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## THE GROWTH OF LONDON AND ITS REGIONAL STRUCTURE IN EARLY MODERN PERIOD<sup>†</sup>

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*Abstract:* From the analysis of the occupational structure in early modern London, it can be concluded that early modern London consisted of five economically-specialized regions, i.e., the City, based on commerce and finance; the eastern suburbs, based on shipping and shipbuilding; the southern suburbs, based on leisure and service (especially food service); the northern suburbs, based on industry and carriage by land; and the western suburbs, based on conspicuous consumption; also that each region could be regarded as an original early-modern town like those which Prof. P. Corfield classified in her *The Impact of English Towns 1700–1800*.

### INTRODUCTION

When discussing the earliest stages of industrialization, so much emphasis has been placed on rural industries that cities and towns seem to have been almost ignored.<sup>1</sup> According to J. de-Vries, who published an important study of urbanization in early modern Europe, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw the process of proto-industrialization tending coincide with that of de-urbanization, because the location of industries had been shifted from cities and towns to rural areas. Moreover, where cities and towns did see such development, they were usually big cities and ports, especially capital cities.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, it seems to be generally agreed that such development of capital cities was parasitic on the the development of rural areas.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>†</sup> This paper was read at the 3rd Anglo-Japanese Conference in the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, from 27th to 29th September 2000. I would like to thank Drs. Derek Keene and Vanessa Harding of University of London for their kind and useful comments on this paper as respondents. I also wish to thank Miss K. M. Longley for her kind help and advice in writing this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Thirsk (1961/84); Jones (1968/74); Mendels (1972); Brenner (1976/85); Merrington (1978); Hudson (1981); Martin (1983); Clarkson (1985) etc.

<sup>2</sup> de-Vries (1984). Especially, p. 256, Figure 11.1.

<sup>3</sup> According to F. Braudel, capital towns 'represented enormous expenditure' and 'their economy was only balanced by outside resources'. Braudel (1973), p. 414. Merrington (1978); Ringrose (1981); (1983) etc.

This, however, was not the case in England, where remarkable urbanization was seen after the latter half of the sixteenth century, the development of London being particularly conspicuous.<sup>4</sup> In this paper, by analyzing occupational structure modern London, I hope to relate its role to the economic development of early-modern England.

## I

To begin with, I can confirm the following three facts on the rapid population increase in early-modern London. Firstly, as Table 1 shows, while the population of England had grown from 3.01 million to 5.06 million during the 150 years between 1550 and 1700, the population of London had even more remarkably increased. Between 1560 and 1680 its population ballooned from 110 thousand to 435 thousand; in other words, the population of London in 1680 was four times larger than it had been in 1560. Secondly, the population increase in the outskirts of London was particularly remarkable: in 1680 the population of the London suburbs, with 330 thousand, was eleven times as large as that of 1560 with 30 thousand. On the other hand, the population of the City of London had only shown a small increase, from 80 thousand to 105 thousand, and in the forty years since 1640 it even dropped to that figure from 135 thousand. Thirdly, London had also expanded physically, and the development of its eastern and western suburbs was particularly remarkable in the seventeenth century (see Figure 1).

Next, I can confirm the following three points concerning the roles played by early-Modern London in the economic development in England. Firstly, contrary to the conventional understanding that early-modern London's development was parasitic on the

Table 1. Population growth in London and Middlesex, 1560–1800 (000s).<sup>5</sup>

Date	City within and without Walls	Eastern suburbs	Northern suburbs	Western suburbs	Southern suburbs	Total suburbs	London	Rural Middlesex
1560	80	10	5	5	10	30	110	25
1600	100	30	20	10	25	85	185	30
1640	135	90	50	35	45	220	355	40
1680	105	140	60	65	65	330	435	50
Indexed to base 100								
1560	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1600	125	300	400	200	250	285	170	120
1640	170	900	1,000	700	450	735	325	160
1680	130	1,400	1,200	1,300	650	1,100	395	200
Percentage of total London population								
1560	73	9	4.5	4.5	9	27	100	
1600	54	16	11	5.5	13.5	46	100	
1640	38	25	14	10	13	62	100	
1680	24	32	14	15	15	76	100	

<sup>4</sup> Wrigley (1985/87). Especially, p. 178, Figure 7.2.

<sup>5</sup> Finlay & Shearer (1986), p. 39, Table 1.

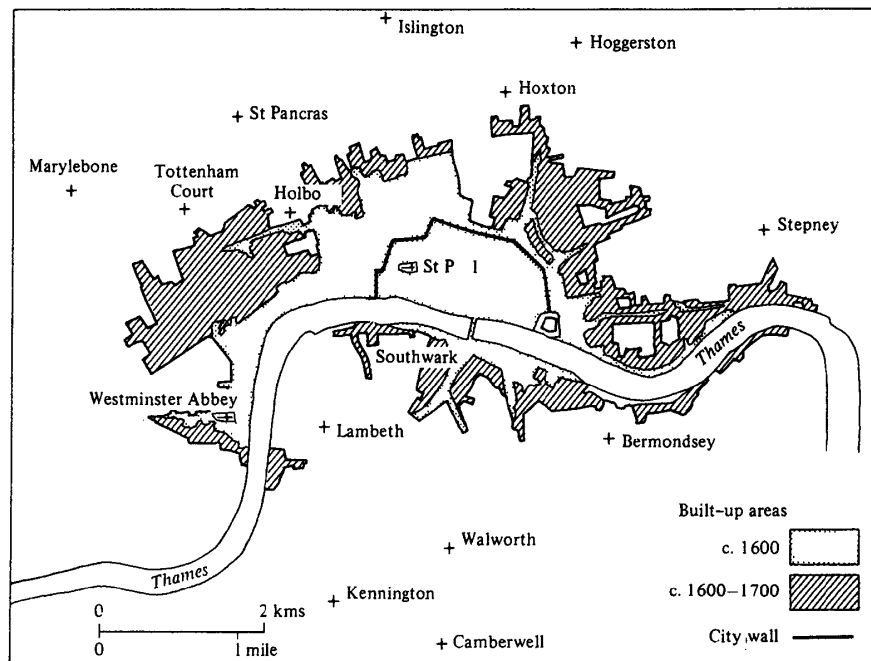


Figure 1. The topographical growth of London during the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup>

Table 2. Production and exchange in London, 1540–1700 (percentages)<sup>(a), 7</sup>

Dates	Activity	Intra-mural	Extra-mural	All Parishes <sup>(b)</sup>
1540–1600	Production	52.9	70.1	58.4
	Exchanges	28.2	7.5	21.6
	Other <sup>(c)</sup>	18.9	22.4	20.0
	Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
		(n=1,277)	(n=1,472)	
1601–1700	Production	40.4	74.3	60.6
	Exchanges	35.9	12.6	22.0
	Other <sup>(c)</sup>	23.7	13.1	17.4
	Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
		(n=2,660)	(n=12,742)	

Notes:

- (a) Only masters and dependent workers with trades specified.
- (b) Percentages for ‘all parishes’ weighted to take account of changing population levels.
- (c) Mainly trades involving distribution/transport of goods and people; services; professions and officials.

<sup>6</sup> Finlay (1981), p. 58, Figure 3.4. I have deleted Blackfriar Bridge from the original map, for it was constructed during 1760–1799.

<sup>7</sup> Beir (1986), p. 150, Table 14.

development of the rural regions, Profs. F. J. Fisher and E. A. Wrigley strongly argue that early-modern London had contributed to the promotion of its own development as a centre of consumption, especially of conspicuous consumption.<sup>8</sup> Secondly, Prof. A. L. Beir offers a remarkable argument that early-modern London acted not only as a consumption centre but also as a production centre.<sup>9</sup> Thirdly, in support of this argument, Table 2 shows that the suburbs were likely to have played an important part as production-centres, and that the City was important as the commercial centre, also that this tendency was more conspicuous in the seventeenth century.

Above all, from these facts, it seems that the development of the early-modern London suburbs, and the importance of their roles, are quite notable. But also, it seems that each suburb in the east, west, south and north developed separately and acted variously. So, to make these points clearer, I have been analyzing their occupational structures as well as that of the City, on the basis of parish registers.

## II

Regarding the occupational structure of the City in the late-seventeenth century, Prof. M. J. Power clarified it through his analysis of hearth-tax returns in 1666. Although Table 3 aims to show the relationship between occupation and wealth, the following three points can be observed as the major characteristics of the occupational structure of the City.

First, three groups in the business of the primary selling of goods and services, i.e., dealers, victuallers and members of professions, supplied the majority of the occupations of the City. Second, regarding manufacturing industry, craftsmen of luxury goods, e.g. goldsmiths, were notable, and in the traditional textile and leather industries, whose workers were fewer, there were many silkmen and clothworkers who were more affluent than other textile workers. Third, semi-skilled workers such as builders and carriers were relatively few.<sup>10</sup>

The characteristics are clearly identified in Table 4, which deals with the top 14 among oft-noted occupations, namely, there were dealers such as merchants (1st), haberdashers (6th) and booksellers (13th), purveyors such as victuallers (3rd), alehouse-keepers (7th) and tobacconists (12th), and members of professions such as druggists (10th) and apothecaries (13th). These accounted for about two-thirds of all occupations, and goldsmiths (2nd) and silkmen (5th) ranked in the upper part of the top 14.

According to Prof. Power, such a distribution of occupations as J. E. Vance has pointed out was seen in medieval London, and the tradition was likely to continue to 1666. The survival of such a tradition and the process of its separation can be identified from John Stow's description. In other words, although Stow's main interest was in the buildings of London, he gave considerable information about the City's commerce and

<sup>8</sup> Fisher (1971/90); Wrigley (1967/87); Slack (2000).

<sup>9</sup> Beir (1986).

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 212-221.

Table 3. Occupations and dwelling size in London, 1666 (20 parishes).<sup>11</sup>

	Number in group	Mean hearths per dwelling		Number in group	Mean hearths per dwelling
Selling groups:			Craftsmen:		
1. Dealers:			1. Wood:		
Bookseller	25	4.5	Cooper	43	4.6
Broker	18	4.6	Joiner	26	3.8
Chandler	24	4.6	Total	94	4.3
Draper	21	6.8	2. Metal:		
Grocer	18	5.4	Goldsmith	79	4.3
Haberdasher	43	5.3	Pewterer	13	4.8
Merchant	125	8.0	Smith	22	3.4
Salesman	11	3.6	Wiredrawer	19	4.8
Skinner	23	5.3	Total	194	4.2
Total <sup>(a)</sup>	381	6.4	3. Textiles:		
2. Victualiers:			Clothworker	22	4.5
Alehousekeeper	44	5.4	Hosier	17	4.8
Baker	18	5.4	Hot presser	18	4.7
Cheesemonger	10	4.4	Milliner	15	4.7
Confectioner	11	5.4	Sempster	12	4.2
Cook	18	5.8	Silkman	48	5.1
Fishmonger	23	3.9	Tailor	113	3.7
Tobacconist	26	4.8	Total	286	4.2
Victualler	71	5.2	4. Leather:		
Vintner	22	11.9	Shoemaker	58	3.2
Total	306	5.7	Total	80	3.2
3. Professions:			5. Miscellaneous:		
Apothecary	25	5.9	Jeweller	12	3.6
Barber	24	3.8	Upholsterer	18	5.3
Doctor	12	8.3	Total	95	4.6
Druggist	27	6.4	Semi-skilled:		
Rector	20	6.6	1. Builders:		
Scrivener	21	5.5	Bricklayer	21	3.6
Total	176	5.7	Carpenter	19	3.2
Semi-skilled:			Glazier	15	3.5
1. Builders:			Plasterer	18	3.9
Bricklayer	21	3.6	Total	89	3.5
Carpenter	19	3.2	2. Carriers:		
Glazier	15	3.5	Porter	34	2.3
Plasterer	18	3.9	Total	64	3.2
Total	89	3.5			

Note:

(a) Totals include all those in a group. Individual occupations listed only with 10 or more of that occupation.

<sup>11</sup> Power (1986), pp. 214–215, Table 27.

Table 4. The top 13 occupations in the City, 1666.<sup>12</sup>

merchant	125
goldsmith	79
victualler	71
shoemaker	58
silkman	48
haberdasher	45
alehousekeeper	44
cooper	43
porter	34
druggist	27
joiner	26
tobacconist	26
apothecary	25
bookseller	25

industry and its growth in the sixteenth century. He also listed 46 company-halls and 9 markets.<sup>13</sup>

The immediate impression from Figure 2 is that commercial and industrial activities were concentrated heavily within the city walls. All the company halls, except the one for cooks, were located in the centre, and all the markets, except for Smithfield meat market, were located within the walls, despite the fact that London expanded one mile in each direction, to Ratcliff in the east and Westminster in the west.<sup>14</sup>

Figure 2 indicates 64 occupational groups mentioned by Stow. It shows that such merchant groups as mercers, drapers, haberdashers and skimmers had settled in the City centre, especially in the main streets of Cheap and Watling Street. They were rare around the city, except for mercers on Ludgate and mercers and haberdashers on London Bridge. Victuallers, except for bakers who were treated separately, mostly concentrated near the market. Industrial groups settled around the city, for example, dyers by the River Thames and printers, silversmiths and carpenters near Aldersgate and Cripplegate. Figure 2 also reveals that brickmakers, tenter grounds, carpenters, founders and armourers were to be seen in the East End, as well as shipwrights and mariners in Ratcliff, and that there were many Inns of Court and lawyers in the West End. Inns were to be found along the main roads such as the Strand, Holborn, Bishopsgate, Aldgate, and in Southwark High Street.<sup>15</sup>

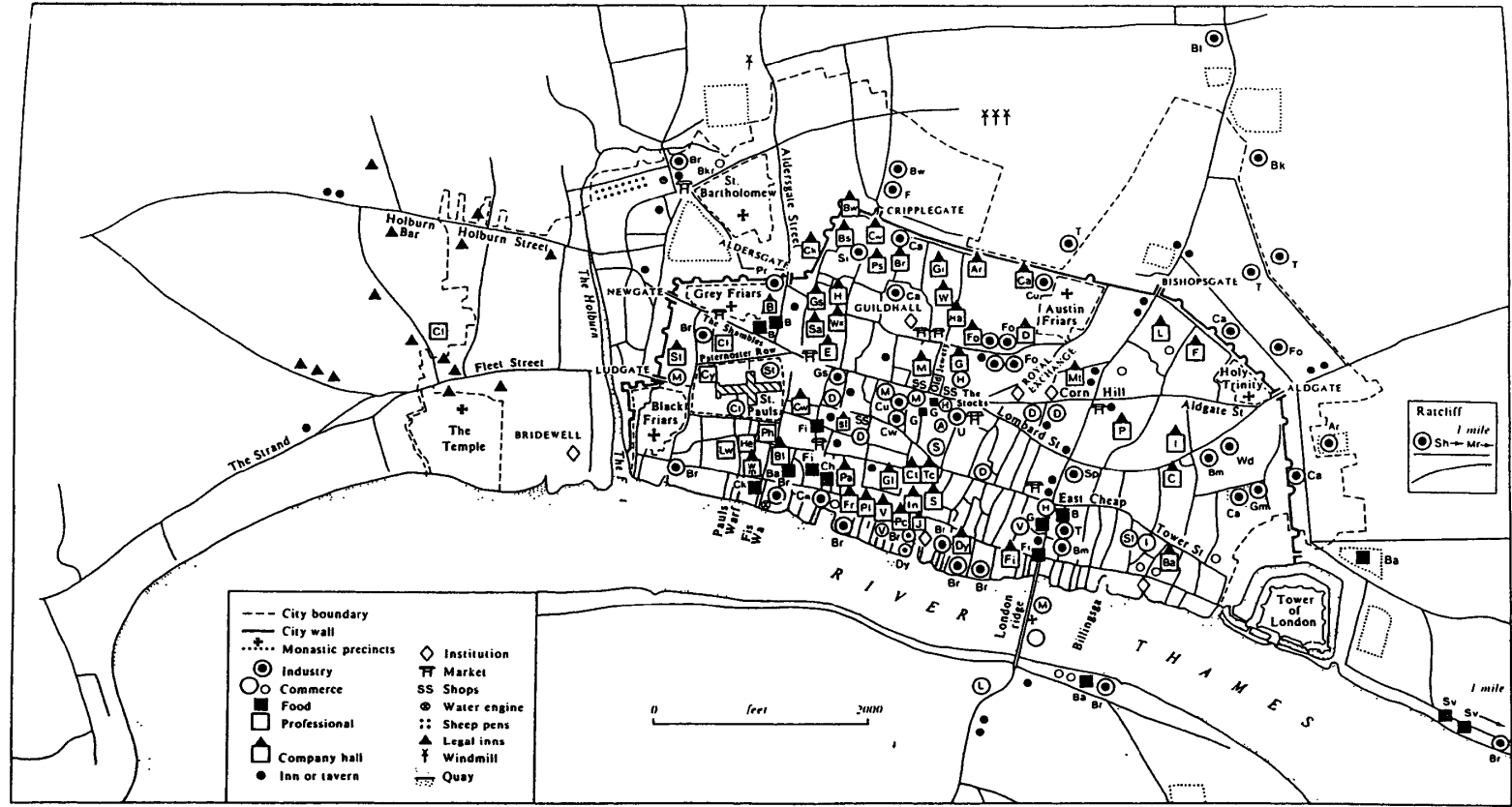
Prof. Power concludes his remarks on Stow's descriptions, as follows: 'The overall economic picture, therefore, is of a very dense concentration of commerce and industrial activity in the City within the walls, with dealers and markets monopolizing the major central streets, and craftsmen towards the periphery, and all served by a concentrated

<sup>12</sup> Produced from Table 3.

<sup>13</sup> Vance (1971); Stow (1603/1971); Power (1985), pp. 1–5, 17–18; (1986), p. 216.

<sup>14</sup> Power (1985), pp. 8, 10.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.



<b>Key to occupations</b>						
A Apothecaries	Bs Barber Surgeons	Cu Carriers	Fr Fruiterers	In Innholders	Pa Painter Stainers	Si Silversmiths
A Armourers	Bw Bowyers	Cw Cordwainers	G Grocers	J Joiners	Pc Parish Clerks	Sl Salters
B Butchers	C Clothworkers	Cy Clergy	Gi Girdlers	L Leathersellers	Ph Physicians	Sp Spurriers
Ba Bakers	Ca Carpenters	D Drapers	Gl Glaziers	Lw Lawyers	Pl Plumbers	St Stationers
Bk Brickmakers	Ci Clerks	Dy Dyers	Gm Glassmakers	M Mercers	Pr Printers	Sv Sailors' Victuallers
Bkr Brokers	Ch Cheesemongers	E Embroiderers	Gs Goldsmiths	Ma Masons	Pt Plasterers	T Tenter Stretchers
Bl Blacksmiths	Ck Cooks	F Fletchers	H Haberdashers	Mr Mariners	S Skinners	Tc Tallow Chandlers
Bm Basketmakers	Cm Corn millers	Fi Fishmongers	He Heralds	Mt Merchant Tailors	Sa Saddlers	U Upholsters
Br Brewers	Ct Cutlers	Fo Founders	I Ironmongers	P Pewterers	Sh Shipwrights	V Vintners
						W Weavers
						Wd Wire drawers
						Wm Woodmongers
						Wx Wax Chandlers

Figure 2. London commerce and industry described by Stow.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Prof. Power has made an interesting map of commerce and industry mentioned by Stow (1603/1971), Power (1985), p. 9, Figure 3.



quay system. The only significant exceptions to this concentration of economic activity are the crafts in the East End, professional groups in the West End, and inns surrounding the City'; he goes on to say, 'The flight of industry to the suburbs, if we trust Stow's evidence, is a phenomenon that had hardly got under way in the sixteenth century'.<sup>17</sup>

However, as Table 2 shows, industry accounted for 70% of all occupations outside the city walls in the later-sixteenth century, and its percentage continued to increase together with the rapid development of the suburbs in the seventeenth century. Later in that century, however, when there was a decrease of population in the City, the percentage of industry also decreased, while that of commerce increased. So it is thought that the industrial shift to the suburbs was rapidly made in the seventeenth century.

Let us now examine the occupational structure in each suburb between the end of sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century.

### III

i The occupational structure in Stepney, which was larger of the two parishes in the East End, has been clarified by Prof. Power in his analysis of the parish registers.

From Table 5, which was compiled from the burial registers, the following characteristics may be discerned for comparison with those of the City. First, the elite group, such as dealers and professions accounted for 12%, which was extremely low compared with the City (41%) and the suburbs as a whole (19%). Secondly, the manufacturing industrial group accounted for 33%; that was also lower than the figures for the City (42%) and for the suburbs as a whole (50%). Here, however, shipbuilding, which is absent from the City and the suburbs, accounted for 6%. Thirdly, carriers, especially marines, showed an extremely high percentage (35%) compared with the City and the suburbs as a whole (0%).

The characteristics are vividly shown on Table 6, which presents the top 7 occupations in the East End as found in baptismal registers; namely, the numbers of mariners was 320, which ranked first by an overwhelmingly majority. Next came the shipbuilders with 51, while no dealers or members of professions were found. Hence, Prof. Power concluded that 'Stepney demonstrates a specialization characteristic of port towns, such as Plymouth and Portsmouth'.<sup>18</sup>

ii Concerning the southern suburb of Southwark in the first half of the seventeenth century, the occupational structure in St. Saviour's parish was clarified by Dr. J. Boulton's remarkable study.

From Table 7, made in accordance with Prof. Power's classification of occupations, the following three points could be made, comparing the occupational structures (already mentioned) of the City and of the East End. First, occupations relating food, i.e., victuallers, accounted for a high percentages with 17.8%, comparing with the City

<sup>17</sup> Power (1985), p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Power (1990), p. 106.

Table 5. Occupational groups in seventeenth-century London (percentages).<sup>19</sup>

	Stepney 1610-1690	Cripplegate 1654-1693	London Extra-mural 1601-1700	London Intra-mural 1601-1700
<b>Commerce/Professional:</b>				
Dealers	2	3	2	20
Victuallers	7	9	15	10
Professions	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>
Total	<u>12</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>41</u>
<b>Crafts:</b>				
Shipbuilding	6	0	0	0
Wood	3	5	3	4
Metal	3	6	9	9
Textiles	17	17	24	21
Leather	3	9	10	7
Miscellaneous	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	<u>33</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>42</u>
Building	5	6	7	6
Agricultural	2	2	0	0
<b>Carriers:</b>				
Marine	35	1	0	0
Land	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>
Total	<u>36</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>
Miscellaneous	12	26	13	6
Total	<u>100</u> (n=3087)	<u>100</u> (n=12004)	<u>100</u> (n=13660)	<u>100</u> (n=2219)

Table 6. The top 7 occupations in the Stepney, 1606-1610.<sup>20</sup>

mariner	320
shipwright	51
tailor	36
shoemaker	36
carpenter	29
weaver	27
smith	15

(10%) and, the East End (7%). Secondly, the manufacturing industrial occupations, especially leather, accounted for higher percentages with 8.8% than the City (7%) and the East End (3%). Thirdly, transportation, especially marine, showed an extremely high percentage with 23.9%, like that of the East End (35%), in contrast with the City (0%).

<sup>19</sup> Power (1990), p. 105, Table 7.1.

<sup>20</sup> Produced from Power (1971), p. 176. I would like to thank Prof. M. J. Power for his kind permission for me to obtain the copy of his Ph. D. thesis.

Table 7. Occupational groups in St. Saviour's, Southwark, 1618–1625.<sup>21</sup>

Commerce/Professionals		
Dealers	74	4.0
Victuallers	331	17.8
Professions	77	4.1
Total	483	26.0
Crafts		
Shipbuilding (Rope and shipwright)	20	1.1
Wood	66	3.5
Metal	83	4.5
Textiles	267	14.3
Leather	163	8.8
Miscellaneous (Soap and Glass etc.)	74	4.0
Total	673	36.2
Building	46	2.5
Agriculture	28	1.5
Carriers		
Marine (bargeman, sailor, waterman)	444	23.9
Land	169	9.1
Total	613	33.0
Miscellaneous (labourer, musician, upholster)	18	1.0
Total	1860	100.0

Table 8. The top 13 occupations in St. Saviour's, 1618–1625.<sup>22</sup>

Boroughside		The Clink and Paris Garden	
shoemaker	52	waterman	420
butcher	50	weaver	46
victualler	45	tailor	41
tailor	45	brewer & brewer's servant	38
weaver	37	smith	29
brewer & brewer's servant	22	victualler	26
grocer	17	glover	23
baker	16	leatherdresser	23
glover	16	basketmaker	22
chandler	13	porter	20
smith	11	shoemaker	18
(brewer)	10	baker	15
cheesemonger	10	chandler	14
cooper	10		
joiner	10		

<sup>21</sup> Produced from Boulton (1987), p. 66, Table, 3.3, pp. 67–68, n. 25, p. 69, n. 28.

<sup>22</sup> Produced from Boulton (1987), p. 66, Table, 3.3, pp. 67–68, n. 25, p. 69, n. 28.

The characteristics abovementioned are clearly shown in Table 8, which deals with the top 12 occupations of the Boroughside and the Clink and Paris Garden Liberties in St. Saviour's parish. The Boroughside, through which the Borough High Street ran from southern England to the City, and where Southwark market was open four days in the week, was an important business and trading centre. On the other hand, the Clink and Paris Garden Liberties were leisure centres with bear-gardens and playhouses such as the Swan and the Globe Theaters, which are said to have accommodated three thousand persons each. Reflecting these facts, in the former area, half the occupations were connected with food, butchers and victuallers ranking second and third respectively. In the latter area, watermen were in great demand, carrying people from the West End and the City to the entertainment centres of the South Bank.<sup>23</sup>

Table 8 also shows that shoemakers ranked first and glovers eighth in the Boroughside, and in the Clink and Paris Garden they ranked eleventh and seventh respectively; leather-dressers also ranked seventh with the same number as glovers. These facts show that Southwark was an important centre of the leather industry.<sup>24</sup>

iii On the occupational structure of the north-suburban parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate in the latter half of the seventeenth century, the previously-mentioned Table

Table 9. The top 18 occupations in St. Giles without Cripplegate, 1654-1693.<sup>25</sup>

	Master	Servant	Total
Weaver	864	132	996
Labourer	740	1	741
Gentleman	623	18	641
Cordwainer	567	16	583
Tailor	547	19	566
Porter	476	3	479
Victualer	402	23	425
Glover	333	38	371
Carpenter	247	16	363
Soldier	224	0	224
Smith	176	16	192
Bricklayer	155	5	160
Wiredrawer	150	9	150
Joiner	139	18	157
Cooper	135	16	151
Butcher	132	14	146
Carter	130	4	134
Clothworker	110	1	111

<sup>23</sup> Boulton (1987), pp. 62, 64, 69, 70.

<sup>24</sup> Boulton (1987), p. 70.

<sup>25</sup> Produced from Forbes (1980), pp. 120-126, Table 1.

5, which Prof. Power made in accordance with his own occupational classification referring to Dr. Forbe's research, and Table 9, which deals with the top 18 occupations consisting 100 workers and more, reveals the following three points.

First, the textile industry, which were represented by 864 weavers (ranked 1st and 547 tailors (ranked 5th), showed the highest percentage of 17, except for the 'miscellaneous' and the leather industry, which were represented by 567 cordwainers (ranked 4th) and 333 glovers (ranked 8th), showing the high percentage of 9. The metal and wood crafts, represented by 176 smiths ranking 11th, 150 wire drawers ranking 13th, 139 joiners ranking 14th, and 135 coopers, were 6% and 5% respectively. Thus manufacturing occupied 38% of all trades. These facts show that the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate was a large industrial area with pivotal textile and leather industries, as suggested in the title of Dr. Forbe's paper, 'Weaver and Cordwainer'.<sup>26</sup>

Secondly, since the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate was located near the Great Northern Road, its occupational structure was different from those of Stepney in the East End and of St. Saviour's in Southwark. Land transport (represented by 476 porters ranking 6th, and 130 carters ranking 17th) occupied the majority of carriers. That accounted for 7% of all. Most of the 740 labourers (ranking 2nd), who increased the percentage of the 'miscellaneous', seem to have worked for land transport.<sup>27</sup>

Thirdly, the professions showed a high percentage, with a large number (623) of 'gentlemen' ranking 3rd. Although the dense residence of gentlemen became a main characteristic of the West End in the seventeenth century, as we see later, at an earlier period many gentlemen lived in this parish, for it was close to the Guildhall and also escaped the Great Fire of 1666.<sup>28</sup>

iv Concerning the occupational structure in the West End in the seventeenth century, there are no substantial researches similar to those in other suburbs. However, John Stow's description reveals that in the sixteenth century the mansions of the aristocrats and gentlemen were already lining up along the streets of Holborn and the Strand. Especially along the Strand, the mansions of Lord Burghley, Sir Robert Cecil, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer were to be seen. It is also observable that the professionals, mainly lawyers, concentrated around Chancery Lane.<sup>29</sup>

Prof. Stone's work also shows that the aristocrats, gentry and professionals were concentratedly living in the West End in the seventeenth century. According to an inquiry in 1632, the aristocrats living in London were 37 (25% of all), baronets and knights were 147 (17% of all) and esquires and gentlemen were 130 (less than 1%), but out of 184 ranking higher than knight, only 61 (33%) lived in the City. Prof. Stone also pointed out that after the Restoration the aristocrats and landed gentry rushed to London until

<sup>26</sup> Forbes (1980), p. 128.

<sup>27</sup> Of Course, many labourers seem to have worked for building, too. Forbes (1980), p. 127.

<sup>28</sup> J. Stow tells us that the Suburb without Cripplegate 'hath more then 1800 householders'. Stow (1603/1971), Vol. II, pp. 79-80; Power (1985), p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Power (1985), p. 12, Figure 4.

1695, when they moved to the West End, leaving no one ranking higher than esquire in the City with the exception of a few aldermen and merchant knights, and that the professionals followed them.<sup>30</sup>

It is also known from the London directories of 1677 that out of approximately 2000 London merchants and financiers, only 4% lived in the West End, meaning that the majority did not move with the aristocrats and landed gentry, but stayed in the City.<sup>31</sup>

This type of behaviour, in which the aristocrats, landed gentry and professionals (like pseud-gentry) were centralizing in the West End, can be verified in one of the parishes located in the region, St. Dunstan in the West. I hope to use and to analyze the baptismal registers of this parish in the early seventeenth century in the same manner as above. The following three points can be made clear from Tables 10 and 11.

First of all, the group of dealers, victuallers and professionals takes up a very high percentages, 42.2%. The second characteristic only seen in this region is the appearance of a butler of Lincoln's Inn in the Miscellaneous section and the high ranks of scribes

Table 10. Occupational groups in St. Dunstan's in the West.<sup>32</sup>

	(1606-1610)		(1586-1610)	
Commerce/Professionals				
Dealers	59	15.2	308	17.3
Victuallers	33	8.5	164	9.2
Professions	72	18.5	416	23.4
Total	164	42.2	888	49.9
Crafts				
Shipbuilding	0	0	0	0
Wood	3	0.8	18	1.0
Metal	38	9.8	131	7.4
Textiles	86	22.1	359	20.2
Leather	47	12.1	199	11.2
Miscellaneous (clockmaker, instrumentmaker)	7	1.8	31	1.7
Total	181	46.6	738	41.5
Building	13	3.3	63	3.5
Agriculture	0	0	2	0.1
Carriers				
Marine	10	2.6	19	1.1
Land	6	1.5	15	0.8
Total	16	4.1	15	1.9
Miscellaneous (musician, servant etc.)	15	3.9	55	3.1
Total	389	100.0	1778	100.0

<sup>30</sup> This showed the importance of living with the gentry for the professionals who wished to acquire their rank. Stone (1980), pp. 175-177, 187.

<sup>31</sup> Stone (1980), p. 187.

<sup>32</sup> Produced from Parish Register of St. Dunstons in the West, Baptisms 1558-1631, Guildhall Library, M.S. 10342. (I would like to thank Ms. Charlie Turpie, Assistant Archivist of Guildhall Library for her kind permission and arrangement for me to get the microfilm of the parish register.)

Table 11. The top 10 occupations in St. Dunstan's in the West.<sup>33</sup>

(1606–1610)		(1586–1610)	
tailor	70	tailor	290
gentleman	38	gentleman	232
(inc. esquire)	(41)	(inc. esquire)	(245)
cutler	24	shoemaker	111
shoemaker	24	cutler	88
scrivener	20	scrivener	76
cook	16	merchant tailor	73
sadler	14	sandler	58
stationer	14	stationer	55
merchant tailor	12	cook	50
goldsmith	10	grocer	40

(5th) and stationers (8th), which is related to the presence of several Inns of Court. The third characteristic is that craftsmen mark a high percentage of 46.6%, almost half of which is accounted for by the textile workers with 22.1%, made up by 70 tailors (1st) and 12 merchant tailors (9th), 82 workers in all. Their presence can be explained by the demands of the gentry and the professions in this region. The strength of the leather (12.1%) and the metal (9.8%) trades can also be observed, but it is mainly due to 24 shoemakers (4th), 14 sadlers (7th), 24 cutlers (3rd), and 10 goldsmiths (10th). Other factors may be due to the appearance of occupations not seen in other suburbs, for example, 5 clockmakers and 2 instrument-makers included in the miscellaneous crafts, also 6 musicians; and among the victuallers are to be found a number of cooks. These variations can be explained by the demands of the gentry and also of the professions.

It can be concluded that the occupational structure of the West End resembles that of the City far more closely than those of other suburbs, though it also contains contrasts among both dealers and professions.

#### CONCLUSION

From the above, it can be seen that the City and each suburb contained many kinds of occupations and therefore each area formed a rather independent economic structure in the seventeenth century. However, it can also be concluded that early modern London consisted of five economically-specialized regions, i.e., the City, based on commerce and finance; the eastern suburbs, based on shipping and shipbuilding; the southern suburbs, based on leisure and service (especially food service); the northern suburbs, based on industry and carriage by land; and the western suburbs, based on conspicuous consumption; also that each region could be regarded as an original early-modern town like those which Prof. P. Corfield classified in her *The Impact of English Towns 1700–1800*,

<sup>33</sup> Produced from Parish Register of St. Dunstons in the West, Baptisms 1558–1631, Guildhall Library, M.S. 10342.

and that they contributed to the economic development of England by their own new specialized economic functions respectively.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Industrial, spa and dockyard towns, which emerged as new towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became main types of English towns. Clark & Slack (1976), chap. 3; Corfield (1982), chaps. 2–4.



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