

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROFESSIONAL SERVICES IN NINETEENTH
CENTURY COUNTY TOWNS: A CASE STUDY OF THE COUNTY TOWN OF
STAFFORD

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by

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ABSTRACT

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To date there appears to have been little academic research that concentrates on investigating nineteenth century professions and none that could be located which consider their role in relation to the development of small provincial towns during this period of occupational flux. For example Holmes (1982) and Corfield (1999) concentrate on profession in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; Abbott (1988) nineteenth and twentieth century profession in England, France and America and other researchers on the development of specific occupations such as medicine (Friedson 1970); accountancy (Matthews 2006); librarianship (Goode 1961) and although Larson's (1977) research locates the beginning of professional mobilisation projects in the nineteenth century, it is primarily concerned with the twentieth. This research therefore explores how professional services developed in small English county towns during the nineteenth century and uses the county town of Stafford as its focus. It takes the form of a series of three interrelated case studies that move from providing a macro view of professional life and work in Stafford; to a more focused case study of one specific occupation, that of chemist/druggist; to investigating one particular Stafford family that for several generations had members who worked as chemists/druggists. This approach provides an overview of the type and level of professional services on offer in Stafford during this period along with an in-depth analysis of one particular occupation.

Research results indicate that profession as a concept held little value for the folk of Stafford throughout the nineteenth century and that professional services in the town were slow to develop, even during a period of rapid population growth. A range of twentieth century research theories and frameworks for categorising profession were tested and appeared not to be appropriate for accurately identifying professional work at this time and a nineteenth century framework is proposed. The growth of educational opportunities throughout the century and the use of profession as a marketing tool are however found to be intrinsically linked to the growth of the concept of profession by the end of the nineteenth century.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	2
List of Figures and Tables	7
Acknowledgments	8
Chapter 1: Introduction	9
Background to the research.....	9
The research problem.....	9
Research justification and academic contribution.....	12
Research outline	13
Research limitations	14
Conclusion	15
Chapter 2: The historical development of profession	16
Evolution of non agrarian work, control and regulation	16
Work specialisation.....	18
The growth of entrepreneurship.....	20
Development of the first three professions	21
The importance of social capital.....	23
High status occupations or marginal professions.....	24
The development of chemists/druggists.....	25
A professional body and legislation.....	26
Nineteenth century professional growth	27
Conclusion	28
Chapter 3: Theoretical foundations	30
Defining profession	30
Problems relating to lack of agreed definition.....	33
The influence of social stratification theories	35
The influence of social stratification theorists on theory building	36
Marx	37
Durkheim	38
Weber.....	38
Research strands: Functionalist traits	40

Decline of functionalism.....	43
Research strands: Non-Functionalist	44
Parsons and structural functionalism	45
Professional Power	46
Professions and the view of folk	47
Folk concept	47
Professional project	49
Conclusion	51
Chapter 4: The County Town of Stafford	54
A County Town.....	54
Population growth	56
Economic change.....	58
Town administration	59
Living conditions.....	61
The town market.....	62
Education	63
Medical services.....	64
Conclusion	65
Chapter 5: Research Methodology	66
Research methodology	66
A series of case studies	68
Sources utilised in this research	69
Census Data	69
Trade directories.....	70
Family and parish documents.....	71
Methodology and control of variables for census data	72
Family data	74
Occupational data	75
Unit of analysis and subjects or sources of data.....	77
Limitations of census methodology	79
Methodology and control of variables for trade directory data	79
Ethical considerations within this research.....	80
Conclusion	81
Chapter 6: Research Results	82

Case Study 1: Nineteenth century overview of profession in Stafford	82
Academic definitions/classifications	82
Commercial definition /classifications	84
Multiple occupations.....	87
Summary of academic and commercial definitions/classifications.	88
Profession and Stafford folk.....	89
Profession and death in Stafford	90
Training for a profession in nineteenth century Stafford.....	92
Professional behavior	95
Stafford guilds.....	95
Summary of folk evidence relating to profession.....	96
Stafford nineteenth century occupational data from census returns.....	97
Stafford and nineteenth century immigration.....	98
Number of professionals living in Stafford.....	99
Professions as a percentage of Stafford's working population.....	101
Occupational change in Stafford	102
Occupational data from trade directories	104
Occupational data from census and trade directories.....	106
Summary of census and trade directory data	106
Case Study 2: The occupation of Chemist/Druggist.....	108
Training and education.....	109
Marketing and the chemist/druggists role.....	110
Revelations from the census.....	113
The change to academic training	114
Summary of case study two	116
Case Study 3: The Fowke family.....	116
First generation - William Fowke.....	117
Second generation - William Fowke junior and George Fowke.....	121
Third generation – Thomas Edward Fowke.....	123
Fourth generation - William Francis Fowke	124
Summary of findings relating to the Fowke family	126
Can Twentieth Century Theories be applied to the Nineteenth century?	128
Views of the folk	131
Evidence of a professional project	132

Does profession have value as a concept?	134
Chapter7: Conclusion	136
Appendixes	142
Appendix 1: UK Counties and their County Town.....	142
Appendix 2: Database searches.....	143
Appendix 3: Percentage change for thirteen professional occupations.....	145
Appendix 4: Characteristics of profession/professionals identified in chapter 5 ..	146
Appendix 5: List of occupations taken from the 1841 census of Stafford.....	147
Appendix 6: List of occupations taken from the 1871 census of Stafford.....	151
Appendix 7: List of occupations taken from the 1901 census of Stafford.....	157
Appendix 8: Date of royal charter or the establishment of professional body.....	166
Appendix 9: Birthplaces for immigrants given in the 1871 Census for Stafford	167
Appendix 10: 1871 top ten places of birth for migrants	173
Appendix 11: County of birth on 1871 census for Professionals.....	174
Appendix 12: Professional workers from 18 th & 19 th century trade directories.....	176
Appendix 13: Number of unique individuals from census and trade directories...	177
Appendix 14: Fowke family tree.....	178
Appendix 15: Fowke social network.....	179
Appendix 16: Pavalko's Trait Model.....	180
Bibliography	181
Books, Journals and Electronic resources	181
Sources located in Stafford Record Office (SRO)	204
Sources located in the William Salt Library Stafford (WS)	205
Sources located in the Lichfield Record Office.....	206
Probate Records	206
Consistory Court Records.....	207
Sources located in the Shrewsbury Record Office.....	207
Sources located in Kew Record Office.....	207

List of Figures and Tables

Table 3:1	Brante's general definition of professions	p.35
Table 3:2	Pavalko's trait model	p.41
Table 3:3	Wilensky's classification process	p.42
Table 3:4	Ford and Gibbs levels and components of the model of profession	p.43
Table 4:1	Population of Stafford 1801-1901 taken from census returns	p.56
Figure 4:2	Growth of population 1801-1901 for Wolverhampton and Stafford	p.57
Table 6:1	Census data relating to place of birth	p.98
Figure 6:2	Occupations classed as professions or marginal professions taken from the 1841/1871/1901 census	p.100
Table 6:3	Stafford's working population by occupational category	p.102
Figure 6:4	Changes in occurrence of occupational categories across censuses.	p.103
Figure 6:5	Professions and marginal professions as taken from trade directories 1790-1902	p.105
Figure 6:6	Number of unique individuals taken from census and trade directories	p.106
Table 6:7	Number of unique individuals – medical practitioners and chemist/druggists taken from census returns and trade directories	p.116
Table 6:8	Pavalko's trait model	p.129
Table 6:9	Ford and Gibbs levels and components model of profession	p.130
Table 6:10	Nineteenth century professional trait model	p.131

Acknowledgments

If the world of action is nothing other than this universe of interchangeable possibles, entirely dependent on the decrees of the consciousness which creates it and hence totally devoid of *objectivity*, if it is moving because the subject choose to be moved, revolting because he chooses to be revolted, then emotions, passions and actions are merely games of bad faith, sad farces in which one is both bad actor and good audience.

(Bourdieu, 1977, p.73-73)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background to the research

Up to the nineteenth century employment in the United Kingdom (UK) roughly divided into four categories, agriculture; trade; manufacturing and professions, with agricultural work the largest occupational group and professions the smallest (James 2006)¹. However, industrialisation and a capitalist based economy are credited with encouraging many occupations in the late nineteenth century to undertake professional mobilisation projects aimed at enhancing business growth through improved status and resulting in gradually moving the UK from a society structured around class to one structured around career hierarchies (Larson 1977; Perkin 1989). By the early twentieth century the number of occupations considered professions had grown noticeably and researchers such as Flexner (1915) started investigating how professional labour differed from other types of work. This research strand produced many theories, frameworks and models intended to explain the growth of professions or measure if an occupation was a profession. However, despite the nineteenth century being considered the period which facilitated the growth of professional services, little research appears to have taken place that focuses specifically on professions or professional work in this period and none could be found that investigated the role of professions in county towns, despite their unique pre industrial role as administrative centres².

The research problem

The main question this research will explore is how did professional services develop in small county towns during the nineteenth century? The county town of Stafford will be used as the focus of the research conducted through a series of three interrelated case studies that move from a macro view of professional life and work in Stafford; to focus on one specific occupation, that of chemist/druggist; to one particular Stafford family that for several generations had members who worked as chemists/druggists.

¹ According to James professions accounted for only 3% of the workforce at the beginning of the nineteenth century (2006, p.253), though Corfield (1999, p.33) claims it was lower 2.1% in 1688 and 2.6% in 1851.

² The Cambridge Urban History of Britain (Palliser et al. 2000) contains considerable discussion about the role of county towns, though this issue is also covered in more depth in chapter six. See also Ward's (2005) comparison of the role of five county towns and appendix 1 for a list of UK counties and their county towns.

Stafford has been chosen as the subject of the research because it is a county town that provides most, if not all, of the conditions identified by researchers as triggering the nineteenth century growth of profession (Perkin 1989; Larsen 1977). According to Perkin (1989) the adoption of industrial working practices prompted the development of service industries and professionalisation. If this was the case, figures presented in chapter four and six show that Stafford underwent rapid growth during the nineteenth century as the town embraced industrial production methodologies and by 1841 a large proportion of Stafford's workforce was employed in various types of industrial work mainly related to the shoemaking trade, though electrical, engineering and pharmaceutical companies moved into the town as the century progressed (Higson 1948). As a county town Stafford was the administrative centre for the county of Staffordshire so had for many centuries provided employment for the legal, medical and religious professions, being the location of the county assize courts, hospital, prison, workhouse and lunatic asylum (Roxburgh 1948). This role coupled with rapid population growth during the nineteenth century should have resulted in an increased level of bureaucratic work, another trigger of professionalisation (Weber 1925). Stafford also had access to several natural resources which helped sustain its development; a variety of private and public educational opportunities; was located on major transport routes and conveniently situated close to larger industrial conurbations such as Wolverhampton, Birmingham and Manchester (Greenslade 2006). Taking all these issues into account it seems reasonable to assume that the town would provide work opportunities for established and emerging professions and had many features that would serve to attract professionals to the town. Stafford therefore appears to be a good location for a case study investigating the development of profession in nineteenth century county towns.

The main research question will be broken down into a number of sub questions:

1. Which occupations were described as professions in contemporary nineteenth century documents and is it possible to distinguish why these occupations were put into that specific category?
2. What percentage of the working population in Stafford had occupations that could be described as professions or marginal professions and did the number

increase during the century with the general growth of the town or as a result of external factors³?

3. What part do professions play in the development of Stafford during the nineteenth century and to what extent is it possible to link the development of a particular profession to specific economic variables or the entrepreneurial efforts of practitioners?
4. How applicable are twentieth century research theories, frameworks, models and definitions to measure or describe professional work in nineteenth century county towns?

This research adopts an interpretive epistemology and constructivist ontology, based on a belief that profession is a social construction and as such liable to changes over time. The research approach is inductive and even though some of the data collected may be quantitative, theory will grow out of the findings. Data from the 1841, 1871, 1901 census returns and nineteenth century trade directories are utilised in order to provide an overview of work in nineteenth century Stafford. These sources will help to establish which occupations were present in the town; how rapidly professional services grew; which professional services the town appeared to need and what percentage of occupations in Stafford could be classed as professions throughout the century. Then as already mentioned the marginal profession of chemist/druggist will be examined (Krause 1996; Brint 1994; Innes 1991). This particular occupation has been chosen because it represents one of the largest marginal professions in the town throughout the nineteenth century and will be investigated from two viewpoints: economic, in order to gain an overview of the work itself, the level of training and education needed etc., and social, to provide more in-depth information relating to the family and social life of practitioners by studying a particular family of Stafford chemist/druggists. This approach should produce a more rounded view of how members of this particular occupation contributed to life in Stafford. Twentieth century researchers have concluded that chemists/druggists have failed to transform their occupation into a full profession (Denzin and Mettlin 1968; Wardell 1963) with incomplete professionalisation in this case attributed to mixing the “conflicting goals of business and profession” (McCormack 1956, p.308). It is interesting therefore to see

³ Chapter two contains a discussion relating to the definition of a marginal profession which are also referred to by some authors as high status occupations (Brint 1994).

how this particular occupation was viewed in the nineteenth century and how accurately various twentieth century frameworks measure its level of profession when compared with contemporary nineteenth century evidence. Throughout this research a variety of primary sources are used including parish documents; family papers; apprenticeship papers; newspapers; wills and land transfer documents to provide a contemporary insight into the everyday life and work of Stafford professionals and nineteenth century views of profession. Research methodology and sources are discussed in detail in chapter five.

Research justification and academic contribution

Sociological enquiries into the growth of profession have tended to centre on the development of a specific occupation or various attributes that researchers have thought to be an essential part of professional work at different periods of the twentieth century. Little sociological research appears to have been carried out so far that looks at professional work in the nineteenth century, even though some researchers consider the late nineteenth century the period when today's professional society began (Larson 1977; Perkin 1989; Reader 1966). Corfield (1999) researched the key role that the professions played in Britain's modernisation during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; Abbott (1988) nineteenth and twentieth century profession in England, France and America and other researchers have touched on the nineteenth century when researching the development of specific occupations such as medicine (Friedson 1970); accountancy (Matthews 2006); librarianship (Goode 1961). This research will therefore add to existing knowledge relating not only to the period but also to specific occupations. Economic historians have researched nineteenth century incomes and consider that although the middle class as a whole grew throughout the century that middle class professional growth was low, with the supply of educated workers outstripping the availability of professional jobs (Musgrove, 1959; Bowley 1937; Stamp 1916). This research will contribute to investigations in this area by examining the situation in county towns. No research was located in any discipline that investigates the growth of professional services in small towns, county towns, one particular town or one particular area over an extended time period (see appendix 2)⁴. This research will therefore add to the academic debate relating to the concept of profession through providing an insight into professional life during the nineteenth century, a period that has so far not been extensively explored. Findings may also help to establish how

⁴ Although Armstrong (1974) investigated changes taking place from 1801-1851 in the county town of York and Ward (2005) looked at the development of the county town of Aylesbury 1700-1850

important professional occupations were during a time of rapid social and occupational change and whether professions were entrepreneurial in a manner that contributed to the growth of a small town, or were generated as a result of the town's growth. Economists consider that entrepreneurial development in the UK peaked by the 1870's, just when professional society is identified as beginning so this research will also add to debates in this area (Aldcroft 1964; Church 2000). This research also contributes to continuing discussions relating to concepts such as Larson's (1977) professional project by investigating if such projects operated out of larger industrial towns, and by testing the applicability of twentieth century frameworks developed by Pavalko (1971), and Ford and Gibbs (1996) to nineteenth century work.

Stafford makes an ideal case study for this research because although relatively small when compared to other county towns such as York or Leicester, it is located at the centre of a region that incorporated several larger, vibrant, industrialising areas including Wolverhampton and Birmingham. This coupled with its accessibility via road and rail mean that Stafford can be considered a microcosm encompassing elements present in large and small county towns, so to some extent it will be possible to generalise the results of this study. There appears to have been no prior research undertaken relating to professional work in Stafford during the nineteenth century so it will also contribute to the growing body of knowledge relating to the town.

Research outline

This chapter presented a brief overview of the research area; research question and methodology along with the justification of academic value. Chapter two looks at the historical development of profession as an occupational concept. It begins by providing a brief overview of pre-industrial, non agrarian work and training and the role of occupational groups such as guilds and professional bodies. Moving on to consider the development of the first three established professions and the growth of marginal professions. The important role of social capital in establishing and maintaining professional status is also discussed, followed by an examination of the role of chemists/druggists up to the nineteenth century. Chapter three introduces the sociological concept of profession and considers the various attempts researchers have made to define profession or professionalism and their apparent inability to reach agreement on terms associated with the concept. Social stratification theories and their influence on academic

research over the last century are then discussed along with some of the professional frameworks and theories of profession produced over the last century. Chapter four presents a brief history of the county town of Stafford up to the twentieth century to provide background information against which the research findings can be set. Research methodology is discussed in depth in chapter five which details primary sources used and steps taken to validate and triangulate data. This is followed in chapter six by an analysis of the data collected and the research findings. Research conclusions are presented in chapter seven.

Research limitations

The research is longitudinal but limited in its time span to the nineteenth century, a period chosen for several reasons. Firstly during this time Stafford underwent industrialisation and substantial growth which should have triggered an expansion in the number of professional services in the town and possibly the beginning of a professional project if such an event was going to take place (Larson 1977). Secondly from 1841 onwards sources exist which detail the occupations of Stafford residents due to the introduction of mandatory census collection. As Perkin (1990) claims that the professionalisation of work began in the mid nineteenth century and was effecting many occupations by 1880 with a massive growth in the number of professions between 1880 and 1900, census information should make it possible to detect such development in Stafford. Currently census data is only available up to 1901 so it is not possible to use this source beyond this date. Thirdly, although the UK economy grew during the nineteenth century, the first half of the twentieth century suffered economic depression and two world wars (Freeman and Soete 1997; Freeman and Louçã 2001; Harley 2002). This level of economic change may have influenced an occupations professionalisation process if the time period had been extended into the twentieth century. Finally it has been necessary to limit this research project to a series of case studies which explore only one occupation, that of chemist/druggist, in depth. Expanding this research to cover further professions or marginal professions practising in Stafford during the nineteenth century would enable comparisons to be made between various types of professional work present in the town in order to see if common elements could be identified.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research question and the perceived gap identified in current sociological research, namely investigating the role of professional occupations in the development of county towns during nineteenth century industrialisation. The importance of county towns as administrative centres makes them particularly suitable for case study research in this area as they provided regular work for professions prior to industrialisation. An interpretive, constructivist research methodology will be used for this research and data will mainly be collected from primary nineteenth century sources. Chapter two will now move on to consider the historical development of professions.

Chapter 2: The historical development of profession

This chapter investigates the type of work described as a profession at different time periods and why individual occupations were included in this work category. To do this it is necessary to briefly look at work changes up to and including the nineteenth century and their effect on professional employment opportunities. The chapter therefore begins by considering the evolution of non agrarian work; the role of the guilds, the effect of work specialisation and the rise of UK entrepreneurship. It will then move on to look at the manner in which professions developed, which occupations were considered professions and the type of work undertaken. The importance of social recognition in establishing and maintaining an occupation as a profession and the development of high status or marginal professions including chemist/druggists is then discussed. The chapter concludes by briefly considering the role of professional societies and nineteenth century change.

Evolution of non agrarian work, control and regulation

Pre-industrial work is considered to have been mainly agrarian, varying with the seasons, under feudal control and focused around the home (Bennett 1969; Orwin 1964; Thompson 1968) although many vital services were provided by non agrarian workers including tradesmen, artisans and merchants (Falkus 1987; Patten none given). Pre-industrial work of whatever nature was mainly regulated by the Master or Mistress of the house in conjunction with the law of the land (Krause 1996; Woodward 1980; King 2000), and for some occupations by relevant guilds (Epstein 1998). Ullman (1966) considers that guilds supported the change from feudal control of work to the self rule and self government of work. Craft guilds had however been in existence from around the tenth century, created by workers to regulate and protect their particular occupation (Terrice 1995; Krause 1996; Black 1984; Phythian-Adams 1979). Guild membership was obtained through undertaking an apprenticeship of between five to seven years, with this system of training used for crafts, trades, merchants, non artisan occupations and professions (Ericson 2006; O'Day 2000). State control and protection of apprentices was not

introduced in the UK until the Statute of Artificers Act in 1563 though this legislation appears to have been widely ignored (Woodward 1980)⁵.

Established guilds had four different powers, they controlled entry to the occupation; means of production; quantity of goods produced and operated monopolies granted through town charters; guild charters; parliamentary statutes and precedents established in common-law (Krause 1996; Richardson 2000; Swanson 1988). Guilds did not operate monopolies in the twentieth century meaning of the term, as sole producers of a product, they only controlled production and distribution in the area they were based, which severely limited their power (Richardson 2000, p.5). In reality therefore guilds were predominantly industrial organisations regulated by town councils in order to administer and control economic policy (Lipson 1946). From the mid eighteenth century guild power and apprenticeship training began to decline, mainly due to evolution in the design and production of many craft items which reduced the level of training required and allowed work specialisation (Jones 1992). Apprenticeship however continued as the method of training for many occupations throughout the nineteenth century, as will be discussed further in chapter six. According to Gross English law gave the guilds powers that:

shackled free commercial intercourse ... blindly aimed to reduce free competition to a minimum, regarded what we now consider legitimate speculation as a crime, deflected from the town every powerful current of trade, mercilessly obliterated the spirit of mercantile enterprise, and crushed out every stimulus to extensive production (1890, pp.50-51).

As he was writing in the late nineteenth century his comments highlight the importance placed on the free market economy at that time. Interestingly Gross also wrote this at a time when the number of professional bodies was increasing so either the monopolistic tendency of professional bodies had not yet been realised (Perkin 1989), or because professions at this time were essentially based on “immaterial labour”, monopolies controlling this type of work were not considered a threat to trade (Hardt 2004, p.2).

Professions are considered the last surviving remnants of guilds because many enjoy government protection through professional bodies and royal charters, which combine to set out training requirements and restrict practicing an occupation to members of a particular professional body (Brown and Cassady 1947; Krause 1996; Gillies 2002; Sox

⁵ The Tudor Statute of Artificers covered a wide range of issues relating to employment in an attempt to regulate the national labour market. It established methods to determine local wages and working conditions and attempted to restrict the mobility of labour. For further details see Woodward 1980.

2007). For example pharmacist/chemists had to be members of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society from the early nineteenth century in order to operate their business (Hunting 1988). This example shows an early nineteenth century royal charter effectively granting a government controlled monopoly covering the whole country, so in this respect professional bodies were given more power than guilds possibly due to the government's desire at this time to improve quality, standardise practices and protect middle class occupations (Reader 1966; Krause 1996, p.23; Goldthorpe 1980).

Many twentieth century researchers emphasise the importance of a professional body in the professionalisation process and point to the increasing number of such bodies in the late nineteenth century as evidence of the desire to professionalise (Wilensky 1964; Greenwood, 1957; Pavalko 1971). Although professional bodies are not specifically mentioned in definitions examined in chapter three, they do feature in many of the frameworks and models discussed. However the growth of professional bodies at this time has also been seen primarily as a method of restricting the number of people entering a particular occupation to prevent overcrowding and raise wages (Musgrove 1959)⁶. It would appear that although in theory the UK economy supported free trade from the late eighteenth century, in practice established and marginal professions continued to build strong ties with the state (Goldthorpe 1980). Krause points out that capitalist principles allow "the state to intervene in the economy to help or disadvantage a particular sector but is constrained from hurting the broader capitalist process" (1996, p.23). As capitalism and professions developed at the same time the two are considered intrinsically linked (Skocpol 1985), confirmed perhaps by a 1933 dictionary of definition of entrepreneur as "a contractor acting as an intermediary between capital and labour" (Onions 1933, p.193)⁷. The 1933 definition of entrepreneur does not however provide a link to class but does tie in with activities of Stafford professionals as will be discussed in chapter seven.

Work specialisation

Part of the reason behind the decline of the guilds was work specialisation. Adam Smith (1776) was one of the first to realise that breaking down production of an individual item

⁶ During the nineteenth century as professional bodies developed and defined training standards the number of doctors, accountants, auditors, civil engineers registering to practice dropped (Musgrove 1959). There were 27 qualifying bodies in 1880; 48 in 1900; 75 1918; 121 1930s (Perkin 1989, p.20).

⁷ Two nineteenth century dictionaries at the William Salt library Stafford were consulted but neither contained a definition of the term entrepreneur.

into its constituent parts and employing different workers to perform each individual aspect of production could increase productivity (Wrigley 2004). The level of training for specialised work was far less than training an individual to produce the whole item and greatly reduced production costs. Industrialisation progressively commodified many occupations previously protected by guilds, breaking their monopolies and increasing production (Giddens 1991). Smith also recommended lifting trade agreements that imposed restrictions on the UK (Rae 1895). The combination of specialisation, free trade and the repeal of the Statute of Artificers in 1814, paved the way for a demand led economy which resulted in relatively stable growth that lasted for over a century (Kenwood and Lougheed 1999). Strangely perhaps, it also provided the economic climate in which the professions as an occupational sector were to grow.

Friedson (1983) splits specialised work into two categories: mechanical specialisation; commodified work that requires general or tacit knowledge to perform; and discretionary specialisation; work that relies on individual judgement based on formal knowledge and training and forms the basis of professional occupations. According to Abbott (1991) the two main theoretical assumptions underlying the study of the professions are the belief that certain work is so specialised that it cannot be performed without specific training and secondly that the work does not lend itself to being commodified or mass produced. Abbot's perception that professional work could not be commodified is open to challenge in light of recent changes to work practices which appear to commodify even work undertaken by the long established professions of law, medicine and religion (Hyland 1996; Berg 1997; Payton 2004)⁸. Evidence discussed later in this chapter relating to chemists/druggists also appears to contradict Abbot as this occupation changed considerably over time due to the gradual specialisation of medical practitioners and in response to the nineteenth century mass production of medicines (Curth 2006). Although Abbott's view would support some of the earliest definitions of profession discussed in chapter three which emphasised altruism and service to society as professionals main aims, if he were correct this would suggest that professions were possibly the only occupations not to be affected by the new nineteenth century commercial environment which could be

⁸ For example, current practice in many UK doctor's surgeries is that people with long-term illnesses such as asthma and heart conditions no longer see a doctor when they attend a specialist clinic, instead they see a chemist. In many cases the chemists consulted at such clinics can alter the level of medication prescribed originally by the doctor and some can actually prescribe drugs themselves (RPSGB none given). In addition, for emergency visits and vaccinations patients will often see a triage nurse and for blood samples, a phlebotomist. (Reveley 2000). Interestingly this perhaps puts chemists in the position of returning more to their original role of apothecary, lost due to early specialisation of medical work.

said to highlight a lack of entrepreneurial spirit in these occupations⁹. Despite the growth of academic research relating to professions in the twentieth century, MacDonald (1995) argues this category of work remains one of the least researched and under theorised areas. This is rather surprising given the important role that professions are considered by some researchers to have played in the development of modern society (Perkin 1989; Carr-Saunders 1933). However MacDonald's view does uphold the justification for this research outlined in chapter one.

The growth of entrepreneurship

The opportunities that work specialisation and free trade presented for making money formed the basis of the UK capitalist economy and resulted in a sustained growth in the number of independent and specialised owner-managed businesses. The UK industrial revolution was based on capital entrepreneurship with wealth generation actively encouraged by many nonconformist religions (Church 2000; Jeremy 1998; Weber 1925). However business investment during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries carried a high level of risk and small business owners faced unlimited liability should their businesses fail¹⁰. The average life of a business in 1860 was three to nine years (Church 2000). By the 1870s entrepreneurial investment in the UK was in decline, due to underinvestment, lack of technical education, commercial methods, complacency and conservatism (Altcroft 1964; Shadwell 1906; Hobsbawm 1975). Faced with growing overseas competition the economy began to slide into depression (Hoffman 1933; McKenzie 1902; Musson 1959). Yet strangely this period of economic decline is identified as the time when many occupations began to undertake professionalisation (Larson 1977; Perkin 1989), although the growth of profession at this time may owe more to educational changes implemented to check economic decline than anything else, an issue is explored in more depth in chapter six. It also seemed to take place despite fears expressed throughout the nineteenth century relating to the rise in the number of educated middle class workers and an overcrowding of professions (Parliamentary Papers 1860; Edgeworth 1809; Davenant 1870; Anon 1860)¹¹. Though as discussed in chapter three the growth of professional society may reflect the use of a three not five class stratification model by some researchers (Neale 1972).

⁹ See Murphy (2006), for a discussion on the development and history of entrepreneurial thought.

¹⁰ Although larger businesses of seven or more investors were from the 1850s protected under acts which limited liability and democratised the market by enabling working class men to enter (Loftus 2002).

¹¹ For a discussion of the concept of class in nineteenth century see Briggs (1967, pp.43-73); Clark (1995, pp.112-147); Gay (2002, pp.3-34); Gay (2002, pp.3-34) Loftus (2001).

Development of the first three professions

The term profession has changed meaning significantly over the course of time. The etymology of the word shows that profession was originally a term associated with religious belief and referred to making a vow or one's faith (OED Online 2007). It was first related to aspects of work in the sixteenth century (Copeland 1541; Pettie 1581), but by the early seventeenth century was used in this manner frequently, although occupations portrayed as professions varied considerably (Bacon 1605; Shakespeare 1623/1996; Dryden 1682). For instance, in 1610 the term was used to describe prostitutes (Harper 2001) and in 1688 plumbers (Holme 1688). Although the terms profession, trade, occupation and vocation were interchangeable at the beginning of the seventeenth century, by mid century O'Day claims profession was used only to refer to occupations such as "lawyers, clergy and medics and not tradesmen or artisans" (2000, p.14). The term professional, to refer to a member of a profession was first used in 1747 but by 1884 was also used to describe an activity undertaken for money, and the opposite of amateur. Professionalism was first used by Grote in 1856 so was not a term in use at the beginning of the period covered by this research and its introduction at this time may indicate a heightened awareness of professional services (OED 2007).

The first recognised profession in England, the church, had successfully established its position as provider of formal learning by the end of the twelfth century and wielded a considerable amount of power due to its political contacts and ownership of land (O'Day 2000, p.45). The high level of education required to join the clergy severely restricted recruitment, resulting in an acute shortage and many vacant livings by the 1530s (Manning 1970). This coupled with limited advancement opportunities and relatively low remuneration, meant that new recruits were found by lowering entrance requirements, which resulted in clergy being appointed with no education and no vocation (Skeeters 1993; Haigh 1982). In 1584 for example only 14% of clergy in Coventry and Lichfield diocese were graduates (Hill 1963). In order to raise educational standards promotion was restricted to clergy with degrees and by 1630 the majority of clergy were graduates. By this stage recruitment was no longer a problem as sons of the aristocracy and gentry were now attracted to a church career due to its high level of autonomy; flexible working hours and improved incomes with more than one quarter of the clergy receiving an income of over £500 a year (O'Day 200, p.153). However by 1836 church incomes appear to have fallen as Ecclesiastical Commissioners found the incomes of 10,478 benefices in England and Wales

were from £100 to £400 a year and that many poorer clergy held multiple benefices, chaplaincies and taught in grammar schools (Reader 1966, p.199)¹².

The legal profession emerged during the second half of the twelfth century when a permanent court was established at Westminster requiring the services of professional pleaders or serjants to carry out the role now undertaken by barristers (Millerson 1964). The Serjants claimed a monopoly on pleading, established apprenticeships and had formally set up the Inns of Court as their professional association by 1400 (Brint 1994). According to Dunman (1983) there were fewer than one thousand legal professionals in England up to the late eighteenth century, but this number increased to two thousand five hundred by the 1830s. Pay in the legal profession varied considerably but the average wage in the 1850's was around £500 to £1200 (Thompson 1857)¹³.

Medicine, the third profession, was slow to emerge due to its entanglement with the church, only establishing itself as an individual occupation in the fifteenth century and not setting up the Royal College of Physicians until 1518 (Tucker 2006). Reader states that “reputable medical men were by custom considered to be divided into three orders: physicians, surgeons and apothecaries. Of these in the eighteenth century, only physicians had a clear title to rank among the learned professions” (1966, p.40). These three medical roles remained entwined until the Apothecaries Act of 1815 separated them into medical practitioner, surgeon and chemist. Medical guilds did exist but membership was voluntary and people joined only when it was in their interest to do so (O'Day 2000, p.183). The Royal College of Surgeons received its royal charter in 1818. Although physicians at this time were educated men, their education did not necessarily include medical knowledge or a degree and up to 1834 the Royal College fellowship exam was conducted entirely by oral examination with groups of candidates and lasted approximately two hours. Successful London doctors in 1850 earned around £800-£3000, though a popular man could earn up to £6000. In the provinces, the pay for a general practitioner was £500-£1000, although in

¹² According to the commissioners 184 livings were worth more than £1000 a year; 18 over £2000 a year; 1291 (including those just mentioned) over £400 a year 6261, worth between £100 -£400; 1978 between £200 and £300; 1926 less than £100 (Reader 1966, p.199).

An approximate up to date value of these 1836 figures can be obtained from the retail price index Measuring Worth calculator, which gives the equivalent value in 2007 of £1000 as £75,517.10; £2000, £151,034.19; £400, £30,206.84 (Officer 2008).

¹³ According to Thompson (1857, p.134) 8 barristers in the UK made £8000 a year; 24, £5000 and 5 £11,000. Though he thought that some QC's would make £3000; junior barristers £2000 with permanent officials such as the Chief Justice for the Queen's Bench being paid a salary of £8000.

The approximate value in 1857 of £1000.00 was £66, 410.02 (Officer 2008).

large towns £2000-£4000 (Thomson 1857). Though in Victorian England £1000 a year was considered “modest prosperity ...better than the general run of middle class incomes” (Reader 1966, p.201)¹⁴.

The importance of social capital

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century’s successful establishment of an occupation as a profession relied on society being prepared to recognise it as such. Referring to the legal, medical and clerical occupations as learned or liberal professions dates from Joseph Addison’s work of 1711/1712, although social recognition of the status associated with these occupations existed much earlier (Brint 1994)¹⁵. Acknowledgment of occupations as professions in a class based society related primarily to the level of symbolic or social capital held by early practitioners which enabled professional status to be achieved despite the occupation lacking many of the distinguishing traits later identified by twentieth century sociologists as essential (Bourdieu 1990; Lin 1999; Schudson 1980). For instance, during the nineteenth century the medical profession underwent considerable reform in order to address the poor reputation it had gained as a result of appointing surgeons and doctors not on medical ability, but on social connections (Loundon 1992)¹⁶.

Wacquant considers

social status involves practices which emphasize and exhibit cultural differences which are a crucial feature of all social stratification ... status may be conceptualised therefore as lifestyle; that is, as the totality of cultural practices such as dress, speech, outlook and bodily dispositions. While status is about political entitlement and legal location within society, status also involves, and to certain extent is style (1989, p.46).

Recruits to the early professions were well educated and generally came from the same social background, the land owning classes (James 2006). Despite promoting the specialisation of work Adam Smith had the following view on professions:

We trust our health to the physician; our fortune and sometimes our life and reputation to the lawyer and attorney. Such confidence could not safely be

¹⁴ An approximate up to date value of these 1850 figures can be obtained from the retail price index measuring worth calculator, which gives the equivalent value in 2007 of £1000 as £82,370.75; (Officer 2008).

¹⁵ For more details of Joseph Addison’s work see Bloom & Bloom (1951).

¹⁶ Medical legislation passed in the early nineteenth century included the Apothecaries Act of 1815; the Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 which introduced a new level of medical care for the poor; the Medical Act of 1858. For information relating to nineteenth century medical training see Newman (1957) and Waddington (1984).

reposed in people of a very mean or low condition. Their reward must be such, therefore, as may give them that rank in the society which so important a trust requires. The long time and the great expense laid out in their education, when combined with this circumstance, necessarily enhance still further the price of their labour (Smith 1776/1976, p.118).

Such views do not fit well with his economic theory and were perhaps influenced by his own social conditioning.

Professional men are considered to have transferred their gentleman's ideals of altruistic service to society and a non profit orientation to the professions (O'Day 2000, p.28). The significance attorneys placed on gentleman's ideals and values Carr-Saunders (1933) considers is evidenced by the name they choose for their professional body in 1739, The Society of Gentleman Practitioners in the Courts of Law and Equity. Though Smith (1776/1976, p.118) did not highlight gentleman's ideals in his description of a professional and the term gentleman could simply reflect the common title used at the time to describe people practising this occupation. Chapter six includes evidence of the term being used in this manner during the nineteenth century and of gentlemanly behaviour being frequently mentioned in nineteenth century adverts for apprentices. Professional ideals were not however necessarily linked to work ethic as the eighteenth century legal profession had more non practicing than practising members (Dunman 1983). Evidence that professions up to the nineteenth century had a "reputation for low practice and high charges" can be found in literature and plays of the time with personal competence and integrity only becoming a serious issue from the early nineteenth century onwards as professional bodies began to take control of occupational training and standards (James 2006, p.59) ¹⁷. However reliance on evidence from sources such as plays designed primarily to entertain and spread political propaganda should also be questioned (Cooper 2003).

High status occupations or marginal professions

Although not formally recognised as professions, several scientific, scholarly and service jobs had gained acceptance as high status occupations by the beginning of the seventeenth century (Brint 1994). High status occupations/marginal professions differed from the three

¹⁷Examples of the way professions were portrayed in literature and plays can be found in the Compleat Book of Jests (anon 1668); Chaucer's Canterbury tales (1977) Shakespeare plays(1996), and official documents. For example Baker states that the people of East Anglia complained to Parliament that they were being "vexed by lawyers who go to every fair, market and other places where congregation of people is and stir, procure, move and excite people to make untrue suits" (1981, p.25). Also McGillivray discusses the legal professions role in Bram Stokers Dracula where she considers "ethical service is subsumed in an evil cause" (2004, p.252).

established professions because they did not require high levels of client trust or have the ability to influence individual client's fate and included military officers, scientists, artists, and architects (Innes 1991). Though Thomson's (1857) handbook of professions extends this list as it includes advice on careers in established professions; the civil service; the arts; architecture; engineering science; music; education and literature. James describes the people employed in these occupations as "a new breed of professional men, part creative artist and part entrepreneur" who were able to offer the growing number of wealthy people new opportunities to spend their wealth (James 2006, p.67)¹⁸. The use of the term entrepreneur as an attribute of marginal professions prior to the nineteenth century is of interest because it relates directly to one aspect of this research which asks if professions were entrepreneurial, a point discussed in chapter six where it will be seen that evidence from Stafford does not support the term being applied only to marginal professions.

Although the number of high status occupations grew steadily throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these jobs did not carry the same prestige as the three established professions and many practitioners were unable to make a living from their work (Brint 1994). Krause considers the major difference between marginal professions and established professions related to marginal professions developing very little guild power which halted their development (1996). If this were a factor once a marginal profession established a professional body the problem should have been corrected, however this does not seem to have happened with chemist/druggists who early in the nineteenth century developed a professional body and were granted a government monopoly, but were still not considered a full profession at the end of the nineteenth century.

The development of chemists/druggists

As chemist/druggists are the focus of part of this research, the development of this particular occupation will now be briefly discussed and chapter six explains in-depth why this occupation has been classified as a marginal profession. Chemists/druggists derive from the alchemists and apothecaries of the middle ages. Webster's definition confirms the link:

Apothecary, one who practices pharmacy, one who prepares drugs for medicinal uses, and keeps them for sale. In England, apothecaries were formerly obliged to

¹⁸ See Veblen (1899) for a discussion about the desire he considered people had to emulate the social strata above them in order to increase social standing and self esteem and also Corfield (1999).

prepare medicines according to the formulas prescribed by the College of Physicians, who were liable to have their shops visited by censors of the college, who had the power to destroy medicines which were not good (1859, p.59).

In the Middle Ages apothecaries were part of the Company of Grocers (Traulsen and Bissell 2004). They set up their own company, the Society of Apothecaries, in the early seventeenth century and it received its first charter in 1617 (Hunting 1988). Over time the apothecaries successfully overcame challenges from other occupations relating to their role. For example in 1704 they won a key legal suit known as the Rose Case against the Royal College of Physicians, which ruled that apothecaries could prescribe and dispense medicines which enabled them to evolve into general medical practitioners (Hunt 2001; Simon et al, 2002) ¹⁹. In 1815 the Apothecaries Act gave the Society of Apothecaries a statutory right to conduct examinations, grant licenses and regulate medical practice throughout England and Wales, a role they continue today (Taylor and Harding 2002; Hunting 1988). The association between apothecaries and medical practitioners can be evidenced during the late nineteenth century in Staffordshire by a partnership agreement dated January 1884 between Richard Freer and William Field of Rugeley Staffordshire where both men describe themselves as surgeons and apothecary's (30/80/7/42 WS).

A professional body and legislation

Chemist/druggists' finally broke away from apothecaries to specialise in dispensing and preparing drugs and their own professional body, the Pharmaceutical Society gained its first charter in 1843. The charter allowed them to "ascertain the qualifications of persons to become members, assistants or apprentices of the said society respectively; and for granting diplomas and certificates". The Pharmacy Act of 1852 established the first register of pharmaceutical chemists and required that any "person keeping a shop for the compounding of the prescriptions of duly qualified medical practitioners" had to be registered with the Pharmaceutical Society and be "suitably qualified chemists and druggists" (Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain 1884, p.xv WS). This effectively

¹⁹ The Rose Case began as the result of a patient complaint to the Company of Physicians in 1669-70 who attempted to prosecute Rose for practicing medicine. The Society of Apothecaries appealed to the House of Lords and won the legal right to practice medicine. For further details see Hunting (1988) or Cook (1990)

Savage claims that boundary disputes relating to the provision of medicinal preparations have always existed because there was no clear cut distinction between the role of apothecary, doctor, chemist, druggist, and alchemist (Savage 1993). A view supported by Kremers and Urdang who consider that such disputes continued in medicine until "advances in pharmaceutical knowledge and technic on the one side and medical knowledge on the other, in connection with a growing recognition of governmental responsibility for the health of the people" result in a division of labour which separates the various aspects of medical provision (1976, p.27).

restricted registration to people with Pharmaceutical Society certificates or diplomas but did not restrict the practice of pharmacy to registered people nor provide a legal definition for the trade and practice of pharmacy (Royal Pharmaceutical Society 2007).

In 1861 the elitist attitude of the Pharmaceutical Society led to the founding of the United Society of Chemists and Druggists. After negotiation between the two bodies it was agreed that in 1868 when the Pharmacy Act was updated that chemist/druggists in business prior to the act would also be eligible for membership of the Pharmaceutical Society (Holloway 2000). From 1868 onwards three different levels of registration were available: pharmacist; requiring a diploma in pharmacy, chemist; required to show they had been in business before the act, chemist assistant; had to have been working in the role for three years and under twenty one before the act. It is interesting to note that under the Pharmacy Act “no person who is a member of the medical profession or who is practising under a diploma or license of a medical or surgical corporate body shall be entitled to be registered under this act” (Pharmaceutical Society 1884, pxii WS)²⁰. Despite such early regulation chemists still appear to have been considered a marginal profession in the nineteenth century a point that will be discussed in chapter six.

Nineteenth century professional growth

Training for established professions or marginal professions remained accessible only to people with the correct social status and enough money, until nineteenth century industrialisation provided new occupations and increased social mobility. Many new industrial leaders did not come from old established families and had no social standing on which to build their career so social mobility was a significant aspect of industrial society (Goode 1961). Educational opportunities for middle class boys expanded from the early nineteenth century onwards but was criticised by contemporaries for concentrating on academic not vocational skills and retaining an eighteenth century classical curriculum (Edgeworth 1809). However educational expansion took place “in spite of the lack of suitable professional openings, not in response to the growth of new fields of employment” (Musgrove 1959, p.9) and so resulted in a growing number of overeducated workers (Hobsbawn 1975; Borghans and de-Grip 2000). Despite the importance of new

²⁰ This was an attempt on the part of the Government to ensure that the role of doctor was not confused or associated with the actual dispensing of medicines in order to protect the public and medical practitioners from possible claims of malpractice. The act appears not to have prevented apothecaries preparing their own medicines, which they were permitted to do up to 1922 (Hunting 1988).

occupations such as engineers and white collar workers to nineteenth century economic success, recognising these occupations as professions took time and many did not even start the professionalisation process until toward the end of the century (Mitch 2006; Hopkins 2000; McKinlay and Wilson 2006; Perkin 1989). Nineteenth century census data (appendix 3) shows that some established/marginal professions grew much faster than others and speed of growth may have influenced the capacity to undertake professionalisation. Though inclusion of some occupations on this list as a profession in 1861 is questionable, for example James (2006) considers teaching was not sufficiently developed to be considered a full profession throughout the nineteenth century. However perhaps what should be questioned is when this data was processed into these categories, at the time of collection or at a later date, as this could significantly influence the validity of such categorization. The growth of teaching as an occupation is also discussed in more detail in chapter six.

The manner in which industrial occupations organised themselves to gain recognition as a profession is described as collective mobility (Larson 1977), and resulted in many occupations in the twentieth century gaining professional recognition based on the new criteria of intellectual skills and social importance (Collins 1979). Indeed Perkin claims that by the mid twentieth century professionals were running western societies (Perkin 1989) and by the 1960s Wilensky highlighted a trend toward what he termed “the professionalization of everyone” (1964, p.137). At the time this phrase was coined many people were employed in occupations with no intention of professionalising, although within fifty years this prediction was close to reality as a result of informatization and the post industrial society (Hardt and Negri 2001; Masuda 1980; Bell 1999).

Conclusion

The balance between agrarian and non agrarian employment in the UK had been slowly changing for many years and by the late eighteenth century work specialisation had already reduced the level of craft skills and training required in many occupations and paved the way for industrialisation. These changes to work coupled with changes in economic thought, resulted in guilds being seen as organisations that restricted capital growth and prevented the operation of a free market, which contributed to their eventual loss of power. Strangely however, the development of professional bodies to control specific professional occupations does not appear to have been seen in the same light. Professional

bodies and professional monopolies are considered by many twentieth century researchers' essential elements of the professionalisation process. They are not considered a threat to capitalism despite royal charters granting them national, not regional monopolies which result in professional bodies having a higher level of power than the old guilds ever had. (Wilensky 1964; Greenwood, 1957; Pavalko 1971).

Industrial growth in the UK relied on entrepreneurial investment and the growth of owner-managed businesses, though by the late nineteenth century entrepreneurship was declining due to increased competition and lower profit margins (Musson 1959; Church 2000). Although the term entrepreneur appears to be used relatively freely to describe businessmen during this period, no instances were found of professionals being described as entrepreneurial, in the sense of them aiming to make money, which is the current definition of the term (OED 2007; Onions 1933). During a search of academic databases only two articles were located which linked professions to the term entrepreneur, one described doctors during this period as "moral entrepreneurs" (Scull 2005) and the other nonconformist ministers as "religious entrepreneurs" (Finke and Iannaccone 1993), an interesting re-interpretation of the term which removes the money making emphasis and instead replaces it with altruism. Evidence presented in chapter six does appear to support the proposition that professionals were entrepreneurs in the commonly used sense of the term.

It seems clear that only three occupations would have been universally recognised as established professions at the beginning of the nineteenth century, although there is evidence that other occupations had started to gain recognition as marginal professions during the eighteenth century (O'Day 2000). It is not clear if these marginal professions were actually recognised as a separate work category by 'common folk', but this is discussed further in chapters five and six. Certainly it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that most of these occupations attempted to launch themselves as established professions by setting up professional bodies and gaining royal charters. The development of chemist/druggist as an individual occupation and its apparent failure to gain recognition as an established profession during the nineteenth century is discussed in more depth in chapter six.

Chapter 3: Theoretical foundations

Having looked at the manner in which work changed during the nineteenth century this chapter will review literature relating to the sociological study of profession to ascertain its significance for this research. In order to be able to establish if professional services grew in county towns such as Stafford during the nineteenth century it is necessary to establish which occupations during that period would have been considered professions and why these jobs were put into this occupational category. Sociologists have since the early twentieth century attempted to define what makes an occupation a profession, but with little agreement. This chapter therefore begins by looking at the historical development of the term profession and surveys definitions and common themes. It will then move on to consider social stratification theories and the manner in which Durkheim, Marx and Weber's theories have influenced researchers. Understanding these influences is important as they may prove a barrier to transferring existing research findings to nineteenth century work. Finally this chapter explores major research strands connected to profession and identifies a range of professional models and frameworks, including those utilised in chapter six.

Defining profession

In order to research professions sociologists firstly needed to define exactly which occupations were professions and why. As discussed in chapter two, prior to industrialisation only a small number of occupations were considered professions (O'Day 2000). Researchers so far appear to have identified a maximum of five: clergy, lawyers and physicians (Fox 1643); ministry, law and education (Vollmer and Mills 1966); clergy, lawyers, doctors and academics (Elliott 1972); divinity, university teaching and law (Larson 1977); medicine and accounting (Hathaway 2002). However the inclusion of education, even university teaching, and accounting as professions during the nineteenth century is questionable and this issue is discussed further in chapter six. Although the number of professions in the nineteenth century was relatively small, by the mid twentieth century when research relating to the sociology of profession began to develop their number had increased considerably and establishing a universal definition proved problematic.

Early researchers concentrated more on descriptions than definitions, for instance Marshall described professions as a collection of superior occupations that have always existed and "were suitable for a gentleman ... did not dull the brain, like manual labour, nor corrupt the soul, like commerce" (1939, p.325). He considered professionals did not work in order to fulfil their economic needs and that this enabled them to make decisions based solely on what was right, not what was profitable. What dulls the brain will of course vary considerably from person to person and make it difficult for other researchers to apply this definition in a non subjective manner. Flexner (1915) was one of the first twentieth century writers to provide a list of criteria designed to distinguish a profession from an occupation. He considered that a profession was based on intellectual activity; a considerable amount of knowledge and learning; had definite and practical purposes; techniques that could be shared; was self organised and motivated by a desire to help society. Whitehead also emphasised the importance of intellectual activities, defining profession as a "vocation whose activities were subjected to theoretical analysis and modified by theoretical conclusions derived from that analysis and which was founded on an in depth understanding of the things involved in the actions which allowed results to be foreseen" (1933, p.73). Whitehead goes on rather derogatorily to define work based on customary activities modified by trial and error, as either craft work, or at a lower level simply the "customary direction of muscular labour" (1933, p.73). It would seem safe to assume he considered his own employment a profession. These definitions highlight early twentieth century middle class ideals which may not make them suitable to apply to the nineteenth century, a period when even the established profession of medicine was still developing through trial and error (O'Day 2000). The use of gentleman as a term applied to nineteenth century professionals is discussed further in chapter six.

Twenty years later Cogan reviewed numerous definitions and categorised them under headings including dictionary, legal and arbitrary, before preparing the definitive definition of profession as:

a vocation whose practice is founded upon an understanding of the theoretical structure of some department or learning or science, and upon the abilities accompanying such understanding. This understanding and these abilities are applied to the vital practical affairs of man ... the profession, serving the vital needs of man, considers its first ethical imperative to be altruistic service to the client (1953, p.49).

However this is highly ambiguous in parts and words such as “vital” open it to individual interpretation. A more recent definition from Brante states that:

professions are non manual full time occupations which presuppose a long specialised and tendentious also scholarly training which imparts specific, generalizable and theoretical professional knowledge, often proven by examination (1990, p.79).

Length of training, level of education and theoretical knowledge form the basis of these definitions from the second part of the twentieth century. They appear to rule out apprenticeship as a training method for professions, which relates to practices at the time of writing, though as will be discussed in chapter six does not represent the reality of professional training in nineteenth century Stafford. Both these definitions appear to be strongly influenced by educational policies and theories current at the time they were written and highlight the change in the 1950's away from a focus on science as knowledge, to an acknowledgement of the role of general education (Dewey 1959). Nineteenth century educational emphasis was firmly scientific (Ravetz 1971).

After discovering that Germany had no concept equivalent to the English professional, Kocka attempted to broaden the definition to encompass European and Anglo American ideals and proposed that the concept profession be applied to jobs that are

largely non-manual, full time occupation whose practice presupposes specialized, systematic and scholarly training ... Access depends upon passing certain examinations which entitle to titles and diplomas, thereby sanctioning its role in the division of labor (Kocka, in Burrage et al. 1990, p.205).

This emphasis on certification as the basis for profession would have limited the number of occupations the term could be applied to a century ago, but by the late twentieth century enabled a majority of occupations to be considered professions and again echo's educational policy at the time it was written. Kocka goes on to add that professions need a monopoly of services for them to be able to practice professional ethics and be of value to society. His inclusion of a monopoly of services would currently support a more European than Anglo American economic model, which may not make this definition as universal as Kocka hoped. It would seem that a monopoly of services has been strangely ignored in other definitions of profession, though it is relevant to this research as was discussed in chapter two. Reviewing these definitions it would appear that they are all to some extent influenced by the period in which they were written which means that for this research

applying a twentieth century definition to nineteenth century work could adversely influence the findings.

Problems relating to lack of agreed definition

The lack of agreement over the definition of profession has resulted in sociologists amending the term to suit their own research and adding additional terms such as professional, professionalisation, professionalism, either as synonyms for profession, or additional concepts which in turn prove difficult to define in a manner everyone accepts. In general professional is considered to refer to the behaviour characteristics of a particular individual and not the actual occupation. For instance Moore (1970) defines a true professional as someone who deals with specific clients and whose clients are directly affected by the competence of the service they receive, while Evetts characterizes professionals as people who are “extensively engaged in dealing with risk, with risk assessment and, through the use of expert knowledge, enabling customers and clients to deal with uncertainty” (2003, p.397). Both these definitions seem rather vague and applicable to a wide range of jobs, but this could have been intended, neither appears influenced by a particular time or the author’s class. Volmer and Mills (1966) provide the following definitions; profession, an ideal type of occupational organisation that does not exist in reality but provides a model for occupations to aspire to; professional’s, people considered by colleagues to be members of professional groups; professionalisation, the process an occupation goes through to become a profession; professionalism, an ideology and associated activities found in many occupational groups where members aspire to professional status. Both Moore and Evetts definitions could be used to help distinguish nineteenth century professional work; however Volmer and Mills definition of professional might prove difficult to apply for most of the century as not many occupations had access to professional groups.

Siergrist (1990) argues that the term professionalisation has so far been used by sociologists in four different ways: as a process; as policies responsible for producing professional expertise; as a separation process resulting in a monopoly and securing higher social and economic status and to describe the development of collective consciousness and professional organisation. It would appear from this list that the term professionalisation may for some researchers have subsumed many aspects of profession and professional,

which indicates the difficulty many people face trying to discern meanings for the different terms. Beckman claims that:

literally 'professionalisation theory' is about processes whereby something grows more, and by implication less 'professional' ... a more precise meaning evolves when you decide upon the rather open-ended problem 1/ which things vary in the degree of being 'professional' 2/ which are the criteria for assigning varying degrees of 'professionalism' to these things ... but is taken to signify an increase in the relative importance of socially sanctioned expertise (1980, p.115).

Friedson considers one of the problems faced by researchers studying profession is the way people imply that profession is a generic concept, instead of a changing and evolving one which may well prove impossible to analyse using one methodology and that profession, as a descriptive term, is used by people to describe two very different concepts:

a broad stratum of relatively prestigious but quite varied occupations whose members have all had some kind of higher education and are identified more by their educational status than by their specific occupational skills. Second, there is the concept of profession as a limited number of occupations which have particular institutional and ideological traits (1983, p.23).

One of the problems trying to conduct research relating to any type of work is its changing nature so Friedson is correct to highlight this, which perhaps emphasises that definitions of profession may only accurately describe profession at a specific time period. If this is correct then ascertaining nineteenth century definitions of profession will be essential to answering the question of how professional services developed in nineteenth century towns and this issue is discussed further in chapter six.

Brante (1990) considers that researchers need to break down the area that they are investigating more clearly and in order to do this he proposes categorising professions into professional types, based on shared work experiences. The outline of his proposed groupings (table 3:1) is based on either market dependency or bureaucratic organization in order to overcome the problem of professions being treated as a homogenous group. Placing them in their social context allows the structural parameters separating professions from other occupations to be located and investigated in greater depth.

Professional types however seems to add an element of social stratification to defining a profession based on funding source, which may lead to even more confusion and possibly places too great an emphasis on this one aspect to make it applicable in its current form to nineteenth century work. Though placing professionals in their social context is the aim of

case study three, which looks in-depth at the Fowke family and is certainly an important step in identifying aspects of professionalism.

TABLE 3:1 GENERAL DEFINITION OF PROFESSIONS (Brante 1990, p.85)				
Free	Capital	Political	State	Academic
Self-employed	Privately employed	Government, Political Elites Higher Civil Servants etc.	Publicly employed Physicians	Natural and Social Scientists
Physicians	Physicians		Teachers	Scholars of the Arts
Lawyers	Lawyers		Social Workers Psychologists etc.	
Accountants	Accountants			
Engineers	Engineers			
Psychologists	Psychologists			

The influence of social stratification theories

Social stratification divides “society into strata based on social position or class” (OED 2007, online). However Neale considers social stratification a separate concept to social class determined by “objective measurable and largely economic criteria” such as income, occupation and education, unlike social classes which he sees as conflict groups related to authority structures (1972, p.19). This difference highlights why researchers have found social class a difficult concept to utilise effectively due to the impossibility of defining a class in any definitive way (Roberts et al 1971; Lucal 1994). MacDonald considers the sociology of professions makes an important contribution to social stratification studies because modern professions have developed in tandem with modern society (1995). Though hasn’t all work developed in tandem with modern society? Social stratification research has been criticised for simply describing social hierarchies (Shils 1948; Pfautz 1953); being limited to constructing inventories and rates of change in social mobility (Chinnoy 1955); and showing only social structure derived from links to mode of production/consumption (Janowitz 1956)²¹.

²¹ The Registrar General’s Social Class (RGSC) schemes changed several times during the nineteenth century but placed their emphasis on the materials that people worked with which has resulted in them being criticised, the professional class for instance included “private soldiers, postmen and pew openers” (Woollard 1999, p.3).

One of the problems of using class for social stratification purposes when undertaking nineteenth century research is the tendency of researchers to adopt the three class model of Victorian society; upper, middle, working class, and to give little explanation as to where and how the classes overlap²². In order to overcome this problem Neale (1972) proposes the use of a five class social stratification model which allows the level of movement between classes to be highlighted. The five classes in this model are upper, middle, middling, working A and working B. If this model is applied to the findings of several economic historians who researched nineteenth century work it results in a reported growth of the middle class being more accurately described as the growth of the middling class, comprised predominantly of clerical workers who would not have been considered professionals (Bowley 1937; Musgrove 1959; Stamp 1916). Therefore the growth of professional society in the late nineteenth century reported by some researchers would seem to be related more to the use of a three class social stratification model and the assumption that middle class and professional class are synonyms rather than an accurate reflection of the growth of professional work (Musgrove 1959)²³.

The influence of social stratification theorists on theory building

The main social stratification theories utilised by sociologists of profession are those of Marx (1849), Durkheim (1933) and Weber (1925) whose respective theories of capitalism, socialism and bureaucracy provide the foundations upon which most sociological research into profession has been built. This is despite the fact that Marx (1849) had very little to say about the professions in his economic writings as he did not consider them to be a significant factor in class conflict and Weber (1925) and Durkheim (1933) virtually ignored them.

²² Adam Smith (1776) first introduced the three class system by dividing people into owners of land; capital and labour. These groups then formed the basis of three social classes with the upper class comprising of landowners; the middle class capitalists and manufacturers and the working class waged laborers (Cornfield 1999)

²³ Gay doubts that the nineteenth century bourgeoisie could be described as one entity due to its many subdivisions. He suggests that the term “middling orders” sooner than middle class should be used to describe this section of society in order to highlight its multilayered nature (2002, p26). His views appear to be supported by Gisbourne (1794) who referred to the higher and middle classes in his writing showing not only that the concept of class was in use before the nineteenth century but also that the term was not used to describe a united entity. James Mill writing in 1826 also refers to the middle classes, not to a middle class (cited in Perkin 1969, p.230).

Marx

For Marx the characteristic that separated human society from other species was the way humans have to produce the means of their livelihood in order to exist (Brenkhert 1979; Bottomore and Rubel 1963). He realised that industrialisation had resulted in ordinary people no longer being able to own or control the means of production and in their labour becoming a commodity, bought and sold by capitalists who aimed to keep costs low and profits high (Kaldor 1956). This meant that although industrialisation had removed some feudal inequalities, it had not resulted in a society of equals, just in the creation of a different type of inequality which according to Marx would only be successful in protecting the wealth of the upper classes. Wealth would be more evenly distributed if the economy was organised and controlled by a single employer such as the state (Marx 1994).

Marx defined classes by their relationship with two important factors; work/labour and the ownership/possession of property (Wright 1979; Robinson and Kelley 1979). His class structure incorporated several different classes including the bourgeoisie, landlords, proletariat, petty bourgeoisie, peasants and the lumpenproletariat, though he considered only two classes played an important role in capitalism, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (Giddens and Held 1982). For Marx classes were self defined groups containing members that shared similar aims and ambitions. Individuals became a member of a class simply by acting as a member of a particular class which meant that “the class in its turn achieves an independent existence over against the individuals, so that the latter find their conditions of existence predestined, and hence have their position in life and their personal development assigned to them by their class” (Giddens and Held 1982, p.20)²⁴. Although classes contain individuals in competition, as is the case with capitalists, they act together in order to protect a shared lifestyle.

Critics accuse Marx of selling an imaginary future to compensate for the problems of the past (Hoffer 1951); of rejecting human rights (Caplan no date); of promoting a closed belief system similar to Catholicism which claims to offer universal truth and appeals to the

²⁴ Polyani uses standard Marxist categories such as working class and bourgeoisie in his stratification theory but his classes are not individual historical subjects like Marx's, but simply bearers of social structure (Humpherys 1969). All classes have opportunities within society and their response to these opportunities depends on their ability to propose solutions that are in the interests of society as a whole. Classes for Polyani are a cultural not an economic creation “constituted primarily to redress the cultural devastation created by market society” and although they play a key role it is not one based on economic self interest but driven by shared social interest (Block and Somers 1984, p.67). Polyani class structure appears not to have been adopted for use by sociologists investigating profession.

emotions but is beyond logic (Koestler 1982); of promoting historical materialism (Wright 1979); of pseudoscience, promoting a predictive theory that has been shown not to work (Popper 1971) and of producing a theory with flawed values (Skillman 2007). Despite these criticisms there can be no doubt that Marx's ideas have been extremely influential in underpinning many areas of sociological research even though it has also been claimed that Marxism is not sociology (Slaughter 1975).

Durkheim

Up to the early 1970's many sociologists utilised functionalist research methodologies in an attempt to identify the characteristics of profession and produce criteria that would positively identify a profession from an occupation. Durkheim's (1933) theory was commonly used as the basis of this research because using an Anglo/American interpretation of the term profession Durkheim appeared to place a high value on the role that professionals played in society (Steeman 1963). However although Durkheim appears to refer directly to professions in his writings, many researchers fail to realise that he uses the term profession as a synonym for occupation, not in the Anglo/American sense, to refer to a certain group or class of occupations (Steeman 1963; Hughes, 1960). His main concern is the integration of professions or occupations into society utilising a form of guild socialism to control individual aspirations (Watson 2003). He does not propose the control of work by professional organisations (McCauley 2005), or that professional's act as "intermediaries between individuals and the state" (Macdonald 1995, p.2). The misinterpretation of Durkheim's use of the term profession by sociologists explains why his theory was adopted for such a long time as it seems to support one of the essential traits of profession identified by researchers, which is the need for a professional body.

Weber

Another research strand popular with sociologists is the effect of bureaucracy on professional work which in general adopts Weber's (1925) theories as its foundation. Although industrialisation brought with it appalling working conditions for factory workers during the nineteenth century, the fact that factory work at this time employed only thirty five percent of the working population is often overlooked (Dennis 1986; McCauley 2005). Industrialisation required not just factory labour but also administrators to organise and run the new industrial towns (Weber 1925). Weber thought society could be understood by looking at the operation of hierarchical and social systems together in order

to determine the significance of domination, subordination and the exercise of power. His theory had three classification dimensions; class, status and party. Class power resulted from access to material sources; status power from social recognition and party power from modern state organised social systems (Knoke 1970), which created inequality in society through social closure, brought about when groups of people restricted entry and excluded benefits to those outside the group (Murphy 1988).

Weber (1904), claimed that capitalist economies needed the rational structures of law and administration in order to function effectively and that society would be the most prosperous if work was organised on monocratic, rational-legal guidelines with work and society controlled by administrators who imposed rules impersonally and retained their jobs for life in order to ensure a continuity of expertise (Mann 1993). A view not shared by some nineteenth century writers. J.S.Mill for example in 1837 considered government was creating a “vast network of administrative tyranny” (quoted in Urbinati and Zakaras 2006, p.81); Thomas Carlyle that bureaucracy was continually growing and a nuisance to business (1850), and Dickens 1855 novel *Little Dorrit* contains a withering satire on political bureaucracy (Dickens 1992).

Webers critics claim his bureaucratic principles resulted in work being structured in a hierarchical pyramid that restricted flexibility and autonomy and valued administrators above consumers or other workers (Zuurmond 2004); that his stratification theory is incoherent (Barbalet 1980), that it leads to a poor understanding of problems relating to class and makes producing meaningful research results problematical as his pluralistic approach to social stratification makes it very difficult to identify boundaries between particular groups, or to locate where the source of power that a certain person holds comes from (Wright none given). Ironically perhaps his theory continues to be used extensively by researchers, despite the fact that in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century most UK state controlled bureaucratic organisations have proven neither cost efficient or effective forms of organisation (Farrell and Morris 2003; Hoggett 1996). Neo Weberian research concentrates on the individual and locating research in its historical and social context, for instance Goldthorpe (1969) utilised Weber’s model to show how the protestant work ethic promoted capitalism through bureaucratic coordination and Scott (1965) to explore new salaried professionals and the continued importance of autonomy. However data presented in chapter six shows that bureaucratic work did not employ a

significant number of workers in Stafford until 1901 and it is questionable if any of the clerical work found in the town would have been considered professional at that time.

Research strands: Functionalist traits

Having looked at the main social stratification theories utilised by researchers some of the various research strands relating to profession will now be briefly explored. The earliest research in this area adopted functionalist methodologies and aimed to produce a set of traits that would allow an occupation to be measured to confirm beyond doubt if it was, or was not, a profession. This proved to be an impossible task, but it did produce various lists of traits which were used and continue to be used to some extent today as measuring tools. Researchers initially concentrated on identifying elements within professions that had relevance to society (Johnson, 1972), but over a period of time their research widened to include any traits that could be associated with professional work, something that Habenstein refers to as the “constellation approach” (1963, p.292). Some examples of functionalist research will now be discussed.

Greenwood (1957) considered all professions exhibited five traits: systematic theory; authority; community sanction; ethical codes; and a culture. Authority he considered an important distinguishing trait because professionals dictated what their clients should do, while occupations had customers who must be pleased and were able to shop around. Greenwood’s definition of authority is interesting as it appears to be based primarily on a lack of consumer choice, not on level of service provided and his inclusion of a monopoly emphasises the important role of professional bodies in the professionalisation process. Professions even in the late 1950’s were not expected to cope with market forces. Moore (1970) on the other hand considered a profession comprised six dimensions: full time occupation; specialised education; existence of a calling; formalised occupational organisation; service orientation; personal and collective organisation. As Moore was writing in the 1970’s, not the 1870’s the inclusion of a calling as a professional trait is interesting, as this trait might have been expected in the nineteenth century due to the limited number of professions and their people focused role but seems out of place in the late twentieth century.

Brint claims that what united the original three professions of church, law and medicine was not just a shared level of education, but a shared set of characteristics:

the combination of (1) high traditional social status based on direct links to the upper classes, (2) specialised occupational tasks in the division of labor that are centrally connected to the fates of individual clients, (3) the requirements of trust and full disclosure between practitioners and their clients, and (4) (usually) significant levels of formal book learning, beginning with a classical education (1994, p.27).

This list emphasises the role of what Hughes termed “guilty knowledge” in the work of the original three professions whose practitioners were told about their clients’ moral sins, illegal acts and diseases, making trust and discretion very important professional qualities (1958, p.277). It is interesting to note the emphasis that Brint places on social status, something that is not specifically included in other lists of traits and which perhaps emphasises changes to entrance criteria. It also highlights the problem with trying to identify occupational traits and use them as a set measurement; they are liable to change over time and are almost impossible to quantify.

Pavalko’s (1971) trait model lists eight characteristics which he thought were essential if an occupation was to be a profession. He considered researchers ought to ask not simply is this occupation a profession, but to what extent is this particular occupation a profession? In order to be able to measure the degree of professionalisation present within occupations he developed a continuum (table 3:2) based on what he considered the most important professional traits. Although Pavalko claims that his model aided identification of a profession, his categories do seem to lack flexibility. For example is it not the case

TABLE 3:2 PAVALKO’S TRAIT MODEL (1971, p. 26)		
	Occupation	Profession
Theory or Intellectual Technique	Absent	Present
Relevance to Basic Social Values	Not relevant	Is relevant
Training Period		
A	Short	Long
B	Non-specialised	Specialised
C	Involves things	Involves symbols
D	Subculture unimportant	Subculture important
Motivation	Self interest	Service
Autonomy	Absent	Present
Commitment	Short term	Long term
Sense of Community	Low	High
Codes of Ethics	Undeveloped	Highly developed

that most occupations involve some theory or intellectual technique; can it simply be present or not present? Doesn't this particular trait itself require a continuum to measure to what extent it is present? In fact, don't all of the traits require their own continuum if they are to provide any useful form of measurement? However because this model uses a continuum and includes most of the traits identified by other models it has been selected to be tested for applicability to nineteenth century profession in chapter six.

Wilensky considered an occupation passed through six different stages to achieve professional status. Firstly the occupation needed to provide practitioners with full time work; secondly, to develop training for new practitioners; thirdly for some people to actually stop practising and to teach the skills required to others; fourthly, a professional association to be established which then led on to the fifth and sixth stages when the association attempted to obtain legal recognition and develop a code of ethics. Wilensky also produced a fourfold classification process (table 3:3) which he thought showed the way occupations gradually moved toward being recognised as a profession, giving examples of the stage that he currently thought some occupations had reached. It is interesting to note that some of the occupations that he classified seventy three years ago as being professions in process, or marginal professions, such as social workers, librarians and chemists may still not have successfully established themselves as full professions. Indeed technological change may now make it impossible for librarians for example to achieve the status of an established profession, as in many respects the importance of their area of expertise is now diminishing.

TABLE 3:3: WILENSKY'S CLASSIFICATION PROCESS. (1964, p137)	
Established Professions	Accounting, Lawyers, Doctors
Professions in process or marginal	Social workers, School Teachers, Librarians, Vets, Chemists
New Professions	City Management, City Planning, Hospital Administration
Doubtful Professions	Advertising, Funeral Directors

Other researchers who developed scales for differentiating professions from occupations included Etzioni (1969) who classified occupational groups as either professional, non-professional or semi-professional; Hickson and Thomas (1969) who utilised a Guttman scale to generate a continuum of status categories; and Hall (1968) who combined Wilensky's (1964) work which looked at the structural aspects of professionalisation with

the attitudinal aspects of work to design a professionalism scale. This is similar to the work of Ford and Gibbs (1996) who also model profession at two levels, the practitioner and the infrastructure (table 3:4). It is interesting to note that profession according to their model has three components at practitioner level, but eight infrastructure components. This would seem to indicate that profession is heavily dependent on infrastructure, to support the development of practitioner skills.

TABLE 3:4 LEVELS AND COMPONENTS OF THE MODEL OF PROFESSION (Ford and Gibbs 1996, p50)	
Practitioner Level	Infrastructure Level
Professionals	Initial Professional Education
Knowledge	Accreditation
Professional Practice	Skills Development
	Certification
	Licensing
	Professional Development
	Code of Ethics
	Professional Society

This model is the second traits model chosen to test in order to see if it can accurately be used to identify a nineteenth century profession and findings are discussed in chapter six. Millerson, (1964) researching at the same time as Wilensky (1964), looked at the work of twenty-one different researchers and found between them they had identified in total twenty-three different traits associated with a true profession, but no single trait was agreed as essential by all researchers and no two researchers agreed on the same combination of traits.

Decline of functionalism

One of the main problems with the functionalist approach related to identified traits typically being derived from the work of the first three established professions of clergy, medicine and law. Many researchers considered the attributes of one profession would be applicable to all professions if only the development pattern and process could be discovered (Crompton 1990). This proved not to be the case and by 1970's some researchers were arguing that professional traits were basically "no more than myths imposed on a gullible public" (McKinlay 1973, p.65) and that the traits approach simply reproduced the professional's view of themselves, a view that did not project reality but an

image of how they wanted to be seen (Roth 1974). It would be interesting to know why functional sociologists considered that the practices and characteristics of the established professions should be used as a template against which they could measure all other occupations. Was this simply as a result of the social standing of people within these occupations? If so were these researchers basing their research primarily on an unquestioning respect for these occupations that had been instilled in them from youth? If professions played an essential role in the reorganisation of work and society during the nineteenth century as some functionalist researchers have claimed then given the range of documents being consulted during this research, it should be possible to identify if this was the case in Stafford.

Adopting Durkheim's theory made it difficult for functionalists to actively criticise the professions and resulted in the importance of the role they played during industrialisation being over emphasised by some researchers (Victor and Wilding 1972). For instance functionalist researchers have claimed that during industrialisation the professions performed a crucial role which prevented social breakdown by providing a moral and altruistic approach to work (Mayo 1949); that the professions prevented industrial conflict by "standing like rocks against ... the crude forces which threaten steady and peaceful evolution" (Carr-Sanders 1933, p.497); and that they provided the means to divert individualism to the needs and service of the community (Tawney 1921). Chapter two highlighted the small percentage of the population employed in professions during industrialisation and it is difficult to imagine them influencing nineteenth century society in the ways suggested. Durkheim's theory was possibly also popular in the early twentieth century because it appeared to embody middle class values and enabled researchers, the majority of whom up to the 1970s were middle class, to identify a role that re-enforced their own life style (Steeman 1963). It is questionable if Durkheim's views would have been adopted so willingly if researchers had been aware that he used the term profession to refer to all occupations. McKinlay (1973) argues that there is no logical reason for researchers to distinguish between professions and occupations, but what better reason could one have than re-enforcement of one's own role in society?

Research strands: Non-Functionalist

Non-functionalist researcher's adopted methodologies which focused on identifying the subject matter and its interactions with individuals and groups (Crompton 1990, p.150).

The foundations for this approach derive from the Chicago School of Sociology and the symbolic interactionist movement (Meltzer et al. 1980). This type of research focuses on trying to understand the meaning people attribute to particular aspects of their life and society and has resulted in a proliferation of different research strands, a few of which will now be briefly discussed.

Parsons and structural functionalism

Parson's structural functionalism is often seen as providing the bridge between Durkheim's and Weber's theories and of emphasising "the link between the emergence of the professions and the growing rationalisation of the social order" (Crompton 1990, p.151). A view shared by Evetts who considers that Parsons was:

one of the first theorists to show how the capitalist economy (of Marx), the rational-legal social order (of Weber), and the modern professions were all interrelated and mutually balancing in the maintenance and stability of a fragile normative social order (2003, p.25).

Parsons's saw the economy as being comprised of institutions and structures that functioned because of their interdependence on each other which resulted in a certain degree of inequality both in work and society and he considered professions a distinct and essential feature of modern western business and society, stating that:

the importance of the professions to social structure may be summed up as follows: the professional type is the institutional framework in which many of our most important social functions are carried on, notably the pursuit of science and liberal learning and its practical application (Parsons 1939, p.467).

This view once again gives the professions an important role to play during industrialisation, however it was written during the same period as the functionalist research, when the influence of professions may have been at its height, since most writers seem to agree that by the late twentieth century their influence on work or society had diminished considerably (Crompton 1990). Parson's theory of structural functionalism had lost credibility by the late 1980s and has now more or less been abandoned and his view on professions criticised for supporting the traits approach (Haberstien 1963; Johnson 1972); and having links with functionalism (Dingwall and Lewis 1983). Haberstien includes Goodes' (1957) analysis of profession as a community, under the heading of structural functionalist research and claims that Goodes' "concept of profession in its elements does

not quite fit his version of community” which results in him trying to “compare insect and human societies” (1963, p.296).

Professional Power

The research strand of professional power is based around the premise that a profession could be differentiated from an occupation by the power relationships built up over time based on social and economic need. Johnson (1972) suggests that the producer-consumer relationship is historically identifiable by three broad relationships, collegiate control, patronage and mediation either through capitalism or the state and that this level of power is increased if the occupation deals with areas of uncertainty, for instance health and religion. In many respects Johnson summarises Foucault’s (1977) arguments, that capacity to govern is based on expertise. However, Johnson’s research is primarily concerned with one established profession, medicine, and the way that it had built up its power base over time in the US and UK. Although Johnson is not identifying traits in quite the same way as the functionalists, his research approach has a lot in common, he is researching an established profession, identifying what he thinks allowed that occupation to become a profession and then proposing that other professions can be identified by the same criteria, namely their level of power.

Friedson (1970) does not use the term power, but replaces it with organised autonomy which he considers professions gain as a result of being supported by the political, economic and social elite. This work builds on Hughes (1960) ideas relating to license and mandate. Hughes considered that occupations over a period of time acquired either an implicit or explicit licence to carry out their work with some occupations then going on to also acquire a mandate covering the legal, moral and intellectual aspects of their job, these occupations became professions. Reconstruction of licence and mandate occurs as occupations change and attempt to become more powerful (Volmer and Mills 1966). Although Johnson’s model became important in the UK it was not particularly accepted in the US, where Friedson’s ideas proved more popular (Macdonald 1993). It is interesting perhaps that Friedson’s views did not appeal to British sociologists in the 1970’s. Was this due to the reluctance in this country to move away from functionalist research methodologies or did Johnson’s ideas simply fit better within the class structure of the UK? This approach to studying profession was short lived and no longer in use by the second half of the twentieth century (Hall 1968).

Professions and the view of folk

Some researchers gradually moved away from asking what traits make an occupation a profession to investigate why people in particular occupations want to join professions (Hughes 1960). Burrage et al. (1990) view professionals as protagonists or actors continually struggling to gain and maintain social status and consider that in order to analyse a profession that it is firstly important to clearly identify the groups and organisations that either inhibit or aid the professionalisation process for a given occupation. In most cases this involves four main actors; the professionals themselves, their clients, the state and the academics that spread professional expertise. They state that their framework is not intended to be aligned to any particular theory of professionalism. Abbot (1991) thinks it is crucial to expand their list to include other practising professionals due to the influence that they may have on general professional practice and ideals. However if Abbot is correct this would mean that the professionalisation process is currently influenced by the majority of society.

Folk concept

Profession at one level is also considered simply a stereotype, something that the general public can instantly recognise. Escaping from a previous, unflattering stereotype therefore is one of the main reasons why some occupations undertake professionalisation (Volmer and Mills 1966). Dingwall (1976) and Friedson (1983) suggest that researchers should study the way ordinary people use the term in their daily lives and how members of different occupations accomplish profession, rather than attempting to define profession themselves. This approach makes profession a 'folk concept' (Becker 1970) whose recognition even within the same occupation will vary considerably from area to area dependant on the acceptance of common folk.

The term folk concept in reality masks what some might refer to as common sense, which is defined by the OED as what ordinary people think, assume or are committed to (OED Online 2007). Common sense acts to guide a majority of people's actions and is acquired as the result of life experiences. At the core of common sense are concepts and assumptions about the nature of mind or behaviour (D'Andrade 1987; Wellman 1990). Research into folk concepts or assumptions are currently being investigated by social psychologists, developmental psychologists and cognitive scientists to try and explain the way such beliefs

are established, the role they play in decision making and the way they effect the operation of society (Becker 1970). According to Malle:

The first thing to note about these folk concepts and their relationships is that they are not simply beliefs about some facts in the world. There are plenty of commonly held cultural beliefs and community opinions that are not folk-conceptual assumptions. What folk concepts do is frame a phenomenon in a certain way – categorise a domain into relevant parts and organise their systematic relationships. The concept of intentionality, for example, shapes the observation of events in such a way that subsequent processing (e.g., explanation, prediction, moral evaluation) differs quite systemically between seeing a behaviour as intentional or unintentional, with significant repercussions social, legal and political life (2005, p.2).

Malle stresses that the meaning of a particular folk concept cannot just be guessed at, researchers have to provide empirical evidence to support their interpretation or definition. A recent development of folk concept is folksonomies, these began as social taxonomies constructed when individuals tag web based content and assign their own meaning to words and images, but the term is now being applied more widely to include empirical folk evidence (Mathes 2004).

Can profession simply be defined phenomenologically though? Can profession as a concept relate only to public conception of its value? Another argument that could be made, though so far it has not been found in any of the literature relating to profession, is the notion that the concept of profession might be described as a meme, a piece of cultural information transferable from one mind to another (Dawkin 1976). The theory of memes originates from the science of evolutionary biology; successful memes replicate and evolve over time retaining some of the original concepts to ensure copying, but adapting and changing through replication (Blackmore 1999). Memes would seem to fit well with the notion of folk concept.

Given the period being covered by this research, establishing folk concepts relating to particular occupations was helpful in determining which occupations were viewed as professions by nineteenth century Stafford folk and forms part of the results presented in chapter six. The literature relating to folk culture provides an interesting concept that has particular value to historical research; especially in helping researchers avoid projecting their own values onto past events. Locating relevant contemporary materials that provides folk evidence will help to ground the findings of this research in the nineteenth century. The notion of profession as a meme is also of particular interest as although the theory of

memes has been around since the 1970's so far researchers into profession seem to have ignored the possibilities that memes offer as a viable explanation for the spread of profession. The views of nineteenth century Stafford folk on profession and professionals forms part of case study one results which are presented in chapter six. The possibility of memes as a method of promoting profession is also explored further in the results chapter.

Professional project

A research strand that would seem to include both Weberian and Marxist views is that of the professional project put forward by Larson (1977). According to this theory the growth of competitive capitalism from 1825-1880 triggered certain occupations to undertake collective mobility projects aimed at attaching social and economic status to their work. The success of such projects depended on a stable economic market, the particular occupation's ability to secure recognition and demand for their product and the educational status of the participants. As professional mobility projects began during a period when educational opportunities in the UK were limited, Larson argues the professions' claim to increased social status rested on the educational achievement of their members, thus making the educational system a principal legitimator of social inequality in advanced industrial capitalism. This is not exactly a new idea though, as has already been discussed education and the ability to pay for education has always been a main identifying feature of profession even being recognised as such by Adam Smith (1776/1976). Larson summarises her theoretical model in the following manner:

The process of organization for a market of services, which I have analyzed in the first part of this study, has theoretical precedence: for indeed, in order to use occupational roles for the conquest of social status, it was necessary first to build a solid base in the social division of labour. Without a relatively secure market the new pattern of mobility inaugurated by the nineteenth-century professions would have been meaningless. Actually, all the devices mobilized for the construction of the professional market and the organization of the corresponding area of the social division of labor also served the professions' drive toward respectability and social standing. I have attempted to show ... that this relation was reciprocal (1977, p.66).

Foster (1974) and Rubenstien (1977) agree with Larson that the nineteenth century did see the middle classes proactively strive to increase their status in the community but consider that Larson's model is too general, although they do agree that it provides a useful starting point from which researchers can build more detail. However Larson may be interpreting the growth of the middle class during this period as the growth of professions which does

not equate to the same thing. Macdonald (1993) uses Larson's model in order to explore professional and state relations.

If individual occupations are viewed as comprising a class, their actions can be interpreted as members of a class working together to protect their means of production or property and undertaking collective mobility projects in order to improve their status (Larson 1977). The formation of a class using Marx's definition would have required the national or at least regional organisation of individuals with common goals, a role that could in the case of professions have been undertaken by professional organisations. This would explain the importance that some sociologists put on the formation of a governing body in the professionalisation progress (Eurát 1994, Wilensky 1964; Pavalko 1971). However, in small towns such as Stafford during the nineteenth century members of a profession were possibly isolated from the particular organisation representing them nationally and it may have been difficult to attend meetings or to feel any shared interest with a body of people who would almost certainly have been based in one of the larger cities. If this was the case then professionals within Stafford may well have formed a class of their own that consisted of professionals from different occupations who worked in the town and shared the same life goals. However Larson's professional mobility theory does not appear to take into account the lack of cohesion and organisation among the nineteenth century middle classes resulting from capitalism's promotion of individualism and increased social mobility which continued until the late nineteenth century when there finally developed "cultural homogeneity as sharp regional identities" (Malchow 1992; Perkin 1989). This seems to make it unlikely that professional project would have developed in Stafford during the period of this research, but this issue is explored in more depth in chapter six

Although Larson's original model can be seen to have utilised ideas from Weber on social closure, her later writing has changed focus and explores the applicability of Foucault's theories of the relationships between knowledge and power and the way he deals with inequality and ideology (1990). Foucault (1977) considers that modern society was accompanied by a change in knowledge that moved away from a classic structure to a modern one organised into disciplines. The term discipline has two different meanings, in French and English meaning either "a department of knowledge and training, a science or art in its educational aspect", or "a system for maintaining order and conduct by way of correction or training" (OED Online 2007, none given). Researchers of profession such as

Larson (1977) and Goldstein (1984) have chosen to interpret it as another term for profession and to apply Foucault's theories on discipline to the study of profession²⁵.

Conclusion

This review shows that there is currently no agreed definition of profession or the terms associated with it. Indeed a definitive definition of the term may never be reached as no single description seems capable of encapsulating the essence of work for all the occupations that have been, or are currently considered a profession. It would also appear that definitions may really only be relevant to the time period in which they were developed and in some cases to a specific occupation. Problems researchers experience defining profession in current work practice may explain why so little investigation of the topic has been undertaken retrospectively. Historical analysis is heavily dependent on sources and profession may in fact prove to be rather an ephemeral research subject (Friedson 1970). These issues also make it difficult to say how successful twenty-first century research can be in establishing a framework for nineteenth century profession. However given the undoubted influence of the professions over society throughout this period investigating the role they played in the development of county towns during industrialisation may open up a neglected research area to wider investigation.

Some characteristics associated with professional work have been identified by authors cited in this chapter more consistently over the years than others (see appendix 4). The first half of the twentieth century places great emphasis on altruistic elements but this is gradually replaced by an increased emphasis on various aspects of knowledge acquisition and learning as education's role in society increases. As this research is concerned with a period which embraced capitalism, it is difficult to imagine the non commercial characteristics included in earlier definitions are an accurate description of professional work, motivation or ethics during the nineteenth century as they would seem to exclude

²⁵ Foucault's ideas have also been adopted by many organisational/management writers in order to explore and explain the changes that are taking place within current work practices. His analysis of power and subjectivity has been found to have particular relevance to the way that high performance work organisations currently operate, with self control through subjectivity being seen as the preferred method for managing staff, rather than control through domination. (Knights 1990; Willmott 1990; Fournier 1998; Dyer and Humphries 2002) Discipline for these writers is seen very much in the sense of control and power, a form of surveillance which is internalized and results in each person self disciplining. Aldridge and Evetts (2003) consider that the discourse of professionalism is part of this new method of discipline. Workers like to think of themselves as professionals, it provides not only identity, but also a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1990) and the term is now applied to a wide variety of jobs, but with it comes the expectation of professional behaviour and self regulation.

professionals from entrepreneurial activity. The emphasis on education in more recent definitions would also exclude nineteenth century entrepreneurs with no formal education from being considered professionals (Chamberlayne et al. 2004). Some of the authors discussed in this chapter appear to imply that profession remained an unchanged concept from the seventeenth to the twentieth century while all other forms of work and commerce changed which seems very unlikely, though chapter six discusses the entrepreneurial experiences of Stafford's nineteenth century professions in more depth.

None of the definitions of profession found among the academic research literature were written in the nineteenth century, they are all twentieth century definitions and although some appear to imply they represent professional attributes that have been, or were always present in a particular occupation, no evidence is presented with the definitions to support this. Sociologists have been criticised for avoiding the problem of defining terms by carrying out single occupation case studies which permit the creation of individual definitions (Burrage et al. 1990). This seems a converse argument, as surely if one investigates a concept then one must start from an agreed definition if for no other reason than to be able to note differences; however it is probably a correct explanation of what has happened. It has also been suggested that the problem of defining terms exists because sociologists are attempting to define "a state of mind, not a reality" (Seymour 1963, p.129). Is this a valid argument though? Does it follow that if an object is intangible that it is also indescribable and would this be applicable to the nineteenth century when a smaller number of people were described by the term or would profession then have described the reality not the state of mind? In order to avoid Burrage et al (1990) criticisms of case studies discussed earlier, locating contemporary nineteenth century definitions of profession is an important aspect of successfully answering the research questions posed in chapter one.

Social stratification theories of Durkheim, Marx and Weber were discussed but there are problems associated with using any of these theories as the basis of this research due to them either becoming discredited (Durkheim), not being applicable to nineteenth century work (Weber), or not supporting an important movement of people between classes (Marx). As discussed in chapter two Victorian society is considered by many researchers to have been structured around three classes, but a five class system better represents the fluid movement of people out of one class and into another throughout the nineteenth century as new opportunities allowed fortunes to be made and lost, something Marx did not

envisage (Neale 1972)²⁶. Although Marx's ideas on class self determination may well be applicable in some respects to the development of professions during the nineteenth century, his theories would tie individuals to a specific class linked only by economic considerations, they do not support or allow, that an individual may be a member of different classes in different aspects of their life. Categorisation of professions as middle class occupations was discussed in the previous chapter, along with the perceived link between professional work, level of education, finance and social capital required to join a profession, these aspects are discussed further in chapter six.

Several of the theories covered in this section of the literature review, Pavoalko's trait model (1971); Ford and Gibbs, levels and components model (1996); Larson's professional project (1977) and folk theory (Becker, 1970; Friedson 1983) have been used in this research in order to answer question four, are twentieth century research theories relating to profession applicable to measure or describe professional work in nineteenth century county towns? Although concepts, such as Larson's professional project for example, may have been visualised around what occurred mainly in larger cities which might not make them applicable to a small county town and none of the various traits models were actually developed in the nineteenth century. Historical research has for some time recognised the value of contemporary folk evidence and this research uses primary sources to help gauge the view of Stafford folk toward professions/marginal professions and the impact that they may have had on their lives. Contrasting the views of folk against the traits models has enabled their accuracy at identifying nineteenth century professions to be tested and chapter six discusses the results.

²⁶ It is noticeable that most of the sociological research that utilizes Marx's theories took place at a time when work was once again undergoing major restructuring due to informatization (Hardt, 2004) and the movement toward a post industrial society (Bell 1973). In this light it is not surprising that researchers should find some correlation between Marx's views on industrialisation and the change they observed in certain occupations (Oppenheimer 1973; Haug 1973; Derber 1982).

Chapter 4: The County Town of Stafford

Chapters one to three have introduced the research question, and reviewed the various research approaches that have so far been used to investigate the concept of profession and professional work. This chapter moves on to give a brief account of the history and development of the county town of Stafford, which is the focus of this case study, up to the 20th-century in order to allow research findings to be put in context. The economic development of the town, how quickly the population increased and the type and amount of industrialised work present in the nineteenth century may all have influenced the demand for professional services. This chapter will begin with a brief look at the way Stafford developed prior to industrialisation and its role as a county town, before moving on to consider the manner in which the town grew during the nineteenth century. This will include brief coverage of the economy up to and including the nineteenth century; its local government; living conditions in the town during industrialisation. The provisions of medical and educational services in the town are also briefly discussed.

A County Town

Stafford is a county town which gives its name to the county of Staffordshire. The name Stafford itself is derived from Old English *stæth* + *ford* meaning ford by a landing place (Greenslasde 2006) although originally the town is thought to have been named Betheney after a hermit that lived in the area (Classic Encyclopaedia Online 2007). In the Domesday book Stafford had approximately one hundred and seventy eight houses; one hundred and twenty eight occupied and fifty wasted. Stafford was one of only six walled towns recorded in the Domesday survey and according to Roxburgh at the time the town had four gates which guarded the entrance and opened “to the four winds of heaven” (1948, p.48). The town’s circular layout is also mentioned in the Domesday book and is retained to the present day, although the walls and gates have now been removed. The Domesday survey records that William the Conqueror took certain land out of the manor of Chelsea to build castle at Stafford (Classic Encyclopaedia Online 2007). This castle survived until the seventeenth century, was extensively rebuilt in 1813, but is now in ruins.

By the 10th century Stafford had established itself as the administrative centre and shire town for the county of Staffordshire and “gave its name to the shire created around it”

(Greenslade 2006, p.200). The county court is thought to have been held in the town from 1176 and a gaol was built in the town in 1185 (Eyton 1854; Pugh 1968). However by 1540 though the town seemed to be struggling economically, and was listed in the Act for the Re-edifying of Towns as having many houses that were in a dangerous state of disrepair (Greenslade 2006). This did not prevent the town being described in 1570 as “the shire town, where both the assizes and sessions with many other meetings of all estates and persons are commonly kept because it is in the middle of the shire” (S.P. 46/14f. 162 SRO). When Queen Elizabeth I visited Stafford in 1575 there seemed to have been little improvement in the structure of the town’s buildings as the Queen asked why Stafford was in such a state of decay and was told the cause was the decline of the capping trade which had provided many of the town’s occupants with work, and the removal of the assizes to another town (Calvert 1886). On hearing this Queen Elizabeth replied that the “statute relating to capping should be amended and that she would grant the inhabitants the privilege of ever after holding the assizes in their own town” (White 1834, p.116). The return of the assizes to the town seems to have helped economic growth and by 1666 the Hearth Tax returns list one hundred and sixty eight houses as being chargeable for tax and one hundred and seventy one as non chargeable, a total of three hundred and thirty nine houses. (Greenslade 2006)

By 1698 the traveller Celia Finnes was quite complementary in her description of Stafford, describing it as:

an old built town, timber and plaister pretty much, in Long peaked Roofes of tiling; 3 gates to the town-there was another w^{ch} Leads to the Castle w^{ch} now is ruined, and only remaines on a hill the fortification trenches y^r are grown over wth green. Y^e streetes are pretty Large and well pitched; a broad space for y^e market place Wherein is a good Market house on stone pillars wth a handsome town hall over it-some of the houses are pretty good. This Country is much for Entertainments, in every house you must Eate and drinke. (Fiennes 1888, non given)

While at around the same time Daniel Defoe wrote the following:

Stafford the county town, and the most considerable except Litchfield in the county... and gives name to the county; but we thought to have found something more worth going so much out of the way in it. The town is however neat and well built, and is lately much encreas'd; nay, as some say, grown rich by the cloathing trade, which they have fallen into but within the reach of the present age, and which has not enrich'd this town only, but Tamworth also, and all the country round (Defoe 2006, p.359).

However when Charles Dickens found himself stranded in Stafford between trains for one night in 1852 he was not so complimentary writing that Stafford was "as dull and dead town as anyone could desire not to see" and when considering the two old churchyards close to Stafford's High Street he concluded that "retirement into which churchyards would appear to be mere ceremony, there is so very little life outside their confines, and such small discernible differences between being buried alive in the town, and buried dead in the tombs" (Dickens 2006, p.137), perhaps rather harsh comments as Dickens spent such a short time in the town.

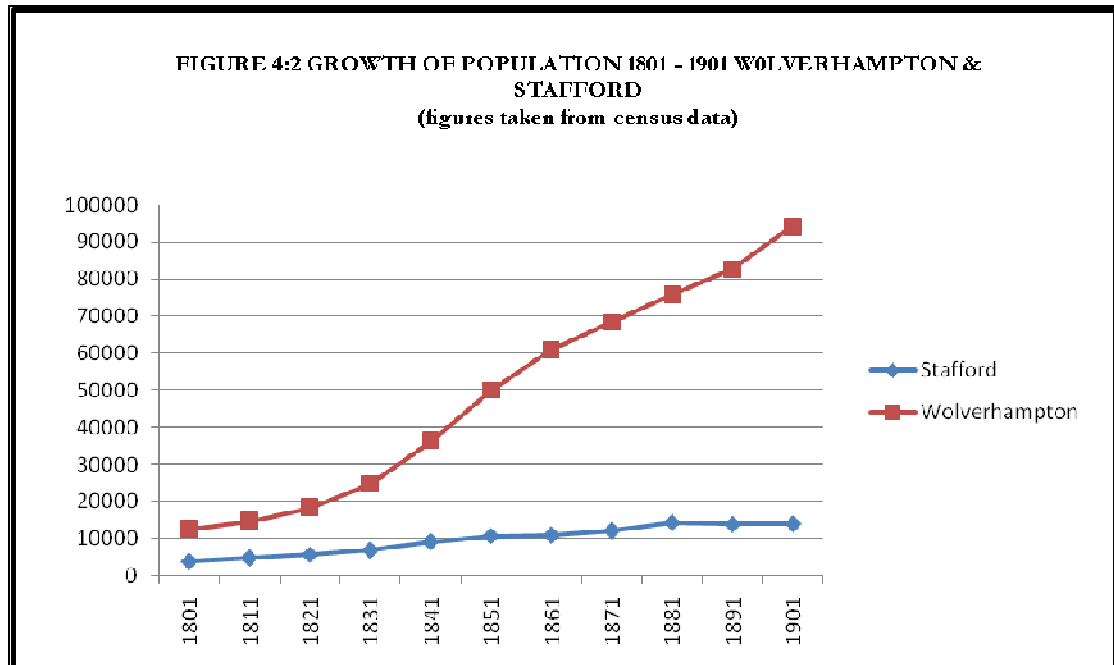
Population growth

Stafford was not unusual in its struggle for survival; population growth in England had been slow during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries due to a combination of factors which included high mortality rates, the plague and poor harvests. However from the mid eighteenth century this pattern gradually changed. Parson and Bradshaw (1818 WS) general and commercial directory claimed that in 1811 Stafford consisted of eight hundred and fifty nine houses, nine hundred and thirty eight families and a total of four thousand eight hundred and sixty eight people. While White gives figures for the population of Stafford and its suburbs in the first half of the nineteenth century as "5,512 in 1801; 6,527 in 1811; 8,172 in 1821; 9,836 in 1831," with Stafford itself recorded as having nearly eight thousand souls living there in 1834 (1834, p.110). However Lewis (1975) gives figures that are considerably lower than those of Whites for Stafford (table 4:1) but does not provide details of exactly which part of Stafford his figures cover so it is impossible to say if they are for Stafford town only, which would explain the difference as White's included Stafford and its suburbs.

TABLE 4:1 POPULATION OF STAFFORD 1801-1901 FROM THE CENSUS RETURNS (Lewis 1975, p.39)										
1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
3898	4868	5736	6956	9245	10777	10996	12212	14399	13946	14060

Higson estimates the average population growth for Stafford as 22% each ten years from 1801-1851 and 15.37% every ten years from 1851-1900 (1946, p.45). Although Stafford's population grew considerably during the nineteenth century, if compared with the neighbouring town of Wolverhampton (figure 4.2), to give a regional perspective then it

can clearly be seen that population growth in Stafford was not as dramatic or as sustained. In fact between 1851-1871 Stafford actually underwent very little growth, though this does not appear to have been a regional problem as Wolverhampton grew continually throughout this period.



Once Stafford's population started to grow then the town had to expand in order to provide sufficient housing. The 1801 census describes the borough of Stafford as consisting mainly of Stafford town centre and the liberty of Foregate, a total of three hundred and sixty four acres. A majority of this area fell within the parish of St Mary's, with a small part within the parish of St Chad's. Stafford increased in size to six hundred and ten acres in 1835 when Forebridge and part of Castle Church were added. In 1876 it increased again to one thousand and eighty four acres with the addition of Castlechurch "(Newport Rd, Castletown and part of Littleworth). Another addition in 1917 of Newport Rd, Rowley Park, Silkmore, the rest of Castle Church, more of Coton, part of Tillington and the Doxey portion of Seighford)" brought its size to three thousand four hundred and fifty acres (Greenslade 2006, p.188).

Economic change

Stafford's economy changed considerably over time. In the 1570s, as already mentioned evidence points to the towns predominant occupation being cap making. However by the early seventeenth century a summary of Stafford life made at the time states that most of the inhabitants of Stafford are "men of trade, or mechanics, as maltsters, innkeepers, vintners, butchers, tailors, clothworkers, glaziers, plumbers, tanners, mercers, shoemakers, glovers, and the like" (D.(W) 1721/1/4, f.52 SRO). Tanning must have been an important trade in the town by the end of the seventeenth century because in 1698 Stafford Corporation petitioned the House of Commons complaining that the tax on leather was so high that it was damaging profitability (Cherry 1890). By the 1720s Defoe claimed that Stafford was "grown rich by clothing trade, which they have fallen into but within reach of the present age" though there is also evidence that up to the eighteenth century felt hat manufacturing of various forms provided work for quite large numbers of the towns inhabitants (Defoe 2006. p.359). By the eighteenth century Greenslade (2006) claims that mercers and butchers formed the largest occupational groups, but according to Cherry a 1750 map of the town puts cloth manufacture as the major industry in areas such as Tenterbanks and Eastgate Street (1890), while Lewis describes the majority of the Stafford workforce at this time as "self employed craftsmen who worked and sell from home" (1977, p.35).

The footwear industry started developing in the town from the mid eighteenth century. Stafford shoe manufacturers specialised in making women's shoes. According to Lewis (1997), in 1793 there were thirteen shoe manufactures in Stafford. However Greenslade gives the number of large manufactures as five in 1787; twenty in 1818; twenty six in 1834 and twenty nine by 1852 (1995). Higson on the other hand claims the total number of shoe and boot manufactures in Stafford in 1851 was eighty five, as the industry at that time still had many small producers (1948). Initially footwear production was undertaken mainly by outworkers, but from the mid nineteenth century onwards the production process underwent industrialisation which resulted in shoe making being gradually relocated into factories, despite initial opposition from

workers (Lewis 1997)²⁷. By the 1880s thirty nine major shoe manufacturers had factories in Stafford, although this figure dropped to only nine by the 1930s (Greenslade 2006, p.217). The footwear industry also generated work for people not involved in the actual production of shoes or boots but providing supporting products such as carpenters who made shoe and packing boxes; timber merchants who provided wood for the heels; leather merchants; metal working trades which produced knives, lasts, cutting wheels etc. and shoe polish manufacturers (Lewis 1997). The location of a railway station at Stafford from 1837, coupled with the availability of cheap land attracted other large firms to the town by the end of the nineteenth century including an engineering manufacturing works producing steam, diesel and petrol locomotives, machines and parts for the shoe industry; grinding wheel and reinforced concrete manufacturers; electrical appliance and electrical engineering firms; pharmaceutical manufacturer. Other major nineteenth century employers included three breweries, producers of mineral water and soft drinks, and salt producers after brine deposits were located in the town in 1877. (Lewis 1997; Greenslade 2006; BIP Co 1890) Generally speaking the types of industries present in Stafford during the nineteenth century were production intensive and required large numbers of low or semi skilled workers.

Town administration

Stafford is recorded as a borough in the Domesday book and became a free borough by Royal charter in 1206. The charter was renewed in total twenty five times over the years, and laid down in detail the way the town was to be run (Higson 1948). On renewal the charter often had extensions added to cover new services, for instance the charter of 1313 gave the right to elect a coroner (D.(W) 1721/1/4 SRO); 1615 to appoint the first mayor (Higson 1948) and in 1685 for quarter sessions to be held in the town (D1323/A/1/1 SRO). Records show that in the 1390s public services in the town were run by a council and overseen by a borough court who took action against such things as dumping rubbish in the street and in 1753 appointed a scavenger in order to remove rubbish. (D

²⁷ During the mid nineteenth century the shoe trade became increasingly industrialized due to the adoption of various machines and mass production techniques by newly developing shoe production areas such as Leicester, Leeds and Bristol. Workers in the shoe trade in Stafford, Northampton raised objections to the introduction of machinery and changes to working practices which resulted in strike action being taken during the 1850s (Church 1990). Feelings were so strong in Stafford that a public meeting was held in Oct 1855 which passed a resolution regretting the introduction of technology by the shoemaking manufacturers and asking for the support of the middle classes. (Staffordshire Advertiser 18 Oct 1855).The William Jones Collection held in the William salt library in Stafford also contains a pamphlet by John Shallcross entitled Correspondence relative to the introduction of machinery into the Stafford shoe trade (WSL 7/185/00).

D1323/G/1,1 SRO) The mayor and the common council for Stafford were also involved in regulating trade and as there appears to have been no trade guilds in Stafford the burgess must have been well protected by the town's various charters (Greenslade 2006). Burgess was the term used to identify freemen in the town who were exempt from feudal obligations either by birthright or by serving a seven year apprenticeship and being over the age of twenty one (Calvert 1886). However in 1696 the council did receive complaints that non burgesses had been allowed to set up businesses in Stafford and to become burgess to the detriment of the ancient freeman and traders of the town and in order to address this issue the council decided that foreigners would pay ten pounds a year tax to obtain a license to operate a business in the town. Businessmen operating under license were not however allowed to vote and this business tax remained in place throughout the nineteenth century (Lewis 1997; Cherry 1890). By the 1830s Stafford Corporation had become an oligarchy, controlled by family connections and favoritism which resulted in the corporation being accused of bribery and corruption and in 1833 a bill was taken to the House of Commons for its disenfranchisement (Greenslade 2006). Despite allegations that only two hundred, out of one thousand two hundred electors had not been paid for their vote, after a report from the Parliamentary Select Committee the town was not disenfranchised as it was claimed that the money received by electors had been spent supporting their respective candidates, not kept for themselves (Select Committee Minutes 1834 WS)²⁸. In 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act finally put in place a new corporation structure. However the corporation inherited considerable debts and struggled to keep pace with the increased demands that industrialisation made on public services. It did not petition to keep the Quarter Sessions and they met for the last time in the town in 1836, eventually being replaced in 1847 by a County Court (D1323/G SRO).

Although Stafford was relatively small in size, the fact that it was an administrative centre for Staffordshire during the seventeenth and eighteenth century played a key role in sustaining its economic development. For instance the assizes brought people into the area on a regular basis and in 1753 Stafford had sixty two licensed ale house keepers as well as many lodging houses, mainly to provide for the influx of people into the town during the quarter sessions (Greenslade 2006). Legal professionals were also attracted to the town for the quarter sessions and 1863 the Staffordshire County Club was established in Stafford

²⁸ William Fowke Snr, the subject of case study three in chapter six, travelled to London to give evidence before the committee on 20 June 1833 (Select Committee Minutes 1834 WS, p.79-81). In total thirty four Stafford citizens gave evidence at the enquiry.

“for the convenience of magistrates and members of the bar visiting the Assizes” and had two hundred and forty members (BIP Co. 1890, p.64 SRO). The location in Stafford of a hospital, gaol, workhouse and lunatic asylum also ensured that the town provided constant work for doctors and surgeons from the eighteenth century onwards. Stafford was not until the eighteenth century located on a main trading road or route and without its administrative role it is doubtful if the town would have been able to flourish. However between 1714 – 1870 it developed an impressive turnpike road system that included all current A roads and some of the B roads and by the 1790s stage coaches from Manchester, Chester, Liverpool, London, Wolverhampton and Birmingham visited Stafford daily (Higson 1948; Lewis 1997). The opening of the railway did adversely affect the number of coaches passing through the town but generated additional business transporting people to the train station from as far away as the Potteries, Derby, Nottingham and Shrewsbury (Greenslade 2006). By 1856 good transport and the railway connection ensured that a particularly large crowd attended the execution in Stafford of Dr William Palmer who had been found guilty of murder. Something that one local resident was not very happy about complaining “all night long the tramp, tramp, tramp of the thronging thousands made sleep impossible” (Anon 1907, p.10)²⁹.

Living conditions

During the nineteenth century quite a large part of the centre of Stafford was low cost terraced housing and industrial enterprises. Houses were built next to factories so staff could live close to their work and employers could keep wages low (Greenslade 2006). However locating housing and industry in close proximity to one another did nothing to improve the town or the living conditions of its workers. In 1839 a report on the sanitary state of Stafford presented a not very appealing picture of dirt and squalor. According to its findings the river surrounding the town had been dammed, reducing it to stagnant water, many of the new two roomed houses built for factory workers had no drainage and rubbish was simply being thrown outside front doors and left to decompose (Knight 1864). The report partly attributed the problem in Stafford to “the sedentary nature of work in the footwear industry and the workers habit of violently overworking for half the week and spending the rest in public houses” (Greenslade 2006, p.232). As late as 1864

²⁹ Stafford was not alone in attracting large numbers of spectators to executions and Laquer, comments that people in many nineteenth century towns enjoyed the “ritual sacrifice of criminals” which produced a carnival atmosphere (Laquer 1989, p.352) and induced people into the town so benefiting local businesses.

Lord Lichfield commented that in Stafford “the smells in the street were perfectly frightful” (Staffordshire Advertiser, 1864). Even facilities that in the past had been adequate, such as the water supply, were adversely affected by the towns’ expansion and in 1875 the Inspector of Nuisances commented that “the subsoil of the borough is saturated with sewage. In many cases the midden, privy, cesspool, and pump are contiguous. I recently witnessed house sewage emptied into a yard drain and immediately afterwards pumped up from the well” (D.1323 SRO). Lewis (1997) claims that the water in Stafford had been contaminated due to leakage from cess pits since the 1830s. As Stafford expanded new houses were built in the outer parts of the town and reserved for middle to upper class workers in order to keep them away from problems within the town itself (Greenslade 2006).

The town market

There appears to have been a market in Stafford since 1173 (VCH, p.262) and the town’s main square, aptly named Market Square, gives evidence of its location. During the eighteenth century the market was located in an arcade attached to the Shire Hall. It remained there until the mid nineteenth century when a Guildhall was built on the west side of the square with a new market hall behind it, accessed via a tunnel from Market Square (Greenslade 2006). The towns market was used not just for selling manufactured goods and produce but also for disposing of other unwanted items, such as wives. For instance in 1801 ‘Cupid’ Hodson, a chimney sweep put his wife up for auction and sold her for five shillings and sixpence after some heated bidding by rival contenders (Staffordshire Advertiser 1/3/1801)³⁰.

During the nineteenth century a cattle market was also held in Stafford originally located in Gaolgate Street and Eastgate Street, but by 1839 held in Market Square (Whites 1834). Stafford Corporation considered establishing a Smithfields market but was beaten to it by a private enterprise set up on Newport Rd in 1861. Cattle markets were held in Stafford throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. A corn exchange was also established in the

³⁰ The sale of wives in Staffordshire was quite common at this time and instances in Wolverhampton and surrounding towns show that the process had its own formal procedure that needed to be followed. The husband led his wife into the market with a rope tied around her neck. “he paid a toll that gave him the right to sell merchandise, then paraded her around the market extolling her virtues. Interested males would then bid for her in a general auction. Once a bid was accepted the husband would hand over the toll ticket as proof of ownership, and the trio would then retire to the inn and seal the deal with a beer or two” (Raven 1978, p.24).

town during the nineteenth century, but as agricultural production around the area gradually slowed down it struggled to survive and closed in 1928 (Greenslade 2006).

Education

Schooling had been available in Stafford from the fourteenth century, though the first documents in which it is mentioned refer not to the school itself but to the schoolmaster Thomas, who was pardoned in 1380 for aiding and abetting a murder (S.H.C. xiv (1), 150; Cal.Pat. 1377-81, 547). A grammar school in Stafford is mentioned in a 1473 Compotus Roll, though it was not until 1551 in response to a petition to Edward VI that it was granted a charter to educate boys and youths, with the Burgess of the town being given the right to nominate the master and usher (Lewis 1997). School pupils were expected to already be able to read and write in order to cope with a curriculum which concentrated on religion and was delivered in Latin (Roxburgh 1948). Not surprisingly the school did not achieve high student numbers. In the 1780s the Reverend Joseph Shaw was appointed schoolmaster and modified the curriculum to include English, mathematics, bookkeeping and science, in order to attract tradesmen's sons. Student numbers increased but the changes did not go down well with the charity commission who commented in 1824 that the school could now hardly be described as a grammar school. When the Reverend Shaw died in 1825 a new schoolmaster was appointed who taught only the classics, resulting in student numbers dropping from over one hundred to less than twenty by 1843 (Lewis 1997).

Stafford's first free Sunday school was established in 1805 by the Wesleyan Methodist church, though Anglicans were also able to attend (Baker 1905 WS). This was followed in 1818 by the first public day school provided by St Austin's Catholic Church and in 1825 by the first national school in Stafford which was located in Gaol Road (Greenslade 2006). A school board was established in 1871 when one thousand eight hundred and ninety two children; one thousand four hundred and ninety two Anglicans and four hundred nonconformists, were thought to be attending the various schools in the town (London Gazette. 24/2/1871. p.686). There were also a number of private schools operating in Stafford throughout this period and nineteenth century school provision was so good that in order to satisfy the 1870 Education act only one additional school had to be built (Greenslade 2006).

Further and Higher education of various types was also available in the town. As early as 1811 an Experimental Society was formed to promote science which transmogrified in 1837 into the Mechanics Institute providing a reading room, library, lectures and classes in reading, writing, arithmetic and drawing until it closed in 1893 (Staffordshire Advertiser 30/9/1837). An art school was set up in the town in 1873 and a technical school in 1890. These two schools merged in 1896 to form the County Technical School which provided technical, science, and art classes (D.1323/C/11/1 SRO). The expansion to the school system in Stafford took place mainly in the later part of the nineteenth century and this should have triggered an increased in the number of teachers employed in the town. Although teaching would not have been an established profession at this time there is no doubt that it could be considered a marginal profession and that some of the towns educators at this time were graduates (Kelly 1872; Blue Book 1902).

Medical services

The Staffordshire General Hospital was opened in Stafford with money raised from subscriptions in 1766 and cost £2,784. Originally it was based in two houses in Foregate Street, but moved to a purpose built building which could house eighty patients in 1772. The hospitals facilities attracted well known surgeons including Eramus Darwin and William Witering to work there (Roxburgh 1948). Extensions to the hospital were added in 1829, 1892 and 1897 and it was not taken into the National Health Service until 1948. In the eighteenth century money was bequeathed to add an additional ward for the insane to the hospital but the council decided to construct a separate building. The Staffordshire General Lunatic Asylum opened in 1818 and in 1832 had one thousand six hundred and four patients who fell into three categories; people of superior rank who contributed to their care and maintenance; charity assisted patients and paupers (White 1843; Roxburgh 1948). The Lunatic Asylum stood in grounds of forty acres and was enlarged several times before being converted into a hospital in the 1940s (Greenslade 2006). In 1840 a separate asylum for the middle and upper classes opened on the outskirts of the town and the old asylum was used entirely for paupers (Roxburgh 1948). In 1872 a smallpox epidemic in the town resulted in a barn at Kingston Hill being converted into a hospital by Lord Shrewsbury and in 1895 the Council took over the running of the Infectious Diseases Hospital which could house up to ten patients. This hospital finally closed in 1911 after the Corporation opened a larger isolation hospital close to the railway in the centre of Stafford (Greenslade 2006). The continual presence of medical services in Stafford, which catered

not just for the town itself but also for the County of Staffordshire, provided continual work throughout the nineteenth century for doctors and surgeons so the number of medical practitioners in the town would be expected to increase throughout the century.

Conclusion

This brief look at the history of Stafford has shown that during the nineteenth century the town provided ample opportunity for the development of all types of professional services. It had a vibrant and thriving economy and by the second half of the nineteenth century a rapidly growing population. The town had also industrialized at quite an early stage. Stafford's administrative function within the County of Staffordshire and increased demand for public services within Stafford itself due to the expansion of the town resulted in problems with the water supply, sanitary treatment and general health, but also in a substantial growth in the number of bureaucratic jobs that focused on the development of public services. New hospital facilities were developed in the town, the courts retained and education provision expanded. Conditions such as these should have provided the opportunity for enterprising professionals to set up practice in the town and for the development and growth of new professional services. The physical expansion of the town also meant that new suburbs provided ample accommodation for professionals and their families. Stafford in essence provides a microcosm which encompasses elements that would have been present to greater or lesser extent in all county towns, making it an ideal case study for this research.

Chapter 5: Research Methodology

Having looked in the previous chapter at various twentieth century debates relating to what constitutes a profession or professional work, it is clear that profession has been investigated from a number of different viewpoints and that as a research area it is open to rapid and fundamental change due to its dependence on economic, educational and management theories. The nineteenth century was the period when working conditions underwent a paradigm change (Price 1999); which makes this a particularly interesting century to research, but which also presents its own problems. This chapter begins by explaining the ontological and epistemological approaches taken in this research; it then considers the methodology adopted and explains the use of a case study approach. Sources used in this investigation are then discussed in some depth, with consideration given to their historical development and use; the methodology used to control variables for each source and research limitations that may be present due to the use of historical material. The chapter concludes by reviewing ethical considerations relating to the research.

Research methodology

Guba and Lincoln consider that before a research methodology is decided upon that the “basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator” needs to be established as this fundamentally effects choice, making methodology dependant on ontology which in turn is dependent on epistemology (Guba and Lincoln 1994, p.105). This research adopts an interpretive epistemology for several reasons. Firstly it supports the belief system of the researcher; secondly as the research question is not concerned with proving a hypothesis or explaining human actions in ways that can be objectively tested and proven, an interpretive epistemology supports the aim of the research to understand human behaviour by looking at the way people lived, worked and interacted with society (Von Wright 1971). Such a phenomenological approach according to Embree “is not argumentative, but rather descriptive or interpretative” (Embree none given, p.1) which also supports historical research. The ontology adopted is constructivist, in line once again with the researchers views of the world and a strongly held belief that there is not just one way to approach a problem but that people and society construct their own knowledge and that profession itself is a social construction liable to change over time (Gergen 1999; Kukla 2000; McMahon 1997; Bryman 2001). This approach fits well with research which is concerned

with investigating people's interactions with each other and the environment they live in at a time when work and society were rapidly changing (Gredler 1997; Prat and Floden 1994).

The research adopts an inductive approach even though some of the data collected will be quantitative; theory will grow out of the research findings. It is also longitudinal, covering specifically the nineteenth century and will inevitably result in a retrospective analysis of events which essentially makes the research descriptive historiography (McCulloch 2004). History and sociology are closely related disciplines (Koselleck 2002)³¹. Park considers:

one of the most important changes in the sociology of the professions in recent years has been new efforts to apply a historical perspective ... which reject theoretical positions that can claim their validity beyond the tests of time and place, whether they are oriented toward social function, the market, or power (1992, p.670).

According to Skocpol historical sociology provides the opportunity for sociologists to combine quantitative and qualitative techniques creatively (1984). This will also be a feature of the research as although quantitative techniques will be used to analyse some data, this is to draw out information relating to trends over a period of time, and not to provide finite answers to a specific hypotheses.

This research is not adopting the Durkheimian approach of trying to explore certain specific variables; or a Weberian approach of trying to discover an ideal type (Ragin and Zaret 1983). In essence it is concerned not with applying concepts to history, but with investigating, interpreting and analysing historical sources and then asking if any of the frameworks, variables etc. that have already been developed by researchers actually relate to the findings. A similar approach will be adopted in this research to that of Bendix who according to Rueschemeyer operates within a framework that does not use "fully fledged theory of interrelated hypotheses" or attempts to formulate hypotheses, but puts together an "ensemble of loosely connected ideas, many of which are stronger in what they deny than in what they assert" (1984, p.138). Such research focuses on the development of the product, the telling of a story or the investigation of actual events. (Skocpol 1984).

³¹ Koselleck (2002) explores among other things the relationships between sociology and history, between historical time and natural time and the impact of visual representations of the past. See also Thompson (2001, pp.481-489) for a discussion of the benefits of historical sociology

A series of case studies

The primary methodology utilized for the research is best described as an explanatory case study, taking the form of three interrelated case studies that move from a macro view of professional life and work in Stafford; to a more focused case study of the work of one specific occupation; to a micro investigation of a particular family employed in that occupation throughout the nineteenth century. A case study approach has been chosen because this research is concerned with investigating professional development in one particular town during the nineteenth century which provides geographical and time boundaries to the research. Case studies have been used extensively by researchers because they support investigating a complex area in depth. For instance case studies have been carried out on single communities (Whyte 1955); individual organizations (Cavandish 1982); individual families (Lewis 1961); individual occupations (Holdaway 1983) and individual professions (Goode 1961; Friedson 1988). One of the strengths of case studies according to Sturman (1999) is that they provide wholeness because all research relates to the one area, rather than providing a loose connection of traits. Hitchcock and Hughes (1996) agree with Sturman and consider case studies have the following elements: rich and vivid descriptions of events; chronological narrative; blended descriptions with analysis; a focus on individual actors or groups and the opportunity to highlight specific relevant events and portray the richness of the case when writing up. While Yin notes that; “the major rationale for using this method [i.e., case study] is when your investigation must cover both a particular phenomenon and the context within which the phenomenon is occurring” (1993, p.31). This research is doing just that, investigating the phenomenon of profession within the context of the county town of Stafford.

When investigating individual occupations case studies have been successful in helping to focus researchers on specific aspects of work within a profession although single case study research has been criticized as being incapable of providing “a generalizing conclusion”. The popularity of case study research is possibly one of the reasons why it has proved so difficult to achieve agreement over the definition of profession (Yin 1993, p13). By conducting a series of case studies within a case study this research hopes to overcome some of the criticisms of single case study research by looking not only at an individual occupation, but also at the area in which the work was located and at the social life of practitioners. This approach could help to provide information about how professions fitted into the economic and social life of nineteenth century county towns and possibly

their level of influence on the development of the area during the period of industrialisation.

Sources utilised in this research

Nineteenth century primary sources have been utilised for this research and include government census records for Stafford in 1841, 1871 and 1901; local business directories; family, local government and parish documents. These sources provide a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data and will therefore also be used to provide triangulation (Webb et al. 1966; Smith 1975; Denzin 1978; Jick 1979) Denzin describes triangulation as the “combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon” with the aim of validating data (1978, p.291). This method of validation ensures that any variance produced in research results reflects the trait under investigation, not the method of investigation (Campbell and Fiske 1959). Although triangulation has received criticism “that sets of data deriving from different research methods can be unambiguously compared and regarded as equivalent in terms of their capacity to address a research question”, it still remains a widely used and applicable method of validation which improves the confidence of research findings (Bryman none given, p.4).

Census Data

Although census data had been collected somewhat erratically in the UK for centuries, the first regular collection of census data began in 1800 with the passing of the Census Act which required that a countrywide census of the population was taken every ten years. The act was triggered by worries about the rising population and the level of food supply (Malthus and Pullen 1989). During the nineteenth century census collection took place in either March or April in order to avoid the seasonal movement of workers and was administered in 1801, 1811, 1821, and 1831 by individual parishes. This normally entailed the Overseer of the Poor collecting information from local parishioners, and the Vicar providing information from parish registers. In 1801 occupational data was collected under four economic categories: agriculture; trade; manufacturing and handicrafts (Higgs 1990). In 1831 economic categories were expanded to seven: agriculture; manufacturing; retail trade or handicraft; capitalists, bankers, merchants, professions; miners, fisherman, non agricultural labourers, those not in previous categories and servants. It is interesting that professions do not feature as an economic category until 1831, perhaps an indication of

their rising numbers, although it is also noticeable that other new census categories included capitalists, merchants and bankers; all occupations intent on making money which perhaps provides an indication that this was also the main focus at this time of professions (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys 1977). No indication is given as to which occupations should be included under the category of profession.

From 1840 onwards the collection and administration of the census passed from the parish to the government's newly established General Register Office (GRO), which in 1836 had become responsible for the recording of births, marriages and deaths. The GRO system of registration districts and sub districts was also adopted for the census (Glass 1978). 1801-1831 census documents have survived for only one Stafford parish, so analysis of census data begins in 1841 when records for the whole of Stafford town are available. The 1841 census records surname; forename; age rounded down to the nearest five for those over fifteen; sex; occupation; whether born in the county in which enumerated, Scotland, Ireland or foreign parts. From 1851 to 1901 the following was recorded for each individual: forename, middle name; surname; relationship to head of household; marital status; age last birthday; sex; occupation; employed or self employed; county and parish of birth; country of birth if outside England or Wales; whether suffering from certain medical conditions; language spoken (Nissell 1987)³².

Trade directories

A drawback to utilizing census data when researching occupations in a particular area is census data relates to where people live, it would not include details of people who worked in Stafford but lived elsewhere. In order to ensure that an accurate picture of professional work in Stafford is established trade directories were utilised in the research in two different ways: firstly to provide information relating to the number of professions in Stafford prior to 1841; and secondly to triangulate census findings. Trade directories were published from the mid eighteenth to mid twentieth century peaking in 1920 at around two hundred and fifty directories a year. Entries in many trade directories covering this period were free or required a small payment, with publishers attempting to make their money from selling the actual directories (Norton 1950). Free entries or low cost entries meant

³² From 1851 to 1901 occupations were grouped into seventeen loose occupational groupings or orders according to occupation and industry. None of the headings used refer specifically to professions although religion, law and medicine were in their own group (Nissell 1987).

that trade directories tend to include anyone who wanted to be in them regardless of their occupation (Norton 1950; Shaw and Tipper 1988). However relying on sales to generate profit also meant that production by a particular company, individual or publisher could be erratic and dependant on previous success (Shaw 1978; Corfield and Kelly 1984).

Information found in nineteenth century trade directories normally includes a brief description of a particular town with geographical, historical and statistical data; listings of occupations under various section headings such as nobility, gentry and clergy, academies and schools, attorneys etc.; details of important people; information about local facilities and advertisements (Norton 1950). After consulting Stafford Record Office (SRO), William Salt Library (WS), Stafford Library and Leicester University Historical Directories website the following directories were chosen because they are the closest surviving directories to the census years utilised in the research i.e. 1841, 1871 and 1901. Directories used were Piggots 1835 and 1842 Directory of Staffordshire; Kellys 1872 Directory of Staffordshire; Harrods 1870 Directory of Staffordshire; the 1902 Court Guide and County Blue Book of Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire; Kelly's 1904 Directory of Staffordshire. Two directories were used for each census decade in order to try and overcome any problems relating to subscription cost limiting the inclusion of an individual's details to only one directory, non publication etc. and also to provide a degree of data validation. When counting the number of practitioners in the trade directories for each occupation and each decade, firstly individual professionals were identified in both directories being used for that decade. The names were then cross referenced and if an individual appeared in both directories consulted for that particular decade they were counted once for the analysis of directory data. A similar method was used to produce the number of unique individual practitioners for each profession, census data was cross referenced with directory data and individuals counted once.

Family and parish documents

A variety of contemporary nineteenth century documents have also been used in this research. For the first half of the nineteenth century the Church functioned not only in a religious capacity, but also as an administrative body (Song 2002). As already mentioned it was responsible for the collection of early census data and other bureaucratic duties relating to the running of the parish, later taken over by local authorities. For instance the parish took responsibility for the operation of the local poor house; collecting the poor

rate; apprenticing pauper children; distributing charity monies; registering birth marriages and deaths; collecting tithes; appointing constables and running schools (Tate 1960). The parishes of St Mary's and St Chad's were responsible for the operation of such duties within Stafford town and remaining documents from both parishes have been utilised in the research. Up to 1860 church courts were also responsible for registering wills and granting probate (Outhwaite 2007). For Stafford such matters were handled by the Diocesan of Lichfield, so wills and probate documents for Stafford held in Lichfield Record Office (LRO) have been consulted.

Several collections of business records deposited in Stafford Record Office were also used including those of a chartered accountant and a solicitor whose deposits both held documents relating to the Fowke family, the subject of the micro case study. Documents consulted included wills; probate documents; property purchases and transfers; marriage bonds; partnership documents and personal correspondence. From the William Salt Library sources utilised include nineteenth century newspapers; the pharmaceutical register; trade directories; dictionaries; freemason's records. A full list of documents is located after the reference list.

Novels written by contemporary authors such as Jane Austin and George Elliott have not been consulted for their views on the professions. This decision was taken because although both these authors do include comments/characters from various professions, their books were written as novels, not as historical documents and interpretations of particular traits relating to various occupations may have been over or under emphasised for dramatic effect. Also views expressed in such novels were those of the middle to upper class writers who produced them, so would be more likely to reflect the views of the classes that the professions came from, not the view of 'folk' or in particular Stafford folk.

Methodology and control of variables for census data

Data from the 1841, 1871, 1901 censuses was collected and analysed for the registration districts that cover Stafford town only. These years were chosen because they should enable investigation of the town as it starts industrialisation (1841); at the period when many towns experienced rapid expansion (1871); and at the close of the century when the town had industrialised (1901). As a result of Stafford's increasing population the actual area covered by the town expanded for each of the census years. In 1841 the registration

district of Stafford included the parish of St Mary and St Chad, the hundred/piece reference for files used were HO107, 108, 109, 1010. In 1871, the parish's included were once again St Marys and St Chads, registration district Stafford 360, sub files RG10-2815, 2816, 2817, 2818 and in 1901 the parishes included were St Marys, St Chads, St Pauls, St Thomas, Christchurch, registration district Stafford 360, sub files RG13-2570, 2571, 2572. The sub district registration numbers are taken from the S&N British Data Archive CD version of the census returns. Data from the census for each year was entered onto an Excel spreadsheet. Excel was used to store and manipulate the data because of its capacity to allow the input of text and numerical data.

Due to the changing nature of questions asked in 1841, 1871 and 1901 censuses, decisions had to be made relating to what data would be collected as it was considered important that similar data be analyzed for each census year in order to make data comparison possible and reliable. Therefore although additional information was collected in 1871 and 1901 from that collected in 1841, this information has not been included in the research or has been analyzed separately. For example in 1841 the census asked if people were born in the county where they completed the census and this question is answered yes or no. However in 1871 and 1901 people were asked which parish and county they were born in. The 1841 returns therefore only make it possible to say what percentage of people moved into Stafford from other counties and initially it was decided that immigration information would not be collected from any of the census returns because it did not directly contribute to answering the research questions and this avoided problems associated with the way the question had changed. After all the population of Stafford increased so dramatically during the late nineteenth century that is obvious that immigration into the town was taking place and it is relatively easy to find figures from the Victoria County History and government sources which provide this general information. However, when viewed over the sixty years covered by the three censuses being used it was decided that useful information could be obtained because census data allowed immigration to be linked to occupation. Bearing in mind that the 1841 census did not give place of birth, only that a person was born outside the county of Staffordshire, data from the 1841, 1871 and 1901 censuses was collected in two different ways. Firstly; as the total number of immigrants living in Stafford with an immigrant classed as someone not born in Staffordshire, so that 1871 and 1901 data was comparable with 1841. Secondly; each person with an occupation classed as either a profession or marginal profession was entered onto a spreadsheet in order to enable substantial migration into Stafford by professional people or one particular profession to

be investigated as a general concept, something that would be hidden in figures relating to general population increase. It was also decided to collect data from 1871, the middle of the three census years being analysed, relating to actual county of birth in order to see if any pattern of immigration from a particular area of the UK to Stafford could be traced. Although this data was not linked in any way to data collected from the other two censuses used in the research and simply serves as a snapshot of late nineteenth century immigration.

Family data

Another issue raised by the 1841 census when compared to the 1871 and 1901 was that it does not give the relationship of people in the house on the night the census was taken to the head of the household. This means that it is not possible to know for sure the relationships of people living in the same house. It was therefore decided after analysing census data from each year to adopt a nuclear family methodology for analysis, the nuclear family being defined for this research as people within the household with the same surname as the head of the household and within age groupings that could define them as a family. According to Dupree:

there is agreement that the cohesion of the nuclear family during the Industrial Revolution is no longer an issue; a consensus is emerging that in England the characteristic family structure, based on the principles of economic independence before marriage, nuclear family household afterwards and late age at first marriage, was in place before industrialization (how long before is a matter of controversy) (1989, p.550)³³.

Although it is also acknowledged that at this time, as Davidoff and Hall state, that despite the introduction of the nuclear family the flexibility and “variability of family forms cannot be overstressed; there is no essential 'family', but always 'families' ... variations in the co-residence of kin and adolescent children, differences in patterns of family employment and standards of living”(1987, p.31)³⁴. There is no doubt that this variability was present in nineteenth century Stafford households, but they do appear to have a nuclear family at their heart, which Stone (1977) credits as making a significant contribution to the processes of capital accumulation, labour deployment and social welfare during this period. Using the

³³ Gay (2002, pp.36-40) considers that the nuclear family existed from the beginning of the nineteenth century and discusses the spread of individualism and the emphasis children that he considers developed as result.

³⁴ Further debates relating to the role of the family and the economy, and the development of the family system can be found in Humphries and Rubery (1984); Wrigley (1981); Wall (1986) and Pleck (1976).

nuclear family concept does mean that any other people in the house on census night would therefore fall into the category of living with the family whether they were visitors, boarders, in-laws or apprentices and also means that elderly parents with the same name would not be included as part of the family. The nuclear family concept as defined makes it possible to carry out some comparisons between all three censuses and the main occupants of the house and helps to establish normal occupancy which is important in order to compare the living standards of professional workers with those of other workers. Data from all three censuses relating to housing was collected only for those properties described on the census as inhabited houses.

Occupational data

Occupational data in 1841 is also not as detailed as it is in the 1871 and 1901 census returns. In 1841 for instance abbreviations used by the census enumerator actually served to disguise some occupations, for example SM could be a shoe maker or a shoe manufacturer. In the 1871 census most people provided far more detailed information about their occupation resulting in the same occupation being referred to in several different ways. For example essentially the same occupation provided the following descriptions: shoe maker; ladies shoe maker; boot maker; shoe manufacturer; boot manufacturer; boot and shoe manufacturer. An appendix has been compiled for each census year (appendix 5-7) which provides the actual description people used for their job, but for purpose of analysis instances such as these have been merged under one job description and counted as shoe makers.

In total 271 different occupations were given on the 1841 census for Stafford, rising to 741 in 1871 and to 868 in 1901. When working through the 1841 census data it was noticeable that in some enumeration districts the number of apprentices and journeymen seemed to very high, while in others they were almost nonexistent. This may indicate a very high level of apprentices and journeymen in particular areas of the town, perhaps linked to the industries located there. However, as all census districts had apprentices and journeymen recorded it is also possible that some enumerators may simply not have included such details. The 1871 and 1901 census returns actually list very few apprentices or journeymen, perhaps showing the decline of this system of training. In order to compensate for what may be a difference in the way enumerators recorded such details, occupations are not broken down to show the number of apprentices and journeymen separately they are

included as practitioners of the occupation they will be a member of once training is complete.

Similarly in the 1841 census scholar and wife are not recorded as occupations but in 1871 almost all children over the age of five, and sometimes younger are recorded as scholars and a large number of women give their occupation as a wife, normally referring to themselves by their husbands trades, for example surgeons wife, shoemakers wife. For the 1901 census return once again very few children were entered as scholars and where they were the enumerator appears to have crossed through the entry. Wife was also no longer given as an occupation³⁵. Due to these changes scholar and wife have not been included as occupations for any of the three years in order to avoid distorting occupational data, neither have the following entries also listed as occupations: retired; not working; no occupation; invalid; widow; daughter; army pensioner; spinster; lady; gentlewoman; visitor.

Stafford had a number of different institutions in the town including the county prison; infirmary; lunatic asylums and poor house. Members of staff from the institutions have been included in the data analysis, but patients and inmates have not. The decision not to include patients and inmates was made because these institutions although located in Stafford, served the County of Staffordshire, not just Stafford, which meant that they housed people who did not actually live or work in Stafford town. Although as already discussed the 1841 census gave no details relating to place of residence, there was ample evidence of people in all institutions whose occupations had not been found in census returns for the rest of the Stafford, for example potters, boatmen, nailers, colliers, earthenware packer, china painter. It was therefore felt that including data relating to patients and inmates could result in providing misleading information about Stafford occupations.

In the 1871 and 1901 census returns institutional staff are clearly identified at the beginning of the each return. However in 1841 no individuals are identified as staff but it has been assumed that a similar method of recording was used. This would mean that various professional people not located on the first few folios were probably inmates. For instance a lawyer is listed between two labourers in the workhouse. He was fifty five years of age and although it is impossible to say this for sure it would seem likely that he was an inmate. The lunatic asylum return included a solicitor, lawyer, engineer, marine officer and

³⁵ For a discussion relating to the rise of the housewife during the nineteenth century see Van Poppel et al. 2009)

schoolmaster. The solicitor was not born in the Staffordshire the other four men were, though it is not possible to say if they were Stafford residents. The County General Hospital listed one patient, an engineer, which could be considered a marginal profession. In 1871 professional inmates from institutions amounted to an engineer, schoolmaster, schoolmistress and a druggist in the town's two lunatic asylums and one schoolmistress who was an inmate at the prison. In 1901 the prison and asylum inmates numbered 890 and of these only eleven or 1.24% were members of established or marginal professions.

Unit of analysis and subjects or sources of data

When analysing data from the census returns the number of entries for each occupation was counted for each census year, each occupation was then allocated to a specific economic category using the following criteria. (1) Agriculture; an occupation that involved some aspect of farming or working on the land. (2) Trade; practical occupations that required some level of theory but were predominantly skills based with skills acquired by either a prolonged period of training or a formal apprenticeship. (3) Public services; employed by a government agency. (4) Occupation; work that required no formalised education and where on the job training would normally be provided. This category includes self employed people such as shop keepers. Separate categories were used for (5) shoe manufacturing; (6) clothing trade and (7) clerical work because these occupations either appeared to employ large numbers of people within the town or in the case of clerical work had been linked to the growth of professional work (Larson 1977). It was decided to adopt only two categories for professional occupations, (8) profession and (9) marginal profession due to the low numbers of occupations found in this category. The terms are used in the same manner as that utilized by other researchers discussed in chapter two, therefore profession refers to an occupation already established as a profession; marginal profession to a high status occupation which may undertake a professionalisation process (Brint 1994; James 2006; Krause 1996). Finally people who gave their occupation as property or own means were listed under (10) non-classified.

Deciding exactly which occupations would be included as a profession or marginal profession and from what time period proved difficult. As far as this research was concerned it was important that occupations were only classified as a profession if they would have been considered one by contemporary folk, therefore occupations were only classed as a profession if contemporary evidence could be found to support their

inclusion in this category, otherwise if the job had some professional traits it was counted as a marginal profession. As the second source being used for this part of the research was trade directories it was initially thought that it might be possible to adopt the same categories used by the directories in order to decide which occupations were professions at each period of time. However on closer investigation it was found that most nineteenth century trade directories did not use a separate heading for professions they simply grouped together similar occupations under the title of their job or alternatively they listed all occupations as trades. Occasional directories did provide a section titled 'list of trades and professions' which was arranged in two different ways; alphabetically by surname and in a classified list. However, the classified section provides no details about which occupations were trades or which professions and simply groups different occupations together in the manner already described. (Hinde 1897-98; Kelly 1896; Melville 1851) Only one directory was located that adopted a different approach to those already mentioned, 'The Court Guide and County Blue Book of Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and Staffordshire, a fashionable record, professional register, and general survey of the counties published in 1902, so contemporary to the last census return being used (Deacon 1902). The introduction to this directory provides a list of the various occupations besides clergy, barristers, solicitors, notaries and gentlemen of the medical profession that it considered members of professions as follows:

Accountants (Fellows and Associates of the Royal Institute and members of the Society of Accountants and Auditors); Architects (Fellows and Associates of the Royal Institute and members of the Society); Civil Engineers (Members and Associate Members of the Institution); Dental Surgeons (Licentiates of the Royal College and those on Register); Electrical Engineers (Members and Associates of the Institution); Mechanical Engineers (Members and Associate Members of the Institution); Musicians (Members of the Incorporated Society); Patent Agents (Fellows of the Institute); Sanitary Engineers (Fellows and Associates of the Institute); Sanitary Institute (Fellows, Members and Associates); Stock and Share Brokers; Surveyors (Fellows and Professional Associates of the Institution); and Veterinary Surgeons (Fellows and members of the Royal colleges) (Deacon 1902, p.v).

Since each profession in this list appears with details of the professional bodies associated with it, clearly the publishers considered either membership of a professional body or the granting of a royal charter to be an essential element in defining an occupation as a profession. As this was the most definitive list of professions that could be found for the whole of the nineteenth century, occupations from the censuses have been counted as a profession or marginal profession after the date they received a Royal Charter or after their

occupation set up a professional body, adopting the criteria utilized by the County Blue Book. A list of dates royal charters were granted or professional bodies established for occupations located on the census returns can be found in appendix 8. It is interesting to note however that the granting of a royal charter cannot have been the only criteria that publishers used to classify occupations as professions because the Society of Licensed Victuallers received their royal charter in 1836, and the Royal British Nurses Association received theirs in 1893, neither are listed by the guide as professions.

Limitations of census methodology

Relying on census alone for occupational data relating to Stafford would be misleading as there may be significant numbers of professionals working in the town who did not live in Stafford enumeration districts and therefore do not appear on the census returns. The development around Stafford of new middle class housing from the 1870s onwards would have contributed to this problem, with a larger proportion of professionals living outside the confines of Stafford town (Greenslade 2006). In order to try and eliminate what could be an under-representation of professions in Stafford, as already discussed two trade directories published as close as possible to each census return used were analysed in an attempt to locate any professionals who worked in Stafford, but lived outside the registration districts. Another limitation to using census data was the condition of some enumeration schedules. Occasional entries proved impossible to read due either to fading of the text or crossing out by the enumerator and these were listed as CR (cannot read) in order to give some indication of the number of 'spoiled' entries.

Methodology and control of variables for trade directory data

In order to ensure that information from trade directories acted to validate and provide additional information over and above that obtained from the census, two directories for each census year were analysed, selected on the criteria that they must be the closest available to the census years 1841, 1871, 1901. This means that three sources for each decade have been investigated. As trade directories were not published on a yearly basis and survival rates for directories covering Stafford is patchy, in some cases this has meant consulting directories that were compiled either several years before or after the census was published. The greatest time difference between the census and a particular directory used was six years. It was thought this could present problems as people listed in the directory could have newly moved into Stafford, or those on the census have left the town between

the date the census was taken and directory information collected. The 1835 directory, published six years before the census was possibly considered to present such problems but was eventually used as no other directory could be found. However, it became clear when comparing this directory's entries to those of the second directory selected to verify the 1841 census data, an 1842 directory, that although some of the names of people in a specific occupation had changed between the 1835 and 1842 directories, the number of people in a specific profession, for example the clergy, had remained the same, an indication perhaps that Stafford had limited resources to support additional numbers of professionals at this time.

Religious occupations are often difficult to classify as a profession if one uses only educational attainment as curates often do not give their educational qualifications, neither do nonconformist preachers nor ministers. They have, nonetheless, been included as a profession due to folk recognition. However, if the incumbent vicar of a particular church changed from one trade directory to the next but the post appears to be the same, it has been counted once only. The manner in which information was collected by publishers for trade directory entries varied considerably, they either gathered the data themselves; employed an agent to deliver circulars asking people to submit their details; copied information from lists already in existence, such as rate payers lists or occasionally took the details from another publisher's directory (Shaw 1978). This does mean that inclusion in a directory could be rather hit and miss but using directories in conjunction with the census should provide some degree of validation as should using two directories close to each census date. As each trade directory had different ways of organising their information some attempt at controlling variables had to be undertaken, for instance as the role of the town corporation began to grow in Stafford the later trade directories devoted an entire section of the directory to county services and county officers. This section often listed prominent town's people who served as magistrates, or mayors. Such non paid posts have not been included as professions but will be used to illustrate social status and networking connections in a separate part of the research.

Ethical considerations within this research

This research covers a period that begins some two hundred and seven years ago and ends one hundred and five years ago, it is therefore doubtful if anyone named in the documents used in this research that are alive today or could be harmed by the manner in which these

sources have been used. All the historical sources in this research are on open access at various libraries and record offices and have no restrictions placed on their use. Despite this it is recognised that there may be living descendants of the people mentioned who could be adversely affected if information relating to their family was not handled in a sympathetic manner. An effort was made through an online website to contact descendants of the Fowke family, the focus of one of the case studies. Although a group of people investigating Fowke families in Staffordshire was located, no one in the group proved to be investigating this particular family or to be a descendant of the Stafford Fowkes, though the group have been sent copies of the research. While it has not been possible to contact and locate direct descendants every effort has been made to ensure that information relating to named individuals in this research has been treated in a sympathetic manner.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the epistemology and ontological positions of the author and the rationale for adopting a case study approach to the research. It also discussed the census and trade directories used for part of the data collection in some depth and the various steps that have been taken to try and ensure that data collected from both sources is treated in a manner that will provide an acceptable level of accuracy and validity. Other historical documents utilised in the research taken from various family collections, parish collections and other sources have also been briefly outlined and numerous record offices were searched for relevant material. The historical nature of this research means that ethical considerations are small, but nevertheless copies of the research have been distributed to interested parties.

Chapter 6: Research Results

Previous chapters have discussed the difficulty sociologists experience agreeing definitions of the terms relating to profession; considered profession as a work category; investigated social stratification theories and research strands relating to profession developed around them; explained in-depth various sources utilised in the research and steps taken where appropriate to achieve validation of data. This chapter therefore presents the research results and analysis along with some suggestions relating to what the results may reveal about the role that professions played in the development of Stafford during the nineteenth century. The results are presented as a set of interrelated case studies which begin with an overview of profession in Stafford, move on to consider the role of one particular occupation, that of chemist/druggist, and finally focus on the life of one particular family, the Fowkes, who operated a chemists business in Stafford throughout the nineteenth century. This is followed by an investigation into the applicability of twentieth century professional theories to nineteenth century work.

Case Study 1: Nineteenth century overview of profession in Stafford

Academic definitions/classifications

One of the questions this research set out to investigate was which occupations in Stafford during the nineteenth century were considered professions and is it possible to distinguish why these occupations were put into that category? Chapter three discussed academic definitions of profession but the oldest of these definitions originated in the early the twentieth century (Flexner 1915) so could not be said to be contemporary with the time period being investigated. It was therefore considered essential to locate nineteenth century definitions of the term in order to see if differences existed and to ensure that occupations classified as professions in this research could be validated as such from contemporary sources. It proved difficult to locate primary sources that could provide answers to this question, despite consulting material in Stafford's William Salt Reference Library; Stafford Record Office and Stafford Library. Few contemporary nineteenth century sources were found which provided a definition of a profession or any indication of which jobs the title profession was applied too. The only contemporary dictionary definition found came from an 1858 dictionary which defined a profession as:

The business which one professes to understand; calling; vocation; employment; as, the learned professions. We speak of the professions of a clergyman, of a lawyer, and of a physician or surgeon; the profession of lecturer on chemistry or mineralogy. But the word is not applied to an occupation merely mechanical (Webster 1858, p.874 WS).

This definition while confirming the status of religion, medicine and law as established professions, as discussed in chapters two and three, also seems to consider lecturing an established profession. Though it would appear only in scientific subjects, perhaps emphasising the level of importance nineteenth century society placed on scientific activity. However twentieth century definitions of profession that also included education as an established profession applied this term not to teaching in specific subject areas but to all university teaching (Larson 1977; Vollmer and Mills 1966). An indication perhaps that twentieth century academic researchers did not consider scientific education more important than other academic subject areas possibly because they did not have a scientific background themselves. It is also interesting that Webster's definition begins with "the business", recognition perhaps that the occupations he considers professions, whether they required a vocation or calling had the ultimate aim of generating income. It is noticeable that altruism or a desire to serve society is not included in this nineteenth century definition, though it was in some of the earlier twentieth century definitions discussed in chapter three (Flexner 1915; Whitehead 1933; Cogan 1953). Could this be an indication that altruism was not in fact a strong nineteenth century element of profession, but perhaps a desirable attribute added by twentieth century, middle class academics? Webster's definition provides some indication of the way profession was viewed in the nineteenth century and no other contemporary dictionary definitions of the term could be found.

An 1825 library classification system by Woodfall was located and how it dealt with classifying the occupational category of profession should provide an indication of which occupations were considered professions in the early nineteenth century. The classification system has a number of main headings, one of which was Arts and Trades. The Trades section subdivides into two further sections titled Trades and Manufacture. This is the only part of the classification schema that deals with occupations and there is no mention whatsoever of professions. The only advice given to librarians implementing this classification system is that "trades and manufactures are to be classed alphabetically under their respective titles" (Woodfall 1825, p.4 WS). This recommendation seems to have been

adopted by the publishers of most nineteenth century trade directories. The fact that this library classification system felt no need to include a separate section for professions may indicate that most people at this time did not consider profession to be important enough to warrant its own occupational category. As discussed in chapter five it was common practice for publishers of nineteenth century trade directories to list even the established professions of law and medicine under the general classification heading of trade, once again emphasising that people took up these occupations primarily to make money. Another early nineteenth century book entitled *Essays on Professional Education* and written to provide career information relating to specific occupations stated that the term profession was “usually confined to the Church, the Law, Physic and Arms” though “Gentlemen, Statesmen and Princes” are also professions because this is the only term suitable to describe their occupations (Edgeworth 1809 cited in Musgrove 1859, p. 108). This definition while providing an indication of the social standing associated with the occupations also indicates that many professionals had up to this time come from wealthy families.

Commercial definition /classifications

A directory, published some thirty years before Woodfall's library classification system, adopted a different arrangement to the one described. The *Universal British Directory* 1790-1798 aimed to cover the whole of the UK, with information for all Counties. It adopts a six category classification system utilising the headings of Corporation; Gentry; Clergy; Physic; Law and Traders. This definition seems to recognise the three established professions of the period, clergy, physic, law, as discussed in chapter three, as well as other types of work that were not trades (Elliott 1972; Flexner 1915; Whitehead 1933; Cogan 1953). This classification system not only separates these professions from trades, but also from the heading of gentry, perhaps indicating that practitioners of these occupations were no longer firmly linked to the gentry at this period. It is interesting that despite these distinctions the occupations of clergy, physic and law are not actually described as professions or listed under a separate heading of profession in this directory. Instead the publisher treats each occupation as a category in its own right, which perhaps serves to emphasise the importance placed on these individual occupations and to indicate that profession at this time was not a term commonly used as an occupational category. By not including these occupations as trades, this classification system may also be recognising an altruistic element involved in the work or that not everyone involved in these occupations

at this time were money oriented businessmen. If this was the case in the eighteenth century, then by the nineteenth century it would appear that these occupations had moved from being hobby based to a firmer business footing. It is also interesting to note that in this publication the only druggist in Stafford is listed under the heading for physic, there is no separate heading under trades for druggist or chemist. Also this directory gives the Corporation its own heading which may emphasise the growth and importance of local government at the end of the eighteenth century.

A handbill sent out by Charles Pye in 1800 to gather subscriptions for a directory of Birmingham and its surrounding areas provides another indication of a publisher's view relating to the classification of occupations, it reads:

C.Pye respectfully informs the inhabitants at large that at the request of several individuals he has opened an office in Colemore Row, late the Soup shop, where Merchants, Factors, Manufacturers, Professional and other persons who conduct any business on his, her or their own account, are requested to send their proper address in writing and sixpence (Norton 1950, p.17).

From this bill it would appear that entry to a trade directory was based primarily on being self employed or having sixpence. Although this flyer refers to four categories of occupations, these were not to be used in the actual directory which planned to record occupations in a single alphabetical list. The publishers may have realised that to separate self employed people under such headings could imply some element of social stratification which may not have improved subscription to their directory. Listing people alphabetically by job title had the advantage of implying no judgement on the part of the publisher as to the social position of a person. Also as this directory was published at a time when many towns such as Stafford were developing or expanding their corporate services and in Stafford's case considerably expanding their hospital provision, if self employment was the only requirement for entry in a trade directory then doctors employed solely by the hospitals would not have been eligible. Although this source could undoubtedly be used to imply that self employment was a pre-requisite of being a professional, it is clear that up to the mid nineteenth century many people were still self employed and worked from home and that also in Stafford some members of the established professions of religion and medicine were already working in institutions such as the hospitals and prison in paid posts (Lewis 1997).

Parson and Bradshaw's commercial directory of Staffordshire used a far more general method of classifying occupations, dividing its entries into two: section one provides an alphabetical listing of names, occupation and address; section two "a list of professions, trades etc". The directories introduction claims that it is providing "an alphabetical arrangement of the names and residences of the Nobility, Gentry, Merchants and inhabitants in general ... a digest of persons engaged in trade and manufacture" (1818, p.1). Under this classification structure anyone involved in religion can only be found in the first section, but other professionals can be found in both listings, although appearing on both lists must have been a subscription option as a few professionals appear in one section only.

The best trade directory located during this research for detailing exactly which occupations were considered professions at the beginning of the twentieth century was the 1902 Court Guide and County Blue Book of Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire (also known as the Blue Book). This book describes itself as a "Fashionable Record, Professional Register and General Survey of the Counties" of Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Staffordshire (Deacon 1902, p.1). The Blue Book gives details of the nobility and gentry in each county along with their biographical and genealogical details; county officials (councillors, justices etc.), the banks serving each town and the names of the bank managers; a list of the beneficed clergy; a law list giving details of barristers, solicitors and notaries; a list of "Gentlemen of the Medical Profession And Registers of the Members of the following professions" accountancy, architecture, civil engineers, dental surgeons, electrical engineers, mechanical engineers, musicians, patent agents, sanitary engineers, stock brokers, surveyors and veterinary surgeons (Deacon 1902, p.1). It is interesting that this volume treats the three established professions of law, religion and medicine in a different manner to that of the other professions. They do not appear under the same list, but after the Nobility and County officials and each have their own listing criteria. The clergy are listed with their degree, university, benefice or appointment; the legal and medical profession with their university qualifications. Interestingly despite this apparent recognition of the importance of academic qualifications, education is not included in any form as one of the Blue Books professions.

For the other professions mentioned in the Blue Book inclusion seemed to be to some extent dependent on them being registered with a professional body, an interesting distinction that possibly provides a late nineteenth, early twentieth century opinion of the

main difference between an established and a marginal profession. Certainly the directory adopts some interesting practices, for instance the section titled *The Legal Profession* provides the educational qualifications for barristers but is followed by a list of solicitors which simply gives their name and address or a firm's name and address. The section covering medical practitioners is titled *The Medical Profession*, yet the headings for the legal section are *Barristers at Law or Solicitors*, not as one might expect the Legal Profession. The medics and clergy all list their academic qualifications and in some cases even the universities they attended. All the other professionals in this volume are listed by their membership status within a particular occupational organisation; their academic qualifications are not given. This may be an indication that training for these professions did not require attendance at a university so these particular people had no academic qualification to list because they had undertaken vocational not academic training.

This emphasis on the practitioners of some occupations being a member of a professional body in order to be listed in the directory would seem to confirm the importance by the late nineteenth century of a professional body in enabling an occupation to become recognised as a profession. The problem with this theory is that not all of the occupations that had professional bodies in 1901 were included under the listing of professions in the Blue Book. For instance there were several chemists and druggists practising in Stafford at the time the Blue Book was printed who were registered members of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, which had received its Royal Charter in 1834, a year before the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons received theirs and forty seven years before the Chartered Institute of Patent Agents were granted their charter in 1891 (see appendix 8). Yet despite the fact that veterinary surgeons, patent agents and engineering bodies appear to have been set up after the Pharmaceutical Society, chemists and druggists are not listed in the Blue Book as professions. Also Perkin (2002) claims that the number of professional associations in the UK rose from twenty seven in 1880 to forty eight by 1900 and to seventy five by 1918, yet the Blue Book compiled in 1902 lists only fifteen, so other criteria must also have been applied.

Multiple occupations

One reason why chemists may still not have been considered a profession in 1901 despite the early formation of their professional body may be related to the fact that the occupation of chemist/druggist in the nineteenth century might not have been seen as full

time work, because preparing drugs or prescriptions was only one service that chemists/druggists businesses offered. One of the structural elements of a profession identified by some twentieth century researchers was the necessity for an occupation to be undertaken as full time work (Moore 1970; Brante 1990; Wilinsky 1964). The Parson and Bradshaw (1818) trade directory provided more detailed entries than other publishers' directories and it is noticeable that all three druggists listed for Stafford in 1818 appear to have had multiple business interests. For example William Fowke was listed as a chemist, druggist and agent to Eagle Fire Office; S.Woolrich as druggist, oilman and dealer in patent medicines; Thomas Kenderdine as druggist, grocer, and ironmonger. If this practice of multiple occupations continued up to 1901 then the introduction of a professional body to regulate the role of chemist/druggist in 1834 may not have been enough to change public conception of chemist/druggists from tradesmen to professionals.

However one could question if working full time in one occupation could be considered a valid nineteenth century professional trait. Evidence shows that it was not at all unusual at this time for even members of the three established professions to have multiple business interests. For example members of the clergy, such as the Reverend Ellerton , Chalmers and Norman were also schoolteachers (Parson and Bradshaw 1818; Pigot and Co 1829); medical practitioners such as Thomas Fowke were landlords (D660/8/27 SRO) and attorneys such as Hugh Barber was town clerk and Philip Seckerson an agent for Phoenix Fire and a landlord (Parson and Bradshaw 1818; D660/8/27 SRO). Despite undertaking an intensive search of other nineteenth century documents deposited at the William Salt Library and Stafford Record Office there is little hard evidence to confirm how other marginal professions may have been viewed by 'Stafford folk'. Perhaps the reason for this if one looks at the occupations included in the Blue Book is related to the fact that most people would have very little reason to contact an architect; civil engineer etc. and so had little interest in them, but they probably consulted at least one member of the established professions of law, religion and medicine at some point in their life.

Summary of academic and commercial definitions/classifications.

Before moving on to discuss other sources used to throw light on which occupations Stafford folk considered a profession during the nineteenth century it will be useful to briefly summarise the main issues highlighted by the documents discussed so far. Firstly it would appear that there is a definite change in the definition of profession from that given

in the 1790s Universal British Directory to the 1902 Blue Book. Early to mid nineteenth century definitions when they recognise an occupation as a profession also seem to emphasise professions as businesses by listing them under the heading of trades, highlighting perhaps the capitalist nature of the occupation, though even in 1858 only four occupations were described as professions. There is no mention in any of the early classifications/directory entries of professionals' academic qualifications or membership of professional bodies but by 1902 academic qualifications and membership of a professional body both seem to have become methods of classifying an occupation as a profession. This could be an indication of the important hold that the professional meme, which will be discussed later, already had on society as it entered the twentieth century. None of the nineteenth century definitions of profession that have been found mention altruism or service to society as a professional trait. Yet as was discussed in chapter three, many twentieth century researchers consider both these elements defining traits of professional work primarily based on a belief that people who entered professions had private funds which meant service to society was a more important aspect of the work they did than expected income (Flexner 1915; Cogan 1953; O'Day 2000). This view may have been true in the eighteenth century but from evidence gathered to date it would appear that by the nineteenth century professions were already more business focused. Sources presented so far would seem to support the use of the term established profession in this research to describe the clerical, medical and legal occupations from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The teaching of science based subjects was mentioned in Webster's dictionary definition of profession but it may prove hard to distinguish this aspect of teaching from other 'academic' subjects though for this research including university teaching as an established profession from the 1850s onwards should overcome this problem.

Profession and Stafford folk.

Having considered nineteenth century trade and academic documents relating to the definition and classification of certain occupations as professions, this section will now investigate the role of the three established professions of clergy, law and medicine through the eyes of 'Stafford folk'. A number of primary sources will be investigated to see if they can provide some indication of the role that these professionals played in Stafford life.

Evidence taken from various trade directories points to the clergy playing an active role in helping to govern the town in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century with the

Reverend Joseph Shaw being mayor of Stafford in 1793 (Universal British Directory 1793) and an alderman on the Council in 1818 (Parson and Bradshaw 1818) and of other holders of religious posts serving as members of the Common Council. The 1793 and 1818 directories also show the clergy acting as schoolmasters and running Stafford's free schools so they appear to have been involved with the local community on a number of levels. In fact from a social stratification viewpoint the clergy seem to be considered the most important of the three established professions as many trade directories listed clergy under a category entitled Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, (see for example Pigot's 1829 directory), with all other occupations in an alphabetical listing. Although trade directories do provide evidence that members of the legal and medical professions also held corporation posts such as mayor, aldermen, coroner or town clerk, in general the posts they held related entirely to their occupation; for example in 1818 Hugh Barber 'a solicitor' was the town clerk and John Dickinson 'an attorney' held the role of coroner (Parson and Bradshaw 1818). If these were paid corporation posts then these particular men could hardly be said to be altruistically contributing to the development of the town in which they lived and even if the post carried with it no financial reward it doubtless would endow the men with a certain level of social esteem that would help boost their legal practices and contribute to them being considered county elite (Trainor 1994; Stone and Stone 1995).

Profession and death in Stafford

A further indication of the way Stafford folk regarded various professions can be gained from a record book kept by Brookfield's Undertakers of Stafford that gives details of Stafford funerals for the 1878-1887's. During the period covered by the ledger two doctors, one attorney, a chemist, a vet and three vicars died. Both vicars are listed in the register in a manner that makes their occupation clear, as are the two doctors, one of whom has his full academic qualifications next to his name. In comparison the attorney, vet and chemist who have all had businesses in Stafford for the majority of their lives have no details relating to their occupation whatsoever against their entry, as do none of the other people listed in the register, their occupations have been identified by cross referencing their names with details from Stafford census and trade directories. The undertaker kept meticulous records for each funeral he organised and for the burials of the two clergy sent out invitations for people to attend the ceremony and even attached one vicar's calling card to the record in his burial register.

One of the clergy and one of the doctors were not buried in Stafford; their bodies were sent by train to their relatives in different parts of the country. This did not however mean that these men were not given a respectable send off. On the 2 April 1889 the remains of the late Doctor Taylor, aged twenty nine, were removed from the County Asylum to the station and forwarded to Scarborough. The undertaker besides providing the “wood shell lined and stained oak coffin, brass furniture, polished and lined, engraved shield and disinfectant” also brought gents gloves, armbands, a cover for the coffin and sent out invitations to his friends to come and see him off, for a cost of £26. 2s 10d. While “Henry Day M.D.F.R.C.P London”, who died in 1881 and was buried in Stafford had a funeral that cost £23.18.6d and included “a fine flannel sheet, pillows and silk face cover. Pat airtight Metallie coffin covd Gray with brass handles” (Brookfields 1878-1887 WS). It is interesting that some members of the professions who had moved to Stafford for work apparently did not to feel part of Stafford community even when they had lived and worked in the town for many years as when they died either they, or their family, still preferred them to be buried elsewhere.

Evidence can also be found of members of the established professions in Stafford having their occupation included on their headstones, though only for two occupations, clergy and surgeons. For instance in St Mary’s Churchyard Stafford the following inscriptions were found on headstones.

Thomas Hawthorne, Surgeon, Stafford, died 11 April 1829, aged 35 years.

Mr Bernard Fry, Surgeon, died 28 Jan 1827, aged 40. when typhus in the Stafford Poor-house raged, FRY, like an angel strove the bain texpel, tho that kind feeling, which his zeal engaged, for saving others, he a victim fell. Could strict integrity with faith surrice or valued usefulness, have Death withstood, His skill, assiduous in its ample sphere, Had length of days employed in doing good, He fell bewailed in life’s meridian hour ...

Of course unless some preference for the inclusion of such occupational details on their memorials had been requested by the deceased in their life or in their will, then the inclusion of occupation in the funeral ledger was either the decision of the funeral director or by request of the family. The inclusion of details on the headstone would either be through family choice or in some cases like that of Mr Fry, the choice of the local community if they erected the headstone. Bernard Fry’s headstone is particularly interesting as it could be interpreted to imply that Mr Fry acted in an altruistic manner, rushing to save the poor of Stafford from typhus, not that he simply performed the job that he was paid to

do. The actions outlined on the headstone could only really be described as altruistic if they were not part of a person's paid employment; this distinction is something that seems to have been overlooked by many researchers who support the view that altruism is a major component of professional work. Undoubtedly Mr Fry had no real intention of giving his life in order to help others; he was simply doing the job he was paid to do which involved treating sick people with contagious diseases³⁶. Mr Fry died a bachelor, intestate and his father Richard Fry, a dissenting minister from Kidderminster was appointed to administer his son's estate, valued for probate at under £4000 (LRO 5/3/1827). Given his father's occupation Bernard may not have come from a wealthy family background as dissenting ministers normally received a lower wage than Church of England clergy and did not live in luxury, though his son died a relatively wealthy man (Knight 1995)³⁷. From the evidence discussed so far it would appear that of the three established professions of law, religion and medicine, that as far as the folk of Stafford were concerned religion and medicine were considered more important than the legal profession, possibly because these were the two professions that most people would have needed some contact with during their lifetime.

Training for a profession in nineteenth century Stafford

Nineteenth century apprenticeship papers are useful in helping to determine which occupations might be considered professions because they show not only which occupations used apprenticeships for training but also a considerable variation in the cost and period of apprenticeship. For instance in 1809, C. Wogan of Breewood, Staffordshire, Gentleman, paid £120 for his son William Wogan aged fifteen years and five months, to become the apprentice of Charles Alesbury of Stafford surgeon and apothecary. The apprenticeship was to last until William reached the age of twenty one. A clause inserted into the apprenticeship document said that should Charles Alesbury leave his post as house apothecary at the general hospital during the period of the apprenticeship that part of the apprenticeship fee would be refunded. (D3315/1/4 SRO) Only fifteen years later in January 1824 Henry Ravenscroft from Wolverton in the county of Chester was bound apprentice to Richard Hughes of Stafford to learn the art of surgeon, apothecary and

³⁶ For in-depth discussion on the moral responsibilities of medical practitioners during epidemics in early modern England, see Wallis (2006).

³⁷ £4000 in 1830 was worth approximately £3,091,207.76 in 2006. Value of the £ in 2006 has been calculated using average earning figures for each relevant year as worked out by the relative value of the UK Pound calculator on MeasuringWorth.com. This website also contains interesting details relating to working out relative values in a number of different ways. Unfortunately the calculator does not work out values prior to 1830.

acchourere. The apprenticeship was for five years and the £262.10s.0d fee did not include the provision of clothes by the master. (D3315/1/4 SRO) In 1854 Samuel Cookson of Stafford was apprenticed to T.L.Greaves of Great Easton, Co. Leicester to learn the “art of surgeon, apothecary and man midwife”, the five year apprenticeship cost his father £20.00. (D5296/2/1 SRO). These three apprenticeship documents show quite a dramatic difference in the amount being paid for training in essentially the same occupation. Other apprenticeship papers for occupations that might be considered if not professions, then professions in progress or marginal professions proved difficult to locate, with a majority of the apprenticeship papers for Stafford relating to shoe making. However in 1876 Edward Harley a wine merchant apprenticed his son Herbert Newman Harley to a firm of surveyors in Wolverhampton to “learn the art business or profession of Land Agents and Surveyors”. The apprenticeship cost Edward £100.00s 0d and was to run for two years until his son was twenty one. (D660/24/62 SRO) While the apprenticeship paper of Frederick Joseph Knock to George Viggars of Market square, Stafford in 1889 to learn the “art of a Chemist and Druggist” was for a period of four years and cost £60.00 plus £3.00 stamp duty to be paid in sixteen quarterly instalments. (D4338/G.3/21 SRO)

The variation in these apprenticeship documents is interesting. Out of the three apprenticeships in the second half of the nineteenth century the cost to join the established profession of surgeon would appear to cost the least, a mere £4.00 a year, but has the longest training period. While a land agent or surveyor had the shortest training period, but cost considerably more than the other two, £50.00 a year and training as a chemist £15.00 per year. Does this extreme difference in price reflect the fact that demands for the services of land agents and surveyors was at a peak during this period? Certainly in the Midlands at this time enclosure of commons was still taking place, land was being developed for railways and population growth had resulted in extensive house building programs. Perhaps demand for training as a land agent and surveyor outstripped supply, so allowing increased apprenticeship costs?

Conversely the apprenticeship charges may also be an indication that the demand for surgeons had increased substantially, perhaps even with the number of posts available throughout the Country outstripping the supply of trained people due to the growth of medical services. Certainly within Stafford the number of hospital places had grown steadily throughout the nineteenth century and medical treatment had gradually become available for more of the population (Greenslade 2006). However this growth in demand

may not have been matched by a similar increase in the number of people applying to join this profession and cheaper apprenticeship costs may have been seen as an inducement, though this seems unlikely as between 1820-1850 the medical profession was considered overcrowded and Staffordshire had one of the highest practitioner/population ratios with one medical practitioner and one druggist to every 900-1000 people (Loundon 1987, p.215)

³⁸. Samuel Cookson came back to practice in Stafford once his apprenticeship in Leicester was complete and worked in the town until 1907 when he retired. On his retirement he received a pension of £34. 3s 0d from the Board of Guardians; an easy chair from St Paul's Vicarage and a letter of thanks from the County Industrial Home (D5296/1/1 SRO). Perhaps the retirement pension also helped to attract people into medicine. It could also be said that apprenticeships in general served to increase people's social networks, for instance there is evidence not only of immigration from Leicester to Stafford but also of marriages and joint land ownership with people resident in other counties among the Cookson papers which probably came about as a result of contacts that Samuel made during his apprenticeship (D5338/G/3/1-14 SRO).

During the nineteenth century basically three types of apprenticeship schemes were in place, voluntary, charity and pauper. All the apprenticeship documents discussed have been voluntary apprenticeships, entered into because the apprentice wanted to train for that particular occupation and with fees being paid for by their family. Perhaps the fact that training for the occupation was voluntary and paid for by the family and that it involved what at the time would be considered a large sum of money could be a nineteenth century trait that could help to define profession or marginal profession. To give a better idea of cost if apprenticeship fees are adjusted for inflation to reflect their value in 2006 (Officer 2007) then this means that Samuel Cookson's £20.00 apprenticeship in 1854 cost the equivalent of £12,631.63 and Henry Ravenscroft's in 1824 the equivalent of £202,860.51 for training as surgeons and George Viggars £60.00 apprenticeship as a chemist/druggist in 1889 £28,452.08 ³⁹. Certainly in Stafford the majority of apprenticeships recorded in the

³⁸ The overcrowding of the medical profession at this time was partly attributed to a number of factors: to the end of the Napoleonic wars which resulted in over three hundred doctors being discharged from the Army to find work; the passing of the apothecaries Act which made it easier to join the profession and the expansion of middle class education (Loundon 1987, Musgrove 1959). In 1820 London was said to have 3174 medical men, 2000 more than it needed and 300 chemists/druggists (Anon 1826). In 1844-5, 500 new Doctors were thought to be needed to keep up with population growth, 800-1000 training (Taylor 1844-5).

³⁹ Value of the £ in 2006 has been calculated using average earning figures for each relevant year as worked out by the relative value of the UK Pound calculator on MeasuringWorth.com. This website also contains interesting details relating to working out relative values in a number of different ways. Unfortunately the calculator does not work out values prior to 1830.

apprenticeship registers from 1794-1899 cost from £5.00 to £10.00 and although they were said to be undertaken on a voluntary basis many were paid for by parish charities for training in trades such as a cordwainer; licensed vintner; carpenter; shoe maker (D3315/1/1-4 SRO).

Professional behavior

Although traditionally people going into professions came primarily from wealthy, landed families this did not mean that joining a profession guaranteed continued wealth, would lead to further wealth generation or guarantee a professional level of behaviour. By the nineteenth century industrial wealth made it possible for people from non traditional backgrounds to also train for professional occupations and there is little doubt that joining one of the three established professions during the nineteenth century was the best way to ensure a guaranteed income from occupations that had consistently proven to be in demand. However this did not mean that all members of established professions managed to live within their income. For example in 1834 the Reverend William Orret Rector of Standish in the County of Lancaster owed over £1000 and interest to Thomas Fowke of Stafford, a surgeon who started bankruptcy proceedings against him in order to recover the money that he was owed. (D660/8/25 SRO). Also found among a collection of solicitors papers was a release to the heirs of the executors of the estate of the late Henry Lomax, surgeon. Henry had died in 1874 and in 1888 when Thomas Fowke the last of his named executors died, Henry Lomax's estate was in debt to the sum of £487 3s 5d, almost half of this sum being interest on the original debt of £273 5s 2d. It would appear that all of Henry's goods had been sold by his executors except the house that his widow lived in and as Thomas was the last surviving executor his heirs were now asking that the responsibility for settling the outstanding debt be passed directly to Henry's widow.

Stafford guilds

There is no evidence of the presence of any trade guilds in Stafford during the nineteenth century. The only Guild connection found in any documents covering this period for Stafford was the religious guild of St Mary. Stafford did however have a number of different trade societies that seemed to meet in the town but they represented occupations such as shoe manufacturers, managers and foreman. There is evidence of the Oddfellows and various Friendly societies holding meetings in the town, but once again these were set up to represent workers and tradesmen, not professions. The Freemasons did however

establish quite a strong presence in Stafford during the second half of the nineteenth century with one particular lodge catering for professional men and this will be discussed in depth in the case study that follows.

Summary of folk evidence relating to profession

Sources used in this part of the research would seem to indicate that in nineteenth century Stafford apprenticeship was still commonly acceptable method for training in two of the three established professions namely legal and medical. There is no reference in the apprenticeship documents of the level of education required to undertake the apprenticeship though it is almost certain not to have been graduate level. Of the three established profession of medicine, law and religion it would appear that medical and religious practitioners were more highly regarded in Stafford than their legal counterparts. This is possibly because few Stafford folk would need to consult a legal professional during their lifetime but were very likely to have had some form of contact with religious and medical practitioners. No real evidence has so far been found to support the inclusion of altruism as a nineteenth century professional trait. The need for an occupation to be full time work has also been questioned although several twentieth century researchers have considered this an essential trait of profession; it appears this might not have been important in the nineteenth century.

The research results so far would seem to lend support to the theory that the concept of profession was not an actual occupational classification as such, but a meme passed on through generations. Changes in occupational structure and educational opportunities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century resulted in this meme being associated and applied more extensively to describe various types of new work. Dawkins (1976) describes a meme as something that is self replicating and passed on by imitation. This could be the perfect description of what happened within individual occupations. As social aspirations rose, in order to acquire more cultural capital occupations associated certain aspects of their training and behaviour with those of the established professions and consequently applied the same description to their own work. However memes do not replicate as perfect copies of the original, they have the ability to mutate, change and to take on place or time specific meaning (Blackmore 1999) and this would appear to be what has happened to the concept of profession. It seems to have had very little relevance for most of the nineteenth century as it was a term applied to so few people (appendix 3). However in the

twentieth century, rather like a computer virus, and possibly in response to the wider availability of transmission mechanisms such as books, radio, TV and the Internet it spread and mutated.

Stafford nineteenth century occupational data from census returns

Having considered which occupations might have been considered professions by Stafford folk, census and trade directory data will now be analysed in order to try and establish whether the number of professionals working in Stafford increased from 1840 to 1901 and if so was the increase in line with the general growth of the town's population? Answering this will help to establish the role that professions played in the growth of Stafford during the nineteenth century and whether professional services were developed in the town in an entrepreneurial manner or only after demand was established.

Firstly it is necessary to look at the pattern of growth for Stafford town from 1840 to 1901 as this will provide an indication of employment opportunities in the town. As already discussed in the chapter four Stafford's population grew throughout the nineteenth century, though more rapidly from 1850 onwards. Using population figures taken only from the census schedules utilised in this research, as outlined in chapter five (see table 6:1 below) the population of Stafford town appears to have doubled between 1841 and 1871 and increased by another fifty percent between 1871 and 1901. This would seem to indicate that employment was readily available in the town and that consequently there should have been ample opportunity in the town for the services of self employed and government/bureaucratic employed professional services. In the twenty first century self employed people have to be entrepreneurial if their business is to succeed. They need to be able to recognise a good business opportunity, be prepared to move around the country in order to find work, to build a network of contacts and to market themselves and their product aggressively. Was this the case in the nineteenth century? It seems reasonable to expect a town that experienced the level of growth that Stafford did, would also experience a growth in the number of professions practicing in the town, particularly if nineteenth century professionals were also entrepreneurial. Stafford at this time could perhaps be compared to a frontier town in the Wild West, its growth was linked to the foresight and the determination of many uneducated workers and business people who established and worked in a variety of manufacturing and service businesses, but how many professionals were among these people? Did professionals contribute to the growth of the town or were

they primarily interested in providing themselves with a reasonable income as quickly as possible and therefore not prepared to move into developing areas, preferring to take advantage of established demand in larger towns?

Stafford and nineteenth century immigration

Immigration patterns should help to show how many professional workers were prepared to relocate to Stafford. Population growth is inevitably linked to immigration, and changes to poor law legislation in the early nineteenth century had for the first time cleared the way for the easy movement of workers within the country (Block 1984). Figure 6:1 shows data taken from the three census years used in this research. Population figures shown represent the total population from the census schedules that have been used for this research as described in chapter five, not the total for Stafford or Staffordshire and the number of people for each year who stated that their place of birth was not Staffordshire. These figures show that immigration into the town was at its highest in the 1870s and that by 1901 was beginning to fall.

TABLE 6:1 CENSUS DATA RELATING TO PLACE OF BIRTH			
YEAR	POPULATION	NOT STAFFS	% NOT STAFF
1841	8282	1013	12.23
1871	10061	2274	22.60
1901	19217	3347	17.42

Further investigation of immigration into Stafford using the 1871 census data relating to county of birth revealed what appear to be migration hot spots (see appendix 9). Though further census information would need to be consulted in order to confirm this finding. However if a list of the top ten counties or countries of birth for immigrants living in Stafford in 1871 is compiled (see appendix 10) then it appears the highest number of immigrants to the town came from Ireland with two hundred and eighty people giving their birthplace as Ireland. This is followed by Warwickshire with two hundred and thirty six; Shropshire two hundred and six and Worcestershire one hundred and eighty nine.

Number of professionals living in Stafford

If Stafford census data for people employed in occupations that could be called either an established profession or a marginal profession is compared over the three census years then it would appear that the number of professional workers in Stafford did not follow a pattern of sustained growth, with numbers actually decreasing from eighty seven separate individuals in 1841 to only eighty two in 1871 but then rising sharply to two hundred and eleven in 1901 (table 6:2).

Therefore in 1841 established and marginal professions accounted for 1.05% of Stafford's population, in 1871 0.82% and in 1901 1.10%, which means that despite a doubling of the town's population between 1841 and 1901 that the number of professionals living in the town had increased by only 0.05%.

Further analysis of the census data also shows that the number of professional immigrants moving into Stafford changed over the same period. If county of birth for professional and marginal professions workers is investigated then professional migrants accounted for just less than half, 49.41% of Stafford's professional workers in 1841, rising slightly to 55.51% in 1871, but in 1901 despite a large increase in the number of professional workers in the town, immigration was at its lowest; with only 40.78% of professional workers not being born in the county of Staffordshire. In 1871, the year which saw highest increase in the overall number of migrant workers, if marginal professions and established professions are looked at separately (appendix 11) then just over half of the established professionals shown on the census, sixteen out of thirty were not born in Staffordshire, approximately 53%, while migration for marginal professions was twenty three out of thirty workers, or 62%. This would seem to indicate that people employed in marginal professions were more prone to moving from their county of birth than those that entered the established professions, although this could hardly be claimed from the evidence of one year's census. However if one did wish to pursue this finding then various reasons could be put forward to explain it, such as those entering the established professions possibly coming from wealthy families located in one particular area where they wanted to remain after they have trained; or the need of marginal professionals to establish their service in areas where there

TABLE 6.2 OCCUPATIONS CLASSED AS PROFESSIONS OR MARGINAL PROFESSIONS TAKEN FROM THE 1841, 1871 1901 CENSUS								
1841	N	CLASS	1871	N	CLASS	1901	N	CLASS
ARCHITECT	2	MP	ACCOUNTANT	3	MP	ACCOUNTANT	8	P
ATTORNEY	4	P	LAW STATIONER & ACCOUNTANT	1	MP	ACCOUNTANT (CHARTERED) & SHARE BROKER	1	P
CHEMIST	3	MP	ARCHITECT	2	P	ACCOUNTANT - RAILWAY	1	P
CHEMIST AP	7	MP	ATTORNEY	1	P	ARTICLED TO ACCOUNTANT	1	P
CLERGYMAN	2	P	CHEMIST	5	MP	ARCHITECT	2	P
DRUGGIST	2	MP	CHEMIST AP	6	MP	ARCHITECTURAL SURVEYOR	1	P
ENGINEER	1	MP	CHEMIST ASSISTANT	5	MP	BAPTIST MINISTER	1	P
LAWYER	2	P	CLERGYMAN	1	P	BARRISTER OF LAW & NEWSPAPER PROPRIETER	1	P
LAWYER J	1	P	CURATE ST MARYS	1	P	CHEMIST & DRUGGIST	7	MP
MINISTER	5	P	CURATE	2	P	CHEMIST AP	4	MP
OPTICIAN	1	MP	DENTIST	1	MP	CLERGYMAN	12	P
PHYSIAN	2	P	DRUGGIST	1	MP	DENTAL SURGEON	2	P
RECTOR	1	P	DRUGGIST APP	1	MP	DENTIST	1	P
SCHOOLMASTER	14	MP	ENGINEER	1	MP	DENTIST APPRENTICE	1	MP
SCHOOLMISTRESS	13	MP	CIVIL ENGINEER	1	P	HEADMASTER	1	P
SCHOOL ASSISTANT	3	O	MAGISTRATE	1	P	LAW STUDENT FOR EXAMINATION	1	P
ASSIST TEACHER	3	O	MEDICAL PRATIONER	3	P	LECTURER IN HORTICULTURE	1	MP
SOLICITOR	8	P	STUDENT OF MEDICINE	1	P	MEDICAL PRATIONER	6	P
SURGEON	11	P	MINISTER	3	P	MEDICAL STUDENT	2	P
SURVEYER	1	MP	PRINCIPAL SCHOOL	1	MP	MINISTER	1	P
VET SURGEON	1	P	PHYSIAN	1	P	PHYSICIAN & SURGEON	2	P
TOTAL	87		SCHOOLMASTER	4	MP	PRINCIPAL SCHOOL	1	MP
			ASST SCHOOLMASTER	1	MP	PROFESSOR OF MUSIC - MUS:DOC	3	P
			SCHOOLMISTRESS	13	MP	ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST	2	P
			TEACHER	6	MP	SCHOOLMASTER	2	MP
			PUPIL TEACHER	6	MP	SCHOOLMASTER - ASST	5	MP
			SURGEON	2	P	SCHOOLMASTER/PRISONWARD ER	1	MP
			ASSISTANT SURGEON	1	P	SCHOOLMASTER/CLERK	1	MP
			VET SURGEON	2	P	SCHOOLMISTRESS	16	MP
			VET STUDENT	3	P	SCHOOLMISTRESS ASSISTANT	7	MP
			VICAR	1	P	SCHOOL TEACHER - ELEMENTARY	5	MP
			PROFESSOR OF PHIRENOLOGY	1	O	SOLICITOR	7	P
			TOTAL	82		SURGEON	3	P
						TEACHER	41	MP
						TEACHER - CERTIFIED	1	MP
						TEACHER - ART	1	MP
						TEACHER - ASSISTANT CERTIFIED	8	MP
						TEACHER - COOKING	3	MP
						TEACHER - MECHANICAL ENGINEERING	1	MP
						TEACHER - MUSIC	10	MP
						TEACHER MUSIC ARTICLED	1	MP
						TEACHER - PUPIL	29	MP
						TEACHER - SCIENCE MASTER	1	MP
						VET STUDENT	1	P
						VET SURGEON	3	P
						WESLEYAN PREACHER	1	P
						TOTAL	211	

was little competition, neither of these theories could be proved though from census information alone. However when the county of birth for professionals is looked at in detail it shows no real hot spots, the highest number of professional immigrants from any one county was four each from Leicester and London. The four individuals from either place do not share the same occupation, so the train or coach service from Leicester and London at this time could turn out to be the connecting factor or the fact that for Leicester a social network may have already been in operation, as discussed earlier when examining apprenticeship data.

Professions as a percentage of Stafford's working population

When the number of established professions and marginal professions taken from the census are looked at as a percentage of Stafford's working population (table 6:3) then it appears that the number of professionals working in established professions in Stafford actually dropped from 1.22% in 1841 to 0.51% in 1871 and despite undertaking some growth by 1901 was still only 0.76% of the working population, a considerable change from 1841. This drop in numbers might be explained by the fact that established professionals worked in Stafford but did not actually live in the census area that has been looked at in this research, in which case a more representative account of established professionals may be obtained from the trade directories. Marginal professions on the other hand despite dropping back from 1.52% of the working population in 1841 to 1.12% in 1871 had risen past their 1841 numbers by 1901 and accounted for 1.79% of Stafford's workers. However when the figures for marginal professions are looked at in depth it seems that this is not a rise in the number of marginal professions, but an increase in one particular marginal profession, education. As a percentage of the numbers working in established and marginal professions in Stafford education provided employment for 38% in 1841, 37% in 1871 but this had almost doubled by 1901 to 64%. Within the category of marginal profession, education forms an even higher percentage making up 70% of the marginal professionals working in Stafford in 1841; 83% in 1871 and 94% in 1901.

The reason for the rapid growth in the number of people employed in education can be explained by the introduction of compulsory education in the UK during the period between the 1871 and 1901 census. This created an unprecedented demand for teachers, with demand far outstripping supply. In order to fill posts teachers were appointed with no formal academic qualifications and brighter pupils were employed in each school as

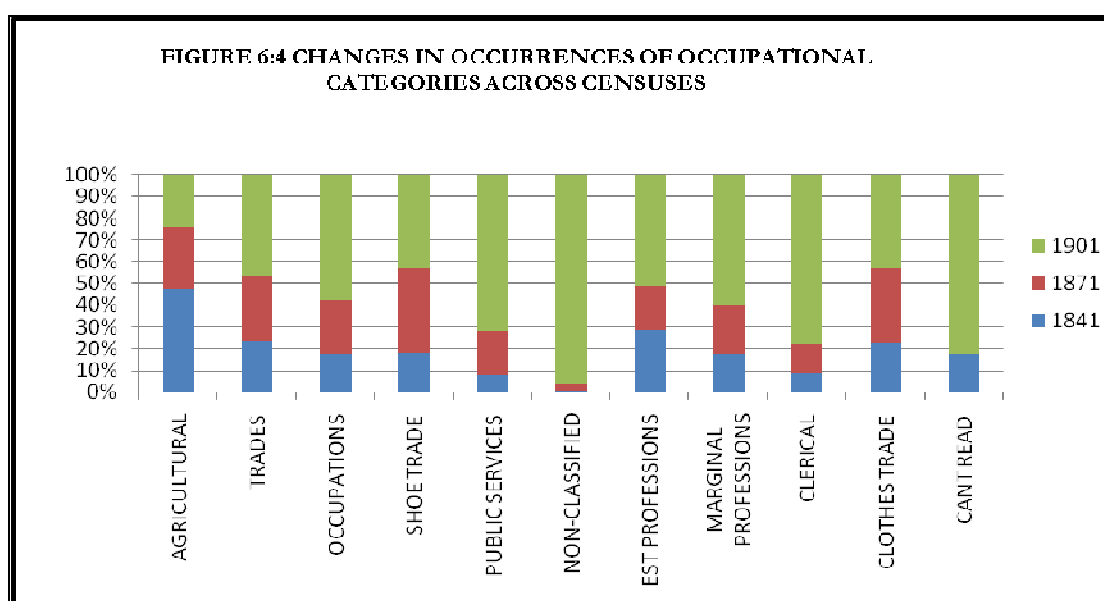
pupil teachers and trained on the job. This in effect meant that many of the people recruited to the new teaching posts were Stafford residents, which also helps to explain the drop in immigration figures. It should also be noted that even collectively in 1901 the professional workforce accounts for only 2.55% of Stafford's working population.

TABLE 6:3 STAFFORD'S WORKING POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY			
	1841	1871	1901
AGRICULTURAL	151	93	76
TRADES	427	530	849
OCCUPATIONS	1091	1474	3510
SHOE TRADE	1204	2559	2876
PUBLIC SERVICES	30	77	273
NON-CLASSIFIED	1	7	201
ESTABLISHED PROFESSIONS	37	26	65
MARGINAL PROFESSIONS	46	56	154
CLERICAL	24	34	208
CLOTHES TRADE	224	333	422
CANT READ	8	0	37
	3243	5190	8671

Occupational change in Stafford

If Stafford occupations are considered as a whole over the three census returns that have been researched then grouping them in the categories explained in chapter five and shown in table 6:3 it can be seen that over the period of sixty years that the occupational structure of Stafford did undergo considerable change (figure 6:4). As would be expected the number of people working in agriculture steadily declined from 1841 to 1901. Though even at its lowest level in 1901 more people in Stafford were employed in agriculture than in the established professions. The number of people in Stafford who worked in various trades actually doubled between 1871 and 1901, an indication perhaps of the major building and civic work that was being undertaken during this period in the town. The shoe trade, a major employer in 1841, grew marginally between 1871 and 1901 but was by the beginning of the twentieth century in decline and being replaced with other types of work, such as that offered by the electrical and engineering factories setting up in the town and by the railway. Non-classified occupations, people who state that they live from property or their own means also grew significantly between 1871 and 1901.

Public service employment in Stafford doubled between 1841 and 1871 but underwent a massive expansion between 1871 and 1901. Although public service employment has been considered one of the areas that employed professions, in Stafford the jobs classified under public service are not professional but include people who work for public institutions such as the post office; the council in a variety of roles such as road sweeper etc.; the prison; hospital; lunatic asylum or police force. There is no real evidence to support the case that any of these occupations could be classified as either an established or even a marginal profession during the nineteenth century. The number of clerical workers in the town also underwent a dramatic rise between 1871 and 1901 with the majority of workers who gave their occupation as clerk being male, not as one would possibly now expect, female. The rise in the amount of clerical work available may account for the dramatic fall in the number of men who worked as servants which dropped from seventy five in 1841 to eight in 1901. This change in the number of male servants was not mirrored by a similar change in the number of female servants employed in Stafford, their number actually rose from four hundred and seventeen in 1841 to five hundred and twenty five in 1901, though more job segregation appears to have taken place with women in 1841 simply describing their work as a servant, but in 1901 giving their job as cook, sewing maid, kitchen or house maids.



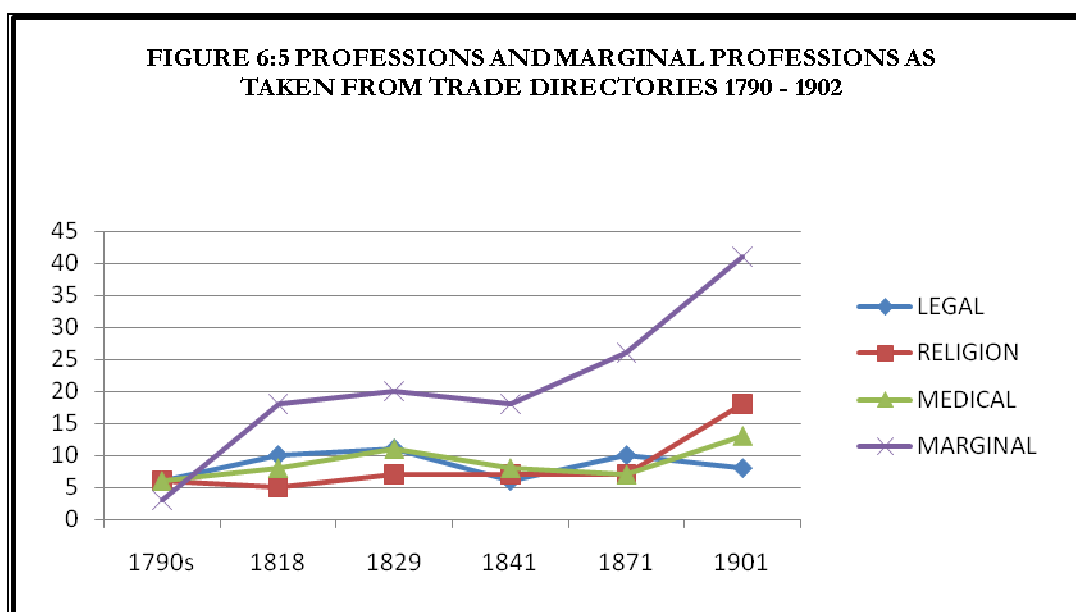
Occupational data from trade directories

The problem with using only census data to explore the number of professions in Stafford during the nineteenth century is that people who worked in Stafford but lived elsewhere would not appear in the town's census records and this could result in the number of professions present in the town being underrepresented and furthermore census data is not available until 1841. In order to overcome these problems it was decided to use census data in tandem with trade directory information as explained in detail in chapter five. This section will begin by examining information taken only from trade directories, and then move on to combine census and trade directory data.

There are two surviving trade directories which cover Stafford and throw some light on the number of professions practicing in the town prior to its expansion in the nineteenth century and the 1841 census. Looking at the data from these directories allows later census and directory figures to be put into context. The Universal British Directory was compiled between the years 1790-1798 and it lists in total twenty one people who could be considered working in either established or marginal professions. This directory uses only six headings for its entries; corporation; gentry; clergy; physic; law; traders. Under the category heading 'Traders' were found two schoolmasters, there were no chemists, engineers or any other occupations listed in this section that could be considered either established or marginal professions. Interestingly though a druggist is listed under the Physic heading along with the doctors. This would support the view that the Blue Book published in 1902 should have included chemists and druggists among their list of professions. The total number of occupations in this directory that could be described in any way as a profession was five. The second early directory was published by Parson and Bradshaw in 1818 and simply arranges entries alphabetically under the heading of their occupations. This directory lists a total of forty one people whose occupations could be considered either marginal or established professions and includes two architects and a vet (see appendix 12). The total number of occupations in this directory that could be described in any way as an established profession was nine.

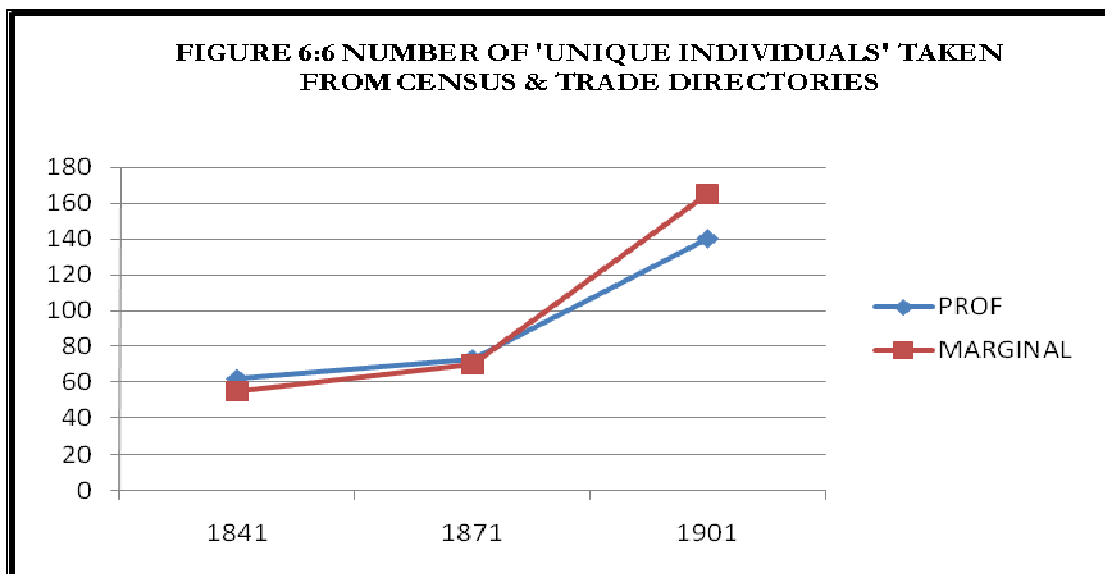
If the number of established and marginal professionals listed in the two trade directories mentioned above, and the six further trade directories that were consulted for the years close to the 1841, 1871 and 1901 census are examined then some interesting

patterns can be seen. The number of marginal professions found in the trade directories seems to rise rapidly from the 1790s to 1818, remains fairly flat up to 1841 and then continually rises up to 1901, so results are similar to those of obtained from census data alone. The number of established professions in trade directories however seems to rise slowly from eighteen in 1790 to twenty nine in 1829, falling to twenty one in the 1840s before undergoing another small rise to twenty four up to 1870s followed by sustained increase to thirty nine in the early twentieth century. However when the three oldest established professions, legal, clerical and medical are looked at separately (figure 6:5) it can be seen that entries for all three professions in trade directories declined in the 1840s and by 1870s only the legal profession actually shows an increase in the number of 'unique individuals' advertising in them. Interestingly, from the 1870s onwards the number of legal entries in the trade directories dropped, although entries for religion and medical increased for the first time in thirty years. The decrease in the number of people offering legal services in Stafford may be linked to the town council not renewing its charter to hold quarter sessions. Although the sessions were replaced with a monthly court, this might have influenced legal professionals against setting up in the town. There can be no doubt however that Stafford courts remained an important element of work for the legal profession as the Blue Book lists thirty two different barristers on Stafford court circuit who had offices in London, Birmingham or Wolverhampton. The increase in the number of marginal professions echoes the results from the census and relates almost totally to the growth in one occupation, teaching.



Occupational data from census and trade directories

Although census and trade directory data are sometimes used alone as sources for analysing occupations, in order to get as accurate a picture as possible of the number of professions operating in the Stafford during the nineteenth century these sources need to be used together for reasons explained in chapter five. Therefore information taken from census returns and trade directories for established professions and marginal professions was combined (appendix 13) in order to produce data relating to the number of unique individuals working in Stafford. These figures give a different view of professional life in the town to those provided by census or trade directory data alone. As can be seen from figure 6:6 when the two sources are combined and repeat entries removed both professions and marginal professions show a slight rise between 1841 and 1871 but a dramatic increase in numbers from 1871 to 1901. The original three professions all grew in number and new occupations gained professional status. The dramatic increase in marginal professionals working in the town was due almost entirely the enlarged educational workforce.



Summary of census and trade directory data

Looking at the data gathered from the various sources discussed above the percentage of professionals working in Stafford did rise during the nineteenth century, though slowly initially, only gathering momentum from the 1880's onwards with the main growth accounted for by government policies relating to education. However despite this rise in

1901 established and marginal professionals accounted for only 2.55% of Stafford's working population. Stafford itself had grown significantly throughout the nineteenth century. It had adopted new industrial practices, modernised its transport system, extended its medical provision, undertaken new building works, and because of this had by the end of the nineteenth century attracted to the town some relatively large employers (Lotus, Bostock, Dormans, Lloyd and Yates). However despite the general prosperity of the town it did not seem to attract professionals to the area to start new businesses and it could be said that professional development did not keep pace with the growth in other types of employment. The relatively small number of professions or marginal professions in the town would seem to imply that professionals would not have influenced the development of Stafford during the nineteenth century in any noticeable way. The only professional occupation to show significant growth was education which owed its expansion solely to changes in government policy and the resulting demand for teachers which may also illustrate that many nineteenth century professionals were not by nature entrepreneurs in the present meaning of the term.

The figures discussed also show that some professionals relocated their place of residence during the nineteenth century from within the boundaries of Stafford town to either the town's new suburbs or surrounding areas. For instance when looking at the three established professions it can clearly be seen that in 1841 the number of people listed on the census and in the trade directories are quite similar, but in 1871 and 1901 the number of people for each of these professions listed in the trade directories is considerably higher than the numbers found on the census. This is also true for the marginal professions where in 1901 only accountants' show higher numbers on the census than in the trade directories and most members of the marginal professions were not listed on Stafford census at all.

It would appear that the number of established and marginal professions in Stafford only underwent sustained growth in the later part of the nineteenth century. The number of marginal professions in the town only grew noticeably after 1871 from 0.57% of occupations to 1.17% in 1901 due to the increased number of teachers with established professions over the same period growing from 0.60% to 0.99%. Stafford should have provided ample work opportunities throughout the century for established and marginal professions due to increases in local government bureaucracy; legal requirements; healthcare; religion and major engineering works. These findings would seem to indicate that professional workers in the nineteenth century may not have been entrepreneurial in

the twentieth century meaning of the word as they appear not to move into areas until a need for their services has been established and that despite nineteenth century fears relating to the overcrowding of the professions that demand for professional services possibly outstripped supply throughout the century enabling professionals to be choosy about location to maximise their earnings (Musgrove 1959). Which means that in reality they probably had no reason to be entrepreneurial, but also challenges the inclusion of altruism as an essential trait by twentieth century researchers as true altruistic tendencies would have surely have resulted in more professionals locating themselves in developing towns. It also makes the claims by some researchers that the professions were instrumental in shaping work and society during the period of industrialisation unlikely to be true in Stafford. Networking and marketing opportunities for professionals will be discussed in a later section of the research.

Case Study 2: The occupation of Chemist/Druggist

Throughout the period covered by this research one particular occupation that of chemist/druggist has featured continually in both the Stafford census and trade directories, which is the reason that this particular occupation was chosen as a case study. Interestingly, despite being controlled from 1843 by a professional body that they were required to register with in order to undertake this work, as already discussed chemist/druggists appear not to have been considered a profession in 1902 by the editors of the Blue Book (Deacon 1902), despite membership of a professional body appearing to have been a criteria for inclusion under the category of profession in their directory. When one considers the editors included occupations such as patent agent, surveyor, sanitary engineer as professions this seems surprising. As the role of apothecary, chemist, pharmacist and doctor were almost interchangeable aspects of the same job for many centuries (Savage 1993), it would appear that by the nineteenth century the role of the chemist and druggist may already have suffered specialisation which resulted in deprofessionalisation once it became a totally separate occupation. Dichotomies such as these would seem to make the occupation of chemist/druggist a good case study to explore in more depth in order to try to ascertain why this particular occupation in the nineteenth century appears to have been discounted as a profession by contemporaries and considered either a trade or at best a marginal profession. This case study will briefly investigate the role of chemists/druggists role in nineteenth century Stafford.

Training and education

Chapter three outlined the historical development of chemists and druggists and the role the Royal Pharmaceutical Society played during the nineteenth century controlling the training of its members. The Pharmacy Act of 1868 stated that any associate members of the society, such as chemist's assistants or apprentices and students in pharmacy and chemistry were to be duly examined in a manner detailed by the council before they were added to the register. Unfortunately the act did not give any further details about what form this examination would take. However it would appear that throughout the century apprenticeship remained the main training method, with chemist and druggists advertising in local newspapers to find suitable apprentices. The Staffordshire Advertiser on Sat Nov 15 1834 carried the following two adverts for apprentices:

Wanted by a Chemist and Druggist a steady and well educated Youth of 16, as an Apprentice. A premium will be required. Apply by letter, post paid”

TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS. Wanted a well educated and respectable YOUTH, of about 15 or 16 years of age, as Apprentice to a Chemist & Druggist in a large manufacturing town. As especial advantages will be enjoyed by the young gentleman, a moderate premium will be expected. Applications to be made postage free. (Staffordshire Advertiser 1834)

Both adverts stress the importance of candidates being well educated and the second even goes as far as to refer to candidates as young gentlemen. Although gentleman in this sense was not necessarily used in what Webster describes as its most extensive sense to refer to everyone who was not a yeoman or to “a man without a title, bears a coat of arms, or whose ancestors have been freemen”, but to describe “a man of good breeding, politeness, and civil manners, as distinguished from the vulgar and clownish” (1858, p.499). In 1881, some fifty years later another advert in the same newspaper stressed exactly the same requirements “Chemists apprentice WANTED, a gentlemanly, well educated YOUTH” (Stafford Advertiser 10/12/1881). The inclusion of the requirement for applicants to be or to act like gentlemen is perhaps an indication that the occupation considered itself a profession, not a trade during the nineteenth century, or it could indicate practitioner's desires to be considered a profession. An advert placed on Saturday November 29th 1834 also shows the way that chemists were still linked to the apothecaries and other areas of medicine as the advert reads:

MEDICAL PRACTICE – WANTED a respectable, well educated Youth as an APPRENTICE either to a Surgeon or to a Dispensing Chemist and Druggist. He

will be treated as one of the family and enjoy many advantages in the prosecution of his studies, and at the same time have an opportunity of obtaining thorough knowledge of the above branches. Apply by letter post paid ... Mr Warham, Surgeon and Dispensing Chemist (Staffordshire Advertiser 29/11/1834).

The 1889 apprenticeship paper of Frederick Joseph Knock to George Viggars of Market square, Stafford to learn the “art of a Chemist and Druggist” was for a period of four years and cost £60.00 and £3.00 stamp duty to be paid in sixteen quarterly instalments. (D4338/G.3/21 SRO) The cost of this apprenticeship was likely to restrict candidates for chemist apprenticeships to sons of the gentry or those with sufficient funds. The partnership agreement made out between three surgeons in 1848 also gives evidence of the continuing association between the medical profession and apothecary as all three surgeons describe themselves as “surgeons, apothecaries and accoucheurs” (D660/23/25 SRO). The pharmaceutical register (Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain 1884) for the 1860s contains details for the following three chemists practising in Stafford.

1865 Oct 11 John Averill

1866 June 13 Henry Allcock Averill

1868 Dec 31 Thomas Edward Fowke

All three men had been in business before the act was passed on 1 August 1868.

Marketing and the chemist/druggists role

The 1818 trade directory used in this research also included three chemists/druggists in the list of professions or trades, William Fowke, Thomas Kenderdine and S. Woolrich. Interestingly all three businesses operated from the same location, Market Place, Stafford which formed part of Market Square where the town’s Guildhall and a market was located. Presumably as a way to promote trade, each chemist or druggist business appears to have had a different specialism; for instance William Fowke was a chemist and druggist and agent for the Eagle Fire Office; Thomas Kenderdine, druggist, grocer and ironmonger; S. Woolrich a druggist, oilman and dealer in patent medicines. Combining the role of oilman with that of druggist seems rather a strange combination, but according to Gale (1969) chemists at this time were often also drysalters and oil merchants.

Nineteenth century trade directories provide evidence of the range of products and services that chemists in the region offered as they included not only the alphabetical

listings of occupations which gave a person's name and address, but from early in the nineteenth century they also have at the back of each volume quite detailed business adverts which offered services not just from the area that the directory covered, but from throughout the UK. For instance Kelly's 1884 Directory of Staffordshire advertising section has headings titled London; Birmingham; Yorkshire; Lancashire; Liverpool; Leeds; Sheffield; Hull; Manchester; Assurance Adverts and County Advertisements. Stafford chemists did not seem to take advantage of this particular service though as only one small advertisement was found in the various nineteenth century trade directories consulted placed by the firm of Fowke and Aston, dispensing and family chemists, in Harrison's and Harrods 1861 directory, which gave only the address of the business. However other Staffordshire chemists were more inclined to advertise their services. For instance in 1845 Kelly's Post Office directory of Birmingham, Warwickshire and Part of Staffordshire carries the following full page advert:

Langmans, concentrate, liquid Guano for flowers, plants, shrubs, bulbs etc. prepared by F.Langman operative Chemist, Artists Colourman, Seedsman, Importer of Linseed Oil Cake and African Guano ... also Langmans sheep powder for preventing the fly from striking on sheep or lambs (Kellys 1845, p.1999).

While Frederick Pine a Chemist, Druggist and Seedsman advertised in Harrison and Harrods 1861 directory that he stocked "genuine Sperm, Colza, Seal and other oils, patent medicines, Farina Eau de Cologne, Piesses & Lubins perfumery in every variety, Schweppes, Soda, Potash and Malvern Seltzer Water" he also has "A constant supply of Leeches". In the same directory W. Fleming a Wolverhampton Chemist besides stocking the various oils stocked by Frederick Pine also sells "Fowke's celebrated Staffordshire Sauce, Soyer's Sultana, Royal Osborne, Severn, Worcestershire, and every other Sauce of established repute", along with pickles, vinegars, mustard, brushes, is

agent for Pulvermachers medical electric hains for rheumatism, etc. HERRING'S MAGNETIC BRUSH AND COMB. Coxeter's improved Patent Syphons, syringes, and Enemas of every variety. Elastic Stockings, Knee Caps, bandages, &c. the Patent Syphonia, Mow's and other Feeding Bottles, Jeffrey's Marwicks, and other Respirators. DE JONGH'S COD LIVER OIL. DU BARRY'S REVALENTA ARIBICA FOOD. CHRISTIAN'S CELEBRATED PATE DE LICHEN (Harrison and Harrods 1861, p.7).

Frederick also sells numerous brands of soda waters and perfumes and the bottom of his advert reads "P.S. The strictest attention paid to the Dispensing Department, and every prescription carefully prepared with chemicals of the purest quality".

Although Stafford Chemists did not advertise their services in trade directories, they did occasionally use the local newspaper to place adverts. For instance in 1881, J and H. A. Averill placed a large advert in the Staffordshire Advertiser to “call the attention of Farmers and Graziers to their valuable SHEEP AND LAMB DIPPING COMPOSITION” (Staffordshire Advertiser, 2/7/1881). This particular edition also had a section to one side of a page entitled Business Cards, which contained eighteen business cards, three of them for Stafford Chemists which show the specialism of each business: J and H A .Averill, Chemists and Manufacturers of Aerated Waters; Fowke and Son est. 1797, Family and Dispensing Chemists; T.Hawthorne, Chemist, Druggist and Oil Merchant (Staffordshire Advertiser 2/7/1881). In fact the majority of adverts carried in the Staffordshire Advertiser throughout the nineteenth century were for various products sold by chemists, though it was not the chemists themselves who took out the adverts but the product manufacturers. These advertisements often take up half a column and are split into separate sections. Firstly a description of the product, then testimonials from various doctors who claim to have tested the products and assure the public of their purity and effectiveness. Products to help farmers also featured in each newspaper. Adverts on 15 Nov 1834 included ones for “WOOLRICHS IMPROVED DIURECTIC HORSE BALLS...POWELLS BALSAM OF ANISEED...DR JEBBS STOMACH APERIENT PILLS” (Staffordshire Advertiser 15/11/1834). Adverts for products that would have been stocked by chemists and druggists take up on average two columns of a five column page in the Staffordshire advertiser.

Services were also advertised in the paper by other marginal professions such as opticians and dentists planning to visit Stafford giving the date, time and place when they would be available for consultation. For instance in 1834 Mr. S. Lee, optician to their Royal Highnesses placed an advert to say he would be visiting Stafford and Mr H.M. Jones surgical and mechanical dentist (Staffordshire Advertiser 22/11/1834). The role of the local Council in controlling the dispensing of drugs can also be illustrated from an 1881 newspaper which contained an article stating that the Council had decided it was necessary to fix the fees for adjusting and stamping of apothecaries’ weights and measures and giving the adjusted weights and fees (Staffordshire Advertiser 2/7/1881). It is interesting that this article refers to apothecary’s weights and measures, once again showing the continued association of drug dispensing, chemists and doctors with apothecary.

Revelations from the census

The 1841, 1871 and 1901 census returns show that chemist/druggists actually formed quite a large part of Stafford's marginal professions throughout the nineteenth century. The census returns show that in 1841 there were three chemists; seven apprentice chemists and two druggists listed on the census. All the chemist businesses were located very close to each other in Market Square in the centre of Stafford. Each chemist had apprentices living with their family and servants on the business premises. By comparison the druggists have no apprentices and their businesses are located towards the outskirts of the town. One druggist who appears to live where he works, may be reasonably well off as he and his wife have a female servant, but the other druggist is one of five lodgers staying in the house of a millwright and his family. Certainly in 1841 the type of businesses operated by chemists appear to be larger scale than that of the druggists and if this was the case then public opinion was likely to consider chemists the more professional of the two occupations. The 1871 census however lists two chemists, one druggist and three chemist and druggists with businesses in Stafford. Interestingly one of the druggists on the 1871 census was listed on the 1841 census, but had described himself as a chemist. This seeming change of occupation may be linked to the man moving into semi retirement as in 1871 it would appear that his son has taken over the chemist business and the two families are living on the premises. This may mean that the father no longer prepared the medicines he dispensed and so changed the way he described his occupation on the census. It may of course also show that the difference between the two roles was so small that practitioners used the titles interchangeably. Out of the seven chemist apprentices shown on the 1841 census only one of them was listed on the 1871 census as still working in Stafford, he now had his own business and gave his occupation as a chemist and druggist.

Only two out of the seven apprentices in 1841 appear to have been born outside the County of Staffordshire and one of the chemists. By 1871 two of the six chemist and druggists operating businesses in Stafford were born in Stafford and one in Staffordshire and the others were born in Derbyshire and Gloucestershire. None of the nine chemist's apprentices or assistants listed on the 1871 census was born in Stafford and only two in Staffordshire; the others appear to have come from Canada, Salop, Derbyshire, Hampshire and Worcestershire. This would appear to indicate that people working as, or for, chemists and druggists in 1871 were mainly migrants into Stafford.

Overall the number of people shown on the census that worked or training as chemists and druggists increased from ten in 1841 to fifteen in 1871. However of the nine people working for chemist/druggists in 1871 six of those gave their occupation as chemists' assistants and only two as chemists' apprentices. If this is compared to 1841, then out of the ten people who gave their occupation as chemists seven were apprentices, but there were no chemist assistants. This would appear to show a decisive downgrading in the level of vocational training being undertaken for this occupation in Stafford. By 1901 there are only three chemists and druggists listed on the census and one chemist, of these four men, three were born in Staffordshire, but not Stafford itself and one in Somerset. None of the chemists/druggists have any apprentices or assistants living with them, though two have a female servant and one has a boarder. Only one of these men was also listed as a chemist/druggist on the 1871 census and only one family, the Fowkes appear on all three censuses. There were no chemist apprentices listed on the Stafford census in 1901 and only one chemist's errand boy, one chemist's porter and two chemists' assistants. This would seem to indicate that by 1901 in Stafford apprenticeship may no longer have been used as a method of training for this occupation. There also appears to have been a significant drop in the number of chemists assistants working in Stafford at the beginning of the twentieth century which would seem to indicate that chemist's assistants had not replaced chemist apprentices, as if this were the only training route now available for this occupation then an increase in the number of assistants would be expected. As chemists' assistants and chemists apprentices had to be registered on the Pharmaceutical register it is difficult to see how the apprentice role could have been replaced completely by assistants, which also supports the view of training now taking another form.

The change to academic training

According to Curtis and Boulton (1960) from 1836 the UK government started to realise that it was essential to provide technical education for the workforce and that there was an acute skills gap. From 1841 grants were made to support the development of provincial schools of design and by 1852 a total of seventeen schools had been established, in industrial centres including Birmingham and Manchester. In 1852 the School of Design became the Department of Practical Art in the Board of Trade and in 1853 the Science and Art Department of the Board of Trade, under the supervision of the Education Department. The Royal College of Chemistry opened in 1845 (Hoffam 1871, p.145) and the Government School of Mines and Science 1851 (Knight 1868, p.353). One of the main

objectives of the Science and Art department was to encourage the teaching of these subjects in schools and examinations were brought in for these subjects with grants made available to schools based on the number of pupils who passed. Not surprisingly the number of science classes rose dramatically. In 1851 the UK was thought to have thirty eight science classes with one thousand three hundred pupils attending, by 1861 this had almost doubled to seventy classes with two thousand five hundred and forty three pupils (Curtis and Boulton 1960).

However these measures were not enough to stop the UK falling behind her major competitors the USA and Germany and it was clear that more decisive government action was needed (Sanderson 1988). In 1889 the Technical Instruction Act was introduced and by 1902 twelve Polytechnics or Technical Institutes were established in London, thirteen in the provinces and more than one hundred science schools had been established (Allen 1965). However training delivered by these bodies was criticised for concentrating on theory, not practice, unlike training delivered in Europe. Further expansion to the education system was provided by evening schools which in 1902 came under Local Education Authority control. During the latter part of the nineteenth century movement was also made to extend University education (HE) and to provide various other types of adult education (National Archives Website, no date given).

As was already discussed in chapter four, opportunities in Stafford for further education were available from the late nineteenth century. A Technical Instruction and Education Committee was founded in Stafford in 1889 and opened a technical school in 1890. This merged with the new County Technical School in 1896 to combine the teaching of science, art and technical instruction (Greenslade 2006). It is therefore possible that further education (FE) or even HE had by 1901 entirely replaced apprenticeships as the method for training chemists. However it is unlikely that the opportunity for FE training would explain the fall in the number of apprentices in 1871, unless other counties provided technical training schools earlier than Stafford.

Marland (2006) claims that chemist/druggists during the nineteenth century fulfilled for many people the role of a doctor, but cheaper, which made their services in great demand by the labouring classes, who almost considered their premises doctors shops. Her research in Wakefield and Huddersfield revealed that by the 1860s these areas had one chemist for each medical practitioner which she claims resulted in the chemists diversifying and selling

additional products to survive. The ratio of chemists to medical practitioners in Stafford (table 6:7), was almost two medical practitioners to one chemist/druggist in 1841, but had risen to four medical practitioners to one chemist/druggist by 1901. Therefore Stafford chemist/druggists would not have been under the same pressure to diversify as those in Wakefield and Huddersfield, but appear to have done so anyway. The ratio of doctors to chemists and its affect on diversity therefore may be questionable.

TABLE 6.7 NUMBER OF 'UNIQUE INDIVIDUALS'			
Medical practitioners and Chemist/Druggists taken from census returns and trade directories			
	1840s	1870s	1901
MEDICAL	23	25	32
CHEMIST/DRUGGIST	13	9	8

Summary of case study two

To briefly summarise the main research results for the second case study. Documents discussed indicate that a long period of training was required to become a chemist/druggist throughout the nineteenth century. It also shows the occupation entailed selling a variety of products that were not health related or manufactured on the premises. Information taken from the census returns show that in 1841 the occupation of chemist or chemist/druggist was popular enough to attract relatively large number of apprentices to train in Stafford, with each chemist having two apprentices and one chemist having three. However after 1841 there seems to have been a dramatic downturn in the number of people in Stafford employed in this occupation. This could indicate that the demand for training had died out, perhaps as a result of the mass production of many drugs, resulting in this occupation becoming specialised to such a degree that it no longer had the need to train people. However this seems unlikely as the occupation of chemist has continued to the present day. Alternatively it could point towards the occupation moving their training away from vocational to academic which meant that apprenticeship was no longer the accepted form of training.

Case Study 3: The Fowke family

Having considered what might be termed the economic aspects of a nineteenth century chemist/druggist's work the final case study moves on to investigate one specific family

of chemist/druggists. The reason for investigating one family in depth is to explore the social and cultural aspects of their life which would be missing if economic considerations alone were researched. The Fowke family were chosen as the focus for this case study because they operated a chemist shop in Market Place, Stafford throughout the nineteenth century. A family tree for the Fowkes has been included to help clarify relationships where it has been possible to establish them (appendix 14).

First generation - William Fowke

The Staffordshire Advertiser in 1888 reported the Fowkes had “perhaps the oldest established business in the town” (3/3/1888), which according to a business card advert placed in the Staffordshire Advertiser in 1881 William Fowke started in 1797 (Staffordshire Advertiser 2/7/1881). However according to Lewis (2006) the business was established in 1786 at number 18 Market Square and sold to William by George Wainwright in 1803. The Fowke family migrated to Stafford with William and his wife Mary stating that they were born out of the county on the 1841 census. William was born in the adjoining county of Shropshire/Salop and was christened in 1781 at St Chad’s church in Shrewsbury, a county town on the borders of Wales and Staffordshire. William’s father John Fowke, lived at Frankwell at the time of his son’s birth and was a gardener, an occupation he inherited from his father, John Fowke Senior⁴⁰. John Fowke senior’s will was proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury in 1768, as opposed to the local probate court at Lichfield. The prerogative court normally dealt with the probate of estates which involved large sums of money, though it was also the only probate court in the country that could deal with estates involving certain things such as transfer of government stock (National Archives Online no date given). However John seniors will does not appear to be that of a wealthy man. In total he bequeaths the sum of approximately £260 to his wife, children and grandchildren and although he mentions two houses, land and garden that he leases, he gives no indication of owning any property or having other monies so it is difficult to see why his will was not proved locally as many above this value were⁴¹.

It would appear from documents relating to a tithe dispute in 1786 that John junior continued to rent the land mentioned in his father’s will up to the end of the eighteenth

⁴⁰ John Fowke, Gardener was admitted as a Freeman of Shrewsbury on May 5 1780 (6001/123 Shrewsbury Record Office)

⁴¹ However it should be taken into account that the value of £260 in 2007 worked out as a share of GDP would be approximately £743,517.16 or using the retail price index £18,990.69 so not an unsubstantial amount(Officer 2008).

century and to operate it as a market garden where he grew “fruit trees, nursery trees and garden stuff of other sorts” (B/C/5/1786/218 LRO). He valued the income from his gardening venture for the court at Lichfield which heard the tithe dispute as £15.00 a year from which he paid a tithe of thirty shillings. John junior’s own will does not seem to have survived, however if this was his only form of income then it does not indicate that William came from a wealthy or landowning family as according to Reader (1966) at least £100 a year was needed in the early nineteenth century to achieve a comfortable living⁴². As it would appear that John had sufficient income to pay for his sons to be trained as a doctor, solicitor and chemist, the garden may not have been his only source of income though if the family continued to live at Frankwell it is also possible that John’s sons may have received a free education at Millington’s Hospital School⁴³.

It is clear from the documents that can be found in Stafford Record Office relating to the Fowke family living in Stafford during the nineteenth century that that they played quite an active role in the community in which they lived and that as a result they had built up an impressive social network that extended over a wide area (appendix 15). They appear to have mixed freely and frequently with members of the established professions and indeed some of the Fowke family were lawyers and doctors. Evidence of their connections with established professions can be found in a number of family documents. For instance in 1834 the Reverend William Orret Rector of Standish in the County of Lancaster owed over £1000 and interest to Thomas Fowke a Stafford surgeon who started bankruptcy proceedings against him in order to recover the money that he was owed (D660/8/25 SRO). In 1835 Mr Robert Fowke attorney at law and solicitor, entered into a partnership agreement with Philip Seckerson attorney at law and solicitor who had “established a respectable business” in Stafford but now required “some relaxation from his practice”⁴⁴.

⁴² A John Fowke of Frankwell, Printer was admitted as a Freeman at Shrewsbury on 29 Feb 1796. (6001/123 Shrewsbury Record Office)

⁴³In 1738 James Millington left a sum of money in his will for establishing a school and an old people’s home in Frankwell, Shrewsbury. Millington’s Hospital (hospital used at this time as a term to describe a hospice) school opened in 1748 and provided schooling to both boys and girls from the parish of St Chad, with preference being given to children who lived in Frankwell itself and who were members of the Church of England. Attendance at Millington’s was completely free, all books and stationery and even clothes were provided. The school curriculum covered the basic subjects of reading writing and mathematics, but in the last year before the children were due to leave, boys were also taught bookkeeping and accounting. All children leaving Millington’s were indentured to a trade or profession (Alcock 2007; Lloyd no date). Very few indentures survive, of those that do there are none for the Fowke family, although one indenture has survived for the son of a gardener. None of the surviving indentures were for training in a profession. Surviving documents show that the children were indentured mainly into trades. (Shrewsbury Record Office 4074 box 20/21)

⁴⁴ Philip Seckerson was Lord Stafford’s solicitor.

The partnership agreement allowed for Philip's son to take over his share of the business once he had completed his clerkship. The partnership cost Robert Fowke £500.00.0d, the agreement was witnessed by William Fowke (D660/8/22 SRO). Thomas was Williams's brother and Robert his nephew. Thomas moved his medical practice to Tettenhall in Wolverhampton where he remained for the rest of his life. His sons John and Thomas Henry both trained as surgeon apothecaries and took over their father's surgery upon his retirement (D660/23/25 SRO). Robert died at the relatively young age of thirty two.

Documents in Stafford Record Office show that the Fowke family owned and leased land and houses in Stafford and various areas of Staffordshire. For instance in March 1836 "William Fowke of Stafford, chemist & druggist" is involved in the transfer of land in Market Drayton in the County of Salop and setting up a mortgage agreement with William Hall relating to his "messuage warehouse and premises in Stafford" (D660/8/27 SRO). Examples of approximately twenty seven different documents relating to land transfers, mortgages etc. were found in one bundle of papers relating to the Fowkes family (D660/8/27 SRO). Stafford Borough records also contain references to William Fowke druggist in 1812 leasing "stalls and stallage with all tressels, poles, tilts, boards...with convenient ground room...upon the several markets and fairs to be held within the term granted" for 14 years and for William Fowke, chemist and druggist in 1819; leasing premises near the bottom of Gaolgate Street for 99 years (D1323/O/4/1/6 SRO).

William also seemed very good at building up strategic alliances, the draft will of William Fowke made out in 1839 shows that his son in law is John Kenderdine Shaw (D660/8/27 SRO). The Kenderdines were another family who had significant holdings of land in Stafford and Staffordshire. An 1810 lease describes John Kenderdine as a druggist from the borough of Stafford (D660/8/27/21-22 SRO), while the 1818 trade directories show that Thomas Kenderdine was a druggist, grocer, and ironmonger with a business in Market Place, Stafford, the same street as William's shop. The Kenderdine's Stafford business was established by 1807 when Joseph Eccles was apprenticed to Charles Kenderdine, grocer for five years at the cost of £50.00 (D3315/1/1). The Kenderdines also ran a grocer and chemist business in Stone, a village adjoining Stafford (D628/55/1 SRO).

In fact many of the leases relating to the Fowke family show that their business and family were closely connected, documents were found that involve William and his brothers Thomas and Robert; William and William Hall, another Stafford businessman whose

daughter Sarah married William Francis Fowke and William and various members of the Kenderdine family (D660/8/27/22 SRO). One document illustrates this symbiotic relationship very well, entitled “a schedule of title deeds and writings relating to a messuage, warehouse and premises in the borough of Stafford belonging to William Fowke and in mortgage to Mr William Hall for securing £1000 and interest” (D660/8/27 SRO) dated 19 July 1832 it lists documents relating to William’s shop premises in Market Square Stafford from 1667 to 1832. The final five documents on the list are as follows: 20th March 1805 Indenture of Feoffment between Thomas and Martin Wright and John Kenderdine, Gentleman; 22 March 1810 Lease and Release between John Kenderdine, druggist and Richard Owen Gentleman; 22 April 1830 Indenture and Feoffment between Thomas Lea, Innkeeper and Philip Seckerson, Gentleman; 22 and 23 June 1832 Lease and Release between Philip Seckerson, William Fowke and Richard Owen of County Radnor, Innkeeper; 25 June 1832 Indenture between William Fowke and William Hall, Farmer, being a mortgage for £1000.

William Fowke senior served on Stafford Council at various times throughout his life. He was mayor of Stafford in 1814, an alderman in 1818 (Parson and Bradshaw 1818) when the listing also describes him as a Gent, then mayor again in 1821 and 1829 (Pigot 1821; Lewis 2006). William senior also appears on the Burgess Role for the Borough of Stafford for 1822 when he is still listed as mayor. Burgess status could be obtained through a variety of routes, either by being the son of freemen; by serving an apprenticeship in Stafford (legal Burgess); or by invitation (illegal Burgess). The role contains “a list of all the Burgesses of that borough distinguishing those that are legal from the illegal Burgess called ‘Ten Pounders or ‘Tow Heads’ by writing their name in red ink (D3315/2 SRO). William senior was a “Tow Head” (not born in Staffordshire) as were surgeons Edward Knight and Francis Hughes, and the Reverends’ Henry and Edward Rathborn. The Kenderdine family are also listed on the role; John Kenderdine gives his occupation as a Gentleman and Charles Kenderdine a grocer. In total nine members of the Kenderdine family appear on the Burgess role but their names are written in black ink indicating that they are legal corporation Burgess. The Burgess role also shows that there was a street in Stafford’s Foregate ward called Kenderdines Row, though none of the Kenderdines live there. Phillip Seckerson appears to be the only Burgess employed in the legal profession in Stafford at this time, though as many of the Burgess have no occupation next to their names it may simply be the case that other members of the profession have not had their occupation noted. For instance Thomas Careless and his sons Edward and Joseph operated a vets

practice in Stafford in the early nineteenth century but do not have their occupation shown next to their names. The lack of occupation could indicate that a particular person does not work, but as occupations appear to be written in various hands, not necessarily by the person who entered the name on the role, it may also indicate that a particular Burgess did not consider the inclusion of their occupation on the list important. When William became a freeman of the town he did not have to pay the normal fee for this privilege and on the same day was also voted a capital Burgess (Lewis 2006 WS). In June 1833 William gave evidence before a Select Committee in London set up to enquire into alleged corrupt election practices in Stafford. According to his evidence William was responsible for seconding the nomination of the Whig candidate Captain Chetwynd, but he had no knowledge of any bribery (Select Committee Minutes 1834 WS).

Second generation - William Fowke junior and George Fowke

William Fowke senior died in 1852 and is listed on the census returns up to his death as a chemist/druggist living at his business premises in Market Square, though he had moved in 1810 from rented premises at number 10 to number 18 which he purchased (Lewis 2006 WS). Thomas Edward Fowke's obituary in 1888, refers to him as the chemist and druggist who succeeded his father and grandfather to the business and goes on to describe him as taking

An active interest in all public matters connected with the borough and was member of the Town Council from Nov 1876 to 31 Oct 1878 and again from 1880 to Oct 31 1883. On the Council his principal work was done as Chairman of the Market and Tolls committee ... Mr Fowke was a man of most kindly and warm hearted disposition ... his death is regretted by an unusually large circle of friends (Staffordshire Advertiser 3/3/1888).

However this newspaper article is not correct, Thomas Edward did not succeed his father William junior into the business, he inherited the business from his Uncle George, who the 1861 census shows he had also been apprenticed to. William senior's draft will of February 1839 shows that he planned to leave his business in Stafford to his wife Mary during her lifetime and that it was then to pass to his two younger sons George and Edward. Their elder brother William junior is not a beneficiary in the draft will, although originally it would appear that his father had intended to leave him one ninth of his personal estate this section of the will is crossed through. (D660/8/27 SRO). The apprenticeship register for Stafford parish shows that William junior had been apprenticed to his father in February 1821 when he was approximately fifteen for a period of seven years to learn the art of the

Druggist (D3315/1/3 SRO). On 11 July 1829 he was admitted as a freeman of Stafford, though by this time he had already moved to the neighbouring town of Rugeley to set up his own business (5667/1 SRO). On the 1841 census return he is recorded living with his wife and two children in Marketplace, Rugeley with one apprentice; four female servants and a saddler and his two children. However by the 1851 census William appears to have changed occupation and he is now working at Hagley Hall for the Hon. R. Curzon as a Farm Agent who manages twenty seven acres of land and employs sixteen labourers. He still held this post in 1861 when the census was taken. William senior does mention William junior briefly at the beginning of his actual will dated 31 October 1848 saying “I give and bequeath unto my son William Fowke the younger all sum and sums of debts due and owing from him to me either upon simple contract or upon bond or mortgage” (Lichfield Record Office 17/10/1852). William seniors estate was valued for probate as not exceeding £1500.00 (value in 2006 £1,457,332.79).

George was made a partner in his father’s business in 1845 and after his father’s death he took Thomas Aston into partnership with him with both families living on the premises. Thomas Aston retired in 1868 and George then took Thomas Edward into partnership with him (Lewis 2006 WS). In George’s will proved December 1876, William junior is named as one of his executors and states that “William can live in my dwellinghouse and occupy the same position I now enjoy for and during his natural life and my said nephew Thomas Edward Fowke continuing my business”. The will also stipulated that Thomas Edward should inherit the business absolutely after his father (William junior) died. Until then Thomas Edward was to have his expenses paid and receive a salary of £50.00 a year. George also stated that £40.00 a year should be paid to his brother Edward Thomas and his sister Ellen for the term of their natural life from the profit of the business, with William junior receiving any leftover profit and their yearly share when either died (Lichfield Record Office vol. xlv, F301). For probate purposes Georges estate was valued at under £1500 (value in 2006 £869,923.21). However William junior died four years before his brother so did not inherit the shop in Stafford from George⁴⁵, though on 22 July

⁴⁵ Up to the sixteenth century wills were drawn up to deal with the disposal of a testator’s real estate and a separate testament to cover the disposal of personal estate. Over a period of time these two documents merged, however prior to 1858 probate granted by ecclesiastical courts only applied to the testament part of the will. This means that probate valuations for wills prior to 1858 exclude the value of any freehold or copyhold property and relate only to personal property such as clothes, money, furniture etc. (Cox 1993; Tarver 1995)

Value of the £ in 2006 has been calculated using per capita GDP for each relevant year as worked out by the relative value of the UK Pound calculator on MeasuringWorth.com. This website also contains interesting details relating to working out relative values in a number of different ways. Unfortunately the calculator does not work out values prior to 1830.

1867 the Staffordshire Advertiser reported that William Fowke had taken his son Thomas Edward Fowke into partnership trading as Fowke & Son in Market Square, Stafford, so evidently he was involved with the business in some manner before George's death. When probate was granted for Williams estate in October 1872 it was valued at under £100 (value in 2006 £56,073.7). He left his real and personal estate to his wife during her lifetime and on her death to his daughter Francis Elizabeth, absolutely with estates and mortgages vested in him as trustee or mortgagee to his son Thomas Edward and his heirs (LRO vol. xxxiv, F401). It would appear that William junior's change of career had not been financially rewarding.

Third generation – Thomas Edward Fowke

Besides continuing with the chemist/druggist shop in 1890 Thomas became the local agent for Phoenix Fire and Life Insurance Company, a business he operated from an office above the chemist shop which became known as Phoenix chambers (Lewis 2006 WS). Thomas was also an active freemason. The Freemasons appear to have had a presence in Stafford since 1818, though the records are missing up to 1833 so it is impossible to say if any of the Fowke family were members when the first Lodge was set up. However the records for 1833 Lodge of Fortitude show that membership of the association at this period included people from all manner of occupations such as plasterer; schoolmaster; turnkey; gentleman; overseer, barrister; doctor; attorney; surgeon and the chemist James Marsen. At this period there is no mention of any member of the Fowke family. This particular lodge held its meetings in various public houses in Stafford but in 1846 decided to close due to only having seven members. Lack of membership may have been partly attributable to a second lodge starting up in Stafford in the spring of 1836 called The First Staffordshire Knot. This lodge describes itself as "being mainly for the use of professional men" and held its meetings in the Shire Hall (Chalmers 1882, P.2). The occupations of members of this lodge included doctors; architects; barristers; schoolmasters; organist; ironmaster; auctioneer; shoe manufacturer; bachelor of medicine; and in 1880 it had two chemists that were members, Thomas Edward Fowke and W. Duncalfe of Gnosall. Although the lodge described itself as for professional men, it seems clear from the occupations of its members that professional in this context may have been used to refer to anyone who was employed in the three established professions or who was self employed. Thomas Edward Fowke, served as Grand Master of the lodge in Stafford and Director of Ceremonies at the Provincial Grand Lodge of Staffordshire.

Thomas Edwards's active social life may in part have been due in part to problems with his home life, his wife Ellen Fowke had been in Stafford's insane asylum for thirty years at the time of his death (D4338/6/3/4 SRO). However despite this in his will Thomas gives "all his personal estate of every nature unto my dear wife ... absolutely" (LRO vol:LXXVIII F301) His personal estate at the time of probate was valued at £1817, 16s.6d (value in 2006 £1,079,969.71)⁴⁶. Ellen and the clerk of the asylum, who appears to be her brother, were joint executors of the will and despite Ellen being an inmate at the asylum, probate was granted to them jointly when his will was proved in 1888. Ellen survived her husband by some six years and in 1891 the census shows her living with six of her nine children, two servants and a chemist assistant at the family shop in Market Place, Stafford. On the census Ellen says she is head of the household and gives her occupation as chemist and druggist. Her death in 1894 triggered communication between solicitors in Stafford and a barrister in London in order to ascertain if funds paid by Miss E. Fowke towards Ellen's upkeep in the asylum since her husband's death could be claimed back from her estate. The document states that Ellen had been partially maintained in the asylum for over thirty years, though the census shows that she was not living there in 1891. The barrister advised that there could have been no contract between Miss Fowke and Ellen Fowke due to her lunacy, therefore Miss Fowke was under no obligation to support Ellen and her support consequently was a voluntary gift which could not be claimed back from the estate, but that as Miss Fowke would receive a share of a freehold rent that would cover her costs she would be best advised to "take the rent and hold her tongue about it" (D4338/6/3/4 SRO).

Fourth generation - William Francis Fowke

On Thomas Edward's death his son William Francis Fowke possibly took over the chemist business in Stafford, not his mother, though he was not living there in 1891. Although no apprenticeship document was traced for William Francis he was located working as a chemist's assistant for James Kneale in Sparkhill, Solihull in 1871, and it would appear that he lived at the shop in Stafford in 1896 as his marriage settlement to Miss Sarah Hall gives his address as Market Place, Stafford, although the document shows that he intended to set up his home after his marriage in the neighbouring village of Penkridge. In the marriage

⁴⁶ Value of the £ in 2006 has been calculated using per capita GDP for each relevant year as worked out by the relative value of the UK Pound calculator on MeasuringWorth.com. This website also contains interesting details relating to working out relative values in a number of different ways. Unfortunately the calculator does not work out values prior to 1830.

settlement William agrees to give Sarah all “the furniture chattels and effects in and about the messuage or dwellinghouse known as White House, Penkridge” and to take out a life assurance policy for the sum of £500. The furniture and the insurance policy are held in trust, with the trustees ensuring that the furniture is divided equally among any children from the marriage when both William and Sarah die (D4338/G/3/3 SRO). William Francis’s father in law was a coal merchant who ran a business in Stafford called Wm Hall and Co, which was located at Doxey Wharf. The firm supplied coal to the G.N.Railway and the director’s report for the company in 1903 shows that William Francis had been made a director of the company. (D4338/G/3/23 SRO) There is evidence that William and Sarah had at least two daughters as in 1909 William Francis signed a deed of gift which transferred the ownership of four cottages in New St, Stafford to the girls. There are also many documents in Stafford Record Office for this period which show William Francis engaged in buying and selling various parcels of land or buildings in Stafford to private individuals and the Stafford Council. For instance in 1911, he sells “freehold shops and land in Craberry St, Stafford” to the “Mayor, Aldermen and Burgess of the Borough of Stafford” (D4338/G/3/6 SRO).

It would appear that William Francis at some stage decided to rent out the shop in Stafford, though the family continued to own it until 1928 when it was finally sold to Messrs Squire and Co, Birmingham. After the sale a letter was sent to B.S. Jones who was trading as Fowke and Son by William Francis’s accountants Dean and Son to inform Mr Jones of the sale. Headed paper used by Mr Jones at this time describes the business as Fowke and Son, Chemists and Seedsman. According to Lewis (2006) when the business was sold Jones brought the goodwill of the shop and continued to trade under the name of Fowke and Son from different premises (D4338/A/24/182 SRO). In January 1936 William Francis also leased out his shop in Penkridge for the sum of £325.00 a year, however his retirement was short as he died on 2nd May the same year. The probate document granted to his wife Christina Jane Fowke shows that at the time of his death William Francis lived at the Brambles, a large house in Brocton on the outskirts of Stafford which he had inherited from his first wife Sarah who died in 1922 leaving him ‘The Brambles for use during his life, it was then to pass on to the couple’s children although none are named (LRO, vol. CLII folio 117b). There is mention in Sarah’s will of family members located in Leicester, further evidence of the distance of the Fowkes’ social

network. On his death William Francis's total estate was declared as worth £21528. 3s 11d (value in 2006 of approx. £4,363,305.46) (D4338/G/3/6 SRO)⁴⁷.

Summary of findings relating to the Fowke family

It would appear from this study of the Fowke's that the family members who inherited the chemist/druggist business were relatively well off and that this wealth was retained throughout the nineteenth century. It has not been possible to trace if William senior, the first chemist/druggist inherited his wealth or not. Perhaps one of the questions raised by the case study of the Fowke family is why William senior became a chemist when some members of his family clearly had the option of joining one of the established professions? The reason behind his choice of occupation may have thrown some light on the way that chemist/druggists were viewed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Perhaps they were still associated in people's minds with medical practitioners and therefore the occupation was considered almost a quasi profession and as his brother Thomas was a surgeon, William chose a career that would fit in with his brother's. However, it seems likely that joining a profession or an occupation that may become a profession might not have been important to William senior for a number of reasons. For instance William might have expected to inherit a considerable sum from his father's estate so did not feel that he needed to go into one of the established professions. He also may not have been given the choice of occupation, his father may have already decided that his other sons would go into established professions and that William would either carry on his business, or set up another of his own selection. Either way it does seem likely that the status of a chemist would have been considered higher than that of a trade and certainly seems to have been associated with gentlemanly behaviour. If this were the case then perhaps choosing an occupation that was not a profession was not important, because profession as a concept was not important at this time period. Evidence from Stafford would seem to show that although the term was applied to the three established professions that it was still not a term in common use at the beginning of the nineteenth century and because of this probably had no associated value. For instance members of the three established professions although recognised as professionals were more importantly considered gentlemen, a term gradually replaced from the late nineteenth century onwards by

⁴⁷ Value of the £ in 2006 has been calculated using per capita GDP for each relevant year as worked out by the relative value of the UK Pound calculator on MeasuringWorth.com. This website also contains interesting details relating to working out relative values in a number of different ways. Unfortunately the calculator does not work out values prior to 1830.

professional as a result of the spread of FE and HE opportunities. No evidence was found that any member of the Fowke family was voluntarily involved with any of the professional bodies that represented their occupation. Registration with the Royal Pharmaceutical Society was required by law after 1868 but no documentation survives to indicate any further involvement such as attending meetings.

The sources discussed can be said to point to the Stafford Fowke family being entrepreneurial, if one uses a definition of entrepreneurial that can be found in current dictionaries as someone who organises a business and is willing to take risks in order to make a profit (OED Online 2007; Cambridge Online 2007). Current skills that would be recognised as entrepreneurial include the ability to recognise business opportunities and good business networking and marketing skills, something of high value with business networking not only based on the cultural and social capital of the individual but also on their level of power and kinship ties (Pearson and Richardson 2001). A 1933 definition provides a slightly different emphasis “a contractor acting as an intermediary between capital and labour” and this definition may be even more applicable as evidence discussed shows that besides running the chemists shop William and his family were involved in buying, selling and leasing land; loaning money and selling insurance (Onions 1933). They also extended their chemist business into two other villages and probably built strategic alliances through marriage with other Stafford families. In this respect the Fowke family did recognise and pursue many different types of business opportunities.

The fact that William senior served as mayor of Stafford on at least two occasions could perhaps be said to show altruism and his desire to contribute to Stafford society. However this is not the only interpretation that could be put on the holding of public office. The mayor would have significant influence over Stafford Corporation’s business policies and holding this post or serving as an Alderman or Councilman would enable William to have considerable input into the town’s economic policy. Holding this office would also confirm William as one of the town’s elite and help to build his social capital (Trainor 1993). Thomas Edward also served as a Councillor on the market committee where once again he would have been in a position to influence policies that would affect his business. No evidence was found that related to any Fowke family member being connected with the Corporation in an area that did not also tie into their own economic well being. Pearson and Richardson (2001) researching business support for development of services and

utilities in Manchester puts the support of businessmen down to a desire to remove business constraints, not to altruism.

Can Twentieth Century Theories be applied to the Nineteenth century?

We will now move on to consider if various theories of profession put forward by twentieth century academics can be applied to nineteenth century occupations, or specifically the occupation of chemist/druggist. Chapter three outlined different research approaches developed by researchers over the years and described the traits approach developed by functionalist researchers between the 1930s to 1980s which produced many different models and frameworks listing criteria an occupation was considered to need in order to be considered a profession. Although it eventually proved impossible to isolate one set of traits that could be applied consistently to all occupations in order to definitively identify it as a profession (appendix 13) many researcher's work included common traits. Pavalko's (table 6:8) and Ford and Gibbs (table 6:9) models have been chosen to use in this research because between them they contain most of the commonly identified traits of profession. The first question that will be explored therefore is whether twentieth century traits frameworks can be used to correctly identify if the occupation of chemists/druggist was considered a profession by nineteenth century Stafford residents?

Pavalko's model requires eight different aspects to be present in order for an occupation to be judged a full profession. Firstly there needs to be a theory or intellectual technique and clearly both of these are present in the type of training that chemists undertook. As has already been discussed the apprenticeship period for training to be a chemist during the nineteenth century was only one year shorter than training to be a surgeon. Secondly the occupation has to have a relevance to basic social values, which the role of chemist/druggist can claim to have had as the preparation and dispensing of drugs obviously played an important role in keeping members of Stafford society healthy and functioning at a period when living conditions and healthcare were not at their best. Thirdly the training period for a profession is long, specialised and involves a subculture and symbols. As already discussed the training period for a chemist was a minimum of four years, the training was specialised and did involve its own subculture, the use of symbols and specialised terminology. Fourthly, according to Pavalko the motivation of a profession is one of public service, which chemists could also claim to be as much part of their motivation as could a doctor. Both provided a health service, both treated minor ailments,

both occupations were paid work so neither could really claim to be more altruistic in motive and practice than the other. The fifth trait identified was autonomy which was also present in the chemists' occupation. Certainly the qualified chemists practising in Stafford during the nineteenth century were self employed and had complete autonomy over their work. Being self employed also meant that they were invariably committed to the work that they did, which was the sixth of Pavalko's traits. Chemists trained for an occupation that most of them then practiced throughout their working life, once again in a similar way to doctors. The final two things that Pavalko thought were needed by a profession in order to be judged an occupation was a sense of community and a code of ethics. Both of these aspects of profession are tied to the development of a professional body as it is the professional body that develops the code of ethics and to some extent that also helps to develop a sense of community within the occupation itself.

TABLE 6:8: PAVALKO'S TRAIT MODEL (1971, p. 26)

	Occupation	Profession
Theory or Intellectual Technique	Absent	Present
Relevance to Basic Social Values	Not relevant	Is relevant
Training Period		
A	Short	Long
B	Non-specialised	Specialised
C	Involves things	Involves symbols
D	Subculture unimportant	Subculture important
Motivation	Self interest	Service
Autonomy	Absent	Present
Commitment	Short term	Long term
Sense of Community	Low	High
Codes of Ethics	Undeveloped	Highly developed

As has already been discussed chemists had a professional body from the 1830s, that imposed a strict code of conduct but also encouraged the development of a national sense of community among its members. There is also evidence in Stafford that there was a local sense of community among the chemists in the town as they attended various council committees together and the children of William Fowke and Thomas Kenderdine married. Whether the marriage was a strategic alliance or not does not really matter, what it does show is a clear channel of communication between two competing businesses. Using

Pavalko's framework then a case could be made that chemists, certainly for the majority of the nineteenth century had all of the criteria within their work to be considered a fully established, not a marginal profession, as they could claim to fulfil all eight of the criteria that Pavalko sets out.

If we also look the levels and components model of profession of (figure 6:9) then using these criteria nineteenth century chemists also had all the practitioner and infrastructure aspects within their work to have their occupation considered a profession. Perhaps the only trait missing from either model is the need for the occupation to be full time work; however as discussed earlier in this chapter it was common during the nineteenth century for even the established professions to have multiple business interests so this particular trait is unlikely to be a useful indicator and could possibly prove misleading. It would appear that using either Pavalko's or Ford and Gibbs twentieth century traits criteria that this particular occupation would be classified as an established profession from early in the nineteenth century. This does not reflect the evidence presented by this research making it questionable if twentieth century criteria relating to profession can be applied to nineteenth century occupations and raises the question if the professional traits in either of these models were actually important in the nineteenth century?

TABLE 6:9 LEVELS AND COMPONENTS OF THE MODEL OF PROFESSION (Ford and Gibbs 1996, p50)	
Practitioner Level	Infrastructure Level
Professionals	Initial Professional Education
Knowledge	Accreditation
Professional Practice	Skills Development
	Certification
	Licensing
	Professional Development
	Code of Ethics
	Professional Society

If the traits found in the nineteenth century sources used in this research, for the occupations that have been classified as professions or marginal professions were put into a traits model (table 6:10) then such a model would not share many of the traits included by twentieth century researchers. Though of course the traits shown below may relate only to the practice of such occupations in county towns, and different criteria may be found for professionals working in large cities. Of these traits then possibly the least important throughout most of the nineteenth century was the presence of a professional body.

TABLE 6:10 NINETEENTH CENTURY PROFESSIONAL TRAIT MODEL	
Good Education	Important but only expected to the age of 15. University education not required even for training in legal and medical profession.
Lengthy Training	For established and marginal professions up to the end of the nineteenth century by apprenticeship for chemists/doctors or clerkship for lawyers for a period of five to seven years
Wealthy	Must be able to pay training fees ranging from £20 (in 2006 £1440) to £240 (in 2006 £17280)
Gentlemanly Behaviour	Needs ability to behave and to be perceived as a gentleman.
Prepared to relocate	Must be prepared to relocate in order to undertake training.
Networking Local	Ability to network within the local community essential to building a successful business and a social/professional network.
Networking Regional	Training away from place of birth helps to build regional networks. These are often maintained and strengthened by marriages, land deals and partnerships.
Entrepreneurial	Ability to recognise good business opportunities, multiple business interests Ability to build social networks. Expertise not necessarily based on educational qualifications.
Self Employment	Important aspect, linked to level of autonomy and the ability to behave in an entrepreneurial manner. By the late nineteenth century population growth means that some established professions such as doctors are becoming employees.
Professional Body	Generally during nineteenth century membership considered a good networking tool and marketing medium, helps to obtain market control. For most occupations during the nineteenth century membership not essential until required by law even within established professions.

If these are the traits of nineteenth century profession in a county town then an accurate description of a profession/marginal profession during the nineteenth century would probably be: an occupation that required practitioners to have confidence in their own social and educational capability; an ability to mix with all levels of society, an expectation that a lengthy period of training and initial high investment would be rewarded by above average wages and living conditions.

Views of the folk

As also discussed in chapter three some researchers (Malle 2005; Becker 1970; Friedson 1987) claim that profession is a folk concept and that recognition by the common folk that a particular occupation is a profession is the only way to show that the professionalisation process is complete. Looking at folk evidence from primary sources used in this research then the publishers of nineteenth century trade directories appear to have avoided labelling occupations as professions and in general used category headings which covered trades and

professions but made no attempt to identify which occupations were trades and which they considered professions although in one directory there was an association made between chemists and doctors when they were included under the same heading. Chemists were not however classified as professionals at the beginning of the twentieth century when profession was used as a category in the Blue Book. Evidence from various documents shows that some of the chemists who had businesses in Stafford during the nineteenth century were wealthy men, with a wide social network and influence in the town and advertisements for chemists' apprentices all required that the applicants be educated and gentlemen or of a gentlemanly disposition. These adverts and other pieces of evidence already discussed point towards individual Stafford chemists being considered gentleman and they are given the title of gent in many documents. Indeed all members of the Fowke family seemed to have this particular title assigned to them at various stages. It could perhaps be argued though that this term related more to the families' background, wealth and social standing within Stafford than it did their occupation. Though when one considers that holding a religious post seemed enough to qualify for inclusion under the heading of gentry in the directory listings, while all other occupations were listed alphabetically, it would appear that the classification of occupations in the nineteenth century owed more to a general respect than anything else. If this is the case then gentleman would be an appropriate term to describe occupational as well as social achievement. In Stafford during the nineteenth century it would appear that people still only really recognised three occupations by the title of profession.

Evidence of a professional project

Another theory relating to the professions is that of Larson's (1977) professional project, which involved members of certain occupations working together in order to have their occupation recognised as a profession. According to Larson the growth of competitive capitalism from 1825 - 1880 triggered certain occupations to undertake collective mobility projects aimed at attaching social and economic status to their work. Success of a professional project was dependent on a stable economic market and an occupation's ability to secure recognition and demand for their product, which often involved a professional body and was dependant on the level of educational achievement of practitioners, something Larson claimed limited the opportunity to join a profession and made the educational system a principal legitimator of social inequality. Evidence that

would support the professional project theory in any respect for nineteenth century chemists proved hard to find.

The presence of a Freemasons Lodge in Stafford targeted at 'professional gentlemen' could also not really be said to provide the impetus that was needed within the town to either start a movement towards gaining local recognition among Stafford folk that a particular occupation such as chemist/druggist was a profession. There is also according to Cherry (1890) no reason for believing that trade guilds ever existed in Stafford although the corporation records for 1693 do make mention of innkeepers; bakers; drapers; clothiers and saddlers companies in the town these appear to have died out by the nineteenth century. There is no evidence of any associations in Stafford related to any of the professions or marginal professions identified in the town during the nineteenth century. However, among the various advertisements carried by the Staffordshire Advertiser in February 1867 was one that advertised a meeting of The Potteries Chemists and Druggists Association at the Cope Arms Hotel to discuss Parliamentary Legislation for the Pharmaceutical trade (Staffordshire Advertiser 16/2/1867). This article shows that chemists and druggists in another area of the county did have a regional, occupational body that was attempting to represent their views and which would also have served to increase the social/occupational network of its members. No other documents could be traced relating to this organisation so it is impossible to say how successful it was in attracting members or manipulating government policy and the evidence discussed does not specify who was involved in this attempted response to proposed legislation, industrial chemists or chemist/druggists. It is true that chemists were regulated from an early stage by the Government and the Royal Pharmaceutical Association, but this appears to have been brought about not by occupations associated with the pharmaceutical trade lobbying for recognition of their role, but because the government wanted to control the distribution of drugs. Although the Royal Pharmaceutical Society came into existence in 1843 independent of the government, its existence enabled calls for industry control and regulation to be taken forward. There appears to be little evidence to support that nineteenth century chemists and druggists in Stafford, or Staffordshire were involved in any type of professionalisation project. In fact in many ways increased government supervision and the mass production of drugs could by the end of the nineteenth century already have resulted in a deprofessionalisation of the chemists' role.

Does profession have value as a concept?

Perhaps what should also be asked at this point is what would the nineteenth century chemists of Stafford or anywhere else for that matter, have gained from having their occupation known as a profession? Many of the chemists/druggists in Stafford appear to have been wealthy men; they owned land and houses as well as running a business. They were actively involved within their community and enjoyed a high social status. What could they possibly gain from having their work labelled a profession or undertaking a professional project? From evidence found in this research it may well have been the case that recognition as a gentleman was more important in the nineteenth century than recognition as member of a profession. Larson claims that the educational status of members of professions played a major role in the success of a professional project. There is little evidence in Stafford to support the role allocated to education by Larson. Certainly in Stafford until the end of the nineteenth century vocational training, not academic training was the normal route into professions. The rise of education and the fact that academic qualification gradually replaced vocational training may well have been the main contributing factor to the spreading of the profession meme. Once in an educational environment the term profession and professional may well have been in common usage and as such passed into the common psyche. This more than any other theory would explain the apparent rise of professionalisation at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Throughout the nineteenth century however, it would appear that in Stafford the concept of profession really held very little interest or carried any significant cultural capital. If this is the case then should researchers be applying the term profession or professional to any occupations at this time except the three established professions, would a more correct and contemporary description for people in occupations that were not trades simply be gentleman? Although this term may have connections with land ownership, contemporary dictionaries show that it was also used as a term to describe a person's behaviour and that it was applied to people during the nineteenth century in occupations that would be considered marginal professions. This research would seem to point to profession really being a concept that was not understood, promoted or felt to hold any particular value throughout the majority of the nineteenth century and that is perhaps an educationally sponsored meme, a term that came into common use at the end of the nineteenth century due to the rise in FE and HE provision. First and foremost the concept of profession may

have spread due to it being a term utilised by teaching staff and academics to encourage a connection with the three established professions in order to market their courses and to increase student numbers. The meme of profession multiplied quickly due to the dramatic increase in educational provision; the increase in educational provision led to the development of research into profession. Over the years the profession meme proved to be an excellent replicator which has spread and diversified, as all good memes do.

Chapter7: Conclusion

The main question that this research set out to explore was how did professional services develop in small county towns during the nineteenth century? The research question was broken down into a number of sub questions, which will now be briefly summarised.

Firstly which occupations were described as professions in contemporary nineteenth century documents was investigated in order to see if it was possible to distinguish why these occupations were put into that specific category? From folk evidence it would appear that throughout the nineteenth century that there were still only three occupations in Stafford commonly referred to as professions, namely clergy, medicine and law. It is not clear what term, if any, was used to refer to marginal professions, though they seem most consistently to have been linked to the term gentleman. Indeed it would appear that profession was not commonly utilised as a term or concept for most of the nineteenth century even outside of Stafford as evidence from primary sources such as trade directories, library classification systems and newspapers support the view that this term was not in common use. Evidence from Stafford sources shows that social stratification within the town was probably linked to the behaviour of a particular person, not their occupation. This could be why publishers of trade directories did not develop a term to describe occupations that were not trades or established professions; occupation itself was not the important defining feature used for grouping people. If this is the case then it is probably important that investigations into work in the nineteenth century do not haphazardly apply the term profession or even marginal profession to occupations during this period unless contemporary evidence can be found that the occupation was being regularly described as such.

The second question investigated was what percentage of the working population in Stafford had occupations that could be described as professions or marginal professions and did the number increase during the century with the general growth of the town or as a result of external factors? Census and trade directories data provided some interesting insights into Stafford during industrialisation. It would appear that the number of clerical, medical and legal professionals working in Stafford did not grow significantly during the nineteenth century despite the town undergoing considerable

population growth which should have resulted in work opportunities for these occupations. The rapid industrialization of work in the town and the vastly improved communication network should also have resulted in business opportunities and work for marginal professions in areas such as engineering, railways, housing or bureaucratic posts. However marginal professions were also found to form a very small portion of the town's working population and to show no real growth in number until the final part of the nineteenth century when one marginal occupation, education, grew significantly in direct response to government legislation.

The third question investigated the part professions played in the development of Stafford during the nineteenth century and to what extent it was possible to link the development of a particular profession to specific economic variables or entrepreneurial efforts of practitioners? The slow growth in the number of established and marginal professions present in Stafford throughout the nineteenth century would seem to point toward professional services appearing in the town only after a demand for a particular service had already been established, it does not support a theory that members of established professions set up businesses in the town in anticipation of being able to generate trade. In this respect it is difficult to see that they contributed greatly to the growth of the town. It could be said that professionals from this period appear not to have exhibited one twentieth century aspect of entrepreneurial behaviour; they did not anticipate need or attempt to generate work or a demand for new services. However it may not have been necessary for nineteenth century professionals to develop or chase work as they formed such a small portion of the working population they may well have found their services in heavy demand. Evidence was found in Stafford that supports professionals using other entrepreneurial skills, such as networking, quite extensively but they were essentially reactive rather than proactive in establishing new business opportunities.

Although there is evidence that some members of the established and marginal professions held offices on Stafford Corporation during the nineteenth century, this had always been the case and was not a new development. The role that professionals played in local government cannot be taken as an indication of professions in the nineteenth century helping to restructure work and society in the face of industrialisation, as was suggested by early researchers (Mayo 1949; Tawney 1921; Carr-Sanders 1933). In Stafford there is no real evidence that professionals played any major role in developing

either of these aspects of life. The trade directory entries discussed in chapter six show that the council jobs undertaken by members of the established professions in most cases related directly to their own occupation, for example a solicitor held the post of coroner; a doctor was the medical officer etc., and that some of these jobs were paid posts so hardly examples of altruistic attitudes. Even in the marginal professions such as chemist/druggist council records show that membership of committees was also possibly tied to their work, for instance Thomas Fowke was on the market committee and evidence was found that the family leased market stalls from the council (D1323/O/4/1/6 SRO). In reality therefore council posts may primarily have served to help a particular person further their own business interests. As is the case today many business's involvement with society is not altruistically based, but commercial based with gifts, donations etc, ensuring marketing and brand promotion.

Academic qualifications proved to be of little importance during the nineteenth century, with even the established professions of law and medicine still undertaking training by apprenticeship throughout this period (D5296/2/1 SRO). The only source found to place importance on academic credentials was the Blue Book (Deacon 1902), which was not published until 1902 and which did list academic qualifications for some subscribers. Apprenticeships may have continued to be the method of training in established professions during the nineteenth century because at a period of population growth the requirement of education beyond the mandatory legal requirement could have had an extremely adverse effect on recruitment. Vocational training therefore continued to be accepted as an option for entrance into the established professions throughout the nineteenth century. This finding can nevertheless only reflect what happened in a county town, which may prove to be different from the training undertaken by members of the established professions who were based in the larger towns. However it would appear that training for a chemist/druggist, classified in this research as a marginal profession, changed significantly by the end of the nineteenth century from vocational, to academic. This change could have been made possible at an earlier period than in the established professions due to a fall in demand for their services as many medicines started to be mass produced. Alternatively it could be the case that marginal professions recognised the value that shorter academic training offered. This trend may not be consistent across all marginal occupations and requires further occupations to be researched.

Despite the term profession or professional not being commonly used until the late nineteenth century, the concept was one that spread quickly. The expansion of the British economy during the nineteenth century (Broadberry and O'Mahoney 2005) resulted in criticism of the UK educational system when compared to its main rivals Germany and the USA. (Floud and Johnson 2004; Foreman-Peck 2004). Apprenticeship as a method of training took from between four to seven years and during this time the employer had to carry the cost of training, provide housing, food and sometimes clothes for the apprentice. Although wage payments might not have been high, apprenticeships were considered not to be cost effective for a number of other reasons. For instance, once training was complete apprentices looked for other jobs or set up on their own account so investment in training was wasted. The advantage of having an apprentice was the access to cheap labour during the term of the apprenticeship, important where there was a strong practical skill aspect to the occupation. Also, apprenticeship as a method of training was not suited to industrial or bureaucratic work where long training periods were simply not viable. Economic demand therefore fuelled a movement away from apprenticeships toward academic or vocational training in many sectors. This type of training delivered economies of scale as many students could be trained simultaneously and within a shorter training period and it is the rise of education that resulted in the development of the profession meme. From the late nineteenth century schooling became compulsory in the UK (Skilbeck 1990), and according to Forman-Peck FE/HE vocational training opportunities gradually developed in "spontaneous disorder" (2004, p.73). New educational opportunities needed to be marketed in a manner that would attract customers by either encouraging employers to sponsor employees or making parents prepared to have their children financially dependent on them for longer periods. A marketing term was needed and profession fitted the bill. At the time the two occupational classifications in common use were either trade or profession and education would wish to associate itself with the higher status term, profession, in order to attract customers. The implication was that after completing a course of study students would enjoy a wealthy and socially enhanced position. The educational meme of profession proved a successful replicator and one that had a considerable effect on society throughout the twentieth century.

The final question investigated how applicable twentieth century research theories, frameworks, models and definitions were to measure or describe professional work in nineteenth century county towns? Twentieth century theories relating to profession,

with the exception of folk theory, proved to be of little value for analysing nineteenth century work. The result obtained from applying two twentieth century traits frameworks to the chemists/druggists occupation was that it had all the traits to be considered a full profession. This does not agree with contemporary documents which would support the view that chemists/druggists were not considered an established profession on par with doctors, lawyers and clerics. This means that if twentieth century trait models are applied to measure if a nineteenth century occupation was a profession or not, the results obtained may not be accurate. The notion of a professional project being undertaken by occupations based on the educational achievement of its members and their control of economic production and demand also failed to prove useful in successfully describing the development of occupations in nineteenth century Stafford where training in established and marginal professions was found throughout the nineteenth century to be by apprenticeship and not to require a university education and little evidence could be found to support any occupations in the town controlling production or demand (Larson 1977). Folk concept proved to be the most useful twentieth century research theory to use to investigate nineteenth century profession, but for historical analysis it is also possibly the research methodology that one would expect to be most successful (Becker 1970; Malle 2005). The concept of an educational meme being responsible for the development of profession as a term for high status occupations was not found in any existing research theories relating to profession, but it is a theory that once again grows out of the evidence and provides a plausible explanation for the development and marketing of the cult of profession at the end of the nineteenth century (Blackmore 1999; Dawkin 1976).

This research has produced some interesting results but has been limited in its scope to investigating only one marginal profession present in the town in any depth. The research now needs to be expanded to look at the other professions that were present in nineteenth century Stafford in order to see if similar results are found and also to test if the nineteenth century traits model formulated during this research is applicable to other occupations or only to chemist/druggists. It would also be useful to investigate if some of the aspects of life exhibited by the Fowke family, for instance owning/renting properties, were confined to members of the professions, or if small scale landownership was relatively common. The validity of this research could also be extended by undertaking similar research in another county town of a similar size and perhaps even located within the same area as Stafford in order to compare results.

This research has identified that the growth of professional occupations in Stafford remained low throughout the century, only increasing significantly as a reaction to a change in government policy relating to education. It has also highlighted that profession was not a term commonly used in Stafford throughout the century and that its wider acceptance as a term applied to a growing number of occupations toward the end of the nineteenth century relates to the growth of educational provision; the increasing marketing of academic qualifications and the resulting spread of the professional meme. Academic research frameworks and definitions of profession developed during the twentieth century did not prove relevant for identifying occupations this category of work in the nineteenth century, highlighting the changing nature of this concept and the need for frameworks which encompass values of the period under investigation. Entrepreneurial activities of professionals appear to focus on networking and developing non business investment opportunities rather than generating a greater demand for services provided or investing in other business opportunities.

Appendixes

Appendix 1: UK Counties and their County Town			
County	County town	County	County town
Bedfordshire	Bedford	Lincolnshire	Lincoln
Berkshire	Abingdon	Middlesex	Brentford, <u>Clerkenwell</u> , the City of London or Westminster for different functions
Buckinghamshire	Buckingham	Norfolk	Norwich
Cambridgeshire	Cambridge	Northamptonshire	Northampton
Cheshire	Chester	Northumberland	<u>Alnwick</u>
Cornwall	Truro	Nottinghamshire	Nottingham
Cumberland	Carlisle	Oxfordshire	Oxford
Derbyshire	Derby	Rutland	<u>Oakham</u>
Devon	Exeter	Shropshire	Shrewsbury
Dorset	Dorchester	Somerset	Taunton
County Durham	Durham	Staffordshire	Stafford
Essex	Chelmsford	Suffolk	Ipswich
Gloucestershire	Gloucester	Surrey	Guildford
Hampshire	Winchester although the county is named after Southampton	Sussex	Chichester or Lewes
Herefordshire	Hereford	Warwickshire	Warwick
Hertfordshire	Hertford	Westmorland	Appleby
Huntingdonshire	Huntingdon	Wiltshire	Wilton
Kent	Maidstone	Worcestershire	Worcester
Lancashire	Lancaster	Yorkshire	York
Leicestershire	Leicester		

Appendix 2: Database searches			
Database	Keywords	Results	Subjects
SocIndex	Profession	20264	
	Profession AND Nineteenth Century	159	
	Profession and Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Profession and Nineteenth Century AND Small Town	0	
	Profession AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	7	2 x accountancy 1 x class 1 x HE 1 x health 1 x information society
	Professional	76535	
	Professional AND Nineteenth Century	300	
	Professional AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	15	1 x class 4 x health 1 x education 1 x football 2 x accountancy 1 x Ireland 5 x society
	Professional and Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Professional and Nineteenth Century AND Small Town	0	
	Professionalisation	3	
	Professionalization	2077	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century	44	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	2	1 x class 1 x health
ISI Web of Knowledge	Profession	4938	
(all years)	Profession AND Nineteenth Century	10	
	Profession and Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Profession and Nineteenth Century AND Small Town	0	
	Profession AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	2	1 x canals 1 x health
	Professional	68561	
	Professional AND Nineteenth Century	10	
	Professional AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	15	
	Professional and Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Professional and Nineteenth Century AND Small Town	0	
	Professionalisation	0	
	Professionalization	10	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth	0	

	Century		
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	0	1 x health
ASSIA	Profession AND Nineteenth Century	3728	
	Profession and Nineteenth Century AND County Town	26	
	Profession and Nineteenth Century AND Small Town	0	
	Profession AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	0	
	Professional	3	1 x health 1 x law 1 x society
	Professional AND Nineteenth Century	13512	
	Professional AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	32	
	Professional and Nineteenth Century AND County Town	9	
	Professional and Nineteenth Century AND Small Town	0	
	Professionalisation	0	
	Professionalization	107	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century	288	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century AND County Town	31	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	0	
	Profession AND Nineteenth Century	2	4 x health 3 x law 2 x society
INTUTE: Social Sciences	Profession	521	
	Profession AND Nineteenth Century	26	
	Profession and Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Profession and Nineteenth Century AND Small Town	0	
	Profession AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	0	
	Professional	1143	
	Professional AND Nineteenth Century	1	
	Professional AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	3	3 x society
	Professional and Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Professional and Nineteenth Century AND Small Town	0	
	Professionalisation	2	
	Professionalization	3	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century	0	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	0	

BUSINESS SOURCE PREMIER	Profession	30862	
	Profession AND Nineteenth Century	49	
	Profession and Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Profession and Nineteenth Century AND Small Town	0	
	Profession AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	3	3 x accountancy
	Professional	292795	
	Professional AND Nineteenth Century	159	
	Professional AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	11	4 x accountancy 1 x vet 5 x general management 1 x hospital
	Professional and Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Professional and Nineteenth Century AND Small Town	0	
	Professionalisation	667	
	Professionalization	667	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century	0	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century AND County Town	0	
	Professionalization AND Nineteenth Century AND UK	2	1 x vet 1 x public health

Appendix 3: Percentage change for thirteen professional occupations

(amended from Reader 1996, p208)

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Accountants	50	-6	58	18	-31	13	5
Architects	100	29	48	21	14	37	-17
Barristers	49	-1	17	12	22	-14	-2
Clergy Cof E	21	9	8	5	12	4	-1
Dentists	124	34	50	52	39	7	63
Engineers	183	11	57	36	35	15	-35
Ministers of Religion	63	-19	18	5	3	15	4
Musicians	17	125	97	37	51	12	9
Physicians & Surgeons	0	-18	2	3	26	19	3
Priests RC	--	11	33	29	20	13	16
Solicitors	14	-14	8	9	13	6	8
Surveyors	29	63	2	18	18	10	-21
Teachers	61	32	15	33	15	36	9
Population of England & Wales	13	12	13	14	12	12	11

Appendix 4: Characteristics of profession/professionals identified in chapter 5									
PROFESSION	1915	1933	1939	1953	1956	1990	1996	2003	2007
Not done for profit			✓						
Not commerce			✓						
Not manual labour			✓			✓✓			
Predominantly intellectual activity	✓	✓							✓
Knowledge and learning	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓✓			
Desire to help society	✓			✓					
Self organized	✓								
Full time occupation						✓✓			
Principal occupation					✓				✓
Examinations						✓			
Calling					✓				
Specialized intellectual instruction									✓
Autonomy/discretion/judgement									✓
Work cannot be standardized by given period time									✓
Ideal form organization does not exist							✓		
PROFESSIONALS									
People who assess risk								✓	
Considered by colleagues to be members of a professional group							✓		

Appendix 5: List of occupations taken from the 1841 census of Stafford

AP=APPRENTICE J=JOURNEYMAN

AG LAB	BUILDER J
COW DEALER	BUTCHER
DAIRY WOMAN	BUTCHER AP
HAY CUTTER	BUTCHER J
FARMER	CABINET MAKER
	CABINET MAKER J
AUCTIONEER	CALLER
APPRAISER	CARRIER
APPRENTICE	CARRIER J
ARMY	CARPENTER
BAKER	CARPENTER AP
BAKER & CONFECTIONER	CHAIR MAKER
BAKERS AP	CHAIN M
BAKER J	CHARWOMAN
BANKER	CHANDLER J
BASKET MAKER	CHIMNEY SWEEP
BRICKLAYER	CHIMNEY SWEEP J
BLACKSMITH	CLOCK M
BLACKSMITH AP	CLOCK & WATCHMAKER
BLACKSMITH J	CLERK
JOBGING SMITH	CLOSER
BOOK KEEPER	COACH MAKER
BOOK MAKER	COACH M J
BOOKSELLER	COACH PAINTER
BOOKSELLER AP	COALDEALER
BONE COLLECTOR	COAL AGENT
BRAZIER	COACH WHEELER
BRAZIER AP	COLLIER
BRAZIER J	COOPER
BRICKLAYER	COOPER J
BRICKLAYERS LABOURER	COMMERCIAL TRAVELLER
BRICKLAYERS J	COUNTY HALL KEEPER
BRICKLAYER AP	COUNTY CONSTABLE
BRUSHMAKER	CONFECTIONER
BRUSH MAKER AP	CONFECTIONER AP
BRUSH DRYER	CONFECTIONER J
BREWER	CONSTABLE
BUILDER	CURRIER

BUILDER AP	CURRIER J
CURRIER & LEATHER CUTTER	KEEPER LUNATIC ASYLUM
CUTTLER	LABOURER
DANCING MISTRESS	LAITH CUTTER
DYER	LAND SURVEYOR
EARTHWARE DEALER	LAW STATIONER
EATING HOUSE	LAUNDRESS
EXCISE OFFICER	LOCKSMITH
FARRIER	LOCKSMITH J
FLAX DRESSER	LODGING KEEPER
FIREMAN	MALSTER
FRAMER	MALSTER J
FOREMAN	MANGLER
FRUITERER	MASONS LABOURER
GAS AGENT	MATRON
GARDENER	MERCHANT
GLASS DEALER	MERCER
GLAZIER	MERCERS AP
GOVERNESS	MERCERS SH
GROCER	MILLER
GROCER AP	MILLER J
GROCER J	MILLER & BAKER
GROCER SH	MILLWRIGHT
GROOM	MILLWRIGHT AP
HAWKER	MILLWRIGHT J
HAIR DRESSER	MUSICIAN
AP HAIRDRESSER	NAIL MAN
HIGGLER	NAILER
HORSE BREAKER	NET MAKER
HOUSEKEEPER	NEWSPAPER PROPRIETER
HUCKSTER	NURSE
IRONMONGER	NURSERYMAN
IRONMONGER AP	OFFICER STAFFORD UNION
IRONMONGER J	OSTLER
IRONMOULDER	OVERSEER
IRON FOUNDER	PAINTER
INN KEEPER	PAINTER AP
INNMADES	PAINTER J
JAPPANER	PAVOR
JOINER	SURVEYER
JOINER ap	SWEEP
JOINER J	TANNER

PAWNBROKER	TANNER, J
PLASTERER	TEA DEALER
PEDLER	TEA DEAL AP
PLUMBER	TEA DEALER SH
PLUMBER AP	TILE MAKER
PLUMBER J	TIN MAKER & BRAZIER
PLUMBER & GLAZIER	TIMBER MERCHANT
PLUMBER & GLAZIER AP	TOY DEALER
POLICEMAN	TOWN KEEPER
PORTER	TOWN CRIER
POT DEALER	TRAVELLER
POSTMAN	TRUNK MAKER
POST BOY	UPHOLSTER
POST HORSE KEEPER	UPHOLSTER J
PRINTER	VICTUALLER
PRINTER J	WARDSMAN
PUBLICAN	WATCH MAKER
PUBLICAN AP	WASHER WOMAN
PENCIL MAKER	WHEELWRIGHT
RAILWAY INSPECTOR	WHEELWRIGHT AP
ROPE M	WHITE SMITH
SADDLER	WINE MERCHANT
SADDLER AP	WOOL STAPLER
SADDLER J	WORKHOUSE MASTER
SASH MAKER	
SAWER	
SCAVENGER	
SHOP	
SHOP BOY	
SHOUING SMITH	
SILVERSMITH	
SPIRIT MERCHANT	
SPIRIT MERCHANT SHP	
SPIRIT TRAVELLER	
STATIONER	
STONE MASON	
STONE MASON J	
STONE SAWYER	
SUPERVISOR	
CORDWAINER	BONNET MAKER
CORWWAINER AP	CLOTHIER

SHOE M	DRAPER
SHOE M AP	DRAPER AP
SHOE M J	DRAPER SH
SHOE M OP	DRAPERS PORTER
SHOE BINDER	DRESSMAKER
BINDER AP	DRESSMAKERS AP
CLICKER	HATTER
LAST MAKER	LACE MAKER
LATHE CLEARER	MILLINER
SHOE SELLER	MILLINER AP
SHOE WHAREHOUSE	MILLINER J
FEMALE SERVANT	SEAMSTRESS
MALE SERVANT	STAY MAKER
	STRAW MILLINER
IND	STRAW BONNETT MAKER
ASSISTANT	TAILOR
NONE GIVEN	TAILOR AP
ARMY P (pensioner)	TAILOR J
H P ARMY	
NAVY P	
CANT READ	
PAUPER	
PROFESSION/MARGINAL PROFESSIONS	
ATTORNEY	PHYSIAN
CHEMIST	RECTOR
CHEMIST AP	SCHOOLMASTER
CLERGYMAN	SCHOOLMISTRESS
DRUGGIST	SCHOOL ASSISTANT
ENGINEER	ASSIST TEACHER
LAWYER	SOLICITOR
LAWYER J	SURGEON
MINISTER	SURVEYER
OPTICIAN	VET SURGEON
PORTRAIT PAINTER	

Appendix 6: List of occupations taken from the 1871 census of Stafford

AP=APPRENTICE J=JOURNEYMAN ASS=ASSISTANT

AG LAB	DAIRY WOMAN
HAY CUTTER	FARMER
FARMER & GARDENER	FARMER & MILK DEALER
FARM SERV	PUPIL FARMER
YEOMAN	FARM BAILIFF
HORSE CLIPPER/FARMER	
ACTRESS	ACTOR
ALLANMAN?	ALDERMAN
AUCTIONEER	APPRENTICE
ARTIFICIAL FLORIST	ARMY
ATTENDANT COUNTY ASYLUM	ATTORNEY CLERK & CASHIER
BAKER	BAKER & PROVISION DEALER
BAKERS BOY	BAKER & CONFECTIONER
BAKER & GROCER	BAKERS AP
BAKER J	BAKERS ASSISTANT
BAILIFF	BANK MANAGER
BANK CASHIER	BANK CLERK
BANBOX MAKER	BARBER
BARMAID	BASKET MAKER
BEER SELLER	BERLIN WOOL REPOSITORY
BILL POSTER	BLACKSMITH
BLACKSMITH ASSIST	BLACKSMITH AP
BLCKSMITH STRIKER	BOAT BUILDER
BOOK KEEPER	BONE DEALER
BOX MAKER	BOARDING HOUSEKEEPER
BRASS MOULDER	BRASS FOUNDER
BRAZIER	BRAZIER AND GAS FITTER
BRICKLAYER	BRICKLAYERS LABOURER
BRICKLAYERS J	BRICKMAKER
BRICKSETTER	BROKEN & SECOND HAND CLOTHES DEALER
BRUSHMAKER	BREWER
BREWER/CHARWOMAN	BUILDER
BUILDERS MANAGER	BUGLER
BURNISHER OF POTS	BUTCHER
BUTCHER ASS	BUTCHER AP
BUTCHER J	BY PARISH & FRIEND
CAB DRIVER	CABINET MAKER
CABINET MAKERS AP	CADDLER
CARRIER	CARPENTER
CARPENTER AP	CARPENTER JOUR
CARPENTER & JOINER	CARTER
CARVER & GILDER	CASHIER
CHAIR TURNER	CHARWOMAN
CHANDLER	CHAMBERMAID
CHIMNEY SWEEP	CLERK
CLOTHES DEALER	COACH MAKER
COACH BODY MAKER	COACHMAN
COACH SMITH	COACH WHEELER
COACH PAINTER	COACH PAINTER JOUR
COACH SMITH	COACH TRIMMER
COALDEALER	COAL AGENT

COAL AGENT, FLOUR,CORN DEALER & GROCER	COAL CARRIER
COAL MERCHANT	COAL PORTER
COLLIER	COOPER
COOPER J	COOK
COMMERCIAL TRAVELLER	COMMISSION AGENT
CONFECTIONER	COUNTY COURT BAILIFF
COMEDIAN	COMIC VOCALIST
CONFECTIONER	CONFECTIONER ASS
COMMERCIAL CLERK DRAPERY	CHOROGRAPHER
COTTON BROKER	CORN MILLER
CURRIER	CURVIER
CUTTLE	PREP CUTTER
DECEASED SOLIDERS DAUGHTER	DEALER IN LIME & CEMENT
DOMESTIC	DOMESTIC DUTIES
DRAYMAN	DROVER
EARTHWARE DEALER	ENGINE SMITH
ENGINE FITTER AT FACTORY	ERRAND BOY
ERRAND GIRL	EXCIVATOR
FACTORY OPERATIVE	FARRIER
FANCY REPOSITORY	FANCY BOX MAKER
FANCY HOSIERY	FELLMONGER
FELLMONGER J	FISH DEALER
FISHMONGER	FISHWOMAN
FIREMAN - RAILWAY ENGINE	FIREWOOD CUTTER
FITTER & TURNER ENGINE WORKS	FITTER
FOREMAN	FRENCH FINNISHER
FRUITERER	FRUIT DEALER
FRUIT DEALERS WIFE	FRUITERER & CONFECTIONER
FURRIER	GAME KEEPER
GAS FITTER	GAS WORKS INSPECTOR
GARDENER	GARDENER JOUR
GENERAL DEALER	GENERAL DEALER ASSISTANT
GENERAL DRAPER	GILDER
GOAL WARDER	GOVERNESS
GOVERNER PRISON	GREEN GROCER
GRINDERY DEALER	GRINDER & SHOP CUTLER
GROCERS PORTER	GROCER
GROCER & BAKER	GROCERS ASSISTANT
MANAGER GROCERS SHOP	GROCER AP
GROCER J	GROCER SH
GROOM & GARDENER	GROOM
GUN MAKER	HAWKER
HALL KEEPER	HAIR DRESSER
AP HAIRDRESSER	HOME DUTY
HOUSE MAID	HOUSEWIFE
HORSE BREAKER	HORSE DEALER
HOTEL WAITER	HORSE & CARRIAGE PROPRIETOR
HOSPITAL WARDER COUNTY PRISON	HOUSE BUILDER
HOUSE DECORATOR	HOUSE DECORATOR APP
HOUSE PAINTER	INNKEEPER
INSURANCE AGENT	INSPECTOR WEIGHTS & MEASURES
IRONMONGER	IRONMONGERS ASS
IRONFOUNDRY APP	IRONMONGER AP
IRONMONGER J	IRONMONGER ASS IN SHOP
IRONMONGERS PORTER	IRONMOULDER

IRON FOUNDER	INN KEEPER
INN KEEPER & FARMER	INLAND REVENUE & EXCISE CLERK
JEWELLER	JOINER
JOINER J	JOINER FOREMAN
JOINER & CARPENTER	JOINER & CARPENTER JOUR
KEEPS A COW	KEEPER LUNATIC ASYLUM
KITCHEN MAID	LABOURER
LABOURER COAL YARD	LABOURER GAS WORKS
LABOURER BLUESMITH	LABOURER BRICKFIELD
LABOURER BRICKLAYER	LABOURER COAVH WORKS
LABOURER GARDENER	LABOURER MASONS
LABOURER MALTHOUSE	LABOURER TANNER
LABOURER TELEGRAPH	LABOURER RAILWAY
LAMPLIGHTER GAS	LAND SURVEYOR
LAW STATIONER	LAUNDRESS
LEATHER MERCHANT	LEATHER DEALER
LETTER CARRIER	ASSISTANT LEATHER MERCHANT
LEATHER CUTTER	LEATHER PRESSMAN
LETTER PRESS PRINTER	LICENSED VITUALLER
LODGING KEEPER	LODGEKEEPER COUNTY ASYLUM
MACHINIST & SAWYER	MACHINE OPERATOR
MALSTER	MALSTER J
MANGLER	MANAGER OF PROVISION STORE
MANAGER OF THEATRE	MASON
MATRON	METAL ROLLER
MESSENGER	MIDWIFE
MILLER	MILLER J
MILLER & BAKER	MILLER & MALTSEY
MUSIC MASTER	NAIL Maker
NEDDLE FITTER	NEWSAGENT
NEWSPAPER REPORTER	NURSE
ASSISTANT NURSE	NURSE GIRL
WET NURSE	MONTHLY NURSE
NIGHTWATCHMAN PRISION/ASSISTANT TOWNHALL KEEPER	NIGHTWATCHMAN ASYLUM
OFFICE CLEANER	OUTFITTER
ORGAN BUILDER & PIANO TUNER	OSTLER
OVERSEER	PAINTER
PAINTER AP	PAINTER J
PAINTER & PLUMBER	PASTE FITTING
PATTERN MAKER, IRONWORKS	PAVOR
PAWNBROKER	PHOTOGRAPHER
PLASTERER	PLASTERER LAB
PLATE LAYER	PEDLER
PLASTERER	PLASTERER & GLAZIER
PLAYER	PLUMBER
PLUMBER AP	PLUMBER J
PLUMBER & PAINTER	POLICEMAN
POLICE CONSTABLE	PILICE CONSTABLE & INSPECTOR OF NUSANCES
POLICE INSPECTOR	POLICE SERGEANT
PORKBUTCHER	PORKBUTCHER ASS
PORTER	PORTER COUNTY INFIRMARY
POTATOE GROWER	POT BOY
POST BOY	POST HORSE KEEPER
POST OFFICE SORTER	TELEGRAPH MESSENGER
MAIL CONTRACTOR & PUBLICAN1	MAIL DRIVER

PO MAIL PORTER	POST OFFICE CLERK
POST OFFICE MESSENGER	CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE
RURAL POST MESSANGER	PRINTER
PRINTER AP	PRINTER COMPOSITOR
PRINTERS PORTER	PRINTER SHOPMAN
PRISON WARDER	PRISON CLERK
PRISON OFFICER	PUBLICAN
PUBLICAN AP	PUBLICAN & SHOEMAKER
PUBLICAN & BUTCHER	PRESSMAN FACTORY & LAND
PRESS CUTTER	PROVISION DEALER
PROFESSORE OF MUSIC	RAG COLLECTOR
RAILWAY INSPECTOR	RAILWAY ENGINE CLEANER
RAILWAY STATION CLERK	RAILWAY ENGINE DRIVER
RAILWAY ENGINE FITTER	RAILWAY LAB
RAILWAY FIREMAN	RAILWAY PAINTER JOUR
RAILWAY PORTER	RAILWAY SERVANT
RAILWAY STOKER	RAILWAY TIMEKEEPER
RAILWAY SERVANT	RAT CATCHER
RATE COLLECTOR	RECRUITING SERGEANT
RELIEVING OFFICER	RIVITER
SADDLER	SADDLER J
SADDLE & HARNESS MAKER	SALESMAN & CLERK
SEWING MACHINE MECHANIC	WOOD SAWER
STONE SAWER	SAW CUTTER
SECON HAND CLOTHES SHOP	SCAVENGER
SCRIPTURE READER	SERVANT BOY
SHOP	SHOPKEEPER
SHOP ASSISTANT	SHOP BOY
SHOUING SMITH	SKINNER
SILK WINDER	SKINNER/FELLMONGER
SLATER	SPRIGGER
SOLDIER	SOLICITORS MANAGING CLERK
SPINNER	SPIRIT MERCHANT
STABLE BOY	STAFF SERGEANT
STATIONER	STOCK SHARE BROKER
STOCKKEEPER	STOKER GAS WORKS
STONE MASON	STONE SAWYER
STONE CARVER	S(L)UDSMAN
TALLOW CHANDLER	TANNER
TANNER LAB	TELEGRAPH WIREMAN
TIN MAKER & BRAZIER	TIN MAN
TIN PLATE MAKER JOUR	TIN PLATE WORKER
TIMBER MERCHANT	TIMBER VALUER
TOW MAN	TRAVELLER
TRAVELLER SPIRITS & CIGARS	TRUNK MAKER
TURNER	TURNKEY
UPHOLSTERER	UPHOLSTERER J
UPHOLSTERER APP	VERMIN EXTERMINATOR
VICTUALLER	WAGGONER
WAITRESS	WAREHOUSEMAN CHEMIST
WARDER GAOL	WATCH MAKER
WHAREHOUSEMAN	WASHER WOMAN
WHEELWRIGHT	WHEELWRIGHT JOUR
WHEELRIGHT & PUBLICAN	WHITE SMITH
WINE MERCHANT	WINE & SPIRIT MERCHANT
WINE MERCHANTS CLERK	WOOK HOUSE MASTER
WORK HOUSE PORTER	WOOD TURNER
WORKHOUSE MASTER	WHOLESALE MERCER
WRITING CLERK	WOOL COMBER

	CORD WINDER
CORDWAINER	CORWWAINER AP
CORDWAINER ASS	SHOE M
SHOE MAKER	SHOE MANUFACTURER
SHOE M AP	SHOE M J
SHOE M OP	SHOEMAKER ASSISTANT
SHOE BINDER	BINDER AP
BOOT & SHOE MAKER	SHOE CLOSER
SHOE CUTTER	SHOE DEALER
SHOE FINNISHER	SHOE FINNISHER AP
SHOE FITTER	TACKER AT SHOE SHOP
SHOE RIVITTER	SHOE SELLER
SHOE WHAREHOUSE	SHOE WETTER
OVERLOCKER SHOE MAN	SHOE FACTORY WORKER
BOOT BINDER	BOOT CUTTER
BOOT FINISHER	BOOT FINISHER ASSISTANT
BOOTS FINNISHER LADIES	BOOT FITTER
BOOT FITTER AP	BOOT TOP FITTER
BOOT MAKER	BOOT MAKER JOUR
BOOT CLOSER	BOOT TRIMMER
BOOT RIVITTER	BOTTOM STUFF CUTTER SOES
CLICKER	CLICKER APP
CLICKER MANAGER	CLICKER FOREMAN
CLICKER & FITTER	LAST MAKER
LATHE CLEARER	FOREMAN SHOE FACTORY
MANAGER SHOE FACTORY	SHOE FACTORY CLERK
SHOE FSACTORY BOOKEEPER	MACHINIST
MACHINIST app	MACHINE ROOM MANAGER
SHOE MACHINIST	SEWING MACHINIST
APPRENTICE SEWING MACHINE	OPERATOR BLAKE SOLE SEWING MACHINE
MACHINIST FANCY	SHOE MANUFACTURER STOCKKEEPER
PLAM SEWING	PUNCHER BOOT UPPER
STOKER SHOE FACTORY	PACKER SHOE
PATTERN MAKER	WAREHOUSE SHOE MANUFACTURING
PRESSER SHOE FACTORY	PUTTING UP IN SHOE
ASSISTANT SHOE SHOP	SHOE FACTORY OPERATIVE
SHOE MERCHANT CLERK	
BONNET MAKER	CAP MAKER
DRAPER	DRAPER & SILK MERCHANT
DRAPER KINEN & WOOLEN	DRAPERS ASSISTANT
DRAPERS ERRAND BOY	DRAPER AP
DRAPERY SALESWOMAN	DRESSMAKER
DRESSMAKER BROTHEL	DRESSMAKERS ASSISTANT
HATTER	HATTER & MERCER
HAT CLEANER	MILLINER
MILLINER & DRAPER	MILLINER & DRESSMAKER
MILLINERS ASSISTANT	MILLINER AP
NEEDLEWOMAN	OUTFITTERS SHOPMAN
OUTFITTER ERRAND BOY	PLAIN SEWING
RIBBON WEAVER	SEAMSTRESS
SHIRT MAKER	STAY MAKER
STRAW MILLINER	STRAW BONNETT MAKER
TAILOR	TAILOR/UPHOLSTERER
TAILORESS	TAILORS & WOLLEN DRAPER
TAILORS ASSISTANT	TAILOR & BEERSELLER
TAILOR AP	TAILOR J
WOOLEN DRAPER & OUTFITTER	WAISTCOAT MAKER

HOUSEKEEPER	
HOUSEMAID	FS
MS	GENTLEWOMAN
GENTLEMAN	LADY
SPINSTER	IND
GOVERNESS	COMPANION
LADYS MAID	PAGE
INVALID	ASSISTANT
ANNUITANT	NO OCCUPATION
ARMY P (pensioner)	CANT READ
PAUPER	SCHOLAR
UNEMPLOYED	RETIRED
WIFE	CHELSEA PENSIONER
PROPERTY	DAUGHTER
VISITOR	WIDOW
PROPRIETRESS OF LADIES SCHOOL	
PROFESSION/MARGINAL PROFESSIONS	
	ACCOUNTANT
LAW STATIONER & ACCOUNTANT	ARCHITECT
ATTORNEY	CHEMIST
CHEMIST AP	CHEMIST ASSISTANT
CLERGYMAN	CURATE ST MARYS
CURATE	DENTIST
DENTIST ASS	DRUGGIST
DRUGGIST APP	ENGINEER
CIVIL ENGINEER	MAGISTRATE
MEDICAL PRATIONER	STUDENT OF MEDICINE
MINISTER	PRINCIPAL SCHOOL
PHYSIAN	SCHOOLMASTER
ASST SCHOOLMASTER	SCHOOLMISTRESS
TEACHER	PUPIL TEACHER
SURGEON	ASSISTANT SURGEON
VET SURGEON	VET STUDENT
VICAR	PROFESSOR OF PHRENOLOGY

Appendix 7: List of occupations taken from the 1901 census of Stafford	
AP=APPRENTICE J=JOURNEYMAN ASS=ASSISTANT	
AG LAB	FARM BAILIFF
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS MANAGER	FARM CARTER
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS MAKER	FARM WAGGONER
CATTLE MAN	FARMER
CATTLE DEALER	FARMER & MILK DEALER
DEALER IN POULTRY	SECRETARY STAFFORD FARMERS ASSOCIATION
ACTOR	BLACKSMITH STRIKER
ACTRESS	BOARDING HOUSE KEEPER
AGENT	BOAT BUILDER
AGENT - HORSE MEDICINE	BOILER ATTENDANT
AGENT - BOX MACHINERY	BOILER MAKER
AGENT - BREWERY	BOILER SMITH
AGENT - COMMISSION	BOILER STOKER - STATIONARY
AGENT - ESTATE	BOTTLE WASHER
AGENT - FINE ART	BOOK KEEPER
AGENT - GENERAL	BOOK BINDER
AGENT - HOUSE	BOX MAKER
AGENT - ASSURANCE/INSURANCE	BRASS MOULDER
AGENT - ORGANISING	BRASS WIRE WORKER
AGENT - PATENTEE	BREWER
AGENT - SEWING MACHINE	BREWERS - CASHIER
APPRENTICE	BREWERS - COOPER
ARCHITECTURAL DRAUGHTSMAN	BREWERS - DRAYMAN
ARCHITECTURAL STUDENT	BREWERS - STOREKEEPER
ARMY	BREWERS TRAVELLER
ART DEALER	BREWERS - WASHER
ART STUDENT	BREWERS - WAREHOUSEMAN
ASSISTANT	BRICKLAYER
ASSURANCE AGENT	BRICKLAYER & PARISH CLERK
ATTENDANT COUNTY ASYLUM	BRICKLAYERS J
AUCTIONEER & VALUER	BRICKLAYERS LABOURER
AUTHOR	BRICKSETTER
BAKER	BATH ATTENDANT
BAKER & CONFECTIONER	BUGLER
BAKER & GROCER	BUILDER
BAKER J	BUILDER & CONTRACTOR
BAKERS ASSISTANT	BUILDERS CARTER
BAKERS PORTER	BUILDERS PLASTERER
BANK ACCOUNTANT	BUTCHER
BANK CASHIER	BUTCHER ASS
BANK CLERK	BUTCHER AP
BANK MANAGER	BUTCHER J
BARMAID	BUTCHER MANAGER
BARMAN	BUTLER
BATH ATTENDANT	CAB DRIVER

BEER & PROVISION DEALER	CAB DRIVER & GROOM
BEER SELLER	CABINET MAKER
BEER HOUSE KEEPER	CABINET MAKERS AP
BILLIARD MAKER	CABINET MAKERS MANAGER
BILL POSTER	CANVESSER & COLLECTOR
BLACKSMITH	CARETAKER
BLACKSMITH AP	CARPENTER
CARPENTER & JOINER	CLERK - MECHANICAL ENGINEER
CARPENTER AP	CLERK - MEDICAL OFFICER
CARRIER	CLERK - NEWSPAPER
CARTER	CLERK - PARISH
CARTER - CORN	CLERK - POOR LAW
CARTER - CORPORATION	CLERK - SALT WORKS
CARTER - MINERAL WATER	CLERK - SCHOOLMASTER
CARTMAKER & TELEPHONE CO?	CLERK - SHOP
CARD MAKER	CLERK - STATIONER
CASHIER	CLERK - ROYAL BATHS
CASHIER - NEWSPAPER OFFICE	CLERK - SEWING MACHINE
CATTLE DROVER	CLERK - SOLICITOR
CEMENT MERCHANT	CLERK - SURVEYOR
CELLARMAN	CLERK - SURVEYOR OF TAXES
CHAMBERMAID	CLERK - TELEGRAPH OFFICE
CHAPEL KEEPER	CLERK - WEIGHING MACHINE
CHARWOMAN	CLERK - WINE MERCHANT
CHEMICAL PLUMBER	CLERK - OF WORKS
CHEMIST - ASSISTANT	CLERK - WRITING
CHEMIST - ERRAND BOY	CLOCK & WATCHMAKER - JOBBING
CHEMIST - PORTER	CLUB MANAGER
CHIMNEY SWEEP	COACH - BUILDER
CHINA SHOP	COACH - MAN
CHURCH SEXTON	COACH - PAINTER
CIGAR MERCHANT	COACH - PAINTER JOUR
CIVIL SERVANT EXCISE OFFICE	COACH - SMITH
CIVIL ENGINEER	COACH - SMITHS STOKER
CIVIL SERVICE LETTER CARRIER	COACH - TRIMMER
CLERK	COACH - WHEELER
CLERK - ACCOUNTANT	COAL - AGENT
CLERK - ARCHITECT	COAL - CARRIER
CLERK - AUCTIONEERS	COAL HEAVER
CLERK - BAKER	COAL - MERCHANT
CLERK - BOROUGH SURVEYORS OFFICE	COAL- MERCHANTS AGENT
CLERK - BREWERS	COAL MINER
CLERK - BUILDERS	COAL - PORTER
CLERK - CHEMIST	COAL - DEALER
CLERK - CIVIL SERVICE	COAL BRICK LINE WHARF MANAGER
CLERK - COAL OFFICE	COFFEE HOUSE MANAGER
CLERK - COLLIERY	COLLECTOR GAS & ELECTRIC
CLERK - COMMERCIAL	COLLIERY - PLATE LAYER
CLERK - CORN MERCHANT	COMMERCIAL LANDLORD
CLERK - COUNTY COUNCIL	COMMERCIAL TRAVELLER
CLERK - COUNTY COURT	COMMISSION AGENT

CLERK - COUNTY SURVEYORS	COMPOSITOR
CLERK - DRAPERY	CONFECTIONER
CLERK - EDITORS	CONFECTIONER J
CLERK - ELECTRICAL ENGINEER	CONFECTIONER ASS
CLERK - ENGINEER	CONTRACTOR
CLERK - GAS WORKS	COOK
CLERK - IRONWORKS	COOPER
CLERK - JEWELLERS	COOPER J
CLERK - LEATHER MERCHANT	CORD WINDER
CLERK - LUNATIC ASYLUM	CORN FACTOR SALESMAN
CORN MILLER	ENGINEERING
CORPORATION EMPLOYEE	ENGINEERS - MECHANIC
CORPORATION - RATE COLLECTOR	ENGINEERS - DRAUGHTSMAN
CORPORATION - ROAD SWEEPER	ENGINEERS - DRILLER
CORPORATION - SCAVENGER	ENGINEERS - KNIFE MAKER
CORPORATION - SEWAGE WORKER	ENGINEERS - PACKER
COUNTY ROADMAN	ENGINEERS - PATTERN MAKER
CURRIER & LEATHER MERCHANT	ENGINEERS - SLATTER
CUTTER & GRINDER	ENGINEERS - STORE KEEPER
CUTLER	ENGINEERS - TIMEKEEPER
CYCLE AGENT ASSISTANT	ENGINEERS - WIRE OPERATOR
CYCLE MANUFACTURER	ENGRAVER
DECORATOR	ERRAND BOY
DECORATIVE ARTIST	ERRAND GIRL
DENTISTS ASSISTANT	FANCY DEALER
DISPENSER	FANCY SHOP KEEPER
DOBBY? HORSE PROPRIETOR	FELLMONGER
DOMESTIC	FIREMAN - SALT WORKS
DOMESTIC DUTIES	FISH DEALER
DRAUGHTSMAN	FISHMONGER
DRAUGHTSMAN & GAS ENGINEERING WORKER	FITTER
DRAYMAN	FITTER & TURNER ENGINE WORKS
DRESSER OF MILL STONES	FLORIST ASSISTANT
DRILLER - ENGINE WORKS	FLOUR SALESMAN
DRIVER LAUNDRY VAN	FRENCH FINISHER
DYE MAKER	FRIED FISH TRADER
EARLS PRIVATE SECRETARY	FRUIT DEALER
EARTHENWARE MANUFACTURER	FRUIT DEALERS WIFE
EATING HOUSEKEEPER	FRUTTERER
ELECTRICAL ENGINEER	FRUTTERER & FLORIST
ELECTRICAL ENGINEERS ASSISTANT	FURNACE FIREMAN - CORP WORKS
ELECTRICIAN	FURNACE MANAGER
ELECTRIC WORKS - PACKER	FURNITURE PACKER
ELECTRIC WORKS - STOKER	FURNITURE REMOVER
EMERY WORKER	FURNITURE SALESMAN
EMERY WHEEL MAKER	GAME DEALER
ENGINE DRIVER	GARDENER
ENGINE DRIVER STATIONERY	GARDENER & FLORIST
ENGINE FITTER AT FACTORY	GAS - COLLECTOR
ENGINE FITTER AT FACTORY AP	GAS- FITTER

ENGINE MILLER	GAS - METER MAKER
ENGINE PLANNER?	GAS - STOKER
ENGINE TURNER	GAS - WORKER
ENGINE TURNERS LATHEMAN	GAS WORKS INSPECTOR
ENGINE SMITH	GENERAL DEALER
ENGINE WORKS - STOKER	GENERAL DEALER ASSISTANT
ENGINEER	GENERAL UNDERTAKER
ENGINEER AP	GENTS SERVANT
ENGINEER - CIVIL	GLASS & CHINA DEALER
ENGINEER - MINING	GRAVE DIGGER CHURCH
ENGINEER - MACHINIST	GREEN GROCER
ENGINEER - MECHANICAL	GROCER
ENGINEER - MOULDER	GROCER & BAKER
ENGINEER - RIVITTER	GROCER & PUBLICAN
GROCER AP	IRON - PLAINER
GROCER SH	IRON - STRIKER
GROCERS - ASSISTANT	IRON - TURNER
GROCERS - CASHIER	IRONFOUNDRY AP
GROCERS - ERRAND BOY	IRONMONGER
GROCERS - MANAGER	IRONMONGER AP
GROCERS - PORTER	IRONMONGER ASS IN SHOP
GROOM	IRONMONGER WORKHOUSEMAN
GROOM & CARTER	IRONMONGERS ASS
GROOM & GARDENER	IRONMONGERS SALESMAN
HAIRDRESSER	IRONMOULDER
HAIRDRESSER AP	JEWELLER & SILVERSMITH
HAIRDRESSER ASS	JEWELLER, CLOTHIER & PAWNBROKER
HALL KEEPER	JEWELLERS ASS
HALL KEEPER & TOWN CRIER	JOBING CONTRACTOR
HARNESS MAKER	JOINER
HEMP ROPE MANUFACTURER	JOINER & CARPENTER
HERALDIC ENGRAVER	JOINER AP
HIGHWAY SURVEYOR	JOURNALIST/AUTHOR
HOSIERY	KNIFE FILER
HOSIERY - BUYER	KNIFE MAKERS MECHANIC
HOSIERY - KNITTER	KITCHEN MAID
HOSIERY - MANUFACTURER	LABOUR HOME MASTER
HOSIER & MERCER	LABOUR HOME MATRON
HOME DUTY	LABOURER
HORSE SLAUGHTERER	LABOURER - ASYLUM
HOTEL - BARMAN	LABOURER - BAKER
HOTEL - OSTLER	LABOURER - BOILERMAKER
HOTEL - PORTER	LABOURER - BREWERY
HOTEL - PROPRIETOR	LABOURER - BRICKFIELD
HOTEL - WAITER	LABOURER - BRICKLAYER
HOTEL - WAITRESS	LABOURER - CORPORATION
HOUSE BOY	LABOURER - EMERYWORKS
HOUSE FURNISHING MANAGER	LABOURER - ENGINEERING
HOUSEKEEPER	LABOURER - ENGINE WORKS
HOUSE MAID	LABOURER - ELECTRICAL
HOUSE PAINTER	LABOURER - FELLMONGER

HOUSE STEWARD	LABOURER - FITTER
HOUSEWIFE	LABOURER - GAS WORKS
INN KEEPER	LABOURER - IRON FOUNDRY
INNKEEPER ASS	LABOURER - IRON WORKS
INLAND REVENUE OFFICER	LABOURER - JOINER
INSPECTOR - NATIONAL SOCIETY P.BILE?	LABOURER - MASONS STONE
INSPECTOR OF NUSIANCES	LABOURER - MECHANIC
INSTRUCTRESS OF SINGING	LABOURER - NAVY
INSURANCE AGENT	LABOURER - PLASTERER
INSURANCE INSPECTOR	LABOURER - RAILWAY
IRON - DRILLER	LABOURER - ROAD
IRON - FINISHER	LABOURER - SALT WORKS
IRON - FITTER	LABOURER - SAW MILL
IRON - FOUNDER	LABOURER - SEWAGE WORKS
IRON - MANTLE MAKER	LABOURER - TELEGRAPH
IRON - PATTERN MAKER	LABOURER - TIMBER YARD
IRON- PIPE LAYER	LABOURER - WATER WORKS
LABOURER ROAD - CORPORATION	MECHANICAL ENGINEERS AP
LAMPLIGHTER GAS	MESSANGER
LAND AGENT	MIDWIFE
LAST TURNER WOOD	MILK SELLER
LAUNDRESS	MILLER
LAW STATIONER	MILLING
LEAD MOULDER	MINERAL WATER CARTER
LEATHER CUTTER	MINERAL WATER MANUFACTURER
LEATHER - DRESSER	MINERAL WATER BOTTLER
LEATHER MARKER	MINING ENGINEER
LEATHER MERCHANT	MOTHERS HELP
LEATHER MERCHANT & SADDLER	MOULDER
LEATHER MERCHANTS TRAVELLER	MUSIC DEALER BOOKS
LEATHER WAREHOUSEMAN	MUSIC DEALER
LEATHER LEGGING PACKER	MUSICIAN
LETTER CARRIER	NAIL MAKER
LETTER PRESS PRINTER	NAVY
LIBRARIAN	NEEDLE FITTER
LIBRARIAN & SECRETARY	NEWSAGENT & TOBACCONIST
LICENSED VICTUALLER	NEWSBOY
LIFE ASSURANCE ASSISTANT	NEWSPAPER EDITOR
LINESMAN INSPECTOR OF TELEPHONES	NEWSPAPER REPORTER
LINOTYPE OPERATOR	NURSE
LIVERY ASSISTANT	NURSE - ASSISTANT
LIVERY STABLE KEEPER	NURSE - HOSPITAL
LIVING ON WHAT HUSBAND SENDS - AT WAR	NURSE - MAID
LOCOMOTIVE ENGINE MAKER	NURSE - MENTAL
LOCKSMITH	NURSE - MONTHLY
LOCKSMITH & FITTER	NURSE - NURSERY
MACHINE - FITTER	NURSE - SICK
MACHINE - MAKER	NURSERYMAN
MACHINE - MINDER	OFFICE BOY/GIRL
MACHINE - WINDER	OFFICE CLEANER

MACHINE - WORKER	ORGANIST
MACHINE - PARTS SHAPER	OSTLER
MACHINERY FITTER	PAGE
MALSTER	PAINTER - HOUSE
MALSTER J	PAINTER & DECORATOR AP
MANAGER	PAINTER & PLUMBER
MANAGER - EMERY MACHINE WHEEL	PAINTER AP
MANAGER - GROCERS SHOP	PARISH PAY
MANAGER - LAUNDRY	PARLOUR MAID
MANAGER - ROYAL BATHE	PATTERN MAKER
MANAGER - SALT WORKS	PATTERN MAKER APPRENTICE
MANAGER - TEA HOUSE	PAVOR
MANTLE MAKER	PAWNBROKER
MATRON OF SOUP KITCHEN	PAWNBROKERS ASS
MATRON	PHOTOGRAPHER
MACHINE OPERATOR	PIANIST
MECHANIC	PICTURE FRAMER
MECHANIC - IRON	PLASTERER
MECHANIC - SEWING MACHINE	PLATE LAYER
MECHANICAL DRAUGHTSMAN	PLEASURE BOAT BUILDER
MECHANICAL ENGINEER	PLUMBER
PLUMBER & PAINTER	RAILWAY - EMPLOYEE
PLUMBER AP	RAILWAY - ENGINE CLEANER
PLUMBER ASSISTANT	RAILWAY - ENGINE DRIVER
POLICE CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT	RAILWAY - ENGINE DRIVER STATIONARY
POLICE CONSTABLE	RAILWAY - ENGINEER
POLICE DEPUTY CHIEF CONSTABLE	RAILWAY - ENGINE FITTER
POLICE INSPECTOR	RAILWAY - FIREMAN
POLICE SERGEANT	RAILWAY - GOODS CHECKER
POLICEMAN	RAILWAY - GOODS GUARD
POLITICAL AGENT	RAILWAY - HORESMAN
POOR RATE COLLECTOR	RAILWAY - INSPECTOR
PORTER	RAILWAY - LAB
PORTER - THEATRE	RAILWAY - LAMPMAN
POST HORSE KEEPER	RAILWAY - LINESMAN
POSTMAN	RAILWAY - LOCOMOTIVE FOREMAN
POSTMASTER	RAILWAY - MECHANIC
POST MASTER RURAL	RAILWAY - PLATE LAYER
POST OFFICE CLEANER	RAILWAY - PORTER
POST OFFICE - CLERK	RAILWAY - SERVANT
POST OFFICE - DRIVER	RAILWAY - SHUNTER
POST OFFICE - EMPLOYEE	RAILWAY - SIGNAL INSPECTOR
POST OFFICE - ENGINEER	RAILWAY - SIGNALMAN
POST OFFICE - FIREMAN	RAILWAY - STOKER
POST OFFICE - INSPECTOR	RAILWAY - TELEGRAPH CLERK
POST OFFICE - MAIL PORTER	RAILWAY - TELEGRAPH ENGINEER
POST OFFICE - MESSENGER	RAILWAY - TICKET EXAMINER
POST OFFICE - SORTER	RAILWAY - TURNER
POST OFFICE - STAMPER	RAILWAY - TRAFFIC INSPECTOR
POST OFFICE - SUPERINTENDENT	RAILWAY - WAGON EXAMINER
POST OFFICE - TELEGRAPH	RAILWAY - WAGON REPAIRER

PRESS HEADER	RAILWAY - WORKER
PRESS READER	RELIEVING OFFICER
PRINCIPAL, PRIVATE SCHOOL	RIVER POLLUTION & SANITARY INSPECTOR
PRINTER	RIVETER
PRINTER AP	ROAD ENGINE DRIVER
PRINTER COMPOSITOR	ROAD CONTRACTOR
PRINTER STATIONER, CHINA & GLASS DEALER	SADDLER
PRINTERS MACHINIST	SADDLER J
PRISON WARDER	SALESMAN
PRISONER - TRAMP	SALT BOILER
PROPRIETOR	SALT DEALER
PROVISION DEALER	SALT MAKER
PUBLICAN	SALVATION ARMY OFFICER
RAILWAY - ACCOUNTANT	SAWYER
RAILWAY - AGENT	SAWER - STONE
RAILWAY - ATTENDANT	SAWER - WOOD
RAILWAY BRAKESMAN	SCAVENGER
RAILWAY - BRICKLAYER	TELEGRAPH WORKER
RAILWAY - CALL BOY	TELEPHONE OPERATOR
RAILWAY - CARRIAGE CLEANER	TIMBER MERCHANT
RAILWAY - CARRIAGE MAKER	TIN MAN
RAILWAY - CARTER	TIN PLATE WORKER
RAILWAY - CLERK	TOBACONIST
RAILWAY DRAYMAN	TRAMP
SCHOOL CLEANER	TRAVELLER
SCHOOL GOVERNESS	SCENERY PAINTER
SCHOOL MONITOR	SEAMAN
SELLS REFRESHMENTS AT KIOSK	SECRETARY
SERVANT BOY	SEEDMAN FRUITERIER & FLORIST
SEWING MACHINIST	SEWING MAID
SEWING MACHINE MECHANIC	SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OFFICER
SHERIFFS ASSISTANT	SCHOOL BENCHER
SHERIFFS BALIFF	TRAVELLER - TEA TRADE
SHOP ASSISTANT	TRAVELLING MUSICIAN
SHOP PORTER	TYPE DISTRIBUTOR
SHOP KEEPER	TYPIST
SILK MERCER	USEFUL HELP
SLATER	UPHOLSTERER
SOLICITORS CLERK	VALET
SORTER IN MACHINE STORES	VOLENTERS WIFE SOUTH AFRICA
STABLE BOY	WAGGONER
STAFF SERGEANT	WAITRESS
STATIONER ASSISTANT	WAITER
STEAM ENGINE DRILLER	WARDROBE DEALER
STEAM ENGINE FITTER	WAREHOUSEMAN
STEAM ENGINE MAKER	WASHER WOMAN
STEWARDESS	WATCH MAKER
STEEL SHAPER	WATER INSPECTOR
STEWARD & STOREKEEPER	WATER RATE COLLECTOR
STEEL KNIFE FITTER	WHEELWRIGHT

STOKER GAS WORKS	WHEELWRIGHT AP
STONE BREAKER	WHITE SMITH
STONE MASON	WINE & SPIRIT MERCHANT ASSISTANT
STUDENT OF SINGING	WINE MERCHANT
STREET SWEEPER	WINE MERCHANT - CARTER
SUB EDITOR & REPORTER	WINE MERCHANT CASHIER
SUPERVISOR INLAND REVENUE	WINE MERCHANT - CLERK
SURVEYOR OF FARES	WINE MERCHANT - PORTER
SURVEYORS ASSISTANT	WINE MERCHANT - TRAVELLER
SUPERINTENDANT SINGER SEWING MACHINES	WINE MERCHANT - WHAREHOUSE
SWIMMING INSTRUCTOR	WIRE MERCHANT MINDER
TANNER	WIRE WINDER
TANNER LAB	WOOD TURNER
TAXIDERMIST	WOOD WORKING MACHINIST
TELEGRAPH - LEARNER	WOOL MERCHANT
TELEGRAPH - MESSENGER	WOOL MERCHANT - MANAGER
TELEGRAPH - SORTING CLERK	YARDMAN
TELEGRAPH - SUB INPECTOR	YEAST DEALER
TELEGRAPH - WIREMAN	
TELEGRAPH MESSENGER	
SHOE TRADE	
BOOT - CUTTER	SHOE - FACTORY WORKER
BOOT - FACTOR AGENT	SHOE - FINNISHER
BOOT - FINISHER	SHOE - FINNISHER AP
BOOT - FINISHER ASSISTANT	SHOE - FITTER
BOOT - FITTER	SHOE - HEEL BUILDER
BOOT - MAKER	SHOE - M
BOOT - MAKER & MERCER	SHOE - M AP
BOOT - MERCHANT	SHOE - M OP
BOOT - PASTE FITTER	SHOE - MACHINIST
BOOT - RIVITTER	SHOE - MAKER
BOOT - SHOP MANAGER	SHOE - MAKER ASSISTANT
BOOT & SHOE MAKER	SHOE - MANUFACTURER
BOOTS - FINNISHER LADIES	SHOE- MANUFACTURING WAREHOUSE
SHOE - CLICKER	SHOE - NEEDLE FITTER
SHOE - HEELER	SHOE - OVERLOCKER
MACHINIST	SHOE - PACKER
SHOE - CORDWAINER	SHOE - PRESSMAN
SHOE - CUTTER	SHOE - PUTTING UP
SHOE - ERRAND BOY	SHOE - RIVITTER
SHOE - FACTORY CLERK	SHOE MANUFACTURERS TRAVELLER
SHOE - FACTORY FOREMAN	SHOE - WHAREHOUSE
SHOE - FACTORY MANAGER	SHOE - FACTORY PRESSER
SHOE - MERCHANT CLERK	SHOE - FACTORY STOCKER
SHOE - FACTORY OPERATIVE	SHOE - FACTORY TIMEKEEPER
CLOTHIERS ASSISTANT	MILLINER
CLOTHIERS MANAGER	MILLINER & DRESSMAKER
COAT TURNER	MILLINER AP
COSTUMIER	MILLINERS ASSISTANT

DRAPER	NEEDLEWOMAN
DRAPER & HOTEL KEEPER	PLAIN SEWING
DRAPER & SUB POST MISTRESS	RIBBON WEAVER
DRAPER AP	SEAMSTRESS
DRAPER ASSISTANT	SHIRT MAKER
DRAPERS CASHIER	TAILOR
DRAPERS PORTER	TAILOR & BEERSELLER
DRAPERY SALESWOMAN	TAILOR & DRAPER
DRESS FITTER	TAILORS CUTTER
DRESSMAKER	TAILOR AP
DRESSMAKERS AP	TAILOR J
DRESSMAKERS ASSISTANT	TAILORESS
HATTERS FURIER	TAILORS ASSISTANT
MACHINIST FANCY	
ARMY P (pensioner)	LADYS MAID
CANT READ	LIVING ON OWN MEANS
COMPANION	MS
FS - COOK/KITCHEN/HOUSE MAID/KEEPER/LAUNDRESS	NO OCCUPATION
GOVERNESS	PENSIONER
INVALID	PROPERTY
	RETIRED
ACCOUNTANT	PROFESSOR OF MUSIC - MUS:DOC
ACCOUNTANT (CHARTERED) & SHARE BROKER	ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST
ACCOUNTANT - RAILWAY	SCHOOLMASTER
ARTICLED TO ACCOUNTANT	SCHOOLMASTER - ASST
ARCHITECT	SCHOOLMASTER/PRISONWARDER
ARCHITECTURAL SURVEYOR	SCHOOLMASTER/CLERK
BAPTIST MINISTER	SCHOOLMISTRESS
BARRISTER OF LAW & NEWSPAPER PROPRIETER	SCHOOLMISTRESS ASSISTANT
CHEMIST & DRUGGIST	SCHOOL TEACHER - ELEMENTARY
CHEMIST AP	SOLICITOR
CHEMIST ASSISTANT	SURGEON
CLERGYMAN	TEACHER
DENTAL SURGEON	TEACHER - CERTIFIED
DENTIST	TEACHER - ART
DENTIST ASS	TEACHER - ASSISTANT CERTIFIED
DENTIST APPRENTICE	TEACHER - COOKING
HEADMASTER	TEACHER - MECHANICAL ENGINEERING
LAW STUDENT FOR EXAMINATION	TEACHER - MUSIC
LECTURER IN HORTICULTURE	TEACHER MUSIC ARTICLED
MEDICAL PRATIONER	TEACHER - PUPIL
MEDICAL STUDENT	TEACHER - SCIENCE MASTER
MINISTER	VET STUDENT
PHYSICIAN & SURGEON	VET SURGEON
PRINCIPAL SCHOOL	WESLEYAN PREACHER
PROFESSOR OF PHRENOLOGY	

Appendix 8: Date of royal charter or the establishment of professional body		
DATE	YEAR	ROYAL CHARTER
	1773	Royal Medical Society
22-Mar	1800	Royal College of Surgeons of England
17-Apr	1809	Royal Horticultural Society
03-Jun	1828	Institution of Civil Engineers
14-Aug	1829	King's College, London (delivered dentistry training)
23-Jun	1830	Royal Academy of Music
03-May	1836	Society of Licensed Victuallers
11-Jan	1837	Royal Institute of British Architects
18-Feb	1843	Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain
08-Mar	1844	Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons
26-Feb	1845	Law Society
03-Feb	1847	Royal Society of British Artists
28-Mar	1849	The College of Teachers
17-Mar	1875	Royal Veterinary College
11-May	1880	Institute of Chartered Accountants
	1881	Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors
20-Apr	1883	Royal College of Music
30-Jul	1891	Chartered Institute of Patent Agents
		INSTITUTIONS/SOCIETIES
	1854	Society of Engineers
	1895	British Optical Association
	1889	Institute of Electrical Engineers

Appendix 9: Birthplaces for immigrants given in the 1871 Census for Stafford					
PLACE	COUNTY	N	PLACE	COUNTY	N
SALON	AUNBALAND?	1	WYNBUNBURY	CHESHIRE	1
	AUSTRALIA	1	PENZANCE	CORNWALL	1
SMETHERTON	BATH	1	CHESHIRE	CREWE	1
LUTON	BEDFORDSHIRE	1	CAUSTON	CUMBERLAND	1
ASHBURY	BERKSHIRE	1	COCKERMOUTH	CUMBERLAND	2
BASILDON	BERKSHIRE	1	DAORE	CUMBERLAND	1
LILGECL?	BERKSHIRE	1	KESWICK	CUMBERLAND	4
WINDSOR	BERKSHIRE	1	MORETY	CUMBERLAND	1
BERWICK UPON TWEED	BERWICK UPON TWEED	1	PENRITH	CUMBERLAND	1
BRILE	BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	1	WHITEHAVEN	CUMBRIA	1
BUCKINGHAM	BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	3	BROUGHTON	DENBIGHSHIRE	1
DINGWICK	BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	1	APPLRBY	DERBYSHIRE	1
EATON	BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	1	ASHBOURNE	DERBYSHIRE	7
ECUBERTON?	BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	1	BURTON ON TRENT	DERBYSHIRE	1
HIGH WYCOMBE	BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	1	CHESTERFIELD	DERBYSHIRE	1
SANDERTON	BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	1	DERBY	DERBYSHIRE	12
CAMBRIDGE	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	2	DOVERIDGE	DERBYSHIRE	1
ELY	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	1	EXETER	DERBYSHIRE	2
GAMBLINGAY	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	1	FORNMASTON	DERBYSHIRE	1
MARCH	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	2	GREAT GATE	DERBYSHIRE	1
WISBEACH	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	1	HAYFIELD	DERBYSHIRE	1
	CANADA	3	HILTON	DERBYSHIRE	1
	CEYLON	1	ILKESTONE	DERBYSHIRE	2
ALLSAGER	CHESHIRE	1	KINGSBURY	DERBYSHIRE	1
ALTRINGHAM	CHESHIRE	1	LEVRIDGE	DERBYSHIRE	1
AUDLEM	CHESHIRE	2	MEASHAM	DERBYSHIRE	1
BUSHAL GREEN	CHESHIRE	1	MILFORD	DERBYSHIRE	1
CALFLY	CHESHIRE	1	NEWALL	DERBYSHIRE	1
CHEADLE	CHESHIRE	1	NOTTINGHAM	DERBYSHIRE	1
CHESTER	CHESHIRE	1 9	REPTON	DERBYSHIRE	3
CHURCH MARSHALL	CHESHIRE	1	ROSTON	DERBYSHIRE	1
CONGLETON	CHESHIRE	6	SAWUEY?	DERBYSHIRE	1
CREWE	CHESHIRE	2	SNELSON	DERBYSHIRE	1
GREAT BUDWORTH	CHESHIRE	1	WOOTON	DERBYSHIRE	1
HOUGH	CHESHIRE	1	YOUNGREAVE	DERBYSHIRE	2
KINGSFORD	CHESHIRE	1	BIDEFORD	DEVONSHIRE	1
LANDBACH	CHESHIRE	1	BOVEY	DEVONSHIRE	1
LANGTON	CHESHIRE	1	BURY	DEVONSHIRE	1

LATHAM	CHESHIRE	1	CREDLLON	DEVONSHIRE	1
LAWTON	CHESHIRE	2	CULMASTOCK	DEVONSHIRE	1
LEAFORGE	CHESHIRE	1	DAVENPORT	DEVONSHIRE	1
LUDLAM	CHESHIRE	1	EUNNINGTON	DEVONSHIRE	1
MACCLESFIELD	CHESHIRE	7	HENNOCK	DEVONSHIRE	3
MALPAS	CHESHIRE	2	INFRACOUMBE	DEVONSHIRE	1
NANTWICH	CHESHIRE	1	MARBOURGH	DEVONSHIRE	1
NORTHWICH	CHESHIRE	1	PLYMOUTH	DEVONSHIRE	1
OLD RODE	CHESHIRE	1	ARMITAGE	DORSET	1
SANDBACH	CHESHIRE	4	DORCHESTER	DORSET	1
SHAVINGTON	CHESHIRE	2	POOL	DORSET	1
CREWE	CHESHIRE	1	SHAFTSBURY	DORSET	1
SHOEBLACK	CHESHIRE	2	WOOL?	DORSET	1
STOCKPORT	CHESHIRE	1	ARRAN	DUMFRESHIRE	3
WHIRLOCK	CHESHIRE	1	WERBLEY	HEREFORDSHIRE	1
BARNARD CASTLE	DURHAM	1		HEREFORDSHIRE	1
DURHAM	DURHAM	2	OVERTON	HINTS	2
SUNDERLAND	DURHAM	3	PANLEY	HINTS	1
	EAST INDIES	1	FANET?	HUNTINGTON-SHIRE	1
BAINTREE	ESSEX	1	HUNTINGTON	HUNTINGTON-SHIRE	2
BARKING	ESSEX	1	RAMSEY TOR	HUNTINGTON-SHIRE	1
BURN'TWOOD	ESSEX	1	ST NEOTS	HUNTINGTON-SHIRE	2
COGGESHALL	ESSEX	1		INDIA	2
COLECHESTER	ESSEX	1		IRELAND	209
EDMONTON	ESSEX	1		ISLE OF MAN	1
HARWICH	ESSEX	1	ISLE OF WIGHT	ISLE OF WIGHT	1
	GERMANY	1		ITALY	1
	GIBRALTOR	1		JERSEY	1
BRISTOL	GLOUSTERSHIRE	9	ASHFORD	KENT	1
CHELTENHAM	GLOUSTERSHIRE	4	BLACKHEATH	KENT	1
CHURCH END	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	CANTERBURY	KENT	2
DARSLEY	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	CHATEM	KENT	2
DYMOCK	GLOUSTERSHIRE	3	DEAL	KENT	1
GLOUCESTER	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	DEVON	KENT	1
GLOUSTER	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	DOVER	KENT	4
KEYNSHAM	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	ERITH	KENT	2
KINGS STANLEY	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	FOLKSTONE	KENT	1
MANGSTSFIELD	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	GILLINGHAM	KENT	1
RANGLINSLY	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	LUTON	KENT	3
SANDHURST	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	MAIDSTONE	KENT	2
SIDENHAM	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	MONGAHAM	KENT	1
STRAND	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	PATRICKSBOURNE	KENT	1
STROUD	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	ROCHESTER	KENT	1
STROUD	GLOUSTERSHIRE	2	SEVEN OAKS	KENT	1
SYDNEY	GLOUSTERSHIRE	3	SHERNESS	KENT	1
TEWKESBURY	GLOUSTERSHIRE	3	STROUD	KENT	1
TURLEY	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	TUNBRIDGE WELLS	KENT	1
	GLOUSTERSHIRE	1	WHINCHESTER	KENT	1
ALDERSHOT	HAMPSHIRE	1			

CHRISTCHURCH	HAMPSHIRE	1	ASHTON U LYME	LANCASHIRE	2
HAMPSHIRE	HAMPSHIRE	1	BOLTON	LANCASHIRE	3
HOLBURY	HAMPSHIRE	1	BURY	LANCASHIRE	1
LYNINGTON	HAMPSHIRE	1	CHORLEY	LANCASHIRE	1
PORTSEA	HAMPSHIRE	1	CHURCH ?	LANCASHIRE	1
PORTSMOUTH	HAMPSHIRE	1	CLITHEROE	LANCASHIRE	1
RAMSEY	HAMPSHIRE	1	GLASTONBURY	LANCASHIRE	1
BOOMINGTON	HEREFORDSHIRE	1	HAYWOOD	LANCASHIRE	1
BOVINGDON	HEREFORDSHIRE	1	HEDNOR	LANCASHIRE	1
BROMYARD	HEREFORDSHIRE	4	LANCASTER	LANCASHIRE	6
BURRINGTON	HEREFORDSHIRE	1	LIVERPOOL	LANCASHIRE	23
CLIFFORD	HEREFORDSHIRE	1	LONGRIDGE	LANCASHIRE	1
HEREFORD	HEREFORDSHIRE	4	LOWTON	LANCASHIRE	3
LEOMINSTER	HEREFORDSHIRE	6	LYTHAM	LANCASHIRE	1
MARDEN	HEREFORDSHIRE	2	MANCHESTER	LANCASHIRE	26
MUCH COUN?	HEREFORDSHIRE	1	OLDHAM	LANCASHIRE	2
NEWTON GOODHILLS?	HEREFORDSHIRE	3	PRESTON	LANCASHIRE	5
ORELTON	HEREFORDSHIRE	1	ROCHDALE	LANCASHIRE	3
STOKE EDITH	HEREFORDSHIRE	1	ST HELENS	LANCASHIRE	1
SUTTON	HEREFORDSHIRE	1	WARRINGTON	LANCASHIRE	1
WIGAN	LANCASHIRE	2	LEAUDOVER	MOMMATHSHIRE	1
WORSLEY	LANCASHIRE	2	MONMOUTH	MOMMATHSHIRE	1
ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH	LEICES	2	NEWPORT	MOMMATHSHIRE	1
BILSWELL	LEICES	1	NEWBY	MONMOTHSHIRE	1
BREEDON ON THE HILL	LEICES	1		MONMOTHSHIRE	1
EARL SHILTON	LEICES	1	KERRY	MONTGOM	1
HINCKLEY	LEICES	9	NEWTOWN	MONTGOM	1
LEICESTER	LEICES	2 0	WELSHPOOL	MONTGOM	3
LOUGHBORO	LEICES	4		NEW ZEALAND	4
MELTON MOWBRAY	LEICES	1	BARNEY	NORFOLK	1
NEWBOROUGH	LEICES	1	BUNNAL	NORFOLK	1
OVERSEAL	LEICES	1	LYNN	NORFOLK	3
RADCLIFF	LEICES	3	NORFOLK	NORFOLK	4
SEALS	LEICES	1	NORWICH	NORFOLK	4
SHEEPSHEAD	LEICES	3		NORTH WALES	2
SOUTH KILWORTH	LEICES	1	ADSTONE	NORTHAMPTON- SHIRE	1
ST MARGARET'S	LEICES	4	ALL SAINTS	NORTHAMPTON- SHIRE	1
STOKE GOLDING	LEICES	1	BYFIELD	NORTHAMPTON- SHIRE	1
SWEPSTON	LEICES	1	CRANSLEY	NORTHAMPTON- SHIRE	1
THURLASTON	LEICES	1	FOLESHILL	NORTHAMPTON- SHIRE	1
WITWICK	LEICES	1	HELMDON	NORTHAMPTON- SHIRE	2
COORNLR?	LINCOLNSHIRE	1	KETTERING	NORTHAMPTON- SHIRE	2
GRANTHAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	3	MAIDWELL	NORTHAMPTON- SHIRE	1
L(S)INFLEET	LINCOLNSHIRE	1	NORTHAMPTON	NORTHAMPTON- SHIRE	26

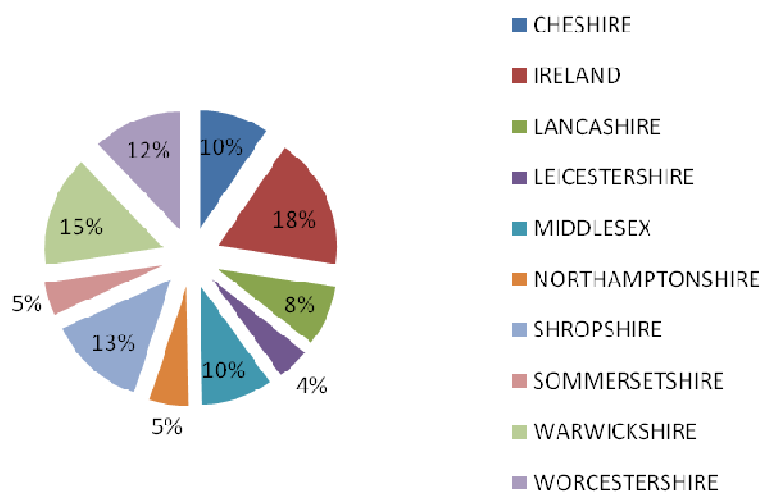
SPALDING	LINCOLNSHIRE	1	NORTON PRIORY	NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE	1
STANFIELD	LINCOLNSHIRE	1	PETERBORO	NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE	6
LANE	LIVERPOOL	3	ROTHERTHORPE	NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE	1
HACKNEY	LONDON	1	TOWCASTER	NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE	2
HOLLOWAY	LONDON	1	DAVENTRY	NORTHANTS	4
MARLYBONE	LONDON	1	EARLS BARTON	NORTHANTS	1
MIDDLESEX	LONDON	5	NEWCASTLE	NORTHUMBER-LAND	1
BERMONDSEY	MIDDLESEX	2	CARRINGTON	NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE	1
BETHNAL GREEN	MIDDLESEX	3	LANGFORD	NOTTINGHAMSHIRE	1
CAMBERWELL	MIDDLESEX	1	NEWARK	NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE	1
CHEALSEA	MIDDLESEX	1	NOTTINGHAM	NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE	15
CLAPTON	MIDDLESEX	1	ASTHALL	OXFORDSHIRE	1
HANES	MIDDLESEX	1	BANBURY	OXFORDSHIRE	2
HANOW	MIDDLESEX	1	CHESTERTON	OXFORDSHIRE	1
HARROW	MIDDLESEX	1	CHPPING NORTON	OXFORDSHIRE	1
HOXTON	MIDDLESEX	1	DODDINGTON	OXFORDSHIRE	2
ISLINGTON	MIDDLESEX	1	FLYFORD	OXFORDSHIRE	1
LONDON	MIDDLESEX	7			
OLD BROMPTON	MIDDLESEX	1	HAYFORD	OXFORDSHIRE	1
PIMLIE	MIDDLESEX	2	KIDLINGTON	OXFORDSHIRE	1
POPULAR	MIDDLESEX	1	OVERSEAL	OXFORDSHIRE	1
SHOREDITCH	MIDDLESEX	2	OXFORD	OXFORDSHIRE	5
STEPNEY	MIDDLESEX	4	SWINBROOK	OXFORDSHIRE	2
STEPNEY	MIDDLESEX	1	TWFORD	OXFORDSHIRE	1
STEPNEY	MIDDLESEX	1	BURFORD	OXON	1
TWICKENHAM	MIDDLESEX	1	ST MARY	PEMBROKSHIRE	1
WESTMINSTER	MIDDLESEX	1	KNIGHTON	RADNOSHIRE	1
WHITECHAPEL	MIDDLESEX	4	PRESTEIGN	REDNORSHIRE	4
CHRISTCHURCH	MOMMATHSHIRE	1		RUSSIA	1
GROLMONT	MOMMATHSHIRE	1	UPPINGHAM	RUTLANDSHIRE	2
ACKLETON	SALOP	1	ASTON	SHROPSHIRE	1
ALBRIGHTON	SALOP	1	BEAKBURY	SHROPSHIRE	1
ARKHALL	SALOP	1	BROSELY	SHROPSHIRE	1
BERRINGTON	SALOP	2	BURKBURY	SHROPSHIRE	1
BOLAS MAGNA	SALOP	1	CHETWYND		
BREESE	SALOP	1	ASTON	SHROPSHIRE	2
BRIDGENORTH	SALOP	1	ECKEINSTON	SHROPSHIRE	1
BURSLEY	SALOP	6	HANKSTONE	SHROPSHIRE	1
BURSLEY	SALOP	1	HODNET	SHROPSHIRE	3
CHERRINGTON	SALOP	1	KINLET	SHROPSHIRE	1
CHESWARDINE	SALOP	1	MUCCLESTONE	SHROPSHIRE	1
CHILDS ERCALL	SALOP	1	ROWTON	SHROPSHIRE	1
CHIPNALL	SALOP	2	TONG	SHROPSHIRE	2
CHURCH ASTON	SALOP	2	WEM	SHROPSHIRE	4
CHURCH EATON	SALOP	1	WISTANSTOW	SHROPSHIRE	1
CHURCH STRETTON	SALOP	1		SHROPSHIRE	3
DAWLEY	SALOP	1	SHERRIF HALES	SHROPSIRE	1

DONNINGTON	SALOP	1	BARTON	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
DRAYTON	SALOP	1	BATH	SOMERSETSHIRE	2
EATON	SALOP	1	BATHEALTON	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
EDGEMONT	SALOP	4	BONWELL	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
HALTON	SALOP	1	BRISTOL	SOMERSETSHIRE	12
HANOVER	SALOP	1	CALCOTT	SOMERSETSHIRE	3
HARMER HILL	SALOP	1	CLIFTON	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
HARTLE HEATH	SALOP	1	EDSTON WELLS	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
HAWLEY	SALOP	1	ENGLISH COMBE	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
HIGH ARKLE	SALOP	1	FROOME	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
HILTON BANK	SALOP	1	GLASTONBURY	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
HINSTOCK	SALOP	2	SOMERSET	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
IRONBRIDGE	SALOP	1	SOMERSET	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
LEDBURY	SALOP	2	ST GEORGES	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
LIDBURY	SALOP	1	ST JOHNS	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
LILLESALL	SALOP	2	STREET	SOMERSETSHIRE	2
LUDLOW	SALOP	4	TAUTON	SOMERSETSHIRE	10
LYTHWOOD	SALOP	1	WELLS	SOMERSETSHIRE	3
MADELEY	SALOP	1	WINSCOMBE	SOMERSETSHIRE	1
MARKET DRAYTON	SALOP	1 6		SOMERSETSHIRE	2
MEESON	SALOP	1	BURY ST EDMONDS	SUFFOLK	1
NELFERN HEAD	SALOP	1	GESLINGHAM	SUFFOLK	1
NEWINGS	SALOP	1	HAILESWORTH	SUFFOLK	1
NEWINGTON	SALOP	1	HENHARTON	SUFFOLK	1
NEWPORT	SALOP	3 2	PAKEFIELD	SUFFOLK	1
OSWESTRY	SALOP	1	SAPWICH	SUFFOLK	1
PAINE LANE	SALOP	1	STONHEEN ARFALL?	SUFFOLK	1
SANEBROOKE?	SALOP	1	SUDBURY	SUFFOLK	1
SHIFNAL	SALOP	5	WELDINGFIELD	SUFFOLK	1
SHREWSBURY	SALOP	1 6	WITHERSFIELD	SUFFOLK	1
ST JULIANS	SALOP	2		SUFFOLK	1
STOKE ON TEAM	SALOP	1	CAMBERWELL	SURREY	2
WELLINGTON	SALOP	6	CROYDON	SURREY	1
WHITCHURCH	SALOP	2	EPSOM	SURREY	1
WOORE	SALOP	1	LAMBETH	SURREY	1
	SCOTLAND	2 7	MITCHAM	SURREY	1
ASHLEY	SHROPSHIRE	1	PECKHAM	SURREY	2
SOUTHWARK	SURREY	1	WICHFONT	WILTSHIRE	1
BRIGHTON	SUSSEX	1	WILTSHIRE	WILTSHIRE	1
CHIDDINGLY	SUSSEX	1		WILTSHIRE	1
COLCHESTER	SUSSEX	1	BROMSGROVE	WORC	1
EASTBOURNE	SUSSEX	1	BELBROUGHTON	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
ROBERTSBRIDGE	SUSSEX	1	BERSOW	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
SHIPLEY	SUSSEX	1	BREDON	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
	SUSSEX	1	COUNTYOLDBURY	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
	USA	4	DODINHAM?	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
ABERYSTHWICH	WALES	1	DUDLEY	WORCESTERSHIRE	12
WREXHAM	WALES	4	EVASHAM	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
	WALES	7	GREAT WITLEY	WORCESTERSHIRE	1

ASTON	WARWICKSHIRE	1	GREATMALVERN	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
ATHERSTONE	WARWICKSHIRE	1	GRIMLEY	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
BIRMINGHAM	WARWICKSHIRE	1 1 1	INKBARROW	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
BUTLERS MARSTON	WARWICKSHIRE	1	KIDDERMINSTER	WORCESTERSHIRE	2
CHEL'TENHAM	WARWICKSHIRE	1	KINGS NORTON	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
CHURCH OVER	WARWICKSHIRE	1	LINDRIDGE	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
CORLEY	WARWICKSHIRE	1	NORTHFIELDS	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
COVENTRY	WARWICKSHIRE	6	OLD SWINFORD	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
FOLESHILL	WARWICKSHIRE	1	OLDBURY	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
HAMPTON IN ARDEN	WARWICKSHIRE	1	RADFORD	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
KENILWORTH	WARWICKSHIRE	1	REDDITCH	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
KINGSBURY	WARWICKSHIRE	1	REMBURY	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
KIVETON	WARWICKSHIRE	1	RIVINSO?	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
LEAMINGTON	WARWICKSHIRE	2	SHIPSTON	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
LINALY	WARWICKSHIRE	1	ST JOHNS	WORCESTERSHIRE	3
LOUGHFORD	WARWICKSHIRE	1	ST NICHOLAS	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
MARLBOROUGH	WARWICKSHIRE	1	STONE	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
MIDDLETON	WARWICKSHIRE	1	STOURBRIDGE	WORCESTERSHIRE	4
NEWTOWN REGIS	WARWICKSHIRE	2	STOURPORT	WORCESTERSHIRE	1
NUNEATON	WARWICKSHIRE	1	WORCESTER	WORCESTERSHIRE	24
RUGBY	WARWICKSHIRE	1		WORCESTERSHIRE	1
SALTLEY	WARWICKSHIRE	4	ARNSLEY	YORKSHIRE	1
SHELFORD	WARWICKSHIRE	1	BRADFORD	YORKSHIRE	3
SMETHWICK	WARWICKSHIRE	1	BREELBOURGH?	YORKSHIRE	1
SRETTON UNDER F?	WARWICKSHIRE		BRIDLINGTON QUAY	YORKSHIRE	1
STRATFORD ON AVON	WARWICKSHIRE	3	BROMPTON	YORKSHIRE	1
SUTTON COLDFIELD	WARWICKSHIRE	5	CLAYNORTH	YORKSHIRE	1
SUTTON COLDFIELD	WARWICKSHIRE	1	EAST WELLEAK	YORKSHIRE	
TAMWORTH	WARWICKSHIRE	9	HALIFAX	YORKSHIRE	3
WARTON	WARWICKSHIRE	1	HULL	YORKSHIRE	1
WARWICK	WARWICKSHIRE	6	LEEDS	YORKSHIRE	3
	WARWICKSHIRE	2	NORTHALLERTON	YORKSHIRE	1
KENDAL	WESTMORELAND	5	NORTHFIELD	YORKSHIRE	1
SHEP	WESTMORELAND	1	ROTHERHAM	YORKSHIRE	2
CLEWE?	WILTSHIRE	1	SHEFFIELD	YORKSHIRE	7
DEVIZES	WILTSHIRE	1	THIRSK	YORKSHIRE	1
HIPHMOUTH?	WILTSHIRE	1	WADSLEY	YORKSHIRE	1
KEMBLE	WILTSHIRE	1	WAKEFIELD	YORKSHIRE	4
MALMSBURY	WILTSHIRE	1	WEESOCAR?	YORKSHIRE	1
SALISBURY	WILTSHIRE	1		YORKSHIRE	2
SOMERFORD MAGNA	WILTSHIRE	1	CANT READ		8
WARMINSTER	WILTSHIRE	1			
NEWXASTLE UPON TYNE		1			
ON BOARD SHIP FROM GUERSNEY TO JERSEY		1			

Appendix 10: 1871 top ten places of birth for migrants

1871 TOP TEN PLACES OF BIRTH FOR MIGRANTS



Appendix 11: County of birth on 1871 census for Professionals	
ACCOUNTANT	BREWOD
ACCOUNTANT	BREWOD
ACCOUNTANT	STAFFORD
ACCOUNTANT	STONE, STAFFS
ARCITECT, ASSISTANT HOUSE SURGEON,	BREEDON ON HILL LEICES
ASSIST HOUSE SURGEON	NEWBOROUGH, LEICES
ASSIST SCHOOLMASTER	STAFFORD
ATTORNEY	STAFFORD
CERTIFIED SCHOOLMISTRESS	STAFFORD
CHEMIST	STAFFORD
CHEMIST	RUGELEY, STAFFS
CHEMIST & DRUGGIST	KINGS BROMLEY, STAFFS
CHEMIST & DRUGGIST	GLOUCESTERDHIRE
CHEMIST & DRUGGIST	DERBYSHIRE
CHIEF SUPERINTENDANT OF POLICE	ROBERTSBRIDGE SUSSEX
CIVIL ENGINEER	NANTWICH, CHESHIRE
CURATE OF CHRIST CHURCH	IRELAND
CURATE ST MARYS	LEICESTER
CURATE ST MARYS	STAFFORD
DENTIST? SAYS MEMBER ROYAL COLLEGE SURGEONS OF ENGLAND	BRASFORD, YORKSHIRE
DRUGGIST	STAFFORD
ENGINEER	FLINTSHIRE?
GENERAL PRACTITIONER	LEICESTER
GENERAL PRATTTONER MRCS	BERRINGTON, SALOP
GENERAL PRATTTONER MRCS	LIVERPOOL, LANCS
LAW STATIONER & ACCOUNTANT	STAFFORD
MAGISTRATE	STAFFORD
MEDICAL PRATIONER MRCS	STAFFORD
MINISTER METHODIST CHAPEL	WORCESTERSHIRE
MINISTER PRIMITIVE METHODIST	WILTSHIRE
NATIONAL SCHOOL MASTER	CHELSEA, MIDDLESEX
PHYSICIAN	SURREY
PROFESSOR OF PHRENOLOGY	BURY, LANCS
PUPIL TEACHER	STAFFORD
PUPIL TEACHER	STAFFORD
PUPIL TEACHER	DEVONSHIRE
PUPIL TEACHER	STAFFORD
PUPIL TEACHER	STAFFORD
SCHOOL MISTRESS	ENSON, STAFFS
SCHOOL MISTRESS	ILCHESTER, SOMERSETSHIRE
SCHOOL MISTRESS	STAFFORD
SCHOOL TEACHER	STAFFORD
SCHOOLMASTER	BERWICK UPON TWEED
SCHOOLMASTER	EASTBOURNE, SUSSEX
SCHOOLMASTER	ECCELLSHALL, STAFFS
SCHOOLMASTER	YORKSHIRE

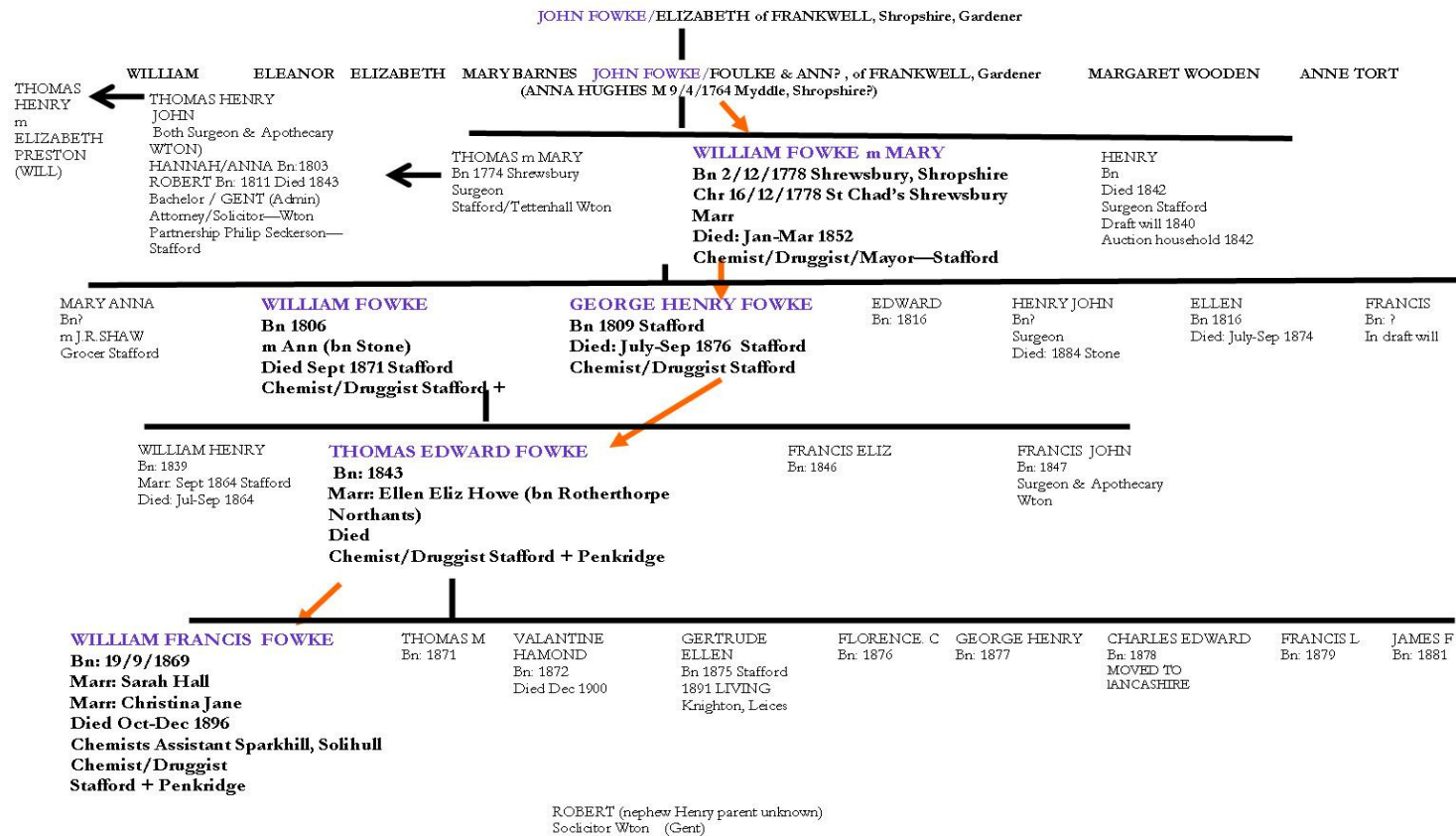
SCHOOLMISTRESS	LONDON
SCHOOLMISTRESS	GLOUCESTERDHIRES
SCHOOLMISTRESS	SCOTLAND
SCHOOLMISTRESS	GLOUCESTERDHIRES
SCHOOLMISTRESS	DERBYSHIRE
SCHOOLMISTRESS	HAUGHTON,STAFFS
SCHOOLMISTRESS	CHIDDINGLY, SUSSEX
SCHOOLMISTRESS	STAFFORD
SCHOOLMISTRESS	STAFFORD
STUDENT OF MEDICINE	CEYLON
SURGEON	IRELAND
SURGEON	HEREFORDSHIRE
TEACHER	STAFFORD
TEACHER	LONDON
TEACHER	BAMBERWELL, SURREY
TEACHER	STAFFORD
TEACHER OF CHILDREN	KENT
TEACHER OF MUSIC	LONDON
VET STUDENT	CANTERBURY, KENT
VETINARY SURGEON	STAFFORD
VETINARY SURGEON	BREWOD, STAFFS
VICAR OF CHRISTCHURCH STAFFORD	CHESTER, CHESHIRE
WESLYAN MINISTER	CUMBERLAND

Appendix 12: Professional workers from 18th & 19th century trade directories			
Universal Directory Headings 1790-1798	Number	Parson & Bradshaw Headings 1818	Number
Clergy	6	Architect (MP)	2
Physic	6	Artist (MP)	1
Law	6	Attornies/Solicitors	10
Traders	3	Clergy	5
		Education (MP)	11
		Druggist (MP)	3
		Physicians	3
		Surgeons	5
		Veterinary Surgeon (MP)	1
Total	21	Total	41

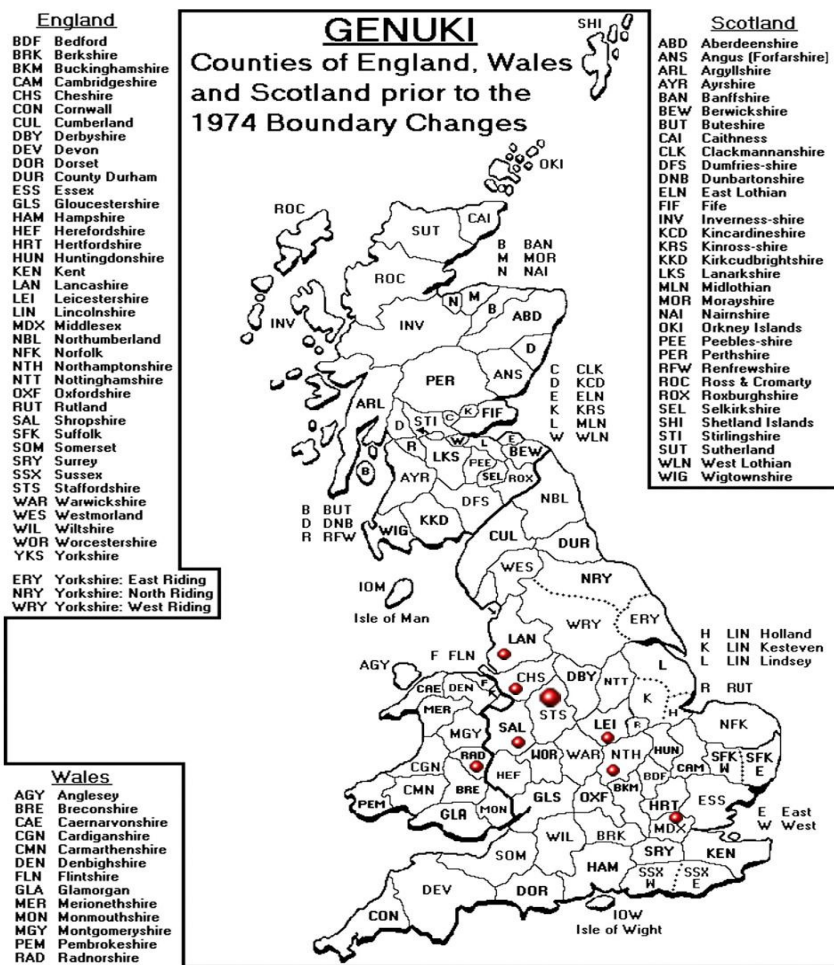
Appendix 13: Number of unique individuals from census and trade directories														
1841					1871					1901				
ESTABLISHED PROFESSIONS					ESTABLISHED PROFESSIONS					ESTABLISHED PROFESSIONS				
	DIR	CEN	BOTH	UNIQ IND		DIR	CEN	BOTH	UNIQ IND		DIR	CEN	BOTH	UNIQ IND
RELIGION	9	8	2	15	RELIGION	18	7	1	24	RELIGION	35	12	4	43
LEGAL	15	16	10	21	LEGAL	11	3	2	12	LEGAL	16	7	2	21
MEDICAL	14	15	6	23	MEDICAL	19	10	4	25	MEDICAL	25	13	6	32
										ACCOUNTANT	5	7	1	11
ARCHITECT	0	2	0	2	ARCHITECT	4	1	1	4	ARCHITECT	2	2	0	4
					CIV ENG	2	1	0	3	CIV ENG	5	0	0	5
					DENTIST	2	1	1	2	DENTIST	3	2	1	4
										ELEC ENG	2	0	0	2
										MECH ENG	3	0	0	3
										MUSICIAN	2	1	1	2
										SANTRY ENG	4	0	0	4
										SURVEYOR	5	0	0	5
VET	0	1	0	1	VET	2	3	2	3	VET	3	3	2	4
			TOTAL	62				TOTAL	73				TOTAL	140
MARGINAL PROFESSIONALS				UNIQ IND	MARGINAL PROFESSIONALS				UNIQ IND	MARGINAL PROFESSIONALS				UNIQ IND
					ACCOUNTANT	1	6	1	6					
CHEMIST	5	12	4	13	CHEMIST	8	6	5	9	CHEMIST	4	5	1	8
EDUCATION	23	26	11	38	EDUCATION	23	31	5	49	EDUCATION	41	116	1	156
OPTICIAN	0	1	0	1	POLICE SUPER	0	1	0	1	POLICE SUPERINTENDENT	1	0		1
SURVEYOR	2	1	0	3	SURVEYOR	1	0	0	1					
					MUSICIAN	4	0	0	4					
			TOTAL	55				TOTAL	70				TOTAL	165

Appendix 14: Fowke family tree

FOWKE FAMILY GENERATION TREE. ARROWS SHOW PROGRESSION OF CHEMIST BUSINESS
(note generations not necessarily shown on the chart in age order)



Appendix 15: Fowke social network



Based with permission on a map copyright by Genuki

Appendix 16: Pavalko's Trait Model

(1971, p. 26)

	Occupation	Profession
Theory or Intellectual Technique	Absent	Present
Relevance to Basic Social Values	Not relevant	Is relevant
Training Period		
A	Short	Long
B	Non-specialised	Specialised
C	Involves things	Involves symbols
D	Subculture unimportant	Subculture important
Motivation	Self interest	Service
Autonomy	Absent	Present
Commitment	Short term	Long term
Sense of Community	Low	High
Codes of Ethics	Undeveloped	Highly developed

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