. 67.

[10] D. Simonton, 'Apprenticeship, training and gender in eighteenth-century England' in M. Berg (ed.), *Markets and Manufacture in Early Industrial Europe* (1991), p., 235.

[11] J. Huzel, 'Population change in an East Sussex Town: Lewes 1660-1888, *Sussex Industrial History,* 3 (1971-72), pp. 10-11; for Chichester and Salisbury see C. Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: a Study of the Building Process, 1740-1820* (1974), pp. 9 and 18; 1801 census figures from E. Crittall (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of Wiltshire* , vol. IV, (1959), pp. 339-61 and W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria History of the County of. Sussex,* vol. II (1907), pp. 215-28.

[12] Barry, 'Apprenticeship, social mobility and the Middling Sort', p. 67.

[13] Snell, *Annals*, pp. 238-39.

[14] E. Mossner (ed.), *The Correspondence of Adam Smith* (Oxford, 1977), p.177; Snell, *Annals* , chapter 5, demonstrates the importance of apprenticeship up to the mid eighteenth century.

[15] Brooks 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort', passim.

[16] Section xxiii of the 1563 Statute of Artificers exempted these and other manual occupations from the statutory restriction on apprenticeship.

[17] These figures differ from Snell's calculations which were based on a sample and included apprentices bound in London. If the latter are included the totals become closer for Surrey and exactly the same for Wiltshire. For Sussex, however, the discrepancy remains large - £11.00 against £19.9.0 Snell, *Annals*, Table 6.4. pp. 292-93.

[18] P. Lindert and J. Williamson, 'Revising England's social tables, 1688-1812', *Explorations in Economic History*, XIX (1982), pp. 388-9; P. Glennie, *'Distinguishing Men's Trades': Occupational Sources and Debates for Pre-Census England* (Historical Geography Research Series no. 25, Cheltenham, 1990), p.127 estimates that labourers comprised about 21% of the population of eighteenth-century England.

[19] M. Spufford, 'The limitations of the probate inventory' in J. Chartres and D. Hey (eds.), *English Rural Society, 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 139-174; G. Kenyon, 'Kirdford inventories, 1611-1776', *Sussex Archaeological Collections,* 93 (1955), p. 80.

[20] Rice, 'Sussex apprentices', p. 205.

[21] Defoe, quoted D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (1966 edn.), pp. 363-4 n. 47.

[22] G. Holmes, *Augustan England. Professions, State and Society, 1680-1730* (1982), p. 197.

[23] G. King, 'A Scheme of the Income and Expense of the several families of England Calculated for the Year 1688', repr. Joan Thirsk and J. Cooper (eds.), *17th Century Economic Documents* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 780-1.

[24] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (1747, reprinted Newton Abbot, 1969), p. 4; Thirsk and Cooper, *17th Century Economic Documents*, pp. 395 and 781.

[25] M. Pelling, 'Medical practice in early modern England: trade or profession' in W. Prest (ed.), *The Professions in Early Modern England* (1987), p. 9.

[26] A. Everitt, 'Social Mobility in Early Modern England, *Past and Present* no. 33 (1966), pp. 70-72.

[27] G. Kenyon, 'Petworth town and trades', *Sussex Archaeological Collections,* 96 (1958), p. 69.

[28] Prest, *The Professions in Early Modern England*, p. 9.

[29] Rice, 'Sussex apprentices', p. 148.

[30] Ibid., p. 178.

[31] Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth*, p. 91-92.

[32] D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Cambridge, 1980); D. Smith, 'Eighteenth-century literacy levels in West Sussex', *Sussex Archaeological Collections,* 128 (1990), pp. 177-186; Thirsk and Cooper, *17th Century Economic Documents*, p. 871.

[33] Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, pp. 64-6; Holmes, *Augustan England*, p.184; C.Dale, 'Wiltshire apprentices', no. 2441.

[34] Cited by P. Earl, "The Middling Sort in London' in Barry and Brooks, *The Middling Sort of People*, p. 142.

[35] E. Wrigley, 'Men on the land and men in the countryside: employment in agriculture early-nineteenth century England' in L. Bonfield and K. Wrightson (eds.), *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social* Structure (Oxford, 1986), pp. 300-01.

[36] These totals differ from Table 3 which lists the number of premiums, not the total number of apprentices.

[37] Glennie, *Distinguishing Men's Trades*, Table 5.10, pp. 93-94.

[38] M. Roberts, 'Words they are women, and deeds they are men: images of gender and work in early modern England' in Lindsey Charles and Lorna Duffin (eds.), *Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England* (1985), p. 137.

[39] R. Malcolmson, *Life and Labour in England*, 1700-1780 (1981) p. 23.

[40] M. Beswick, *Brickmaking in Sussex: a History and Gazetteer* (Arundel, 1994), pp. 36-42 and 76.

[41] J. Patten, 'Changing occupational structure in the East Anglian countryside, 1500-1700' in H. Fox and R. Butlin (comps and eds.) *Change in the Countryside: Essays on Rural England, 1500-1900,* Institute of British Geographers Special Publication, no. 10 (Institute of British Geographers, 1979), p. 105.

[42] J. Hoppitt, 'Counting the industrial revolution', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., XLIII (1990), p. 178; Snell, *Annals*, pp. 262 and 266; Kenyon, 'Kirdford inventories', p. 69; Kenyon, 'Petworth trades', pp. 36 and 62; Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer,* p. 41.

[43] D. Defoe, *A Tour Through England and Wales [1724-26]* (repr. 1928), vol. 1, p. 132.

[44] Kenyon, 'Petworth town and trades', p. 67.

[45] Though P. Mathias, T*he Brewing Trade Industry in England 1700-1830* (Cambridge, 1959) notes that, contrary to Campbell's comment, apprenticeship was not unusual in London breweries.

[46] Cowley, 'Sussex market towns', p. 191. Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, pp. 263-4, 267, 273 and 329 notes that apprenticeship was not usual in these trades in London. The Stamp Duty records and other sources suggest that this was also true of the provinces.

[47] Defoe, *A Tour Through England and Wales*, vol. 11, p.189.

[48] *Bailey's Directory,* vol. 2 (1784), sub Lewes; *A poll taken at the Guildhall... Chichester* (Chichester, 1784) and *A poll taken by Edmund Davey*, (Lewes, 1774). These are the earliest Chichester and Lewes Poll books to list occupations consistently. There are no eighteenth-century Wiltshire Poll Books which list occupations, see J. Sims (ed.), *A Handlist of British Parliamentary Poll Books*, (Occasional Publications Number 4, University of Leicester History Department, 1984).

[49] R. Morris, 'Fuller values, questions and contexts: occupations coding and the historian' in K. Schürer and H. Diederiks (eds.), *The Use of Occupations in Historical Analysis* (Göttingen, 1993), p. 11.

[50] G. Cowley, 'Sussex market towns, 1550-1750'; Glennie, *Distinguishing Men's Trades,* Table 5.4, p. 79.

[51] For example contributions in P. Clark (ed.), *Country Towns in Pre-industrial England* (Leicester, 1981) and P. Clark (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns* (1984).

[52] There is a useful survey of urban occupations in J. Patten, *English Towns 1500-1700* (Folkestone, 1978), chapter 4, 'Town occupations and town economies'. This includes some small Sussex market towns. His scalogram of occupations in East Anglian towns 1650-99 shows that in 47 East Anglian towns ranging from Norwich, Kings Lynn and Ipswich to small market towns the most common occupations, found in almost all of them, were cordwainer/ shoemaker, tailor, carpenter, innkeeper, blacksmith, grocer and butcher, ibid., Table 20, p. 283.

[53] P. Aylett, 'Attorneys in the market place: the distribution of attorneys in England and Wales 1730-1800', *Law and History Review* vol. 5 (1987), pp. 2 and 9.

[54] Recent studies include Hoh-cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England* (Montreal, 1989) and Ian Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing' in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns* (1984), pp. 259-83.

[55] Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping*, pp. 44, 47, 59, 150 and 157-8.

[56] D. Baker (ed.), 'The Inhabitants of Cardington in 1782', *Bedfordshire Historical Records Society* vol. 52 (1973), p. 25. The shopkeepers included two heads of household who combined shopkeeping with another trade - one was also an innkeeper, the other a shoemaker.

[57] Rice, 'Sussex apprentices', p. 213.

[58] Ibid., p. 6.

[59] Snell, *Annals*, figure 5.8, p. 253; Holmes, *Augustan England*, p. 213 ; Dale, 'Wiltshire apprentices' pp. ix-x and A. Daly (ed.), Kingston upon Thames Register of Apprentices, 1563-1713 *Surrey Record Society,* 29 (1974), *passim.* The provision of tools at the end of the term was rarely specified in Southampton apprenticeships, Willis and Merson, *A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Register*, p. xxvi.

[60] Jenkinson, 'Surrey apprentices', Introduction, p. v.

[61] Dale, 'Wiltshire apprentices', Introduction, pp. ix-x.

[62] R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (1747) and J. Collyer, *The Parent and Guardian's Directory* (1761).

[63] Christopher Brooks, 'Professions, ideology and the Middling Sort in the late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries' in Barry and Brooks, *The Middling Sort of People*, p. 118.

[64] 18 Geo 111,1778 c.37. Langford's observation that the traditional seven years had been reduced to five or even three years is not true of the first half of his period, P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People. England 1727-1783* (Oxford, 1989), p. 180.

[65] Snell, *Annals*, p. 236 n. 25 and Table 7.2, p. 326. Snell calculated that 74% left home between the ages of 13 and 16, of whom almost a third (33.2%) were aged 14; Ben-Amos, p. 62 In c 1709 Elias Pledger's son was apprenticed in London at the age of 16, Houlbrook, *English Family Life,* p. 196.

[66] East Sussex Record Office typescript PAR/477/51.

[67] The 1729 Regulating Act made the period of the clerkship five years, Holmes *Augustan England*, p. 156. Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* pp. 196, 197 and 217; M. Kitch, 'Capital and kingdom: migration to later Stuart London' in A. Bier and Roger Finlay (eds.), *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (1986), p. 226; Snell, *Annals*, p. 253.

[68] J. Marshall (ed.), *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, 1665-1752,* Chetham Soc., 3rd ser., XIV (1967), p.89; Thirsk and Cooper, *17th Century Economic Documents*, p. 396.

[69] Hill, *Women, Work, and Sexual Politics*, pp. 88-9.

[70] Ibid., p. 86.

[71] Ibid., p. 98.

[72] Rice, 'Sussex apprentices', p. 80.

[73] Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* p. 208.

[74] Snell, *Annals,* Table 6.1, pp. 279-82.

[75] Hill, *Women, Work, and Sexual Politics*, p.92.

[76] Ibid., p. 94.

[77] Pinchbeck, *Women Workers*, p. 289.

[78] Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, pp. 224-25 and Pinchbeck, *Women Workers*, p. 290.

[79] Dale, 'Wiltshire apprentices', no. 214.

[80] For example, in 1775 a Cardington carpenter and victualler bequeathed his widow his stock of drink, his brewing utensils and his carpenter's tools, D. Baker, 'The Inhabitants of Cardington in 1782', p. 221; Snell, *Annals*, p. 302; Campbell, *The London Tradesman,* p. 228.

[81] I. Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850* (1930), p. 294.

[82] Roberts, 'Words they are women', p. 140.

[83] M. Kitch, 'Population movement and migration in pre-industrial rural England' in B. Short (ed.), *The English Rural Community: Image and Analysis*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 74-78.

[84] Chalklin, *The Provincial Town*, p. 49.

[85] B. Stapleton, 'Migration in pre-industrial Southern England', p. 71.

[86] East Sussex Record Office typescript PAR 477/32.