

AYLESBURY AND HIGH WYCOMBE IN 1881: AN ESSAY IN CENSUS STATISTICS

DAVID THORPE

The differences between the two major towns of Buckinghamshire in the nineteenth century were deep-rooted and owe much to the different patterns of growth experienced by them. In the century both grew rapidly. The share of the county's population concentrated in the two towns doubled in the period 1801-1901. The recent availability in computerised form of the data in the census enumerators' books for 1881 now makes it possible to profile in detail the demographic structure of the towns. This shows substantial differences, particularly with respect to the geographical origin of residents at that date. Aylesbury emerges as the town that was the more open to external influences.

The growth of towns within Bucks in the nineteenth century followed many of the national patterns of urban growth characteristic of the age. The growth of Aylesbury and Wycombe, the county's two largest towns in 1801, has to some extent been overshadowed by the explosive expansion of Slough and Wolverton¹. However, in the period 1801-1861, Aylesbury and Wycombe had increased their combined share of the county's population from 6.9% to 8.7% and in so doing had both nearly doubled in size (Table 1). This situation was very different to that documented by Reed² in the period 1524-1801 when he suggested that the urban network of Bucks consisted of many small towns which were more or less equal in size. For instance, in 1563 Reed's figures suggest that Aylesbury and Wycombe accounted for only 4.5% of the county's population.

TABLE 1 Parish Populations

	Aylesbury	Wycombe
1801	3,186	4,248
1861	6,168	8,373
1881	7,795	13,154
1901	9,099	19,282

Between 1861 and 1881 Aylesbury's population grew by a quarter whilst Wycombe substantially outpaced it, growing by 57%. Their combined share of the county's total population had grown to 11.9% by 1881. Growth continued after 1881 so that, by 1901, together they accounted for 14.5% of

the total. Critical dates in the evolution of the two towns had been the opening of railways: Wycombe to Taplow in 1847 and Wycombe to Oxford in 1862-1864, Aylesbury to Cheddington in 1839 and Aylesbury to Wycombe in 1863. For Aylesbury, the earlier arrival of the canal link in 1814 was also of importance. The use of steam power in Wycombe's furniture industry in the 1860s, as well as the expansion of the market for its product, was of special importance in accelerating the growth of that town.³ 1877 was the year of the visit of the Queen to Hughenden, celebrated by the famous triumphal arch of chairs. In Aylesbury, the early 1870s had seen the arrival of both large-scale printing and milk-processing.

1881 is a useful date at which to consider the characteristics of the population of the two towns. The availability of a computer-based dataset⁴ giving full details of each person then resident in the towns, as recorded in the census enumerators' books (CEB), now permits such a comparison in ways which previously were impossible from the volumes of the census published in the 1880s. Whilst the CEB for 1881 have been available in various other forms since 1982, extensive profiling of sizeable populations would require large manual exercises for which manpower has rarely been available. The profiles created here from the computerised records for the two parishes show that there were substantial differences between them. These differences may well have contributed in the long term to what might be thought of as the 'personality' of each town.

In using these data it is worth noting that both

parishes covered a considerable area, Wycombe civil parish 6,395 acres and Aylesbury civil parish 3,302 acres. The statistics thus include more people than those who were resident in the respective built-up areas. Wycombe included Flackwell Heath, Totteridge, Tylers Green and parts of Hazlemere, as well as the Marsh. In 1861 the population of the limited area of the ancient borough of Wycombe had accounted for 50% of Wycombe parish's total population. By 1881 it accounted for only 37%. This substantial growth of the population of the parish beyond the borough suggests, that by 1881 at least, it would be wrong to consider the 'town' of Wycombe to have been limited to the bounds of the ancient borough. Aylesbury had a number of free-standing farms within the parish, including Stoke, Fowlers, two in Walton and others in Dunsham and Grendon Hill. In addition, each of the major roads approaching the town had been subjected to ribbon development. The analysis that follows compares figures drawn from the 'parish' statistics for both Aylesbury and Wycombe. Whilst it is wrong simply to equate 'parish' with 'town', such a correlation is fair for most purposes and therefore the reader is asked to note that all figures and comments rely upon parish figures even when the word 'town' is used.

AGE, SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

There were more similarities in the structure of the population of the two parishes than differences. Nevertheless some subtle differences did mark important characteristics of each (Table 2).

With respect to age, like most towns at the time, both Aylesbury and Wycombe had proportionately more people aged 15-44 than the county average – 10% more in the former and 7% more in the latter. This reflected their roles as centres of employment in a county that was generally short of employment opportunities. In Wycombe there were 4% more children under 15 than in the county as a whole, whereas Aylesbury had 6% fewer – a substantial difference. This was reflected by far more females of child-bearing age being married in Wycombe than was the case in Aylesbury.

Amongst those over 45, there were also substantial differences. Wycombe had 21% fewer people in this age group than the county average, whilst Aylesbury had only 8% fewer. Aylesbury's figure may reflect something of its residential role.

Overall, Aylesbury had 2.5% more females in its population than the county average (Wycombe 1.2%). Amongst those who were aged 10 or younger, 50.7% of those in Aylesbury were female but 49.9% in Wycombe. At Wycombe the proportion of females for the individual years of age up to 10 years old was far more variable than at Aylesbury: 44.3% to 55.2% in Wycombe, 49.0% to 53.3% in Aylesbury. Such a difference could well reflect higher child mortality in crisis years in Wycombe than in Aylesbury. In 1880, for instance, in the two registration districts in which the towns lay, the number of deaths of children under 1 was 16.8% amongst boys and 13.9% amongst girls in Wycombe and 14.6% and 11.8% respectively in Aylesbury (these figures rely on all births and deaths having been registered).⁵

Proportionately, both towns had fewer males in the prime working age group of 15-44 than the county average, reflecting the employment opportunities for women to be found in towns. Amongst those over 45, only 44% of Aylesbury's total were male, compared with 48% in Wycombe and the county as a whole.⁶ Overall, Wycombe's imbalance in its age structure could have been due simply to the town's particularly rapid growth.⁷ One implication of Wycombe's younger age-structure was that households appear to have been generally larger than those in Aylesbury. Only 17% consisted of one or two people (Aylesbury 21%), while 20% had between seven and nine members (Aylesbury 17%).⁸

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

The CEB listing includes some 2,745 different occupations, or different spellings of the same occupation, in the two towns. The number of genuinely different occupations is much smaller but the 2,745 provide an indication of computational difficulties. Occupations have been grouped into 104 categories. In turn these categories have been combined into 19 groups for presentation here (Table 3).⁹ There were insignificant differences in the proportion of males in employment. The higher proportion of employed female Aylesbury residents, of any given age group, may have been due to the more varied economic character of the town and the greater range of jobs that this created.

The dominance of the furniture and wood industry in Wycombe, employing 38% of males (of this

TABLE 2 Age, sex and marital status (male = M, female = F, total = T)

	Bucks Reg. county *			Aylesbury			High Wycombe								
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T						
<5	10460	10373	20833	504	521	1025	1016	966	1982						
5-14	19547	19061	38608	903	878	1781	1601	1648	3249						
15-44	30397	32041	62438	1652	1799	3451	2693	2968	5661						
45-64	11787	12701	24488	493	634	1127	842	888	1730						
65+	4605	4897	9502	200	236	436	251	285	536						
All	76796	79073	155869	3752	4068	7820	6403	6755	13158	% above or below the County average					
										% Male or female					
	% Male or female			% Male or female			% Male or female			% Male or female					
	%	%		%	%		%	%		male		female		Total	
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	A	W	A	W	A	W
<5	50.2	49.8	100	49.2	50.8	100	51.3	48.7	100	-2.1	2.1	2.1	-2.1		
5-14	50.6	49.4	100	50.7	49.3	100	49.3	50.7	100	0.1	-2.7	-0.1	2.7		
15-44	48.7	51.3	100	47.9	52.1	100	47.6	52.4	100	-1.7	-2.3	1.6	2.2		
45-64	48.1	51.9	100	43.7	56.3	100	48.7	51.3	100	-9.1	1.1	8.5	-1.0		
65+	48.5	51.5	100	45.9	54.1	100	46.8	53.2	100	-5.3	-3.4	5.0	3.2		
All	49.3	50.7	100	48.0	52.0	100	48.7	51.3	100	-2.6	-1.2	2.5	1.2		
										% Population					
	% Population			% Population			% Population			% Population					
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T						
<5	13.6	13.1	13.4	13.4	12.8	13.1	15.9	14.3	15.1	-1.4	16.5	-2.4	9.0	-1.9	12.7
5-14	25.5	24.1	24.8	24.1	21.6	22.8	25.0	24.4	24.7	-5.4	-1.8	-10.5	1.2	-8.1	-0.3
15-44	39.6	40.5	40.1	44.0	44.2	44.1	42.1	43.9	43.0	11.2	6.3	9.1	8.4	10.2	7.4
45-64	15.3	16.1	15.7	13.1	15.6	14.4	13.2	13.1	13.1	-14.4	-14.3	-3.0	-18.2	-8.3	-16.3
65+	6.0	6.2	6.1	5.3	5.8	5.6	3.9	4.2	4.1	-11.1	-34.6	-6.3	-31.9	-8.5	-33.2
										% Females married (MD), widowed (WD) and unmarried (UM)					
	% Females married (MD), widowed (WD) and unmarried (UM)			% Females married (MD), widowed (WD) and unmarried (UM)			% Females married (MD), widowed (WD) and unmarried (UM)			% females					
	MD	WD	UM	MD	WD	UM	MD	WD	UM	% married		% unmarried			
20-34	54.3	1.4	44.5	50.1	2.0	47.9	61.6	1.7	36.7	-7.7	7.6	13.4	-17.5		
35-44	78.1	5.9	16.0	75.5	8.9	15.6	86.2	5.7	8.1	-3.3	-2.5	10.4	-49.4		
45-64	71.8	17.4	10.8	63.3	23.3	13.6	73.8	18.5	7.8	-11.8	25.9	2.8	-27.8		
65+	37.5	53.5	9.0	34.3	52.1	13.6	56.1	35.8	8.1	-8.5	51.1	49.6	-10.0		

* The registration county should not be confused with the historic county. Figures for the latter are used in this article except where the former is explicitly mentioned.

In this and following tables Aylesbury is shown as A and Wycombe as W.

figure 2% were in associated sawmills) and 26% of females, made the town a good candidate for inclusion in any list of single-industry towns. The existence of so many females in the industry led to comment. In 1857 the vicar called a meeting of the chair manufacturers 'to consider what measures could be adopted to correct a growing source of depravity from the constant association of young persons of both sexes in our manufactories'.¹⁰ Paper-making, including those simply described as 'mill-workers', in Wycombe employed 4% of males and 10% of females (those listed as paper-makers rather than 'mill-workers' accounted for 4% males and 6.5% females).

Printing in Aylesbury in 1881 employed 7% of males and 5% of females. The silk industry employing 5% of the female workforce and the milk factory (1% of the male and 4% of female workforce) added to Aylesbury's diversity. Both

towns had a varied group of 'traditional' craft and service industries, employing 10% of males in Aylesbury and 8% in Wycombe. Builders, brick-makers, bricklayers, painters and plumbers were also proportionately more numerous in Aylesbury, 12% of male workers compared with 7.5%. There were no brickmakers found within Wycombe parish (1% of males in Aylesbury). Moreover, Aylesbury also had proportionately more men in each of the individual building trades. This, given the rapid growth of Wycombe which might have been expected to have led to more new building, is slightly surprising but probably reflects Aylesbury's service role for an extensive rural catchment.

Aylesbury had more of its workforce in the retail trades, both proportionately and absolutely, 503 (14% of all workers) compared with 479 (9%) in Wycombe. It is likely that shops in the town would have served a far larger catchment outside the town

TABLE 3 Employment

		% Population employed							
		A	W	A	W	A	W		
AGE GROUP				Males		Females			
15-19				96	96	63	58		
30-49				98	97	32	27		
50-64				95	91	30	28		
EMPLOYMENT GROUP		Total (T)		M	M	F	F	T	T
Agriculture	251	277		10.5	7.2	0.6	0.3	7.0	5.0
Lace & straw plait	67	90		0.1	0.1	5.2	4.8	1.9	1.6
Craft industries	242	317		10.0	8.1	0.9	0.7	6.8	5.7
Various building trades	288	284		12.3	7.5	0.2	0.0	8.1	5.1
Furniture	18	1912		0.8	38.3	-	25.7	0.5	34.2
Paper & 'mill'	-	329		-	3.9	-	10.0	-	5.9
Printing	234	18		7.2	0.5	5.4	0.0	6.6	0.3
Milk factory	79	-		1.4	0.0	3.8	0.0	2.2	0.0
Silk factory	67	-		0.3	-	4.8	0.0	1.9	0.0
Industry other	40	44		1.6	0.9	0.2	0.5	1.1	0.8
Labourers	304	228		12.7	6.0	0.7	0.2	8.5	4.1
Transport & distribution	132	134		5.7	3.5	0.1	0.1	3.7	2.4
Retail	503	479		16.7	10.3	9.3	5.0	14.1	8.6
Publicans & hotels	82	100		2.2	2.0	2.4	1.3	2.3	1.8
Personal services	378	400		0.9	0.5	28.6	21.0	10.6	7.2
Domestic service	531	637		5.2	3.9	32.9	26.9	14.9	11.4
Professional	153	159		4.4	2.6	4.1	3.2	4.3	2.8
Officials & office	141	111		5.8	2.9	0.5	0.1	4.0	2.0
Miscellaneous	55	75		2.2	1.8	0.3	0.4	1.5	1.3
Total	3565	5594		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

than those in Wycombe. If provision in Aylesbury had been at the same level as in Wycombe relative to parish population, only 284 would have been employed in retailing in Aylesbury instead of 503. 23% of Aylesbury's retail workers were female compared with 19% of Wycombe's. 48% of Aylesbury's total were found in food retailing, a lower figure than Wycombe's 54%, and therefore consistent with Aylesbury having a more elaborate retail role than its competitor. One indicator of Aylesbury's wider role with its catchment was that there were 23 hawkers listed in the town compared with only 2 in Wycombe. 10 of the Aylesbury hawkers were in lodgings. They included 3 linen hawkers born in Ireland.

Generally, employment patterns amongst

females were related to age. In both towns service was the dominant source of employment amongst those under 30 years old, 45% in Aylesbury and 35% in Wycombe. Older females typically found employment in domestic-related activity that did not require 'living-in'. 45% of those aged 30 or over in Aylesbury were employed as laundresses, dressmakers, charwomen or nurses (38% in Wycombe). The new industries of printing and processing were dominated by young females: only 4 (6%) of the females employed in printing and 1 (2%) in the milk factory being over 30. In Wycombe, the furniture industry was slightly more diverse with 18% of the employed females being over 30.

In contrast to the above, lace workers were

generally elderly, 82% of the 34 women in Aylesbury and 52% of the 82 women in Wycombe saying they were employed in this work being over 50 years old. Overall in the two towns, 42% of them were over 60 years old. There were far more lace workers in Wycombe than in Aylesbury where this traditional craft was supplemented by straw plaiting.

In Aylesbury, there were 163 children under 15 (262 in Wycombe) in employment (Table 4). In both towns, boys were employed in a variety of jobs. Many were simply described as errand boys. In Aylesbury, 17 were employed in printing, 13 in agriculture and 12 in retailing. In Wycombe, 51 were in the furniture industry, 20 in agriculture and 23 in retailing. In Aylesbury, 37 girls were in service, 10 in printing and 13 worked in the silk factory. In Wycombe, 50 worked in the furniture industry and 46 were in service.

Considering both towns together, of those under 10 one was labelled as a drayman, wrongly, for he was only 9 months old, and another, a five-year-old girl, as a sawyer. Three were listed as chair-caners,¹¹ one as a french polisher, one as a labourer and five belonged to an acting troupe. It is impossible to tell to what extent this limited number conceals hidden child employment, especially in domestic industry.

TABLE 4 Number of children said to be working

Age	A Number	W Number	A % of age group	W %
<8	3	4	-	-
8	1	1	1	0
9	1	2	1	1
10	5	4	3	1
11	2	5	1	2
12	13	8	8	3
13	48	88	31	29
14	90	170	61	59

Both towns had a number of male workers who said they were engaged in agriculture. To some extent this simply reflected the large geographical size of the parishes. Out of a total of 271 in Wycombe, 33 were resident at Tylers Green, 33 on various farms, 30 on the London Road, 14 at Flackwell Heath and 10 in Little London (the area

near Bowden Mill), but many were scattered through the urban streets. Similarly out of 243 in Aylesbury, 17 were found in the New Zealand area on the town's northern edge, 8 in Spring Gardens on its western edge and 24 in Walton, but there was the same scatter in urban streets. In Aylesbury, the presence of the Union Workhouse accounted for another 37, 22 of whom were over 60 and so unlikely to be active in the industry. The Infirmary contained a further 9, all aged under 65.

SERVANTS

In the Victorian town, domestic service was an important form of employment, particularly for females. Limiting the analysis to those over 15, and as near as possible to the published census category of 'domestic indoor service',¹² in Aylesbury 13.6% of the female population over 15 (Wycombe 10.4%) were so classed. These figures compare with a national average of 13.1%. Extending the analysis to include all ages, the figure for Aylesbury becomes 9.1% of all females (Wycombe 6.5%). These figures compare with a Bucks Registration County average of 8.9% and a national average of 9.2%. The contrast between the two towns was marked. It would be useful to extend this analysis to the rest of the county. In an earlier age, Bucks has been shown to have had a number of servants broadly in line with the national average.¹³ 531 servants of all types, including both male and female, were recorded in Aylesbury. If their incidence had been the same relative to population as in Wycombe, they would have numbered only 386. All the above figures include many non-resident servants. In consequence they conceal the incidence of 'living-in servants', perhaps one of the most important indicators of status in the period. They also include some wives, daughters and others working in the family home. In the numbers that follow, 'living-in servants' have been defined to exclude wives, daughters and sons but include sisters, granddaughters and other relations (Table 5). Nurses have been included where it was probable that they were in domestic employ (Higgs¹⁴ provides some useful background to the problems of such classification).

Aylesbury had a higher proportion of households with a living-in servant (16%) than Wycombe (12%). In Aylesbury, 64 (3.9%) had more than one servant. Some inns had a large number of such ser-

vants. The Crown and the George in Market Square had 5 and 9 servants respectively. As in Wycombe, the town's two incumbents each had 3 servants. Two solicitors each had 4 servants. Another solicitor, Richard Rose at Whitehill, who was also a magistrate and deputy lieutenant for Bucks, had 4 servants. The town's three chief doctors each had 3 or more servants. The largest 'normal' complement of servants (6) was that in the household of Ann Randell at 9 Parsons Fee, a married lady of 62 who had been born in Russia. This was the only household in the town with a butler (there was one other butler listed in the town but he was the head of his own household at 40 Whitehall Street). The household of the Chief Constable at 17 Walton Street had 5 servants. A retired farmer, a widow running a small girls'-school, a miller, a grazier with 420 acres, a draper, a bank manager and an annuitant all headed households with 3 servants.

In Wycombe, 12% of households had a living-in servant. Only 85 (3%) had more than one servant. The three inns, the Falcon, the Lion in High Street and the White Hart, respectively had 5, 4 and 3 living-in servants. More ordinary households with 3 or more servants were generally of high status. Their heads included 2 bank managers, 3 clergy, 3 doctors, 3 solicitors, the adjutant of the Bucks militia, an auctioneer, a barrister (a QC), a brewer, an alderman-banker-brewer, a commission agent, a draper employing 7 assistants, a spinster of 66, a farmer with 384 acres and 14 workers, a gentleman with private means, an importer of wines and spirits, a paper manufacturer employing 110 people, and a provision merchant. The largest number of servants (7) was at Rayners House, where on census night the household was headed by the butler (the house was then the residence of the 65-year-old Sir Philip Rose, who was absent on census night). Another household headed only by a servant was located in St Mary's Street. A schoolmaster in Easton Street, with seven boarding pupils and two small children, had 3 servants. To local historians, in view of the publication of their two histories close to 1881, it is interesting to compare the households of John Parker and Robert Gibbs.¹⁵ In Wycombe, John Parker, then 47 and living with his wife in Montague House on Amersham Hill with 4 children, employed a governess, a cook and two other female servants (in 1884 he became Editorial Secretary of BAS). Robert Gibbs in Aylesbury, then a widower of 64 and living at 8 Church Street,

made do with one female servant but had in his household an unmarried daughter and a niece. He had had two daughters, neither of whom ever married.

The governess was one type of living-in servant especially worth noting. 9 were recorded in Aylesbury and 13 in Wycombe. 11 of these were termed 'governess teacher'. In Wycombe all but 4 were daughters of the house and, in some cases, it is not clear whether the term was being used simply to convey status. A master baker, a butcher, a draper, a widow, a farmer at Handy Cross and a railway inspector (with 2 daughter governesses) headed these households. A rather special case was a commission agent living on Amersham Hill whose two governess daughters seemed to have responsibility for 2 boy lodgers. There were only 4 genuinely employed governesses. They were found, in addition to one in Parker's household, in 3 other households, all of which had 3 or more servants – two of the solicitors and one of the bankers mentioned above. In Aylesbury 5 of the 9 governesses were daughters of the house. Two of these ladies were daughters of a brick and coal merchant, others were daughters of a master baker, a licensed victualler and a widow. The Chief Constable, a solicitor, a miller and a shoemaker in Granville Street headed the other 4 households. The last of these had a daughter and a son of 13 and 11 respectively, but no other servants. The governess was aged 60 and had been born in Epping.

The largest households with no living-in servants were lodging houses. In Aylesbury two were in Castle Street and two in Oxford Road. The largest 'household' was found at the Half Moon, which housed 17 lodgers in addition to the landlord and 2 of his family. The Black Horse housed 16 persons including 9 lodgers, 4 sons and an elderly aunt of the brewer's labourer who was master of this 'beer-house'. The Eight Bells also housed 16 persons including 9 lodgers, 3 daughters and 2 sons. The Hen and Chickens, with 17 persons in total, had 14 lodgers. The landlord of the Angel in Kingsbury Square housed 17 persons including 5 daughters, 4 sons and 6 lodgers. In Wycombe, the Horse and Jockey in St Mary's Street housed 11 'visitors' among its total of 17 residents.

The largest ordinary households (with 12 persons each) with no living-in servant in Aylesbury were those of a fishing-tackle manufacturer in Railway Street and an agricultural labourer in

Albert Street. The former had a wife, 7 daughters and 3 sons. The latter, aged 35, had a wife, 4 stepsons, 3 sons and 3 lodgers. In Wycombe's Mandy Street there was an even larger private household (14) with no servants, that of a 39 year-old polisher artisan who had 5 sons and 7 daughters all aged under 20 and including no twins!

INWARD MIGRATION

The rapid growth of the two towns was, to a large extent, fuelled by inward migration. 58% of Wycombe's population, and 49% of Aylesbury's, had not been born in the town. The difference between these figures is likely to be due to the different rates of growth enjoyed in the period 1861-1881. More surprising is that, of Wycombe's population, only 18% had not been born in Bucks compared with 36% of Aylesbury's. Despite these differences, there were as many similarities as differences in migration into the two parishes.

In both cases, migration was strongly related to age. However, there were significant differences between the two parishes. Wycombe had a higher proportion of its population born in Bucks than had Aylesbury in every age group except amongst those

aged over 50. A major difference was found in the critical age group of 25-49, the proportion born in Bucks accounting for 10 percentage points less of Aylesbury's population in this age group than it did of Wycombe's.

Migration into each of the two towns largely came from different parishes. Fig.1 shows that there was little overlap in their migration catchment areas. Wycombe's catchment was primarily confined to parishes in the Chilterns. To the south, the town's pull was limited by the alternative attractions of Slough. To the north, Aylesbury was the predominant destination. Within Bucks, only two places were a source of significant numbers of migrants to both towns: Haddenham, with 42 to Aylesbury and 24 to Wycombe, and Long Crendon split 31 and 25 respectively.

Across the county border into Oxfordshire this divide was largely maintained. Only from Thame and was the attraction of Aylesbury and Wycombe reasonably equal (50% of Thame's combined total of 62 migrants to the two towns went to each and Banbury's 27 migrants divided 56% and 44% respectively). Aylesbury drew 80% of those from Oxford and 83% of those from Bicester, whilst Wycombe took 86% of those from Henley, 79% of

TABLE 5 Households – Size and Servants

House hold size	AYLESBURY										% with no servant	WYCOMBE										% with no servant
	Number of Servants									Total		Number of Servants									Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	Total		0	1	2	3	4	5	7	Total				
1	75								75	100	90	1						91	98			
2	256	18	2						276	93	351	14						365	96			
3	245	34	5	1					285	86	441	45	3					489	90			
4	224	41	6	2					273	82	366	41	8	1				416	88			
5	160	31	4	1					196	82	337	49	7	3				396	85			
6	174	25	4	4					207	84	277	31	4	3				315	88			
7	99	25	6						130	76	238	26	8	4			1	277	86			
8	74	11	5	1					91	81	146	23	6	2	2			179	81			
9	42	9	6	1	1				59	71	65	14	8	1	2			90	72			
10	20	3	4	1					28	71	43	3	6	1	2	1		56	77			
11	10	3	1			1	1		16	63	17	4				1		22	76			
12	2		2	1	1	1			7	29	6	1	2		1	1		11	55			
13		1							1	0	3					1		4	75			
14					1				1	0	1		1	3				5	33			
16	2								2	100			1		1			2	33			
17	2								2	100	1		1					2	50			
19								1	1	0								0	-			
20	1								1	-			1					1	0			
Total	1386	201	44	13	3	2	1	1	1651	84	2382	252	56	18	8	4	1	2721	88			
No. servants		201	88	39	12	10	6	9	365			252	112	54	32	20	7	477				

those from Watlington, 77% of those from Chinnor and 76% of those from Lewknor. From Hertfordshire only those from Berkhamsted were evenly divided between the two towns. Aylesbury accounted for over 75% of those from Tring, Hemel Hempstead, Watford, St Albans and Barnet. Wycombe was the dominant destination only for those from Rickmansworth.

Within Bucks, Aylesbury's catchment was largely limited to the Vale and the areas immediately to the north. It drew only small numbers from parishes in the north of the county where the attractions of Wolverton and other growing towns provided alternative destinations for those leaving rural parishes.

Aylesbury and Wycombe also differed with respect to longer-distance migrants. Aylesbury's overall proportion of the combined population of the two towns was 37% (Table 5). Only in respect of those born in Bucks, Berkshire and Oxfordshire did it have a smaller proportion than its total share of 37%. Whilst the overall numbers were small, Aylesbury also attracted a disproportionate share of people from overseas. Relatively, with the exception of those from Hampshire and Sussex ('South' in Table 6), it was a much more important destination for long-distance migrants within the British Isles than was Wycombe.

There was also a considerable variation in the migration patterns of those in different occupations. Generally, the less skilled the occupation, the more likely were residents to have been born in the two parishes, or within Bucks, than to be migrants into the county. This pattern has been noted, with respect to Wycombe in 1851, by Markey.¹⁷ The more skilled were more likely to have been inward migrants, either from within the county or beyond. Thus, in some respects, apart from landowners and a few factory owners, it is almost possible to view the two towns as having two main classes of people. 'Immigrants' would either have specialist skills or be involved in new types of employment whereas 'natives' were more likely to be manual workers. In this respect the furniture industry at Wycombe, if classed as a 'new' type of employment, was exceptional as an industry employing very few immigrants.

Professional managers who were not born in the town ran Aylesbury's main factory industries. Of the seven persons identifiable as major employers

only one, a builder employing 50 people, was born in Bucks. The supreme example of the in-comer manager was Charles Lippincott at the Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Factory. He was living with his New York-born wife, a London-born son and 3 servants at 13 Walton Terrace. John Lawson, the silk manufacturer, had been born in Macclesfield. (He was reported in the census to be employing 40 men and 60 women and girls – remarkably the latter figure precisely corresponds to the count made here, but the former is far more than the 7 identifiable male silk workers, many of whom must have been listed simply as labourers.) By way of contrast, Wycombe's furniture industry had grown up from a domestic one and its leading owners and managers had all been born in Bucks. Indeed, of the 17 major employers in the town, only 2, managers of a saw-mill and a paper-mill respectively, had been born outside the county.

Other high-status residents in both towns were far less likely to have been locally-born than the average resident (Table 7). In Wycombe, Ashford¹⁸ noted this tendency with respect to 1841. In 1881, only a small proportion of the clergy, whether Church of England or Nonconformist, had been born in Bucks. Persons born outside the county were also prominent in the new teaching profession. Even the employed governesses in both towns had all been born outside the county or in its neighbouring counties. Amongst the doctors of the two towns in 1881, none were in father and son practices although 2 were sons following in the footsteps of recently retired fathers.

The growth of administration in the form of police, prisons, inland revenue, courts, etc, appears to have been manned by a relatively mobile group. Generally speaking, in both towns the senior personnel in these jobs were more likely to have been born outside the county than the more lowly-ranking members of these services. In the police, for instance, 6 of the 15 described as constables or policeman were born in the county. However, only 1 of the 4 police superintendents was born in the county (at Wraysbury) and none of the 3 sergeants. The other superintendents had been born in Gloucestershire, Cheshire and Rutland. Aylesbury, with its county-town status, had 59 persons who might be classed as 'officials', whereas Wycombe only had 19. Amongst the high-status jobs there were some in which local contacts were especially important. Many of these may not have quite

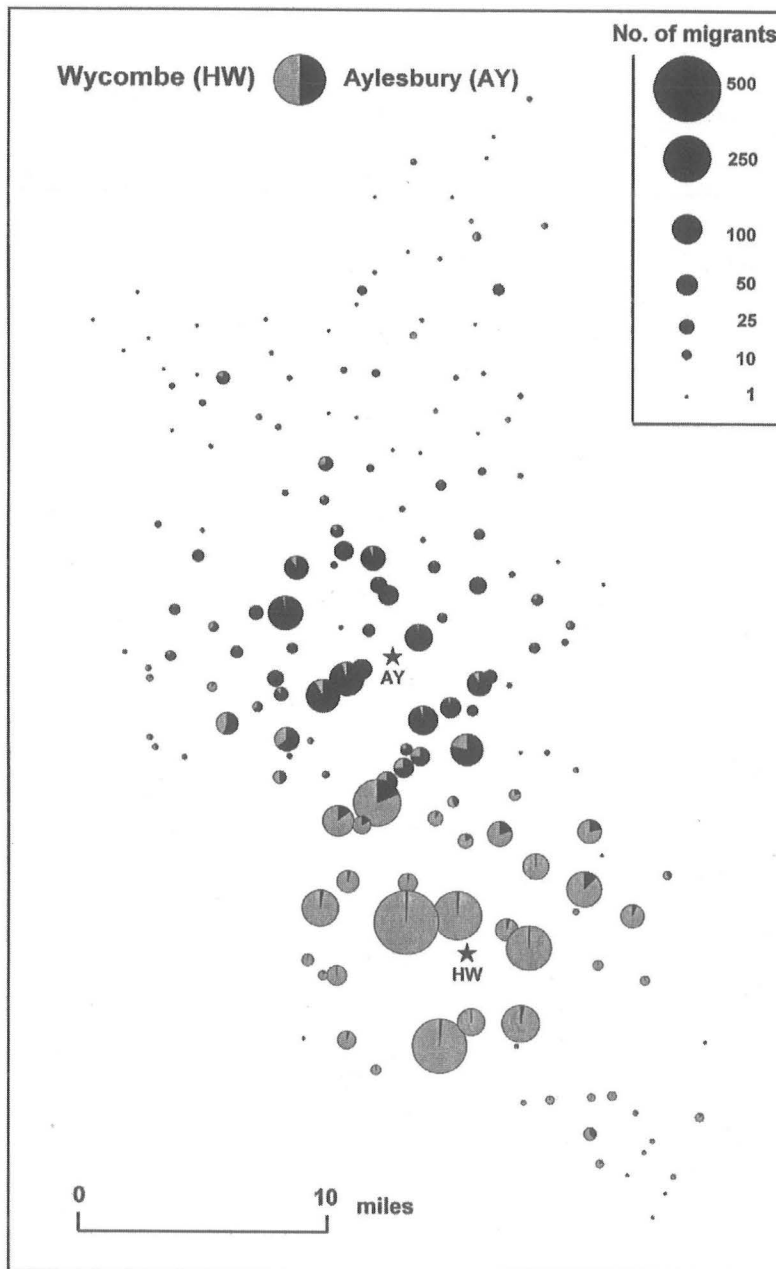


FIGURE 1 Map showing parishes of birth of residents of the parishes of Aylesbury and Wycombe recorded in 1881 (Buckinghamshire parishes only). Pie-circles represent the combined total of migrants from each parish, the black area showing the proportion resident in Aylesbury and the grey area Wycombe. The map does not include Aylesbury residents born in Wycombe (total 4) or Wycombe residents born in Aylesbury (45).

TABLE 6 Birthplaces of the population by country or region

	A	W	Total	A% of Total	Index **
Bucks	5791	10374	16165	36	-4
Children, no BP* given	3	276	279	1	-97
Bucks & Children	5794	10650	16444	35	-5
Beds	116	36	152	76	105
Berks	80	266	346	23	-38
Herts	187	85	272	69	84
Northants	65	42	107	61	63
Oxon	226	408	634	36	-4
London & Home counties	563	712	1275	44	18
E. Anglia	90	97	187	48	29
South	134	205	339	40	6
S. West	156	147	303	51	38
W. Midlands	106	78	184	58	55
E. Midlands	63	68	131	48	29
North	101	116	217	47	25
Wales inc Monmouth	23	36	59	39	5
Scotland	23	31	54	43	14
Ireland	27	18	45	60	61
Empire	14	12	26	54	44
Europe	15	7	22	68	83
Other inc India	17	23	40	43	14
No BP given	20	119	139	14	-61
Grand Total	7820	13156	20976	37	0

*BP = birth place¹⁶

** Aylesbury's percentage of the total for each category divided by Aylesbury's percentage share of the Grand Total (i.e. 37%). The figures show the percentage by which Aylesbury drew fewer people from each area than if it had drawn them pro rata to its overall share of the population of the two towns.

matched the educational or other career requirements of the rest. For instance, auctioneers, surveyors and vets were not only very likely to have been born in the county but were also, with only one exception, born in the parish where they were in business. Not listed with the high-status jobs are clerks. In 1881, this rather ambiguous term was, in many cases, used less readily than in the twentieth century. It may well have indicated a middle-ranking status. In the two towns there were 38 persons

using the term 'clerk'. In Aylesbury only 38% had been born in the county (Wycombe 50%).

Lower down in the status hierarchy the situation was very different. Most of those employed in simple jobs in either of the two parishes were born in Bucks. In Aylesbury 84% of those who called themselves labourers were Bucks-born, as were those making boots and shoes. 'Traditional' occupations such as brewing, brickmaking and tailoring also had a figure above 80%. In the milk

factory, opened in 1870, 74% of males were born in the county. This factory also employed a large number of women who were almost all born in Bucks. In the printing industry only 57% of the workforce had been born in the county. However, this general figure conceals a huge difference between the sexes. 91% of female print workers were born in the county compared with only 45% of males. These males came from many parts of the country. This is consistent with the observations of Gilbert and Southall for the country as a whole.¹⁹ They record that in 1851 printers, as one of the skilled artisan groups, were highly mobile. Amongst those over 15 years old, printers were on average resident 33 miles from their birthplace (i.e. three times the distance of farm labourers). In 1881 the average distance of printers in Aylesbury from birthplace was 34 miles, in Wycombe only 21 miles. The majority of in-comers to Aylesbury's factory-based printing originated neither in neighbouring counties (only 17%) nor even in London (only 17%) but were longer-distance migrants (66%). This conclusion from the census record

puts into statistical context the comment of Hanley and Hunt²⁰ that many of the employees of the new Hazell's printing works had migrated from London. These figures show that 23 were born either in Middlesex or the 'London' parts of Surrey.

In Wycombe those born in Bucks (87%) dominated the work-force of the furniture industry. A similarly high percentage applied to the general labourers in the town and most other types of manufacturing. 75% of paper and 'mill' workers were born in the county. An interesting minority group of 25 (8%) of paper workers came from Kent, including 10 from Maidstone and 6 from Dartford, with most of the rest from villages near to those two towns, a notable area for the industry.

In both parishes, as we have seen, there were a considerable number of agricultural workers most of whom were locally born. In Aylesbury, 93% of 251 such workers had been born in the county. In Wycombe only 85% of 277 were so born. However, this was a rather insignificant difference because a further 8% were born in neighbouring counties

TABLE 7 Birthplaces of those in certain occupations

	No	% Born in			
		Bucks	Mdx*	Neigh*	Other
Dentist	1	0	0	0	100
Medical students & assistants	5	0	20	20	60
COE clergy	14	0	14	29	57
Nonconformist ministers	22	14	27	14	45
Newspapers	6	17	50	17	17
Teachers	86	24	12	6	58
Architects	4	25	50	25	0
Doctors	14	36	7	7	50
Officials	79	38	11	13	38
Bank managers	5	40	0	40	20
Solicitors clerks	10	40	10	0	50
Accountants	2	50	50	0	0
Barristers	2	50	50	0	0
Solicitors	17	59	6	12	24
Pupil teachers	27	67	7	7	19
Veterinary surgeons	8	75	0	0	25
Auctioneers & surveyors	14	86	0	0	14

* MDX = Middlesex, Neigh = Neighbouring counties
i.e. Beds, Berks, Herts, Northants and Oxon

(mainly the Oxfordshire Chilterns). There was little difference between farmers and labourers in the degree of longer-distance migration to either town.²¹ Those agricultural workers who resided within the urban area raise a number of interesting questions. Some appear as lodgers and may have migrated to the towns in search of any labouring job. Some with a family seem to have found urban occupations for many in their household. However, few wives of such workers were in employment. In 1867, Archdeacon Bickersteth had deplored the concentration of agricultural workers in Aylesbury, in evidence to The Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture:²²

I may remark generally that two causes have been in operation for many years past tending to draw a very poor population to Aylesbury, and to concentrate them here in a hurtful manner to health and morals;

- a) the removal of cottages from the estates in the adjacent parishes.
- b) the existence of a large number of charities for the poor in Aylesbury.

These two causes have combined for many years past to draw to Aylesbury far more than its normal number of the poor. I may add, however, that the evil is generally being cured, partly by the erection of a better class of labourers' cottages in all the suburbs of the town, and partly by the action of the 'Union Chargeability Act', which will no doubt tell favourably in the erection of a sufficient number of labourers' cottages on the estates in the neighbouring parishes.

The retail sector of the two towns reveals interesting differences. Wycombe had proportionately fewer workers in this sector born in the county than had Aylesbury. The difference was most notable in the case of drapery and grocery, then both relatively specialist trades (Table 8). There is no clear explanation for this difference. It may have been that the explosive growth of Wycombe had outpaced the ability of locally-born entrepreneurs to keep up with the demand for services. Alternatively, its growth may have been sufficiently known outside the county for Wycombe to be perceived to be a good place to set up shop. It is interesting to note that, in 1881, many drapers' shops

were operated largely with resident staff. In Wycombe there were at least 4 working in this way, and in Aylesbury a further 6 with, in addition, one outlying lodging house (perhaps to service Longley's shop at 28 Market Street).

As shown above, Aylesbury's economy was more diversified than its competitor's. Given the emerging trend towards occupational specialisation and professionalism in late-Victorian England, this would seem to be the explanation of the higher percentage of non-Bucks-born residents in the town.

TABLE 8 Retail trades; % born in Bucks

	A	W
Bakers	80	75
Butchers	89	80
Drapers	54	40
Grocers	74	56
Chemists	33	50
Others	60	66
Total	69	63

One difference between the two towns may have been purely a result of the census date. Aylesbury had 18 persons who may be classed as 'actors'. These included 'actors', comedians, pantomimists, a theatrical performer and a show-maker. One family troupe of 7, the Becketts, whose adult members were born in San Francisco, were lodgers at the Cross Keys in Market Street. They included an actor and actress-comedian listed as 'The Juvenile Prodigy' and 'The Little Wonder', aged 5 and 3 respectively. Their elder brother, aged 6, was listed as a comedian, but elder sisters were 'scholar comedians'. Of the 18 actors, only 2 were born in Bucks. Strangely, none of these was resident at 41 Castle Street, described as 'Plumes Theatrical Boarding House'. As temporary in-comers to the county from the USA, they were perhaps as exceptional as their census entry. Nevertheless they can be taken as indicators of Aylesbury's surprising degree of exposure to influences from beyond the county and the country.

CONCLUSIONS

Most studies that have made use of the detailed records of the nineteenth-century censuses have concentrated on rural areas, parts of towns or single aspects of the population.²³ Within Bucks a number of studies have now made use of this material.²⁴ This essay shows that these records can provide valuable insights into the overall character of two medium-sized towns. Aylesbury and Wycombe, as competitors within Bucks, have evolved very differently. The situation of the two towns in 1881 has been shown to vary in formative ways. Comparative studies of the role of towns in the late nineteenth century are rare. A recent national study of the urban hierarchy in 1913 suggests that, by that date, Wycombe out-ranked Aylesbury in the depth of its urban functions despite Aylesbury's role as the county town.²⁵ In 1881, as retail service centres, they were probably evenly matched, with Aylesbury drawing on an extensive rural catchment and Wycombe serving its own far greater population. The major difference at that date was the relative size of each town's industrial base. The growth of Wycombe's furniture industry had outpaced the ability of Aylesbury to attract new industries, despite the recent arrival of milk-processing and large-scale printing

This essay is part of a wider study which aims to profile differences in the demographic structure of the parishes of Bucks in the second half of the nineteenth century. This will draw on the CEB records of various censuses. The data processed from these sources is to be maintained in a machine-readable form in the Society's archives.²⁶ This will permit additional analyses to be made and so enable others who might wish to classify material in different ways to those used here to do so with relative ease. This would help to overcome one of the problems that confront those who use the CEB for local study, namely the comparability of definitions. The author would welcome discussion on the use of this material.

REFERENCES

1. For instance, WEA (Slough and Eton Branch) Local History Class, 1995, *A Town in the Making – Slough 1851*, Slough and Eton Branch WEA, 2nd edition; French, J., 1986, 'Wolverton: a magnet for migrants 1837–1861', *Recs Bucks*, 28, pp. 138–147. It may also be noted that nine-
2. Reed, M., 1986, 'Decline and recovery in a provincial urban network: Buckinghamshire towns 1350–1800', in Reed, M. (ed.), *English Towns in Decline 1350–1800*, Centre for Urban History Working Papers, 1, Leicester. More generally, see Clark, Peter, 2000, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Vol. II, 1540–1840*, Cambridge.
3. Mayes, L.J., 1960, *The History of Chairmaking in High Wycombe*, London.
4. Drake Software, 1999, *Mach–Buckinghamshire 1881*, CD-ROM. This lists for Aylesbury 7,820 persons (census 7,795) and for Wycombe 13,156 (census 13,154). It is not clear why the numbers differ. It is possible that the extra 25 in the case of Aylesbury have been wrongly allocated to the civil parish rather than that of a neighbouring area.
5. This point is best tabulated. The standard deviation of the Wycombe figures is 3.3 compared with one of 1.8 for those for Aylesbury.
6. Parliamentary papers, 1882, C.-3208, *Forty-Third Annual Report of the Registrar General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England (Abstracts of 1880)*. Abstract of Deaths, pp. 128–129, and of Births and Deaths, p. 34. The 1881 population of the registration districts of Aylesbury and of Wycombe was 24,606 and 40,284 respectively.
7. This imbalance was not due to the presence of those resident in the Union Workhouse, which in Aylesbury's case lay within the parish but at Wycombe was located at Saunderton. In the Aylesbury workhouse 72% of those over 45 were male.

% Population Female

Age	A	W	age	A	W
<1	53.1	47.7	6	53.3	52.9
1	48.5	53.4	7	51.4	47.3
2	52.2	44.3	8	49.0	47.8
3	51.1	48.1	9	48.1	53.4
4	49.0	50.4	10	50.8	49.4
5	50.5	55.2			

8. Generally this conclusion (and Table 5) relies on the assumption that each person labelled 'head of household' actually represented a separate household. However, some 'false heads' (e.g. lodger heads) have been removed for the calculation. For problems in interpreting the CEB see Mills, Dennis, Edgar, Michael and Hinde, Andrew, 1996, 'Southern Historians and their exploitation of Victorian censuses', *Southern Historian*, **18**, pp. 61–86.
9. For a full definition of the groups see note 21. Craft industries included basket makers, blacksmiths, brewers, coopers, cordwainers, coach-builders, furriers, saddlers, shoe makers, tailors, upholsterers, etc. Personal services included dressmakers, charwomen, chimney sweeps hair-dressers, laundresses, milliners, nurses (non-domestic) and waiters. Retailing included bakers, butchers, confectioners, grocers, milkmen, chemists, drapers, general dealers and hawkers. Domestic service has been defined to include cooks, all types of servant, governesses, gardeners and grooms. The first two of these occupations are classed as 'indoor servants'.
10. Mayes, op.cit., p. 43.
11. Mayes, op.cit., p. 18: 'the caning itself was well suited to women and children, many of the latter starting work at seven years of age ... especially where the work was "done out"'.
12. Parliamentary papers, 1883, C.-3722, *Census of England and Wales 1881, Vol. III, Ages, Condition as to Marriage, Occupations and Birth-places of the People*.
13. Schwarz, Leonard, 1999, 'English servants and their employers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Economic History Review*, **LII**, 2, pp. 236–256.
14. Higgs, E., 1982, 'The tabulation of occupations in the nineteenth century census, with special reference to domestic servants', *Local Population Studies*, **28**, Spring 1982, pp. 58–66.
15. Parker, John, 1878, *The Early History and Antiquities of Wycombe in Buckinghamshire*, Wycombe; and Gibbs, Robert A., 1885, *History of Aylesbury with its Borough and Hundreds, The Hamlet of Walton and The Electoral Division, Aylesbury*. Gibbs is mentioned in Reynolds, Christopher, 2000, 'Newspapers in the family', *Bucks Ancestor*, **9**, pp. 116–121.
16. In Wycombe's CEB listing a number of children, between 4% and 7% of each age group up to 18 years old, are listed with no birthplace. 83% of these were under 15. It has been assumed here that they were born in Bucks. The absence of a recorded birthplace seems not to imply anything special about the household.
17. Markey, Judith, 1984, 'High Wycombe: townward migration analysed by sex, distance and occupation' in Mills, D. (ed.), *Victorians on the move*, Mills Historical and Computing, Branston, Lincoln, pp. 31–33.
18. Ashford, L.J., 1960, *The History of the Borough of High Wycombe from its Origins to 1880*, London, p. 285.
19. Gilbert, David and Southall, Humphrey, 'The urban labour market' in Daunton, op. cit., pp. 593–628; and Southall, Humphrey, 'The tramping artisan revisited: labour mobility and economic distress in early Victorian England', *Economic History Review*, **XLIV**, pp. 272–296.
20. Hanley, Hugh and Hunt, Julian, 1993, *Aylesbury, A Pictorial History*, Chichester.
21. This was not true generally in Bucks. See Thorpe, David, 'The Agricultural Workforce of Buckinghamshire in 1881' (under preparation). Moreover, Gilbert and Southall, op. cit., calculate, for 1851, a national average distance from birthplace of 16.0 miles for farmers and 11.9 miles for farm labourers. Parliamentary papers (House of Commons and Command), 1867–68, Vol. XVII (Reports, vol. 2), 4068, *First Report of the Commissioners on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture*.
22. Mills, Dennis and Schurer, Kevin, 1996, *Local communities in the Victorian census enumerators' books* (A Local Population Studies Supplement); Mills, Dennis and Pearce, C., 1989, *People and Places in the Victorian census. A review and bibliography of publications based substantially on the manuscript census enumerators' books, 1841–1911*, Institute of British Geographers Research Series, 23, Cheltenham.
23. For instance, Open University, *Project Reports in Family & Community History 1994–1997*, CD-ROM, Milton Keynes. This was briefly reviewed in Thorpe, David, 'The Internet and Electronic Publishing', *Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Newsletter*, Autumn 1999; see also Marten, 1991 (edited by Cook, Jean M.), *Great Marlow Parish and People in the*

19th Century, Marlow.

24. Hall, Peter, Marshall, Stephen and Lowe, Michelle, 2000, *The Changing Urban Hierarchy in England and Wales 1913–1998*, Planning and Development Research Centre, Bartlett School of Planning, University College London, Working Paper, 18.
25. In addition to this material some additional

tables prepared for the current article (e.g. the figures underlying Fig. 1) have also been lodged in the Society's Library. I can be contacted at dathorpe@waitrose.com or via the Society. I would like to thank the Hon. Editor for help in producing this article which went way beyond the normal limits that a contributor might expect.