

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-52974-7 - Poverty, Progress, and Population
E. A. Wrigley
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Poverty, Progress, and Population

By the early nineteenth century England was very different from its continental neighbours. It was wealthier, growing more rapidly, more heavily urbanised, and far less dependent upon agriculture. A generation ago it was normal to attribute these differences to the ‘industrial revolution’ and to suppose that this was mainly the product of recent change. No longer. Current estimates suggest only slow growth during the period from 1760 to 1840. This implies that the economy was much larger and more advanced by 1760 than had previously been supposed and suggests that growth in the preceding century or two must have been decisive in bringing about the ‘divergence’ of England. Sir Tony Wrigley, a leading historian of industrial Britain, here examines the issues which arise in this connection from three viewpoints: economic growth; the transformation of the urban–rural balance; and demographic change in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

PROFESSOR SIR TONY WRIGLEY is Emeritus Professor of Economic History at the University of Cambridge and former Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and President of the British Academy. His previous books include *Continuity, chance and change* (1988), described by the *Economic History Review* as ‘an intellectual breakthrough which, like it or not, will influence all our thinking in the future’, and *The population history of England and Wales 1541–1871* (1989) with R. S. Schofield.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-52974-7 - Poverty, Progress, and Population
E. A. Wrigley
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Poverty, Progress, and Population

E. A. Wrigley



Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-52974-7 - Poverty, Progress, and Population
 E. A. Wrigley
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
 The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge, CB2 2RU, UK
 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
 Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

<http://www.cambridge.org>

© E. A. Wrigley 2004

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2004

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Plantin 10/12 pt *System* L^AT_EX 2_ε [TB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Wrigley, E. A. (Edward Anthony), 1931-
 Poverty, progress, and population / E. A. Wrigley.
 p. cm.
 Includes articles previously published or soon to be published in
 scholarly journals.
 Includes bibliographical references and index.
 ISBN 0 521 82278 5 – ISBN 0 521 52974 3 (pb.)
 1. England – Economic conditions. 2. Industrial revolution –
 England. 3. Cities and towns – England – Growth – History.
 4. England – Population – History. I. Title.

HC255.W833 2003
 330.942'07 – dc21 2003048472

ISBN 0 521 82278 5 hardback
 ISBN 0 521 52974 3 paperback

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-52974-7 - Poverty, Progress, and Population

E. A. Wrigley

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

**To my past and present colleagues at
the Cambridge Group for the History of
Population and Social Structure**

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of tables</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
PART I. The wellsprings of growth	
1 The quest for the industrial revolution	17
2 The divergence of England: the growth of the English economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries	44
3 Two kinds of capitalism, two kinds of growth	68
4 Men on the land and men in the countryside: employment in agriculture in early nineteenth-century England	87
5 The occupational structure of England in the mid-nineteenth century	129
6 Corn and crisis: Malthus on the high price of provisions	204
7 Why poverty was inevitable in traditional societies	212
8 Malthus on the prospects for the labouring poor	229
PART II. Town and country	
9 City and country in the past: a sharp divide or a continuum?	251
10 'The great commerce of every civilized society': urban growth in early modern Europe	268

viii	Contents	
11	Country and town: the primary, secondary, and tertiary peopling of England in the early modern period	290
PART III. The numbers game		
12	Explaining the rise in marital fertility in England in the 'long' eighteenth century	317
13	No death without birth: the implications of English mortality in the early modern period	351
14	The effect of migration on the estimation of marriage age in family reconstitution studies	367
15	Demographic retrospective	394
	<i>Bibliography</i>	441
	<i>Index</i>	455

Figures

4.1 Males in agriculture and agricultural families: I	<i>page</i> 112
4.2 Males in agriculture and agricultural families: II	113
12.1 Decennial mean birth intervals, England 1580–9 to 1820–37	319
12.2 Stillbirth and infant mortality rates, Norway 1876–1965	329
12.3 Endogenous and exogenous infant mortality, England 1580–1940	333
12.4 Maternal mortality and endogenous infant mortality in England 1625–49 to 1825–37	338
13.1 Fertility, mortality, and living standards	361
14.1 A stylised model of marriage and migration	383
15.1 Gross reproduction rates in England, Denmark, and Sweden	399
15.2 Expectation of life at birth in England, Denmark, and Sweden	404
15.3 The increase of sterility with age	411
15.4 The distribution of birth intervals where the previous child died under one, where the previous child survived, and where the fate of the previous child is unknown	414
15.5 Estimates of expectation of life at birth and of partial life expectancies from family reconstitution and by generalised inverse projection (e_0 , ${}_{15}e_0$, ${}_{20}e_{25}$, ${}_{20}e_{45}$, ${}_{20}e_{65}$)	417
15.6 Maternal mortality and endogenous infant mortality in England, 1580–99 to 1940–9	426
15.7 Gross reproduction rates: Cambridge Group and Razzell	435
15.8 Expectation of life at birth: Cambridge Group and Razzell	436
15.9 English population totals: Cambridge Group and Razzell	437

Tables

4.1	Population totals and growth rates in the rural counties of England	<i>page</i> 91
4.2	Employment in ten major retail and handicraft employments 1831–1851	92
4.3	Agricultural employment in England in 1831 and 1851	97
4.4	Occupiers of land in England 1831 to 1871	99
4.5	Testing the consistency of the 1831 and 1851 county totals for farmers and related categories	102
4.6	Agricultural growth in the metropolitan and industrial counties 1831–1851	107
4.7	Occupational distribution of families in England 1811–1831	110
4.8	Adult males and families in major occupational categories in 1831	111
4.9	Percentage distribution of occupation by family for English counties 1821	118
4.10	Occupational distribution of families in 1821	119
4.11	Agricultural growth in the industrial counties 1811–1821	122
4.12	The adult male labour force in agriculture in England 1811–1851	124
5.1	1851 census: local government	139
5.2	Labourers as an element in the labour force in 1841 and 1851	152
5.3	Bricklayers and masons as an element in the labour force in 1841	154
5.4	Servants as an element in the labour force in 1841 and 1851	156
5.5	Totals of miners in 1841 and 1851	159
5.6	Totals of textile workers in 1841 and 1851	160
5.7	Primary, secondary, and tertiary occupational totals, England 1841 and 1851	164

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-52974-7 - Poverty, Progress, and Population

E. A. Wrigley

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Tables	xi
5.8 Detailed primary, secondary, and tertiary occupational totals, England 1841 and 1851	166
5.9 Totals and rates of growth in a selection of retail and wholesale trades by groups of counties in the 1840s	174
5.A1.1 Look-up table sample	180
5.A1.2 Individual occupations numbering 10,000 or more, England 1841 and 1851	184
5.A2.1 1841 and 1851 occupational totals using the Registrar General's system	189
5.A2.2 1841 and 1851 occupational totals using Booth's system	194
5.A2.3 1841 and 1851 occupational totals using the PST system	198
5.A2.4 A comparison of the three systems	202
11.1 Contrasting levels of agricultural employment and of urbanisation in Britain and the continent	296
11.2 Sectoral structure of the male labour force	297
12.1 Mean birth intervals (months), 1580–1837	319
12.2 Infant mortality of legitimate children, England 1580–1837	321
12.3 Stillbirth and infant mortality rates, Norway 1876–1965	328
12.4 Stillbirth and neonatal mortality rates by parity, Co. Durham 1930	331
12.5 Mortality rates within the first year of life, endogenous and exogenous infant mortality, and stillbirth rates; England and Wales 1906–1970	332
12.6 Stillbirth rates by parity and mother's age, England and Wales, July 1938 to December 1940	341
12.7 Age-specific marital fertility	342
12.8 Standardised fecund marital fertility of women who were not pregnant at marriage 1538–1837	346
13.1 Crude birth and death rates (CBR and CDR) in eastern and western Europe	354
14.1 Age at first marriage of women in 26 reconstitutions	372
14.2 Summary measures of marriage age with original and enlarged data sets	374
14.3 Age at first marriage of women in 26 reconstitutions	376
14.4 Age at first marriage of women in 11 reconstitutions: change over time	377

xii Tables

14.5 Singulate mean age at marriage and proportions never married in 1851	384
14.6 Marriage ages for different categories of marriage	389
15.1 Age-specific marital fertility	400
15.2 Age-specific marital fertility	403
15.3 A comparison of totals of births obtained by applying the age-specific marital fertility rates derived from reconstitution data to census totals of married women in 1851 compared with birth totals recorded by the Registrar General in 1849–1853	421
15.4 Comparison of reconstitution mortality estimates with the third English life table ($1,000q_x$)	422
15.5 Adult mortality (sexes combined): reconstitution data and the third English life table compared ($1,000q_x$)	428

Acknowledgements

The essays in this volume which have been published previously (or are about to be published) are the following. They are listed in the order in which they were published.

'Men on the land and men in the countryside: employment in agriculture in early nineteenth-century England', in L. Bonfield, R. M. Smith, and K. Wrightson, eds., *The world we have gained: histories of population and social structure* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 295–336.

'No death without birth: the implications of English mortality in the early modern period', in R. Porter and A. Wear, eds., *Problems and methods in the history of medicine* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 133–50.

'Two kinds of capitalism, two kinds of growth', *LSE Quarterly*, 2 (1988), pp. 97–121.

'Malthus on the prospects for the labouring poor', *Historical Journal*, 31 (1988), pp. 813–29.

'Why poverty was inevitable in traditional societies', in J. A. Hall and I. C. Jarvie, eds., *Transition to modernity: essays on power, wealth and belief* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 91–110.

'City and country in the past: a sharp divide or a continuum?', *Historical Research*, 64 (1991), pp. 107–20.

'"The great commerce of every civilized society": urban growth in early modern Europe', *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 12 (1992), pp. 5–23.

'The effect of migration on the estimation of marriage age in family reconstitution studies', *Population Studies*, 48 (1994), pp. 81–97.

'Explaining the rise in marital fertility in England in the "long" eighteenth century', *Economic History Review*, 51 (1998), pp. 435–64.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-52974-7 - Poverty, Progress, and Population

E. A. Wrigley

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv Acknowledgements

‘Corn and crisis: Malthus on the high price of provisions’, *Population and Development Review*, 25 (1999), pp. 121–8.

‘The divergence of England: the growth of the English economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 10 (2000), pp. 117–41.

‘Country and town: the primary, secondary, and tertiary peopling of England in the early modern period’, in P. Slack (ed.), *The peopling of Britain*, The Linacre Lectures 1999 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 217–42.

‘The quest for the industrial revolution’, will also be published in *Proceedings of the British Academy, 2002 Lectures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).