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Signed: *A. J. Allen*.....

A DISSERTATION ON
"AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE
POPULATION OF GLOUCESTER C.B."

PRESENTED BY

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FOR
THE DEGREE OF
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SUMMARY

In the thesis an attempt has been made to indicate the importance of social status in a provincial city. For simplicity three main status groups were recognised and their social interests and behaviour examined statistically to reveal status differences.

A questionnaire was completed in 1962 by a random sample of about 4% of the city's population and this sought information on age-groups, occupations, housing, education, church going and the use of leisure.

While the coming of the Welfare State has narrowed the gap in monetary terms between the three social classes recognised, the differing emphasis these groups placed on the aspects of living analysed were recognised as status characteristics of these groups.

Despite being a diocesan centre, ecclesiastical power in Gloucester today was found to exert little or no influence on the life of the average citizen.

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CHAPTER I

Scope and Objectives of the Survey

The survey is a study of an urban community in the S. W. Midlands. Gloucester's earlier position as a fortress town and its central position within a relatively rich agricultural county materially aided its later growth as a county town. Although Gloucester has had its abbey for many centuries it officially became a cathedral city only in the time of Henry VIII. Despite being near two minor coalfields and one iron ore producing region the Industrial Revolution made no great impact on Gloucester apart from slightly stimulating the metal working trades and it was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that Gloucester really started to grow as a commercial and industrial city.

Although Gloucester is a diocesan centre, it is really a county town with a cathedral and the latter has little influence on the life of the average citizen to-day.

Earlier economic growth was dependent on the agricultural hinterland but from the end of the First World War, the growth of the engineering industries with non-local materials and distant markets saw a change in the relative importance of the different occupations within the city. This industrialization continued strongly - especially in the aircraft and transport industries - but changing needs for national defence purposes and changing patterns in transport,

both at home and overseas during the last few years, has seriously decreased their former pre-eminence. This decline has caused serious concern in the city and efforts are being made to attract other industries to a city already possessing a reserve of labour as well as factory sites.

The purpose of the survey was to study how the population of Gloucester lived and to note the differing emphasis which the main social classes, as groups, placed on the various aspects of living in society. The statistical information in the following chapters will therefore be based on three major social groups. The main criterion on which divisions into classes was based was occupation, as this frequently not only reflected the educational background but also largely controlled the standard of living. Absolute lines of demarcation between the status groups was not always possible as objectively there were different grades in many occupations and subjectively a person's judgement of status depends on his own position in the social structure.

For simplicity in the survey an alphabetic notation was employed with Class A = Upper Class

Class B = Middle Class

Class C = Working or Lower Class.

As in most provincial towns of the size of Gloucester the local Upper Class would equate only with the Upper Middle or Middle Classes on a national basis. Most of the people

in Class B were those with professional qualifications such as schoolmasters, librarians, administrative assistants, almoners, etc., but including medical practitioners and lawyers.

While answers to questionnaires indicated the existence of more than three groups, the time available for the survey and the size of the sample - nearly five hundred households - controlled its division into three major groups: other divisions were regarded as minor sub-groups. A list of the occupations and status groups to which householders were assigned is given in Appendix I and it is noteworthy that some occupations like teachers and engineers can appear in two groups.

When the major groups were determined, the details from the survey were analysed statistically in terms of the three major groups, with regard to education, housing and leisure, time, etc.

In devising the questionnaire on families one of the factors controlling its form and length was firstly the time available for the writer to complete it in the presence of the family being questioned. The second factor was clearly the size of the sample - nearly 4% of the city's population - as the interviewing was done without assistance. Care was taken that the random sample was distributed throughout the city and this distribution is shown in Fig 1.

The proportions of the three status groups in the

sample (A = 4.2%, B = 18%, C = 77.8%) corresponds very closely to their relative size in the urban community and it was only in Class A that a slight divergence was made from a purely random selection. This was done in order that a sufficient number in this class could be obtained for statistical analysis of the group.

Apart from the size of the sample the other factor which largely controlled the survey was the amount of detail embodied in the questionnaire. A more comprehensive questionnaire would have resulted in a smaller sample and probably householders in Gloucester would have proved less co-operative if more details were required from them.

Much the greater part of the statistical analysis in the succeeding chapters was based on information from the sample but on specific subjects especially for "background knowledge" official services had to be approached: this was essential on education, church -going and housing.

Officially the title and status of Gloucester is "The city and county of Gloucester" and the thesis is concerned with the people living within its boundaries whether near the city centre or in the newer housing estates on the fringe. While some authorities might wish to distinguish between the citizens living in the city centre from those living in housing estates on the fringe, it must be remembered that only relatively recently were many of the latter rehoused in their present locations, from less salubrious areas in the older parts of the city.

CHAPTER 2

Site position and growth of Gloucester

The city of Gloucester is now practically entirely sited on the lowland plain on the east bank of the River Severn. The large spatial increase in the 19th and 20th centuries was limited to the east, north and south as the lowlying land to the west was liable to flooding.

An early British name attributed to Gloucester was "CAERGLOW" = "FAIR CITY" but on etymological grounds some doubt exists.¹ It is probable that the site was of some importance prior to the advent of the Romans as it is approached by a low ridge from the Cotswold Hills, which afforded a relatively dry track above the lowlying swamp land. The rising ground from the west bank of the west channel of the river, provided from very early times a trackway from South Wales and the Forest of Dean. It is suggested that this route enabled the Dobuni of the Cotswolds to trade their wool and grain for the iron of the Forest of Dean.²

With the coming of the Romans the site chosen for Glevum was the low hill whose greatest height at the present day, at the Cross, is 66 ft. O.D.: with Roman remains generally 8-16 feet below present day levels its altitude at that time was probably about 50 feet O.D.³.

1. History and Antiquity of Gloucester. Thomas Rudge 1811
2. Trans. B.G.A.S. Vol. 55 1933 Glevum. L.E.W.O. Fullbrook-
Leggatt p.56
3. " " " " " " " " " "

Examination of the position of Glevum suggests it was not intended by the Romans to be merely a fort as Robinswood Hill would have been much better. However the site was naturally protected - to the north by the then gorge of the Twyver brook and the broad marshes of Longford, to the west by the Severn, to the east by marshes intersected by small brooks with forest behind, and to the south by the cemetery brook.¹

Glevum thus was sited in Roman times at the lowest ford on the Severn where the valley narrowed between the hill country of the Cotswolds and the Forest of Dean, approaching from either side. Glevum itself was sited on the Lias and riverine deposits in a vale composed mainly of Triassic and Liassic rocks.² The Lower Lias rocks extend over all the land east of the river extending to the lower slopes of the Cotswolds where it is succeeded by Middle and Upper Lias.

With this geological heritage the soil in Roman times, as seen from excavations was of sand or clay. Beyond the supposed line of walls of Glevum the heavy blue Lias predominates on the surface except to the north where sand and gravels are found.

1. Gloucester. F. T. Howard. Geog. Teacher 1923, p.9.

2. Proc. Geol. Association Vol. XLV. A. C. Trueman p.131.

Much doubt and some controversy has arisen concerning pre-Roman settlement at Gloucester. With the finding of pottery (terra sigillata) dated C 45-96 AD¹, it has been assumed that Glevum was established during this period. The earliest definite knowledge indicates it was occupied during the reign of the Emperor Nerva (AD 96-98) probably with time expired legionary soldiers from the Second Legion at Caerleon. During this period Glevum was one of the four Coloniae in Roman Britain and as was to be expected was sited on the side of the river away from the enemy.

Glevum was thus sited close to the crossing point of the Severn and at the junction of the Iter XIII with a road running from the north to Abone. It was inevitable that it would grow as a small entrepot with iron and building stone from the Forest of Dean, wool and grain from the Cotswolds, and clay for pottery from the claypits along the banks of the Severn, as the main commodities handled.

Much evidence has been found to indicate the importance of Glevum in Roman times including coins, utensils, pottery, tessellated pavements and streets. Four main streets were found, generally seven to eight feet below ground level and four to five feet wide, resting on timber piles.²

1. Trans. B.G.A.S. 1933 Vol. 55 L.E.W.O. Fullbrook-Leggatt p.59.

2. History of Gloucester T.D. Fosbrooke London 1819 p.27.

The Roman road went along Northgate St. and it is claimed other modern streets follow the Roman pattern. As yet no Roman gateway had been found and it is thought that the Roman wall built along a contour enclosed about 46 acres.¹ Later this west wall of Cotswold Oolite was probably destroyed to make room for the abbey and the medieval extension of the city towards the Severn. Remains of large houses with tessellated pavements, destroyed later by fire, reflect its former importance, and it is thought that the site of the present Guildhall and Cross are probably those of the Praetorium and Forum. In 1829 two large stones were excavated at the Cross each weighing a ton and from their dimensions and the iron hook embedded in one it was thought that they were part of a Roman gateway.²

Similarly, when excavating to complete the Hereford Canal, large stones were found laid upon transverse beams and sound oak beams at some considerable depth below the surface. This was assumed to be the initial causeway.³ During excavations near the Severn Quay (1820-1834) large stones were again found nearly 20 feet below the present surface and from the presence of Roman coins at this level it was assumed to be the Roman Quay.⁴ Wooden piles resting

1. Trans. B.G.A.S. 1933 Vol. 55 L.E.W.O. Fullbrook-Leggatt p.66.
2. History of Gloucester G. W. Counsel London 1829 p.203
3. " " " T. D. Fosbrooke London 1819 p.12
4. Gentleman's Magazine 1834 N.S.XLI P.487

on stones of Forest of Dean origin were found about 150 feet away from the present river. Evidence from the excavations tend to suggest that Roman settlement was limited on the west side of the Cross to about 200 feet, in that no Samian ware has been found beyond that distance.¹ From the numerous remains of coins, steel yards, spears, coffins, skeletons and urns found at Kingsholm it is suggested that the civil population lived here and that the ford from here to Maisemore was the leading ford on the Severn in Roman times and of greater importance than the sea way.²

The spatial extent of the main part of Glevum is shown on Fig. 3 and the same map reveals the compact square shaped nature of its boundary walls. Its northern boundary extended from the eastern part of the present day site of the cathedral, due east to St. Aldate St: from here the eastern boundary proceeded approximately southward through King St. and Queen St. to the eastern end of Parliament St. From here the southern boundary extended westwards a little beyond Commercial Road from whence in a northerly direction the western boundary proceeded a little west of Berkeley St. to the cathedral site.

The relative abundance of coins of the early emperors and few of the later ones suggest Glevum may have been deserted by the Romans after the first century.

1. Trans. B.G.A.S. 1876 Vol.1., p.157 H. Arkell
2. Geog. Teacher 1923 p.14 F. T. Howard

The Britons who later occupied the site of Glevum were in turn defeated by the Saxons in 577 A.D. at the battle of Dyrham. The Saxons retained the Roman name.. In 681 A.D. the name became Gleave Ceasdre, in Domesday Glouuecestre and later Glocetre.¹.

With the gradual growth of mixed trading by horse and boat, as carried on by the Danes, Gloucester grew in importance but it suffered severe setbacks by being ravaged by the Danes, e.g., for the third time in 978 A.D.

The Norman kings at a later date also thought highly of Gloucester and William I held court there in 1084 and 1085 A.D. At the time of the Domesday Survey Gloucester was regarded as a city with 255 houses and a population of about 2500 people.² Partly to overawe the town a Norman castle was built on the river bank just outside the town: such a site made retreat by water possible in time of need and also allowed control of water borne trade at other times. No mound was constructed but the same defensive purpose was achieved by cutting a channel to form an island.

In the years 1087, 1094, 1101 and 1121 A.D. serious damage was done to the town - practically entirely built of timber - by fire.

During the next century Gloucester overcame these vicissitudes and in 1169 A.D. Ailwin the Mercer and others

1. Gloucester, Geog Teacher 1923 F.T. Howard p.10.

2. Gloucesteriana J. J. Powell 1910 p.5.

set up a community in the burgh, and soon afterwards a Guildhall was established. In 1198 A.D. the Burgesses purchased "leave to buy and sell in their Guildhall" and paid 300 lampreys for the King's protection.¹

In 1200 A.D. King John in the first year of his reign made Gloucester a Borough town to be governed by two bailiffs elected by their own Burgesses and "grants them a gild and divers liberties the same as had been granted to Winchester."²

Until the thirteenth century Gloucestershire was the main iron manufacturing centre in the country and large demands were made by the Crown for supplies for the foreign wars. This increased Gloucester's commercial importance and vast quantities of horse shoe nails, horse shoes, axes, arrowheads were made there. The decay of the industry came with the development of other ironfields but industrial invention ensured certain more specialised industries would continue: thus bell casting was prosperous from the Middle Ages to the late nineteenth century.³

During the same period the commercial prosperity of Gloucester was further increased by the importance of the wool trade. In 1264 A.D. wool was brought into the city but only coarse cloth was manufactured in England, the

1. City of Gloucester G. S. Blakeway 1924 Gloucester p.66
2. Ancient & Present State of Gloucestershire Sir R. Atkyns p.24
3. Corporation Rents include a grant (1270 A.D.) of land from Hugh the bell-founder, burgess of Gloucester to The Prior and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew.

finer cloth being imported from Flanders. In the reign of Henry II cloth was being manufactured in the neighbourhood of Fullbrook between the north and east gates. The textile industry continued to be of considerable importance during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but declined somewhat in the following century despite the addition of silk manufacturing. Huguenots and Flemish settlers in Tudor times brought new methods of weaving and secret processes of dyeing but they settled near the limestone scarp from Stroud to Winchcombe. Here, nearer to local supplies of Fuller's earth, cleaner water, more forceful streams which were exempted from restrictive legislation, they were able to compete on more favourable terms with Gloucester.

Edward I in 1302 A.D. granted Gloucester a seven day fair lasting from the eve of the day of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist until St. Peter's Eve and this became the most important annual event of the town attracting many people from the surrounding countryside.

Another event which focussed attention on the town was the interment of the body of Edward II in the Abbey Church in 1327 A.D. This resulted in Gloucester becoming a centre for pilgrimages and the New Inn in Northgate St. was built as a hostel for pilgrims visiting the Abbey.

Except at times of fairs the chief selling places were the guildhall, bothall, the quay shops and the market in Bareland. In 1455 A.D. most streets had a variety of shops and trades, with Bridge St. (lower Westgate St.)

being the main business street and Southgate St. next in importance. The tailors, shoemakers, weavers and cutlers were amongst the most numerous followed by skimmers, chandlers and brewers in roughly equal numbers.

The variety of goods bought and sold was considerable and records of dues that burgesses could impose in goods brought into the town for sale reveal their heterogeneity. These dues which were empowered by royal grants were for the repair of the paving of the town and the repair of the town walls and were levied on "salted meat, sturgeon, herring --- butter, cheese --- woollen and worsted goods, Irish and Galway cloth, hides, bark, wood --- wool, wine --- copperas, chalk, lead, brass, copper, iron, sea coal (as distinct from charcoal) querns for grinding corn, nails of all sorts, horse shoes, skins of deer, hare, rabbit, squirrel and marten."¹

From the twelfth to the sixteenth century with the masses of the people mainly uneducated, ecclesiastical power was at its zenith but slowly it waned. The inhabitants of Gloucester as of other towns developed a corporate spirit both in local government and in craft guilds, and with this came a desire for more power. Thus cities sought privileges from the Crown and craftsmen facilities from the civic authorities. With the coronation of a new king civic authorities not only made application to renew

1. Medieval Gloucester B.G.A.S. Vol. 67 L. Fullbrook-Leggatt p.271

existing charters but also sought further privileges extending them.

During this period many disagreements existed between the inhabitants of the town and inhabitants of the religious houses in that most of the property was owned by the religious houses or the King. These differences were eventually settled in 1513 A.D. when the abbot was granted "all the rights of a burgess of Gloucester as well within the liberties as without."¹

During this period several charters were granted to the town including one from Richard III which permitted it to have a mayor and twelve aldermen and another which made it a county of which the bailiffs were the sheriffs.

It is probable about 1500 A.D. that the first group of bye laws were established by Common Council. These may have been "a modification of existing laws, or based on the institution of other boroughs or drawn up to meet the local requirements of the time."²

An interesting sidelight on the main occupations of Gloucester at this time is revealed in the establishment of twelve companies for the better regulation of trade, their masters having to attend on the mayor on public occasions.³ These guilds were the mercers, weavers, tanners, butchers, bakers, smiths, coopers and joiners, shoemakers,

1. Medieval Gloucester B.G.A.S. Vol. 67 L. Fullbrook-Leggatt p.245
2. B.G.A.S. Medieval Gloucester L. Fullbrook-Leggatt p.245
3. Ancient & Present State of Gloucestershire Sir R. Atkyns p.61

metal men, tailors, barbers and glovers.

During Henry VIII's reign Leland describes Gloucester -
"The town of Gloucester is ancient, well builded of Tymbre,
and large and strongly defended by walls, where it is not
well fortified with the deep stream of Severne water: in
the wall be four gates East, West, North and South and such
are the names but that the East gate is called Aillisgate.

The ancient castle standeth on the town by Severne
left ripe whither picardes and small shippes come in almost
by the castle ----- There be suburbes without the east,
north and south gates. The bridge only with the Causey
lyeth at the Westgate." 1.

From the description it is at once apparent that
Gloucester was still a relatively small town but an
important one in an essentially rural agricultural area.

By 1540 under the same monarch the dissolution of the
Monastic foundations was well advanced and large sums
derived from the sequestrations that took place in
Gloucestershire were partly expended on the episcopal sees
of Gloucester and Bristol. Henry VIII in 1541 A.D. created
the bishopric of Gloucester, handed the cathedral to the
Dean and Chapter and by a particular clause in the bishop's
charter the town was created a city - "Foundation of the
bishopric of Gloucester which creates Gloucester city
alter the title of the County to that of The County of the
City of Gloucester and confers upon the city all the

1. Itinerary of England J. Leland Parts 4 & 5, Bell London,
p .57

liberties, privileges it hitherto enjoyed by the town of Gloucester."¹ This clearly indicates that Gloucester as an ecclesiastical centre was not as important as certain other towns during the Middle Ages.

An important year for the city's economic growth was 1626 A.D. when John Tylsley entered into articles of agreement with the mayor and burgesses whereby they agreed to set up the trade of pin making in the city. To assist with the trade and to keep the poor at work he was furnished with thirty boys to be exercised in the trade. A century later the pin trade with London alone was worth £20,000 per annum and in 1802 A.D. the wirepin factories employed 1,500 people.²

During the Civil War the strategic position of Gloucester was appreciated by both sides so that a siege of the city was inevitable. If the social differences between the opposing sides, according to Atkyns was correct - "the gentlemen were loyal to the King, and farmers, tradesmen and the meaner sort were generally against him ----"³ it was equally inevitable that Gloucester would be on the side of Parliament. In order to withstand the Royalist forces and to improve their defences during the siege the inhabitants of Gloucester repaired the city walls and razed 241 houses outside the walls to the ground. Charles II

1. Gloucestershire Sir R. Atkyns 1768 p.23
2. City of Gloucester C. S. Blakeway 1924 p.68
3. Gloucestershire Sir R. Atkyns p.46

later in 1662 A.D. as a punishment to the city for aiding the forces of Parliament ordered its citizens to raze the city's walls.

A comparison of Speede's map of Gloucester dated 1610 A.D. with an earlier one of the town during the Middle Ages reveals very little change. The greater part of the town still remains within the walls but Speede's map₁ reveals greater detail of the housing development without the walls. This is particularly true if the ribbon development along the north-east of the town between the North gate and Lower North gate and yet still further north-east on the road to London is taken into account. Similarly it was restricted by the Little Severn except along lower Westgate St. between the Foreign Bridge and Westgate Bridge. Although no serious physical barrier prevented development on the south side building was limited to both sides of the road leading from the South Gate to Bristol. The eastern side of the town again shows a close correlation with medieval Gloucester,₂ with building occurring near the East Gate and to a lesser extent outside the postern gate - where St. Aldate's Street sited west-east coincides with the town wall. The streets are still narrow and near the Cross, Westgate St. is further narrowed by the presence of the two churches - Holy Trinity and St. Mary. The area in the south-east corner of the town known as the Friar's Orchard on the map of Medieval Gloucester is similarly represented

1. See Fig. 5

2. See Fig. 4

on Speedé's map and adjacent to this orchard on Speede's map, a windmill is indicative of one occupation.

The improvement in the buildings of any ancient town depended on the tenure and wealth and trade of its inhabitants and in Gloucester leasehold tenure did not encourage building: the greater part of the property was either owned by the Bishop, Dean and Chapter, or the Corporation, or on lease for years. Despite this drawback some improvements were made in the internal appearance of houses letting in more air and making travelling easier. A large Cross was sited at the junction of the four main streets and remained there until 1749 A.D. Earlier Holy Trinity Church which had stood in the middle of Westgate St. near Upper College Court was removed in 1698 A.D. and when other buildings nearby were cleared the street was laid open.

About a third of a mile from the centre of the city saline springs were discovered accidentally whilst sinking a well.¹ In this part of Gloucester - to be known as the Spa - impressive Regency houses were built for visitors so that they might enjoy hot or cold saline baths whilst staying in the city. This area, which includes the southern end of Brunswick Rd. - where the Spa building still exists - and Spa Road, has terraces of houses similar to those in the more successful nearby spa town of Cheltenham.

1. Gloucestershire Sir R. Atkyns p.46

The earlier decline of Gloucester as a port was halted by the construction of the Berkeley Canal started in 1794 A.D. and completed in 1827 A.D. This canal, without locks, saved over 20 miles of difficult navigation on the Severn. Further improvements later included the provision of tidal basins at Gloucester and Sharpness and also a floating dock at Sharpness. In order to extend the trade between the city and the county of Hereford, the Hereford and Gloucester canal was begun in 1792 A.D. but by 1811 A.D. only 17 miles of the 30 miles had been constructed and in 1880 A.D. it had ceased to operate. The Gloucester and Berkeley canal materially aided the growth and development of the timber trade especially with Scandinavian countries. Cabinet making and constructional manufactures generally, were stimulated as a result.

Gloucester's position as a regional and market centre was further improved with the coming of the railways. Thus in 1835 the building of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Tramroad was commenced and in 1839 A.D. an Act was passed permitting the extension of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Railway to Cheltenham via Standish and Gloucester¹. In 1840 A.D. the Birmingham and Gloucester Railway was opened between Cheltenham and Bromsgrove and later that year was connected to the two termini.² As a result of the increasing prosperity of the Bristol and Gloucestershire

1. British Railway History C.H. Ellis London 1954 P

2. Turnpike to Iron Road H. Rogers London 1961 P

Tramroad, the Bristol and Gloucester Railway Company was formed and in 1844 reached Gloucester.

With the coming of the railways came economic growth and urban expansion. In 1860 the Gloucester Railway Carriage and Wagon Company was formed with the primary object of manufacturing coal wagons. However with the expansion of railways at home and abroad this company was soon manufacturing rolling stock of all types for use in Britain and overseas. From the middle to the end of the century several important firms were established, comprising the City Flour Mills in 1850, a hydraulic engineering firm in 1866, a coachbuilding firm in 1867, a milling engineering firm in 1868, the Gloucester Joinery Company and an agricultural implements firm in 1870, and the Hatherley Woodworking Company in 1885. One of the more noted firms - the Moreland Match Co. - saw its business change from matchboxes being made at home by employees to the present day mass production methods.

During this period many smaller industries flourished meeting the needs of local and rural inhabitants: these ranged from Saddle and Harness making for farmers to the provision of canvas, rope and wire for the ships using the canals and docks.

The establishment of the major firms was reflected in the development of different parts of the city. Thus the completion of the ship canal led to the construction of the docks and industries connected with the import and use

of timber such as the Gloucester Wagon Works and Morelands Match Co. were sited nearby. Similarly railway development stimulated the development of the east side of the city.

From the beginning of the twentieth century to the outbreak of the Second World War increasing diversification of industry took place but the main trend was always engineering. During the inter-war years there was a marked tendency for industry to leave congested industrial areas for more pleasant environments. This change was facilitated by development in long distance transmission of electric power to increased facilities of road transport and the increasing desire of employers and employees to work in congenial surroundings. Several precision engineering firms have thus become established in Gloucester and their products range from aircraft to air conditioning equipment for ships and railway coaches and to the industrial applications of hydraulic and pneumatic systems.

The initiation and growth of these industries are reflected in the total employment figures viz. 1929 = 16,000 persons, 1938 = 27,000, 1939 = 31,000 and mid 1944 = 42,000. Thus for every hundred persons employed in 1929, 250 persons were employed in mid 1944. The pre-war unemployment figure of 850 in every 10,000 was reduced to 35 by the end of the war.

During the last few years however the successful development of rocket missiles and the reduction in demand

for military aircraft has caused a decline in the aircraft industry: this coupled with the shrinking of railway systems at home and abroad has caused much anxiety over employment prospects in the city only partly allayed with the arrival of new firms like British Nylon Spinners etc.

During the last century Gloucester has not only grown industrially but has increased in importance as a commercial and administrative centre. Whereas in general, improvements in transport both by road and rail emphasised its focal character locally, the construction of the Severn tunnel bridge took away much of its South Wales trade and the Severn bridge at Sharpness decreased its interest in the coal trade between the Forest of Dean and the south west.

Increasing road transport services have outgrown the former bus stations and termini so that a more up to date bus station has been constructed on the site of a former cattle market near a main railway station.¹

Whereas the construction of the new Severn bridge will affect Gloucester adversely, its nodal position with regard to transport services in general, had made it an ideal distribution centre for the agricultural products of the surrounding agricultural region. This has led to the recent construction of a fine modern cattle market on the western edge of the city adjacent to a ring-road and railway.² In planning its layout particular attention was paid to the movement of vehicles bringing in and removing produce and livestock.

1. See photographs

2. See photographs

Contemporaneous with the growth of industry in Gloucester was its increasing importance as an administrative and commercial centre. This is revealed not merely by the Guildhall and Shire Hall being sited in the city, but by 5,161 persons being employed in national and governmental services and 4,880 persons in local government services in 1948. Similarly in 1947 its commercial undertakings provided employment for over 5,000 persons in the distribution trades and hotels and the catering industry employed a further 3,000.

With the development of various industries in and around the city the resultant population growth created a vigorous demand for houses and this in turn led to the spatial expansion of the city to north, east and south. Fig. 6 shows the areal expansion from the time of Speede until the end of the nineteenth century and it was not very great relative to its expansion in the succeeding half century. The expansion during the last century until 1875 was sporadic and was the resultant of three separate types of development. As might be expected building took place along the roads converging on the city, e.g., Worcester St., London Road and Barton St. While this was going on to the north and east, residential building was taking place near the Park with Regency type houses being constructed in Spa Rd. and Brunswick Rd. leading to the Spa. The third major building development occurred in the part of Gloucester now east of the railway track and known now as Tredworth.

Fig. 6 shows that the main building involved the area enclosed between Barton St. and Brook St. and houses varied in size from large three storeyed houses of Midland Road to small terraced houses as seen in Moreton St. and Ducie St.

From 1875 until the outbreak of the First World War expansion to the north was limited to the area immediately south of Estcourt Rd. and included a large part of the Kingsholm district. To the east the greater part of Tredworth was built with streets filling in the spaces left by previous builders. Thus streets of houses with small gardens in front and to the rear, like Knowles Rd. and Hanman Rd. developed as residential areas comparing favourably with the earlier streets of meaner houses and with no front gardens nearer the centre of the city. On the south side development was again of two types the long terraces of smaller houses such as are now seen in New St. and Alma Place or similar terraces with rather better houses with tiny gardens and low windows in the front as exemplified by St. Paul's Road and Granville St. Here again development was largely along the existing main roads - the Stroud Rd. to the south-west and the more important Bristol Rd. to the south: this latter road flanked on its west with industrial undertakings including match making and the Gloucester Wagon Works soon had a dozen streets all abutting on to it from Phillip St. in the north to Tudor St.

in the south.

The end of the First World War saw a different pattern emerge with the development for the first time of Council House estates in addition to those built by private enterprise. Slum clearance by the Corporation not only entitled it to demolish some of the poorest houses in the city but enabled the former tenants to live in larger better equipped houses on the fringe of the city - the areas formerly only available to those with means. Council estates were built at Coney Hill, along Finlay Road, around the Oval and Dean's Way. In this inter-war period private building again helped by erecting houses in vacant lots, for example near the Oval, but mainly on the periphery of the city. Thus to the north of the city - the residential area - was extended to include Estcourt Rd, and both sides of the Cheltenham and Barnwood Roads were developed. In the south development was limited to a mere half dozen streets at Tuffley.

The end of the Second World War left Gloucester like many comparable cities with a much larger population many needing houses. As before this problem was largely solved by both public and private building. The public building took place mainly in the south at Podsmead, Tuffley and Matson, in the east near Barnwood Road and in the north on the east side of Elmbridge Rd. and Cheltenham Rd. Private development limited mainly to Tuffley in the south spread mainly to the north in the Longlevens area

and merely formed a natural extension of the inter-war residential development. This urban sprawl has necessitated the extension of its boundaries and this is clearly shown in Fig. 6.

Gloucestershire is predominantly an agricultural county with few towns of any size apart from Gloucester and Cheltenham. Gloucester as the administrative centre for the county, was clearly of great relative importance and during the succeeding census years of 1921, 1931 and 1951, its population as a percentage of the total population of the administrative county of Gloucestershire, including county and municipal boroughs, was 6.7%, 7.1% and 7.1% respectively. Despite an increase in population of over eleven thousand (from 55,886 to 67,280) during the period 1931-1951 its percentage of the total county population remained steady.

In relation to other urban centres in the county, Gloucester remains the largest in population being slightly larger than its nearby rival of Cheltenham: it does not however have the overall dominance such as some county towns have. In comparison with the smaller towns the city's position in providing urban services is most marked. Its sphere of influence extends to include most of the Forest of Dean, Ross, part of Herefordshire, Newent and Ledbury in the west and north, to Painswick, Tetbury and Berkeley in the east and south. While most towns provide the normal requirements of the population such as food,

clothes, etc., and services such as education, medicine and recreation, Gloucester as the regional centre is able to provide the more specialised forms of such needs and services.

Table 1

Comparative Distribution of Urban Services in Gloucestershire

<u>Trade</u>	<u>Number of shops in</u>					
	<u>Glos.</u>	<u>Chelt- enham</u>	<u>Cinder- ford</u>	<u>Durs- ley</u>	<u>Lydney</u>	<u>Stroud</u>
Bakers & Pastry Cooks	49	35	5	4	4	14
Boot & Shoe Dealer	31	15	4	5	3	8
Butchers	71	62	17	6	6	23
Chemists	22	29	4	3	2	8
Corn & Seed Stores	23	12	1	2	1	6
Fishmongers (Wet & Dry)	40	29	3	3	3	9
Fruiterer & Greengrocers	67	104	19	6	8	26
Furniture Stores	20	25	7	2	2	10
Grocers & Provision Dealer	97	134	47	12	18	[#] 95
Jewellers	17	21	4	2	2	4
Men's Wear (tailors etc.)	38	55	7	3	4	18
Photographers etc.	26	30	3	5	2	7
Restaurants & cafes	36	53	3	3	2	6
Drapery stores etc.	27	25	4	5	4	12

[#] including small general shops

With regard to the provision of professional services Gloucester has only one serious rival and that is Cheltenham as seen from Table 2.

Table II

Comparative Distribution of Professional Occupations

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Gloucester</u>	<u>Cheltenham</u>	<u>Cinderford</u>	<u>Dursley</u>	<u>Lydney</u>	<u>Stroud</u>
Accountants (Chartered)						
Members & firms in practice	7	13	1	2	1	5
Members not in practice	36	28	1	3	2	11
Chartered surveyors, auctioneers, land & estate agents.	52	47		4	4	9
No. of architects on R.I.B.A. list	31	46		2		15
No. of barristers & solicitors	55	65	6	10	7	21
No. of dentists	30	45	1	5	5	10
No. of doctors	74	104	2	5	5	24
No. of ministers of religion	35	39	7	5	5	12
No. of veterinary surgeons	6	8	0	0	2	3

In the above whilst allowances must be made for the greater number of professional people consequent on the greater need of a city with a much larger total population than in the smaller towns, it must be remembered that the better qualified e.g., hospital specialists, solicitors and barristers are in general found practising in Gloucester or Cheltenham.

Thus Gloucester has developed from being a centre for its surrounding agricultural areas to being a town noted

for metal working and precision engineering. However its central position materially helped in its growth as an administrative and economic centre and in 1948 this was reflected in one quarter of its insured population being engaged in professional services. For over 400 years it has been a diocesan centre, with its cathedral serving as a centre of religious authority. The power of the Bishop in urban matters is now nominal and to all extents and purposes Gloucester is a city with a cathedral rather than a "cathedral city."

CHAPTER 3.

Demography

The main purpose of this chapter will be to provide a brief historical and demographic background to the present population of Gloucester. Thus attempts will be made to trace the geographical origins of the people, their earlier distribution within the city's urban parishes and the marriage rate and family size. Not only will those phenomena be discussed with regard to the population of the city as a whole but more particularly in relation to the status groups which forms the basis of analysis throughout this thesis.

Historically no accurate account is readily available of the number of people who lived in Gloucester prior to the Norman Conquest, but at the time of William I the town with 2,500 persons was a place of some consequence collecting fines, tollages and fee farm rents.¹ By 1562 the town with 823 households had increased its population to about 4,000 inhabitants and during the succeeding one hundred and fifty years only increased to 1,003 families or 4,990 persons.² From a population of 5,585 persons composed of 1,335 households in 1743, the town grew in size to 7,625 persons in 1801, being approximately 2,000 families and occupying 1,566 houses.³ From 1455 until

1. History & Antiquity of Gloucester. F. Rudge Gloucester 1811
 2. " " " " " " " " p.149
 3. " " " " " " " " p.151
 3. " " " " " " " " p.151

1780 A.D. the most densely populated parts including the main streets were within Bell Lane, Longsmith St., Berkeley St., St. John's Lane and Oxboode Lane: beyond these streets were gardens and open spaces₁. The medieval streets did not have the formal and regular lines of modern streets.

In 1951 Gloucester had a population of 67,280 (32,855 males and 34,425 females) and the growth of the city's population is clearly revealed from the following statistics extracted from the various Census Reports.

Table I

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1801	7579		
1811	8280	701	9.2%
1821	9738	1458	17.6%
1831	11933	2195	22.4%
1841	14152	2219	18.7%
1851	17500	3348	23.2%
1861	16820	-680	-3.9%
1871	18341	1521	9.2%
1881	36441	19100	98.5%
1891	39500	3059	8.5%
1901	47955	8455	21.4%
1911	50035	2080	4.1%
1921	51330	1295	2.5%
1931	52937	1607	3.1%
1941	64950	12013	23.0%
(M.O.H. est.)			
1951	67280	2330	3.4%
1961	70000	2720	4.0%

The statistics reveal a progressive and continuous growth, and in only one of the decennial periods 1851-61 was there a smaller population at the end of the period than at the beginning. Most of the larger percentage

1. B.G.A.S. 1945 Vol.66 p. Medieval Gloucester
L.E.W.O. Fullbrook Leggatt

decennial increases occurred during 1801-1841₁, the period which saw the completion of the Gloucester to Sharpness canal - and which resulted in the construction of the docks, large warehouses, and the development of the Bristol road area. The next ten years saw the construction of the L.M.S. railway from Birmingham to Gloucester in 1840 and its extension to Bristol later: railway connections to London, Hereford, Cheltenham and South Wales soon followed and apart from emphasising the nodality of Gloucester these projects stimulated the development of industries such as the Gloucester Wagon Works and Morelands Match Factory on the west side of the city.

In 1860 ribbon development gradually took place along the main road to Barnwood and Hucclecote. At first the houses were scattered but with later development became more or less continuous to Brockworth.

In 1874 the city's boundaries were extended to enclose an area of 1451 acres - more than a thousand acres larger than it had been forty years earlier. This nearly doubled the city's population. Despite this large increase no large scale migration of people into Gloucester took place. Further boundary extensions in 1900 mainly to the south, 1935 to the east, north and south, and in 1950 to the extreme south and north-east, all tended to increase the population of the city, but were largely ancillary in this respect to the national increase and migration. The

last large percentage increases were 21.4% in the decade 1891-1901 and 23.7% during 1931-41. During the latter decade two important reasons for such a large increase were the expansion of the Gloucester Aircraft Company and other ancillary engineering companies, and the breaking out of the second world war which attracted both civilians and service personnel to the city. With the cessation of hostilities many of these immigrants remained, and the spatial expansion of the city on the north and east is partly the result of trying to house them and partly the result of slum clearance projects in other parts of Gloucester.

The steady increase in the total population of the city reflects variations in the population of the constituent ecclesiastical parishes in the nineteenth century and later in the wards which largely replaced them in the Census returns. Thus in 1801 the parish with the highest population was St. Nicholas with 1,787 people, nearly double its nearest rival St. Mary de Lode with 983 persons: the lowest population of only 217 was found in St. Mary de Grace and the parish still occupied this relative position a century later with only 143 persons. The early dominating position of St. Nicholas in 1801 was changed thirty years later when the population in St. John the Baptist was slightly more numerous and the latter parish retained this position until the turn of the century when it, in turn

gave precedence to St. Catherine's parish. The largest population achieved by any parish during the century 1801-1901 was 4,610 in St. Catherine's parish in 1901.

Of the ten parishes listed five had smaller populations at the end of the century than at the beginning and these included Holy Trinity, St. Aldate, St. Mary de Crypt, St. Mary de Grace and St. Olwen. In nearly all cases the decrease was slight except for Holy Trinity, where the decrease was from 501 to 316 in 1901.

In contrast, in the other five parishes the gains in general were substantial ranging from 259 and 412 in St. Nicholas and St. Michael parishes to 2,572 and 3,903 in St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine's parishes respectively.

The period as a whole may be divided into two major divisions, the earlier one from 1801-1851 with the population in practically all parishes increasing, and the later one 1851-1901 when the population of some parishes decreased. For reasons outlined elsewhere in this chapter the biggest percentage increases occurred early in the nineteenth century and examples of this include St. Mary de Crypt with 24.2%, St. Mary de Grace with 24.1% and St. Mary de Lode with 23%. Two of the largest percentage increases occurred in St. Mary de Lode in 1821 and 1831 with 67½% and 51.5% but these were not the largest absolute increases as St. Catherine's recorded an increase

of 1,345 persons (47%) in 1901.

During the latter half of this century whereas most parishes showed some decreases in population, these were neither uniform in size nor contemporaneous. Thus St. Mary de Grace experienced a small decrease of 1.6% in 1857 and ten years later of 15.3%. While the overall trend for most parishes - a decrease at the end of the period - was true, the individual trends for each parish differed in detail.

Of the two parishes which appear different from the others in the first parish of St. Catherine's, the population increased during every inter-censal period from 1801 until 1901 when it recorded a population more than six times as numerous as it was a century earlier. In the second parish - St. Mary de Lode - the population increased from 756 in 1811 to 2,416 in 1881, apart from a small decrease during 1831-41.

If all the parishes had been equal in area then the population totals would reflect the densities per acre of the population living in these parishes. Unfortunately not only were the parishes of different areas but the areas of the parishes of St. Catherine, St. John the Baptist, St. Mary de Lode and St. Nicholas are not quoted and this prohibited the calculation of their population densities. As, however, the area of the parishes remained constant during this period the changes in their population density is similar to the absolute changes in

population already discussed.

A comparison of the densities of different parishes reveals the parishes form two natural groups. Firstly the parishes of St. Aldate, St. Mary de Grace and Holy Trinity each have densities of over a hundred to the acre at the commencement of the period. St. Aldate and St. Mary de Grace both increase similarly to a density of about 150 to the acre in 1841. From a maximum of 163 persons per acre - the highest for any parish during the century 1801-1901 the population of St. Aldate's parish decreases during the next fifty years to practically the same density with which it commenced the period. The years 1841 and 1851 were the most populous for St. Mary de Grace parish, achieving densities again of about 150 persons to the acre but thereafter decreasing steadily to rather than less than half that density by 1901. Holy Trinity parish revealed a similar pattern but the highest density recorded was 137 persons per acre in 1831 and the lowest 63 in 1901.

The three remaining parishes of St. Mary de Crypt, St. Michael and St. Olwen each start the century with a density of approximately thirty to the acre, but whereas St. Michael's reveals a relatively steady increase from 29 per acre in 1801 to 44 per acre in 1901, both St. Mary de Crypt and St. Olwen reveal increases followed by decreases at the end of the period. At each and every census St. Olwen's reveals the lowest density of population

compared with the other parishes listed.

From 1901 onwards the census returns for the city are quoted in wards and a corresponding discussion of increases and decreases in their populations is not possible. The city was divided into ten wards and ward boundaries were so arranged that each contained about five thousand inhabitants. As people moved from one part of the city to another the ward boundaries were altered to balance this movement so that a ward could be materially different from one with the same name fifty years later. However density of population to the acre in the different wards can be compared especially since 1921.

Thus in 1921 the average density of population in the city as a whole was 34 persons per acre but the range in density in the different wards was quite large. Tuffley ward still revealed a rural density of only 5.2 persons per acre and South and East wards came next with 20 persons per acre: from these figures the densities steadily increased to 57.8 persons per acre in Lower Barton ward to 71.7 persons per acre in Barton. Both wards had many terrace streets of small houses all compactly arranged and still near industrial locations. Ten years later six of the wards showed small decreases in densities but in Barton and Lower Barton they were more substantial amounting to eight and seven persons to the acre respectively. In 1951 the trend of lower densities continued and Kingsholm ward

showed a considerable drop from 43.7 per acre in 1931 to 18.6 per acre in 1951. As mentioned elsewhere there has been slum clearance in this area and this accounts for the decrease: when the new multi-storey block of flats is completed on the former site of demolished streets the population density will again rise in this ward. In contrast with these decreases, increasing densities were recorded in Tredworth and Tuffley during the period 1921-1931. While Tredworth increased its density from 29 to 35 per acre, Tuffley nearly doubled its density from 5.2 persons to 9.8 persons per acre but even so still remained the least densely populated ward. In both cases the increasing densities were due to population movement from the more central areas to the periphery.

In 1951 both Alington and Kingsholm wards with only 19 persons per acre were still less densely populated than Barton 57 persons per acre and Lower Barton 44 persons per acre. In the same year a reconstituted Tuffley ward reported 5 persons per acre, very similar in density to Matson with 7 persons per acre. Matson in the period 1951-1961 became one of the main receiving wards for the increasing population and the extent of this movement can best be gauged from the population of the Matson ecclesiastical parish which increased from 803 in 1951 to 6902 in 1961. A similar trend occurred in the parish of Wotton St. Mary in Longlevens which is partly within and partly without the city where the population in the same

inter-censal period increased from 10,249 to 16,977 persons. This was due to private building and a new corporation housing estate on the northern fringe of the city. Despite the increase in the city's population from 52,937 to 67,220 persons in the period 1931-1951 its large spatial expansion from 2,318 to 5,272 acres resulted in a marked decrease in density from 22.8 to 12.8 persons to the acre.

Contemporaneous with the movement of population within the city had been the change in the relative percentage of native born inhabitants. The substantial influx of people, born outside the city's boundaries, has been absorbed without any segregation and these are found at all social levels and in all parts of the city.

The process of assimilation has operated for over a century; the migration to the city was initially the drift of the local agricultural workers consequent on the Enclosure Acts, low agricultural wages and unemployment. Nationally this movement to the towns was at first a series of fairly short journeys but as the nearby agricultural workers were in turn replaced by agricultural workers from further afield the process continued:¹ this movement was a reflection of the slightly higher wages enjoyed by agricultural workers near an industrial town.

1. A. Redford. Labour Migration in England & Wales 1800-1850
London 1926. p.160-161

Informants were asked their birthplaces during this survey, and on limiting the analysis to householders, whether single, married, widowed or divorced, and ignoring children, it was found that 46.2% of those interviewed were born in the city: similarly on a sex basis the figures were males 47.5% and females 43.6%.

In 1841 the railway had not reached the city so that migration to it was rather slow and largely local in character and the 1841 census reveals that 82.5% of the city's population was born in the county of Gloucestershire. During the last half century this movement was greatly stimulated not only by greatly improved transport facilities enabling a person to travel from the north of England to Gloucester easier than someone could travel from a neighbouring county prior to 1841, but also by increasing industrialization. Until the outbreak of the First World War Gloucester was mainly a small market town and commercial centre whose industries reflected its agricultural hinterland. Its "sphere of attraction"¹ was a function of the size and rate of expansion of its industries, its demand for labour and its accessibility. The rapid growth since 1921 was essentially linked with the growth of engineering and ancillary industries within the city and with the very recent decline in a few of these major enterprises much concern over unemployment has been

1. Movement of People in England & Wales 1851-1861 Geog. Journal Vol. CXVII p.

expressed.

In order to evaluate the extent of local and more distant immigration to Gloucester the birthplaces of informants were divided into three categories; firstly the city itself, secondly the county of Gloucester and thirdly all other regions. The first result of this tri-partite division noted, was that city born inhabitants were in the minority and with 45.6% of the sample, only narrowly exceeded those born outside the county by 6.4%. The extent of migration from within the county to the city amounting to 15.7% was only just over a half of the drift of population from outside. On further sub-division into sexes similar figures were obtained, e.g.,

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
City	47.5%	43.6%
County	15.4%	15.1%
Other Areas	37.1%	41.3%

These figures reveal that rather more males than females were born within the city and that this difference was balanced almost exactly in the reverse direction by people born outside the county. Immigrants from the county were evenly balanced and amounted to about one third of those born within the city.

On further analysing into social groups, Table 2 was obtained:

Table 2

Birthplaces of Householders, Males & Females by Social Groups
(Percentage of all householders - Males & Females)

	Class A	Class B	Class C
Born in city	3.5%	12.7%	83.3%
Born in county	2.3%	11.2%	86.5%
Born outside county	6.1%	23.9%	70.0%

From this table it is seen that inhabitants born in the city and county are approximately equal in both upper social classes but among those born outside the county greater relative percentages are found in Class A and Class B: in effect this means the lowest percentage for Class C in the three above divisions. Further analysis into groups by social class and sex reveal no significant figures.

To obtain Table 3 further analysis was made to divide householders into Groups by social status, sex and place of birth as described above.

Table 3

Place of birth of householders/by social group/by sex

	Male Class			Female Class		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
City	44.2%	39.3%	49.5%	30%	30.3%	47.5%
County	5.8%	12.2%	16.5%	10%	8.6%	16.6%
Others	50.0%	48.5%	34.0%	60%	61.1%	35.7%

This analysis reveals the differing proportions of each status group born in the city, county or elsewhere and affords interesting differences. Thus among males of those born in the city the highest percentage was in Class C which exceeded Class A by about 5% and which in turn was that amount higher than Class B: among females Class C was again the highest but Class ^A and Class B were much less than their male counterparts and were nearly equal in amount.

Among males born in the county, Class A had the least, followed by Class B, but with most in Class C. Among females however the position is not duplicated in that Class B has least and Class C most.

Males born outside the county of Gloucestershire again account for interesting differences among the social groups. Thus in Class A, the males born outside the county's boundaries are equal in number to all those born within it, and this is also nearly true of Class B males. With Class C males however this group only accounts for about one third and is only about double those born within the county in the social group. Among females higher percentages, approximately 60% are found in both Class A and Class B but again in Class C only about one in three was born outside the county.

From the above considerations it is quite clear that the population of Gloucester as a whole has benefited.

more from rather widespread immigration than from local movements within the county. Whereas a higher percentage of women than men born outside the county's boundaries now reside in Gloucester C.B., in both cases the "foreign" element is roughly double the "county" element. Among workpeople in Gloucester this ill balance will be partially corrected by the many men and women commuting into the city daily from surrounding towns and villages where occupations are less varied and fewer in number.

The maps reveal the extent both of local migration and that from England and Wales, and anyone conversant with the slump in the coalfields in the pre-war period will appreciate the attraction of the city of Gloucester to those born in the Forest of Dean Coalfield as well as some of the more rural villages in the Cotswolds. Of those from slightly further afield the coalfields of Monmouth and Glamorgan supply immigrants. Among Class B and Class C, both males and females, and natives from surrounding agricultural counties like Somerset, Worcestershire and Wiltshire have relinquished their rural rides for city pavements. Among the main cities whose citizens now live in Gloucester, nearby Bristol and Birmingham contribute some but their combined total is less than those from London both with males and females. Of those from the British Isles men and women from Scotland and Ireland mix

freely with people from Denmark, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Estonia, Germany, Jamaica and far away Fiji.

Among the questions informants were asked was that of the length of their residence in Gloucester C.B. and the object of this was to attempt to determine in general the relative ratio of immigration into the city during the last sixty years and in particular any specific effect the advent of World War II may have had in this connection. Thus the years prior to 1961 were divided into five year periods and the numbers of males and females in each unit were calculated as percentages of the total number of immigrants over the whole period. Figure 9 shows quite clearly that among males immigration from 1896 until 1925 in general was small in scale and on average about 5%. The steady increase from 1926 onwards was halted temporarily by the outbreak of the war. Although Gloucester possessed several large works of national importance conscription probably reduced the earlier larger flow of immigrants to the city. With the conclusion of hostilities the inflow of immigrants continued to rise steadily amounting to 14.2% in 1951 and an all-time maximum of 19.1% in 1956.

Among females, over fifty years ago very few in the sample migrated to Gloucester but just before the First World War these numbers increased amounting to nearly 4%:

this proportion was maintained for nearly twenty years when it rose to 8.5% in 1931. From this period onwards females migration continued to increase at roughly the same rate as male migration and their close similarity suggests that many migrants were in fact husband and wife.

An important reason explaining the different proportions among the three status groups born in the city is to be found in their occupations. Thus most occupations followed by Class C people are mainly manual and the lower paid grades of non-manual work. With the limited educational background and low level of skills normally associated with this type of work, most people in this category find work locally. With Class B occupations requiring at least a grammar school education, greater mobility - both geographical and social - is necessary. This is reflected in the constant flow of teachers, bank clerks and local government officers to and from the city as they seek a change of town or promotion. With the highest social group the position is similar to Class B except that in general the jobs are more restricted both in type and number and the social and educational background occasionally more selective.

It has been suggested that another cause explaining the differential extent of immigration into another neighbouring city was "a less tangible socio-psychological factor of different attitudes towards personal and family

mobility displayed by persons of different social groups." 1. Thus the smaller degree of parochialism among Class A and Class B is directly correlated with their wider opportunities of education and travel that their educational and economic backgrounds have provided. The sense of parochialism amongst the lowest class is sometimes referred to when they confess to a sense of "not belonging" on a new Council estate if they have been moved from where they were brought up.

Having discussed the origins of the urban population of Gloucester it is now necessary to analyse it in terms of age-groups. Theoretically the shape of an age-sex pyramid is a symmetrical pyramid decreasing in size with advancing years but various factors such as wars materially alter this ideal form. During the 19th century with no heavy losses from wars it would be expected that the pyramid would conform to this ideal pattern. The 1851 pyramid reveals however that only from the 20-24 years age-group is this true and that in this age range no marked differentiation occurs between the sexes. Numerically the largest age-group in both sexes is the 0-4 years but the next four male age-groups are nearly identical: a similar pattern emerges in the same age-range with the females except that the under 20 years age-group is more numerous than the other three identical groups.

By 1901 both sexes in age-groups are numerically equal for the first twenty years of age but during the next decade females are more numerous: this in part may be due to male losses incurred in the Boer War. Thereafter while females outnumber males in nearly all groups the disparity is less marked.

By 1931 the shape of the pyramid is more convex but the first age-group is no longer the largest. Thus while three succeeding male groups are larger the corresponding female group is outnumbered by five succeeding older age groups. This narrowing of the base of the pyramid was largely due to the great reduction in the number of live births during the previous decade. The other marked feature of this diagram is clearly the abrupt change in the size of the male age groups above 35 years. The four succeeding male age groups are nearly all equal in size in contrast to the more gradual decrease with age observed in the corresponding female age groups. This is probably due to male casualties in the First World War. Thereafter the decrease in both sexes is somewhat similar except that in all age-groups females are more numerous than the males.

By 1951 the shape of the base of the pyramid has altered with the increased birth rate. In contrast with the 1931 pyramid the first two age groups are both larger than the three succeeding age groups all of which

are smaller than the following 25-29 years age-group: this is true of both sexes. While above 35 years age groups in both sexes are smaller than preceding ones a marked decrease occurs among males at 55 years: this is again a reflection of First World War casualties.

One other contrast between the 1931 and 1951 pyramids is the increasing numerical superiority of the younger male age-groups over their corresponding female groups. Thus while males were numerically superior in 1931 only up to the 10-14 years age group, twenty years later the trend had reached the 40-44 years age-group. Clearly this tendency will have important social results in that it enhances the chances of marriage for younger females and may be a minor reason for the decrease in the age of marriage of young women. Above 45 years women are more numerous than men in all age groups.

Unfortunately the results for the 1961 Census are not available for analysis so it was impossible either to compare it with earlier age-sex pyramids or even with one constructed from the sample data. From the survey sample it would appear that the birth rate had declined from the 1951 rate and that the marked "waist" in the 20-29 years age-groups in both sexes reflects the effects of the second World War when families were disrupted. Above 35 years both sexes are roughly equal in number until the age of 65 years when females outnumber the males.

On investigating in greater detail the annual totals of population for the first twenty years irrespective of sex, it is seen that single year aggregates may conveniently be divided into four groups, e.g.,

- a) 18-20 years inclusive. These include children born in the years 1931-1933 inclusive and reveal a marked increase in the birth rate over the succeeding ten years.
- b) 9-17 years inclusive. These include children born between 1934-1942 inclusive and reveals a steadily declining birth rate culminating after a progressive decrease in a minimum of 1942 of only 841 live births. This period is particularly interesting in that it includes the first four years of the war when not only were families separated, or evacuated, but also many incomplete families deliberately delayed increasing them because of the difficulties of wartime.
- c) 3-8 years inclusive. These include children born between 1943 and 1948. This period including the latter half of the war period and the immediate post war years, is one of steady increase except that in 1946 there was a temporary decline but this was amply compensated in the two succeeding years. The marked increase in the number of children aged four compared with five at the Census date can be correlated with conceptions occurring in the first year after the end of the war when men and women were demobilised from the services

and women of child bearing age no longer had to be gainfully employed. The trend continued in the next year with practically the same number of children born.

d) 0-2 years. This group includes children born in the years 1949-1951 and with the beginning of a decline in the number of live births reverses the former trend.

The shape of the base of the 1951 age pyramid thus may be divided into four phases. Finally the age group 18-20 years appeared fairly steady and was succeeded by a fluctuating but generally decreasing birth rate until 1942. The third phase saw the birth rate again fluctuating but this time generally increasing until 1947-48, when maxima were recorded. This phase largely linked with demobilisation gave way to the final and fourth phase revealing the onset of a decline.

Here as in most of Britain, a social problem of mounting seriousness is the ever increasing proportion of elderly people. In Gloucester the percentage of people over sixty years of age in the years 1821, 1851, 1901 and 1951 were 7.3%, 4.6%, 3.2% and 14.8% respectively. The main trends of this phenomenon are shown graphically in Fig.15 where for convenience the varying age groups are classed as over sixty years, 30-59 years and under 30 years respectively. In order to compare the age groups in the different years more readily irrespective of the absolute growth of the population during the period,

percentage figures were calculated.

From Fig 15 it is at once apparent that irrespective of the increasing population of Gloucester, the relative proportions of the differing age groups remain fairly static from 1821 until about 1881. Throughout this period slightly more than 60% of Gloucester's population were under 30 years of age and about 6% were over 60 years of age. From 1881 until 1951 the diagram reveals a marked change indicating a steady growth in the oldest group and a decline in the percentage of young adults and children: thus in 1951 the oldest group with 14.8% of the population was more than double its 1821 figure and the youngest group had decreased from 62.4% to 44.5% respectively.

Among the reasons suggested for the increasing longevity in civilised countries like Britain are that it is "due to the progress of science rather than to civilisation as such".¹ A basic reason was obviously the lower mortality rates and lower birth rates typical of the period from the latter half of the nineteenth century to the present day. Among the reasons suggested by the Royal Commission on Population were "improvements in water supply, urban cleanliness, sewage disposal,"² thus minimising epidemics of infectious diseases especially those of water-borne origin. These reasons coupled with rising standards

1. A New Life in Old Age, H.Weltereck London 1958 p.29
2. Royal Commission on Population Report 1949, H.M.S.O. p.18

of living and education and the development of the social services together reflect a decreasing mortality. Thus since 1870 every quinquennial period except one has enjoyed a lower mortality than the one before. This decrease is more clearly revealed when a comparison is made of mortality rates in England and Wales during the period 1838-1854 and those of a century later: thus of 1,000 females born in the middle of the nineteenth century, 643 could expect to reach an age of 25 years, 432 to reach 55 years and only 323 to achieve 65 years.¹ For the period 1942-44 the corresponding figures were 917, 814 and 707 respectively. This trend has considerably reduced the wastage of human life in the lower and middle age groups but gradually the older age groups benefitted especially with the discovery of sulphonamides and anti-biotics.

A further factor increasing the relative proportion of old people in the population is the decrease in the size of the average family since the end of the last century. Thus in Great Britain the average size of completed families of women born 1841-1845 was 5.71 live births whereas for women married during 1925-29 the equivalent figure was 2.19 live births. Of the many and varied reasons for means of effecting family limitation, the widespread practice of birth control, the improved social and economic position of small families relative to large ones

1. Royal Commission on Population Report 1949, H.M.S.O. p.29

and the progressive extensions of the school leaving age and corresponding restrictions on juvenile labour all contributed in some measure. During the twentieth century this trend was further increased by additional occupational opportunities for women, which enabled them to be economically self-supporting for longer before marriage and having a family.

The increasing relative size of the older age group in any community poses serious problems and especially so in a modern industrial civilisation built around a pre-eminently important wage earning group. In general the tempo of city life leaves little time for listening to the old and for giving them adequate consideration. "Human beings are social animals and none can have a satisfactory life with no human contacts and no opportunities to share in communal interests or activities."¹ In Gloucester as elsewhere in Britain, Darby and Joan Clubs have been formed which provide lectures, games, hobbies and visits to nearby seaside resorts as a means of providing a sense of purpose in life for these people. In joining these clubs both sexes can meet congenial companions of similar age groups irrespective of status or calling without having to take on the responsibility of any kind of permanent association.

One of the major causes of the asymmetrical shape of the age-sex pyramids is the preponderance of females over

males and while in specific age groups this is primarily due to war casualties other reasons account for the general difference. Thus from the age-sex pyramids it is at once apparent that the survival rate for females is much superior to that of males. It would appear to be a general law of nature that the female sex is given a certain degree of protection in the interest of propagation. Girls have a better resistance than boys to the dangers of pre-natal development reflected in a lower infantile mortality.¹ Later on women recover from sickness more easily than men and endure a poor environment better: thus more men suffer from cardiac or other circulatory trouble than women and frequently run greater occupational hazards. However according to present probabilities the male sex will in future have the same expectation of life as the female. With the usually accepted statistical rates of 105-106 male births to 100 female births, the former well established excess of females over males will be reversed.

Table 4 Females per 1000 males by age groups 1821-1951

	1821	1851	1881	1901	1921	1931	1951
0-9	1088	993	1010	986	940	984	964
10-19	1140	1071	1044	1049	1075	992	974
20-29	1391	1020	1096	1346	1252	1111	967
30-39	1110	977	1028	1051	1197	1167	951
40-49	1068	952	1153	1103	1116	1162	1004
50-59	1072	1040	1046	1154	1022	1097	1146
60-69	1445	1239	1260	1324	1183	1097	1314
70-79	1242	1193	1526	1310	1459	1423	1480
80-89	1444	1952	2153	1909	2020	1890	1787
Over 90							

1. New Life in Old Age H. Woltereck London 1958 p.43

From the Table the previous premises would appear to be reasonable in that of the sixty three figures calculated only in ten cases were females fewer in number than their male counterparts. The second result which appears is that with increasing age female superiority in numbers progressively increases and in the 70-79 and 80-89 year groups only in 1821 and 1851 were there fewer than 1,300 females per 1,000 males. Apart from two odd groups - both in 1851 - in the 30-39 and 40-49 age groups, female numerical inferiority is continuous in the 0-9 years age group from 1901 to 1951, in the 10-19 years age group in 1931 and in all age groups under 40 years in 1951. Thus male superiority in numbers in 1951 for all groups under 40 years, is superficially surprising as this includes groups which sustained casualties during the war:

Gloucester had however attracted more men in these age groups just prior to the war to her engineering industries.

The differences in the numbers of males and females in the marriageable age groups may have serious social effects. Thus until relatively recently there has always been a surplus of females, and males have been able to make a choice. From Table it is now seen that this trend is not only being reversed but will soon be reversed up to the age group where normal child-bearing ceases.

On investigating the proportions of married males and females in 1931 and 1951 interesting differences emerge. Thus among males in 1951 all groups up to the age of 35

years reveal a lower incidence than the similar age group females. Although the maximum reached by the females, 81.8% in the 35-39 age group is attained earlier than the male maximum of 88% in the 45-49 age group, the curve flattens earlier from 80% in the 25-29 age group to 79.2% twenty years later. A similar trend occurs among the males except that the columns do not decrease until the 35-39 age group and remain above 80% until the 60-64 age group. The gap between the columns for males and females which widens after the age of 35 reveals the differing proportions between males and females in the succeeding age group. As the columns are constructed from information based on marriage rates at the time of the Census the columns are unable to reveal the proportion of people who have been married and who later became widowed or divorced. This applies more particularly to females in the higher age groups where with greater expectation of life and the practice of women in general, marrying men older than themselves, the percentage of women not married in Fig. 46 might give an erroneous impression of the frequency of marriage.

In comparing the columns for the 1931 and 1951 Census it is seen that while the columns are somewhat similar in superficial appearance several important differences emerge on closer inspection. Thus with regard to males, clearly more are marrying younger and for the age-groups between 30-54 years the 1931 figures exceed the 1951

figures. In both cases the maximum occurs in the 45-49 age groups and the 1931 figures only exceed those of 1951 by 1%. A possible reason for the higher figures of marriage after 30 years of age among males in the 1931 Census figures may be due to the economic insecurity of the younger age groups. Males may have been reluctant to assume the responsibility of marriage and its attendant economic liabilities either until some capital had been acquired or their incomes were higher. Among females the most marked difference was the large increase in the percentages of marriage in the two youngest age groups. Thus among the 15-19 age group the percentage rises nearly five fold and in the succeeding age group they are more than doubled being 24.7% in 1931 and 51.6% in 1951. Figures for the 1931 Census returns exceed those of the earlier Census until the 50-54 age group but thereafter with the exception of the last group are lower. The same flattening of both curves is observed indicating over certain age groups the small actual differences, but whereas this occurs in the 1931 returns over the 30-54 age group it occurs from 25-49 in the later Census. The maximum figure of 76 % for females in 1931 and 81.8% in 1951 occur in the same 40-44 age group. As with the 1951 figures the percentage of marriage for females are lower in all age groups than the corresponding male age groups.

In order to support Figs. 16 and 17 by showing the extent of marriage, Figs. 18 and 19 were constructed revealing the percentages of single people in Gloucester on the two Census dates in 1931 and 1951.

In 1931 the number of single persons of both sexes decreases rapidly in the lower age groups with females tending to marry earlier than males: however in the 35-39 age group the columns are nearly equal and thereafter in all age groups more women remain single than men. Among females from the 45-49 age group the flattening curve reveals the very small differences in the proportions of single persons over the next forty years. Among males a similar trend is revealed except that the curve flattens out in an age group ten years earlier than with females and the figures in all age groups are markedly lower than their female counterpart. The distance between the two columns representing the excess of single females over males is probably due in general to the stronger survival rate of females compared with males, and in particular from the 35-39 age group onwards to the large male losses in the First World War. On inspecting the graphs for 1951 a similar pattern is observed except that the marked decline in the proportion of single people is even more pronounced. Here again females marry earlier but both sexes marry earlier than either males or females did twenty years earlier. In 1951 identical proportions of

males and females remaining single occur approximately five years later than during the previous census and distance between the columns revealing the excess of females does not really commence until the 45-49 age group. On comparing the columns for males for the years 1931-1951 it is noted that from the 50-54 age group they are nearly coincident, showing if anything rather fewer males single in 1951. A similar comparison for females reveals a similar trend except that rather more females were single in 1951 compared with 1931 from the 45-49 age group onwards. As this difference increases with age it is probably due to the greater expectation of life enjoyed by females in the older age groups.

Among the factors which partly control the shape of the graph representing marriages in the different age groups is the increasing proportion in the wider age groups of those widowed or divorced. With women marrying men older than themselves and having also a greater expectation of life their marriages end earlier: thus in 1931 among women in the 65-69 age group 36.3% were widows whilst the corresponding figure for widowers was only 9.4%. Twenty years later the percentage for widows remains much the same with 34.6% but the figure for males has risen to 14.4%. With regard to divorce this factor is only of minor importance compared with the previous one and in the 1931 Census in no age group were there more divorced men or women than widowers or widows. In the 1951 census

figures however this does not obtain. Among females in the 30-34 age group, 40 divorced women outnumber widows by sixteen, but still only account for 1.7% of the age group. Divorced husbands exceed widowers in the 35-39 age group only, and here again the percentage of 1.13 is very small. With increasing age divorces among both sexes decrease. Probable reasons for the higher number of divorces listed in the 1951 Census compared with the 1931 Census are firstly the many hasty war-time marriages and secondly the greater facility resulting from improved legislation and legal help in the granting of divorces.

In general age at marriage varies with sex, women marrying at an earlier age than men. The report of the Royal Commission on Population¹ found that in the country as a whole the average age of women marrying was about three years less than that for men. These ages however are not constant and vary from time to time with a general tendency for the age to decrease. Thus in Gloucester itself in 1931, 12.5% of the male 20-24 years age group were married but twenty years later the corresponding figure had almost doubled to 24.7%. With females in the same age group during the same period there was an even greater change from 21.2% in 1931 to 51.6% in 1951.

Another factor which affects the age of marrying is that of social status. The effect this and other factors

has on the marriage age in the city of Gloucester between 1957 and 1962 is shown in Figs.20A & 20B. These diagrams were constructed from information obtained from the Superintendent Registrar for the city of Gloucester and refer only to age of first marriage. The records investigated included those of marriages which were solemnized at the City Registry Office and in churches and chapels sited in the city.

The average age of first marriage increased with social status. Among males and females thus:

Class	A	B	C	
Males	26.50	26.83	24.24	years
Females	27.00	25.34	21.49	"

In general too, differences exist between the sexes in the status groups though the sample for Class A families was too small to be reliable. On investigating the ages in all status groups at which most marriages took place - a most "popular age of marriage" can be evaluated. In the sample this was as follows:

Males :	Class A, 27	Class B, 24	Class C, 22
Females:	Class A, 27	Class B, 22	Class C, 19

In nearly all cases this age proved to be approximately two years less than the average.

Ignoring status the average age of marriage in Gloucester in the period was 24.71 years for males and 21.87 years for females.

The difference between the sexes in each status group is also revealed in Fig.20 where low proportions married in the differing sex status groups are shown. Thus among Class C males two thirds were married before they were 25 years old whereas among Class B and Class A males only 47% and 37½% were married. Among females too few in Class A were found in the sample to make any valid comparisons. Among Class B females 60% were married under 25 years and in Class C the corresponding figure was 84%.

Among the youngest age group 16-19 years social status was even more pronounced, this probably being due to few men or women having acquired any worthwhile professional qualification with which to support a spouse. Among men 10% of Class C were married but this figure decreased to 2.2% in Class B and 0% in Class A. Among women the disparity was even greater with 37.8% of Class C women being married and less than 2% of Class B.

In Fig.20 the number of marriages at ages between 16 and 48 years for males and females in differing status groups is shown. With regard to Class C more males marry at 22 and females at 19 years than at any other age. Among the females the number of marriages increases rapidly from 17 to 19: from 19 to 21 years little change takes place but thereafter a steep decline takes place the curve only flattening out after 27 years. With men a similar sharp rise is revealed but ranging from 18 years

to 22 years, where again a steep decline takes place until 28 years is reached. From 16-21 years the total for females exceeds that for males in each year until 22 years but from then on male totals are larger until the age of 35 years. From this age the number of marriages steadily decreases and the difference between male and female almost negligible.

Among Class B females most of those in the records married at 24 years. Both the rise and fall before this maximum was much more gradual than in Class C. Among Class B males 22-24 years appeared to be the most popular ages for marrying and here again no sharp rise and fall in the curve like in Class C was apparent.

With regard to Class A the numbers in the sample both for male and female were small so that the only tentative conclusion that might be put forward is that it had more in common with Class B than with Class C.

The foregoing conclusion from a limited sample in Gloucester appear to confirm conclusions reached nationally by the Royal Commission of Population¹, 1949, which states that people in higher social classes marry later than those in the lower classes. In Gloucester age of first marriage reflects social status. The differing age of first marriage especially with regard to men is mainly due to economic reasons. Thus most males in Class C leave school at the minimum permitted age and even if

1. R. Commission of Population p.23

they serve an apprenticeship are economically independent by the age of twenty: they are thus in a position to marry, especially if their prospective wife like most young wives intend to carry on with a job during the early years of marriage. Among Class A and B males the extended schooling and later professional training rarely ends at twenty and allowing a year or two for the saving of a small amount of capital, marriage is hardly feasible under the middle twenties. Although the differing ages of marriage reflect economic conditions it must be noted that many manual jobs - especially if overtime is paid - are financially superior to lower paid clerical jobs but frequently those engaged in these latter appointments not only have received a longer education but wish to live in a style quite different from the bulk of Class C: this inevitably means later marriage.

A similar pattern exists for women as for men except that in general the man is regarded as the main wage-earner and thus it is more important that he shall have completed his training than for the corresponding woman. The legend that higher education for women is a waste of time and money dies hard, though the employment of professional women in the post war years in contrast to the pre war years has dealt this concept some blows. Women are also thought to mature earlier than men and this is probably the reason why in all status groups the wife is invariably

younger than her husband. With both sexes maturing earlier a lowering of the age of first marriage is very probable. Many women in Class C if not married by the time they are twenty two or twenty three years are rather concerned about it.

Another aspect of first marriages investigated was that of marriages between the differing status groups.

The table is based on the information obtained from the Superintendent Registrar for Gloucester:

Notes

Interpretation of the Table

- (a) Figures in the centre of each square are the total number of marriages between persons of the two status groups involved.
- (b) The diagonal thus represents marriages within the same status group.
- (c) The figures in the upper right hand corner represents the percentage of wives of a particular status category who marry husbands of the three status groups and these figures are to be read horizontally: thus 100% of Class A females married Class A males and 35% of Class B females married Class C males.
- (d) The figures in the lower left hand corners represents corresponding data for husbands and are to be read vertically: thus 96% Class C males married Class C females.

Whilst realising the varying skills and grades of

occupations listed under a common occupation heading an attempt was made to classify the partners of over a thousand weddings.

Status of wives	Status of husbands	A	B	C	Total Wives
		100	0	0	100%
A		1	0	0	1
		12.5	0	0	
		5.6	59.4	35.0	100%
B		6	63	37	106
		75	34.4	4.0	
		0	12.4	87.6	100%
C		1	120	844	965
		12.5	65.6	96.0	
		8	183	881	1072
		100%	100%	100%	

FIG.

The degree of endogamous marriage is indicated by the size of the diagonal. In this a 3 class group diagonal the existence of 908 marriages out of 1,072 indicates a very high degree of marriage within a common status group.

Thus the lowest social status group revealed the highest incidence of endogamous marriage with 96% of the husbands and 87.6% of the wives marrying within their own social group. The paucity of Class A females in the sample makes a direct comparison with Class C unreliable

but among Class A males only 1/8th married within its own group.

Among Class B both sexes occupy an intermediate position between Class A and Class C. Thus Class B males in the sample limited themselves to wives from Class B and Class C only and numerically the wives from Class C were nearly double those from Class B. In marked contrast Class B females while having no partners from Class A had nearly twice as many husbands from their own status group as from Class C.

Amongst Class C both males and females found partners mainly from their own status group. Of those marrying into other status groups 4% Class C males married Class B females but numerically about three times as many Class C females found husbands in this status group. Only one Class C female married a Class A male.

From the above information it appears that during the quoted period in Gloucester the incidence of endogamous marriage is relatively high with each status group having its own characteristics. While allocating status groupings on occupations it was appreciated that the occupations listed in parish registers were supplied by the people wishing to get married and were occasionally rather misleading. The records kept by the Registrar were much more meticulous and clearly revealed any differences, e.g., between a builder and a builder's

labourer, although both were engaged in the building industry.

Before discussing the sizes of families in Gloucester in the differing social groups it will perhaps be of interest to discuss variations in fertility rates in Britain during the last century.

Statistics published by the Royal Commission on Population (1949) reveal a steady decrease in the number of live births to married women in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Thus married women with completed families born during 1841-45 had average families of 5.71 children whereas for women born twenty years later the average had decreased to 4.66 children. This tendency has continued resulting in the number of live births declining from 3.37 children from wives born in 1900-1909 to 2.53 in 1915-19 and to 2.19 children from wives born 1925-1929. 1.

Simultaneous with the decrease in the average size of the family was the variation in the proportion of childless and large families. In 1911 of families married about 1860, 9% were childless but by 1946 this percentage of childless marriages had increased to 17. Again whereas in the former groups only about one family in five had 1-3 children the trend for smaller families had increased this proportion to two out of every three families married in 1925. The increasing incidence of small

1. Royal Commission on Population London 1949, pp.24,25.

families saw a rapid diminution in the number of large families decreasing from 33% in the earlier period to a mere 4% in 1946.¹

Again, in the earlier period families with 5, 6 and 7 children respectively, each accounted for less per cent of the marriages whereas in the latter period the same families had decreased to three, two and one per cent respectively. The age of the small family had arrived such that 64% of the marriages in the latter period had families of one to three children in place of 19% in marriages taking place about 1860. Large families - at least large by modern standards - with ten or more children decreased from 10% to 0.3%. Another aspect of the reduction in the size of the family was the differing rate of decrease among the main social groups. The greatest fall was in the highest social group and the least amongst the unskilled labourers, miners and agricultural workers.

In Gloucester a similar pattern has evolved to this national one and in the following table an "average family" - obtained by dividing the total population by the number of households - reveals a common trend. While this is not statistically correct, the resulting figures reveal the general trend.

1. Royal Commission on Population London 1949 p.26

Table 7

Average number of persons per family, City of Gloucester, selected years.

Year	Persons/Family	Year	Persons/Family	Year	Persons/Family
1801	5.7	1851	6.1	1911	4.5
1811	5.5	1861	5.9	1921	4.6
1821	5.7	1871	5.9	1931	3.8
1831	5.8	1881	5.3		
1841	6.0	1891	5.2	1951	3.6
		1901	4.7		

The data on which the table was constructed was obtained from the various census returns.

The general decrease in the size of the family especially during the last fifty years was due to involuntary and voluntary causes. One of the involuntary causes is the claim that there has been a decline in reproductive capacity of adults in the twentieth century compared with similar people in the former century and that there is a lower incidence of sexual activity under conditions of life in a modern society. The Royal Commission on Population however suggests there is very slight if any evidence to support this theory and suggests some aspects of modern living may even increase reproductive activity; this can only be negated by non biological effect such as the deliberate limitation in the size of families.

The resulting conclusion inevitably is that the trend for the decrease in the size of families is mainly due to voluntary action and declares "the spread of deliberate family limitation has certainly been the main cause and very probably the only cause of the reduction in the average size of the family"¹. Of the voluntary methods the two main ones are firstly abortion, which although illegal is apparently widely practised, and secondly birth control. This latter practice the Commission² considers is used by most married couples. Factors which have considerably aided family limitation include the improvements in and greater efficiency of contraceptives, the changing social climate to birth control, the work of the Malthusian League and Dr. Marie Stopes, the improvement in educational and living standards, the effect of the Education and Factory Acts reducing the former advantage of a large family, the wider occupational opportunities for women stimulated by two world wars and the rising standard of parental care consequent on improved education and shorter working hours: all these factors combine to accelerate the advantages of a smaller family. Once initiated this trend of its own volition carries on and with modern means of advertising and social example, ideas permeate throughout all

1. Royal Commission on Population London 1949 p.54
2. " " " " " " p.33

levels of society.

In order to determine how the families in Gloucester compared with those in Britain generally, parents were asked how many children they had and their answers are shown in the following table:

Table 7

Average number of children per family by status group

Status Group	Average number of children per family.		Percentage of complete families with following number of children.						
	All families	Complete families	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 & over
Class A	1.473	1.75	25	16.6	25	25	8.3	0	0
Class B	1.77	2.259	0	29.7	37.	14.8	14.8	3.7	0
Class C	2.144	2.248	8	26.6	31.3	19.5	7.2	4	4

In the above table the term "all families" includes all married couples irrespective of the wife's age whereas in "complete families" only families where the wife is age 45 years or older are considered.

From the table showing the average number of children for all families it is interesting to note that the size of the family increases with decreasing social status. Another index is however that for completed families and here the results for all classes are higher than with incomplete families. Whereas there was quite a marked difference between Class B and Class C in incomplete families, this is not the case with complete families where no appreciable difference occurs.

Another aspect of family size among the status groups is the differing distribution among them of families of different sizes. Thus with regard to childless couples Class B is unique in not having any whereas amongst Class A families they are more than three times as numerous as in Class C. Among small families with only one or two children Class B and Class C are very similar accounting approximately for nearly two out of every three families whereas in Class A these families are in the minority. At the other extreme no families with six or more children were recorded among families in Class A and Class B whereas five such families occurred in Class C, one of which had ten children.

The varying size of the family among the different status groups is a resultant of social, economic, educational and religious forces. Among the status groups and the families within them the relative strength of these factors vary, but in total their effects reveal status differences. Thus from purely economic considerations Class A would be expected to have the largest families in that they could provide more benefits than either of the two lower classes but does not occur in the sample however. Many parents especially those in the middle group are anxious that their children should have better opportunities than they obtained in their days and

with longer and more expensive educational commitments envisaged one way of curtailing the financial consequences is to limit the family.

From the foregoing it thus appears that social status is an important contributory factor in determining the size of a family. Among Class families where slightly larger families would cause no economic hardship or a materially lower standard of living, families remain smallest. Among the other two classes the better economic position of Class B for the support of a family compared with Class C is partly mitigated by stronger and keener ambitions for their children by Class B parents: the size of the family is thus limited so that a higher standard of living is assured for the smaller family.

Thus it is seen that in the three social groups studied the aspects of urban demography analysed, largely reflect their differing social status.

CHAPTER 4

Earning a Living

In a popular evaluation of jobs and occupations it is stated that "A man's job occupying one third of his life is more than a means of livelihood or outlet of creative energy: it is a vital influence on his existence even beyond working hours. His social and economic welfare and daily habits are determined by the kind of job held."¹

From this it is clear that the social status of an individual is very closely linked with his occupation while at the same time other factors also affecting his social status such as education, may in turn control the variety of occupations from which he may choose.

Among the criteria advanced for the evaluation of occupational prestige is the need for a highly specialised training and for responsibility for the public welfare. At the other end of the scale low-paid unskilled dirty jobs with very limited responsibilities, in general of the labouring type, were considered least desirable, especially by parents ambitious for their children's future welfare. Evaluations of jobs by different people varied according to the social class of the informant, by age and sex, by the informant's own occupation, by education and economic levels. Thus informants with a high economic level and being in a city, evaluated scientific jobs and work

1. Class Status, Power. Lipsett & Bendix London. p.411.

connected with the fine arts higher than farmers, while the poorer economic groups had more respect for the skilled and semi-skilled jobs.¹

The criteria on which job evaluation is thus based is clearly weighted by the informant's own experience and ambitions. Among the lower social groups where earning a subsistence wage is paramount, economic aspects are important: among those higher up in the social hierarchy where concern for the economic essentials of life is less demanding, choice of occupations with more aesthetic considerations such as satisfaction from the work and social prestige are correspondingly more important. Where a free choice of occupation was possible, the qualifications and main interests of the individual plus his personality were the major considerations of many towards the choice of a career.

In an American survey many people thought a professional or semi-professional occupation offered the best prospects for a young man², and the highest recommendation for any job usually came from those doing it. Thus of those in professional employment 71% rated the professions as the most important and satisfying type of work. The enquiry also revealed that this group appreciated more than lower social groups the advantages

1. Class Status, Power Lipsett & Bendix London p.415
2. " " " " " " p.418

of an extended education and that this generally was more helpful to women than to men.¹

In Britain more men are engaged in industry than women because of the traditional superiority of men over women in this type of work, many women leaving on marriage and the small proportion of employed women among the higher age-groups.

Whilst the number and variety of occupations varies from city to city an analysis of all occupations in this country gives the relative importance of the major types of employment.² Thus for every occupied person in Britain there are -

1. 1 Employer or top level business administrator,
2. 2-3 Managers at lower levels,
3. 2 Small employers (farmers, shopkeepers),
4. 9-10 Professional workers - higher professions, teachers, nurses,
5. 2-3 Supervisors - Foremen,
6. 5 Working on their own,
7. Clerks, typists,

These account for one third of population:

8. 4-5 Shop Assistants or non-manual workers,
9. Remaining 60% - 4 equal groups, manual workers, fully skilled, fairly skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled.

Of these many occupations indicate clearly their positions in class structure and even within the same

1. Class Status, Power Lipsett & Bendix London p.418
2. Study in Class Structure G. D. Cole p.184

occupation differences in status and income existed.

One of the major factors controlling the choice of the first job is the educational background of the applicant except in the case when he may obtain employment in a business controlled by a relative or friend for which no specific qualifications are needed. The extent and value of this education in state controlled schools has been largely determined by the interpretation of the Local Education Authority of the 1944 Education Act. The main essentials of this act are that a child should receive an education "according to his age, aptitude and ability" and this is in most areas assessed by the competitive "11+ Examination." This by the selective process of awarding places to a minority at grammar schools and directing the remainder to secondary modern or secondary technical schools not only results in a short term effect of giving a different education but in the long term, has a most decisive effect on how those selected or rejected obtain their livelihood.

Thus those fortunate enough to be selected for a grammar school education are at the beginning of roads leading to all types of jobs from clerical work to the more exacting professions. A further selection takes place later after seven years in the grammar school when the most able proceed to a university and the less able to other educational institutions.

The position of those unable to gain a place at a grammar school, - and the percentage varies from one county to another - is less happy. Unless a near miracle happens, or the child is a late developer, it inevitably means that the more professional types of employment are out of reach. This limits the type of employment to normal, unskilled or semi-skilled work with frequently lower wages, less security, no pension rights and lower social status.

In general the position of those attending technical schools is intermediate between these two limiting types but occasionally in Gloucester some pupils deliberately elect to proceed to either of the two central technical schools rather than to one of the grammar schools. Here the girls receive a more practical education with more emphasis on commercial subjects and office routine whereas the boys also receive a practical education with the emphasis on technical subjects. The girls are thus able to compete on fairly favourable terms for office jobs with the less successful grammar school girls while some of the boys do sufficiently well to proceed to Colleges of Advanced Technology to compete with ex-grammar school boys.

The educational system in Gloucester like the rest of this country has materially altered from pre-war to post-war and this in turn has had important effects on

employment. Thus before the war grammar schools were frequently less than half their present size and frequently only a fraction of those attending were chosen on ability: the remainder were fee-paying pupils all of whom had to achieve certain minimum standards but were frequently so educated because their parents could afford the fees. The social composition of parents was thus rather different from to-day with a higher percentage of lower middle class and small business people. The pre-war grammar school leaving age was in general sixteen years whereas in the other schools it had remained at fourteen for many years and with widespread unemployment in many areas working class parents were frequently eager for their children to cease being an economic liability. What had been good enough for the parent was often considered good enough for the child but this seriously hampered social mobility in employment unless the young worker entered that type of employment where promotion depended on the ability of the worker to perform his work most efficiently. Since the war the changing social climate, new educational opportunities and the advent of the Welfare State has resulted in many pupils attending grammar schools whose parents had not been so fortunate. With the levelling up of wages in general, possible extra income from part-time or full-time work by the wife, the variety of jobs available for children of the working

classes is now very much wider, and this, coupled with the increasing demand from industry and commerce for better educated workers has increased social mobility.

In order to investigate the effect of this changing social pattern in employment in Gloucester all male householders were divided into two age-groups - those of 50 years and more and those less than 50 years of age; their occupations were then sub-divided as follows:

Table 1

Composition of full occupation at grades

1. Professions	Clergymen, doctors, dentists, lecturers, teachers, architects, lawyers, accountants.
2. Management	Managers, (retail shops, industry, etc.) highest local grades of Civil Service and local government (non-professional)
3. Masters	Self-employed craftsmen, shop owners.
4. Clerical	Lower grades administrative employment, other clerical workers, assistants to auctioneers, book-keepers, cashiers.
5. Manual	Skilled and unskilled manual workers, foremen and supervisors, unskilled and semi-skilled non-manual work and bus conductors, engine drivers, etc.

Note 1: Higher Education includes Training Colleges, Technical Colleges, Art Schools, etc.

Among those who achieved professional status the first fact to notice was that in the whole sample only two people were included, one from the central school and one from the secondary modern school. From an absolute point of view the number of professionally qualified

people under 50 years of age was more than six times as numerous as those in the older group. The greater demand for higher qualification is reflected in the overall much higher absolute figures for the younger group in the university, higher education and grammar school levels of education. Thus at university level in percentages the younger group is roughly double the older group whereas absolutely it outnumbers it fourteen times: similarly at the higher education level the younger group has a lower percentage but in actuality is more than four times as numerous as the older group. A similar trend appears at grammar school level.

At management level no men who had received university or higher education were found in the sample. In this group an interesting contrast appears between those who had received grammar school and secondary modern education. In the grammar school division those in the younger age group clearly outnumber the older group but in the secondary modern the reverse is true to a more limited extent. The appointment of the majority of the older managers with only a secondary modern education may be due to initial promotion in the work, seniority or possibly that had there been present day facilities in education before the war many of them would have been educated at a grammar school. At the present day a youth

employment officer was quoted as saying that he found few boys willing to train as clerks but if the same job was advertised as "Management trainee," the difficulty disappeared.

Table 2

Males at Work - Type of last full-time education according to occupational grades.

(Per cent of each occupational grade and within it of each broad age-group)

	<u>UNIV.</u>	<u>HIGH EDUC.</u>	<u>GRADUATE</u>	<u>GENERAL</u>	<u>NO ED.</u>
PROFI	12% 50+	27% 50+	37% 50+	25% 50+	44.4% 50+
MANA- GERIAL	12% 50+	27% 50+	37% 50+	25% 50+	44.4% 50+
MASTERS	12% 50+	27% 50+	37% 50+	25% 50+	44.4% 50+
CLERKS	12% 50+	27% 50+	37% 50+	25% 50+	44.4% 50+
MANUAL	12% 50+	27% 50+	37% 50+	25% 50+	44.4% 50+

The third group of "Masters" comprised mainly self-employed craftsmen or owners of small businesses and it was soon noted that the highest level of education achieved by either groups was that of grammar school standard. Here for the first time the older group was more numerous than the younger one and accounted for just under a half of its age group: in the younger group just over a third were educated at grammar school, a half at secondary modern schools, whilst the small remainder had attended a technical school. With this type of work marked academic achievement was considered unnecessary, and if the pupil was to be apprenticed to his father or relative, or enter a family business, then it was presupposed he would learn most of what was necessary after he had left school and commenced employment. With ability and business acumen it was possible for some men to proceed up the social ladder from a craft apprentice to owning their own business. As might be expected this was the only occupational group where the over fifties were more numerous than the younger group and this might easily be due to the lack of capital of this latter group.

Among the clerical group only one had received an education superior to that of grammar school standard. Among the older group roughly two thirds had attended secondary modern schools whereas with the greater demand for better qualifications in recent years, this fraction

had dropped by half in the younger group. Here for the first time were comparable figures for the central technical school and while relatively the younger group was twice as numerous as the older group, absolutely they were more than six times as numerous: a similar trend was true of those educated at grammar schools. The overall employment of clerks in the sample in these age groups had increased threefold and reflects the increasing importance of Gloucester as an administrative centre and the establishment of many offices of local, national and industrial origin.

In the random sample manual jobs were again more numerous with the younger age group filling four times as many as the older group. This reflects the large expansion of many existing works and the establishment of new works in Gloucester plus the building of a considerable number of houses consequent on the expansion of the suburbs and slum clearance schemes. Relatively twice as many grammar school leavers in the younger group are employed in this category and whilst academically they might be considered the less able of the grammar school pupils, many of them were imbued with the ambition of becoming a building site foreman or a foreman in a factory. Very few people from the central technical school in the older age group were employed in this category but amongst the younger group the percentage was identical with grammar school leavers. As might be expected the majority of this group proceeds

from the secondary modern school and whilst jobs were numerically three times as numerous with the younger age group, the percentage figure for giving a relative picture - was actually about 14% less.

Another question informants were asked was their first job and the reason for choosing it and a brief history of any succeeding forms of employment. In many cases no single reason was fully responsible and thus it was impossible to examine the answers statistically. What was possible, however, was to divide the answers into several main categories and into their relative incidence. Interesting differences were noted between social groups, and the sexes in the same social group in this connection.

One of the major reasons put forward was the influence of parents or family. This could operate in a positive or negative way. Thus some parents might evaluate the prospects and social status of certain forms of employment very highly, and thus encourage and provide as many facilities for their children to proceed towards these desirable occupations: the reverse was where certain occupations were deliberately avoided and this was not merely on economic grounds. This was more true of Class C where many parents wished their children to earn more money and secure a higher social rating than they had enjoyed. A second form of parental influence was when the son followed in his father's trade, e.g.

1. Class C Male 60 "Father was a blacksmith and I was interested in it so I became a blacksmith."
2. Male Wood Machinist. "Father was in the trade so I went to work under him."
3. Male 48 Plumber. "My uncle was a plumber so he took me on as an apprentice."
4. Male 79 Retired. "Father was a banker so I followed him."
5. Shop Owner "Followed my father in same business."
6. Female 58 Teacher. "Father's choice for security: would have preferred more creative work."
7. Sister Tutor "My sister was a nurse and advised me. We had no money for teaching."
8. G.P.O. Engineer. "All my relatives are in the G.P.O."
9. Headmaster "The family were interested in teaching."

A third form of parental influence is revealed when jobs were deliberately obtained by the parents, e.g.,

1. Female Shop Assistant. "Father chose my first job as a clerk and later I changed it to a shop assistant, as I like meeting people."
2. Housewife 44. "I wanted to be a hairdresser; my parents decided on a clerk's job."

Another major reason suggested was that of personal preference and this usually reflected strong interests or personal qualities or abilities. Examples:-

1. Architect. "I was interested in drawing and design."
2. British Railway Shed Foreman. "I always wanted to work on the railway."
3. T.V. Engineer. "My hobby became my job."
4. Press Telegraphist. "I liked the morse code and electrical matters."
5. Technical Illustrator. "I had a flair for art."

6. Headmistress. "I always wanted to be a teacher."
7. Teacher. "I wanted to be an artist but wasn't good enough so became a teacher."
8. Secretary. "I like office work and dealing with people."
9. Outfitter "I was keen on dressmaking and sewing."
10. Housewife (formerly cinema usherette). "I was crazy on shining torches: I was fascinated by it!"

A fourth reason with a high incidence especially among the older members of the sample was the availability of work. Thus in pre-war days with high unemployment in the twenties and thirties suitable work was even more scarce in the rural areas surrounding Gloucester than in the city itself. This was the main magnet which stimulated the rural immigration into the city from surrounding areas like the Forest of Dean. While this was generally true of ordinary working class employment it was particularly true of the more specialised professional forms of employment completely absent in rural areas. Example:

1. Housewife 42. "Cook-clerk-shop- it was difficult to get a job in the Forest."
2. " 53. "Difficult to get a job - conditions were grim - clerk and shopwork."
3. " 65. "Had to go into domestic work as I lived in a rural area."
4. " 63. "Match factory to jam factory: few jobs about."
5. Surveyor 49 "Wanted to be an architect but slump on, so became a surveyor."

6. Caterer "Slump period so started up my own business."
7. Printing Clerk 48. "Force of circumstances, nothing else available."
8. Retired Schoolmaster 66. "Economic necessity."
9. Salesman 56. "Difficult to get a job - and was not interested in manual work."
10. British Railway Checker. "Jobs scarce when I came out of the army, so I applied, got it and liked it."

Among the less important reasons given by some informants was the influence of friends in leading to a job. Thus -

1. Technical Publications Librarian 52. "My friends were in the R.A.F. so I joined as a boy apprentice."
2. Clerk 45. "Originally I intended to be a teacher, but I left school with the other boys and became a clerk."
3. G.P.O. employee - retired. "I obtained a job through the influence of the minister."
4. Housewife 30 (formerly dressmaker). "My friend was working there."
5. Progress Clerk 36. "I worked with British Railways where my friends were for 12 years and then changed."

A fifth reason suggested was security and this was much more in evidence among the older members interrogated and more common among men than women. With the post-war advent of the Welfare State the pre-war preoccupation with security as a resultant of widespread unemployment largely disappeared, but in recent months with the decrease in the labour force of several large firms the more

cautious approach to employment is again coming to the fore. Examples:

1. Electrician. "I was interested in electricity and thought it was a trade with security."
2. British Railways Clerk 34. "I prefer clerical work - more security: prefer this to greater pay and more risk of industry."
3. G.P.O. Engineer 47. "Better pay and security in G.P.O. than in engineering."
4. Housewife 53. "My father chose bank job for security."
5. Senior Admin. Clerk 46. "Security and difficulty of choice of a job."
6. G.P.O. Telephonist. "Security and an interesting job."

A sixth reason suggested was for advancement not only from an economic point of view but social standing of the employment also considered seriously. Examples:

1. Farmwork - Bus Driver - G.P.O. Postman Driver. "Better pay and always wanted to be a driver."
2. Case maker - Building trade - Milkround - Sawmills - Metalworks - Wagonworks - Army - British Railways.
3. Labourer - Lift-up Truck Driver. "To better myself."
4. Housewife 25. "Started at packing in printers and then promoted to Proof Reader."
5. Electrical Contractor. "Up and coming industry when I started."

A seventh reason given was for health reasons, but this was potent as a reason for changing from an uncongenial job to a more pleasant one.

1. B.N.S. Spinner. "Originally a miner in my own village but keen on a sport and fresh air, so joined Army."
2. Council Foreman. "Always liked an outdoor job."

3. Clerk "Arm accident at previous job so disablement: got job as a clerk."
4. Meals Organiser. "Second best to nursing - had strained back."
3. Housewife. "Only job in a factory because of my deafness."

An eighth reason was a temporary job before reaching age limit or other necessary qualifications before taking up more permanent work.

1. Stop-gap job on Citizen as Photographer. "As they would not take me on in radio because of call-up for Forces."
2. "Filling in job in office until ready for nursing."
3. Housewife. "Went in for Xmas and just stayed on."
4. "Took job awaiting apprenticeship at Wagonworks but my father died so I kept the job."
5. "Office boy whilst awaiting apprenticeship as Toolmaker."

A ninth reason was the personal recommendation for a particular job by some responsible adult, e.g., Minister of Religion or Headmaster.

1. Accountant in N.A.L.G.O. "My headmaster recommended it."
2. Woman Librarian. "My headmistress suggested it."
3. Housewife. "My teacher advised office work."

Among Class C males the order of preference for the reasons quoted was parental preference, work available, personal preference and no special reasons. Among females work available was the main answer followed by personal preference and then jointly in third place parental preference and no special reason. One reason quoted by

many women was a job near home which frequently reflected domestic responsibilities and was rarely quoted by males.

Among Class B men personal preference was easily the most important with work available and parental preference being well behind in importance. Among Class B women personal and parental preference nearly joint equal easily led over other reasons and next in importance was "no special reason."

These then were the main reasons suggested why certain types of employment were accepted: among older workers few claimed the world owed them a job whereas many of the younger group assumed that there would always be some job for them.

Another aspect of employment investigated was that of women at work and in particular the position of married women in varying age and status groups.

All unmarried women physically well enough to work or who had not retired, were either in work or seeking work, with the exception of one Class A family comprising two sisters who had never trained for any type of work. Of independent means they had done work of a charitable nature when younger especially during the war years. All other A type women had trained for some occupation or profession and were seeing to it that their girls were educated and trained for some profession. The concept of earlier times that ladies of the highest social group neither trained nor entered paid employment no longer holds

in Gloucester, and is merely a local reflection of a much wider national state of affairs. Heavier death duties, better educational facilities for girls at schools and universities, increasing social mobility have all contributed in some measure to the decline of the Victorian idea that a "lady" performed only "good works."

With regard to Class B females the daughters had few illusions that they would not have to work. Despite living in comfortable middle class homes they soon perceived that the parental income mainly from a professional source¹ was hardly likely to leave a fortune, and that if they wished to maintain their existing standards of living then they in turn would need to be professionally qualified. In Class C it was understood one worked as soon as one was able and or old enough.

The position of married women in industry - excluding two textile areas - is becoming less controversial than formerly: to the followers of Mrs. Pankhurst she appears as a figure of freedom but to those who believe that a woman's place is in the kitchen looking after her home and children she appears as one with a distorted sense of values in this respect. In a sample of working wives 26% of mothers with children under 15 years were at work and grave concern was expressed over the social consequences of such a trend by officers responsible for the welfare of children.

1. "Working Wives" V. Klein. Institute of Personal Management 1960 p.1.

Poverty has always driven out some married women to work, but the presence of so many gainfully employed in the Welfare State is clearly due to factors other than necessity or a sense of vocation. This movement is tending to disrupt the earlier established forms of family life and "involves two personal relationships - that of husband to wife and parent to child: it affects economic life from bread and butter chores of household to long term discussions of the board-room: its relevance to sound policy is subtle and far-reaching."¹ The trend for an increasing number of married women to be gainfully employed is clearly revealed in the Ministry of Labour statistics: thus in 1959 one worker in every six was a married woman and the percentage of married women of all women employed increased from 44% in 1951 to 53% in 1959. This trend is true of all status groups and varies from one factory worker out of two, one full time teacher out of every three, to one nurse out of every four.

The reasons why women went out to work were many and varied but the majority did not work only for wages. The main motive appeared to be to raise the standard of living of the family as a whole and this was reflected in a modern attractive home or an older house modernised as much as possible. Inside it the various durable consumer goods such as the television and refrigerator were frequently found. Encouraged by womens' magazines

1. "Married Women Working." P. Jephcott London 1962. p.19

and programmes on the radio and television meals became more varied and filling starchy foods less common. With mass produced clothes in the shops and less economic dependence on the husband's wages, women feel less guilty in purchasing a more varied selection of clothes than prior to earning wages themselves. To many in the lower social group it meant the probability of a holiday.

Among some of the social changes in the home which permitted many housewives to enter paid employment were the fall in the size of the family, better health and housing and the provision of household gadgets which reduced time and energy spent in performing household tasks. These changes were complementary to those occurring in industry, where with increasing industrialization the demand for female labour was increasing. In light engineering works modern machines enable skill to be more important than strength and increasing administration in industry and commerce calls for additional women clerks. Shops which before the war would dismiss employers on marriage now became pleased to retain their services if only as part-time assistants. This has only become possible by a complete revolution in the attitude management has taken over the part time and full time employment of women in the post-war years. With young women maturing earlier, the age of marriage for women dropping and the increased expectation of life, it became very likely that an increasing number of married

women would be employed.

Among the various factors which partly controlled womens' entry into gainful employment was their age. In Gloucester as a whole approximately one in three (35%) of all married women were working either part-time or full time and this includes divorced women and wives separated from their husbands. However on dividing them into age groups as in Table 3 the results are not identical in the different age groups.

Table 3

Married women working in age groups
(Percentage of all married women)

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Full-time</u>	<u>Part-time</u>	<u>Not working</u>
20-29	14%	11%	75%
30-39	12%	28%	60%
40-49	18%	27%	55%
50-59	10%	18%	72%
60-69	0%	12%	88%

- Notes:
1. Applies only to married women and includes widows and divorcees.
 2. Part-time includes work of so many hours regularly, seasonal employment and work performed at home occasionally.

It is at once apparent that the main working group is the 40-49 years age group with nearly a half employed either part-time or full-time. In this age group the children of working wives would probably be beyond the dependent stage while their mothers would still have the energy and drive to expend on an outside job. In

contrast the youngest age group has less than half the number working part-time and this is probably due to domestic responsibilities with young children. As might be expected the age group with fewest women employed is the oldest where no-one was engaged in full-time employment but more than one in ten were engaged in part-time employment.

On analysing the same returns on the basis of age-group and social class interesting differences emerge.

Table 4

Married women working in age and status groups
(Percentage of all married women including divorces/
separated wives)

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Full Time</u>			<u>Part Time</u>		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
20-29	0%	43%	11%	0%	43%	7%
30-39	0%	18%	11%	33%	14%	31%
40-49	25%	27%	15%	0%	32%	26%
50-59	14%	9%	10%	0%	18%	20%
60-69	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	12%
All Ages	11%	24%	11%	11%	25%	22%

From the above table women in Class A and Class B in the all ages group appear to be divided evenly between full and part-time work but only half as many in Class C are full time workers as are employed part-time. Again, whereas among those employed full-time, Class B is nearly double the Class C percentage figure, this is not true of

part-time workers where the figures are nearly equal. In nearly all status groups (including Class B 20-29 years age group) employment tends to rise to a peak in the 40-49 years age group and to decrease afterwards. In Class B and C among those in full-time employment B is greater than C for the first three age groups and then the position is reversed: among part-time workers the pattern is more confused, with Class B having higher percentages in the first and third age groups and the reverse being true in the other groups. The very low percentage for Class C in the 20-29 years age groups is probably due to families having young children as this social group in general tends to marry younger than the other two groups.

Another fundamental factor with regard to women working was their education prior to marriage. This factor while largely controlling the type of work a woman might be qualified to take or to choose, also affected the ability to work in relation to demands her family made on her time and energy.

Table 5

School Education of Working Wives with children
(Per cent of all wives in different schools)

<u>School</u>	<u>Full-time work</u>	<u>Part-time work</u>
Grammar School	13%	20%
Central (Tech.)	15%	23%
Secondary Modern	8%	25%

The salient facts emerging from this brief table are that more women with children work part-time than full-time and that the percentage of part-time workers increases with decreasing academic standards. With regard to full-time work no such regular trend is noted but women with a secondary modern education form a minority group in direct contrast with full-time workers where they constitute the major group. While the range between full-time and part-time workers with grammar and central school education is only similar, the range of those with secondary modern education is more than twice as much.

Whilst former grammar school pupils are in general better equipped in being able to undertake a greater variety of jobs than their secondary modern sisters, it does not always follow that the jobs they would like to undertake are as plentiful as those for the latter. In both these groups one woman in three is employed but in the percentage figures for full time workers in grammar school pupils are nearly half as many again as in secondary modern pupils. Former pupils of the central school which has a commercial bias would appear to find full-time jobs fairly early where their various office skills may be put to good use.

On further analysis into status groups and dividing those whose families include children living at home Table 6 was obtained.

Table 6

Post-primary school education of working wives in status groups (Per cent of all wives in school/status group with or without children at home.

<u>With children</u>	<u>Class A</u>		<u>Class B</u>		<u>Class C</u>	
	F/T	P/T	F/T	P/T	F/T	P/T
School						
G.S.	14%	14%	19%	19%	8%	18%
C.S.	-	-	14%	42%	16%	19%
S.M.	50%	-	23%	9%	6%	25%
<u>No children</u>						
G.S.	14%	14%	36%	18%	25%	25%
C.S.	-	-	-	-	100%	0%
S.M.	-	-	-	66%	16%	14%

In the group with children both Class A and Class B have identical figures for part-time and full-time respectively but in Class C part-time workers are more than double full-time workers. With ex pupils of the Central School full-time workers in Class B and Class C are very similar with 14% and 16% respectively but part-time workers in the former class are again double those in the latter.

In the secondary modern group full-time workers in Class B are similar in importance to part-time workers in Class C and Class B part-time workers are more in accord with full-time workers in Class C.

Working wives with no children at home reveal several differences. Thus whilst in the former division full-time and part-time workers were equal in Class A and

also in Class B, in this second major division Class A and Class C repeat this pattern. In Class B twice as many work full-time as part-time, which remains practically the same figure as families with children. Among secondary modern wives full-time and part-time workers with 16% and 14% respectively, are more evenly divided than when children are present when the figures range from 6% to 25%.

With regard to salary groupings no real difference is noted in Class A where figures for grammar school wives with or without children are identical, but the sample here is too small to be statistically significant. In Class B figures for grammar school wives are again identical for full-time with children and part-time with and without children but full-time workers without children are approximately double the last group. In Class C only two patterns emerge, the steady increase in part-time employment from grammar school education downwards and equal figures for full and part-time workers without children.

If this three-tiered division of educational backgrounds was simplified into simply grammar and non-grammar school education then the figures for the families with children at home would resolve into

	Class B		Class C	
	F/T	P/T	F/T	P/T
Grammar School	19%	19%	8%	18%
Non " "	21%	17%	8%	19%

These indicate a surprising degree of conformity in Class B with regard both to type of employment and education. In Class C part-time workers are again practically equal and conform in order with figures in Class B. Full-time workers while being equal as far as education is concerned are each less than a half of part-time workers numerically. From these figures differing types of education would appear to have only a limited effect on the frequency and incidence of women with children working away from home. No such correlations are evident with regard to working wives with no children at home.

It has been stated elsewhere¹, that the falling birth rates and shrinking families have revolutionized the life of the present day mother especially if she is in her thirties and forties. The resulting smaller family has meant greater social and physical freedom and the extent to which the size of the family - living at home - had on wives working either part-time or full-time was investigated.

Table 7 Wives working in relation to children at home
(Per cent of all families in sample)

<u>Number of children</u>	<u>Full-time</u>	<u>Part-time</u>
0	18%	15%
1	14%	22%
2	7%	23%
3	7%	19%
4	5%	20%
5	20%	10%

The first result appeared to be that with no children at home full-time working was more popular than part-time working but once children appeared the reverse was true. With regard to families with five children or over the sample was so small that the results can be ignored. With increasing dependants at home the fraction of full-time workers and part-time workers naturally decreased from approximately 2/3rd with one child to 1/3rd with two or three children to 1/4 with four children. When status groups are introduced several other interesting results emerge:

Table 8 Working wives with children at home, in status groups.
(Per cent of all wives in status groups)

<u>Number of children</u>	<u>Full-time</u>			<u>Part-time</u>		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
0	10	27	17	10	27	14
1	-	21	12	-	25	22
2	14	13	5	14	10	28
3	-	11	6	-	11	21
4	-	33	-	-	33	18

From Table little appreciable difference is noted between full-time and part-time working in Classes A and B but this is due to the limited number in the sample. In Class C wives with no children preferred by a slight majority to work full-time rather than part-time but thereafter percentages of wives with children working

part-time were appreciably greater than those working full-time. Here it is clear that while working may be desirable the interests of the family were dominant and it was not unknown for wives to arrange their part-time jobs to fit in with family requirements particularly if there were young children.

Among full-time workers, wives with no children in Class B reveal a much higher percentage than the other two classes and its normal intermediate position is again absent among part-time workers where it is again first. In this group part-time workers in Class C are two thirds those in Class B but its full-time workers are only about a half. In families with one child Class B again is dominant, but its marked dominance among full-time workers compared with the lowest status group is not maintained among part-time workers where they are nearly equal. With families of two children Class A and B have similar percentages for full-time workers each being approximately three times as numerous as those in Class C. A marked difference however occurs among part-time workers where not only Class^c wives are the main group, but are sufficiently numerous to be greater than the sum of the other two. In this group for the first time Class B is the smallest group. Among families with three children Class B wives working full-time are nearly twice as numerous as Class C wives but among part-time workers the

positions are nearly reversed.

Another factor which restricts the housewife from working is the age of the youngest child and in Table 9^a this is examined.

Table 9

Working wives - Age of youngest child
(Per cent of all wives with children in same age group)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Full-time</u>	<u>Part-time</u>
Under 1 year	-	-
1-5 years	5%	8%
6-10 "	11%	34%
11-15 "	18%	30%
16-20 "	11%	26%
21 and over	6%	6%

When the child is very young figures for part-time and full-time workers are low and part-time working is preferred.

At all ages part-time work was preferred to full-time employment and in both cases the maximum had been reached by the time the child was normally of school leaving age or younger: thus among full-time workers nearly one in five with children in the 11-15 years age group work and among full-time workers one in three with children in the 6-10 years group worked. With children who had attained their majority percentages for part-time and full-time workers were equal and accounted in each case for approximately one in twenty of housewives with children

of this age. With more housewives with children of school age working it is probable that a good many do so for the sake of their children as this is the time of greatest expenditure for most families. The extra income from a working wife may have enabled the adolescent to remain at school longer or to receive low wages as an apprentice¹. The habit of working is not ended at school-leaving age as in the childrens' age group of 16-20 years over one in four work part-time. With children of the lower age-groups most wives were concerned about having a reliable "minder" and this was less easy in the new housing estates as mother or mother-in-law rarely lived near.

On analysing more closely the same problem but also including status groups the following figures emerge:

Table 10

Working wives-Age of youngest child by/status groups

	<u>Class A</u>		<u>Class B</u>		<u>Class C</u>	
	F/T	P/T	F/T	P/T	F/T	P/T
Under 1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1-5	-	-	7%	7%	5%	9%
6-10	33%	33%	30%	20%	7%	37%
11-15	-	-	28%	28%	15%	32%
16-20	-	-	28%	28%	7%	25%
21 & over	100%	-	-	-	-	10%

Among Class B housewives figures for full-time and part-time workers are identical except where the childrens'

age-group is for 6-10 years where strangely enough full-time workers clearly outnumber part-time workers. In this group smallest figures are again revealed in the youngest childrens' age-group, but in the next three age-groups the results are nearly identical ranging from 28%-30% for both full-time and part-time workers with the above exception. Class C figures are also lowest with the youngest children and with all age groups full-time workers are fewer than part-time workers. Full-time workers rise steadily from 5% in the 1-5 years childrens' age group to a maximum of 15% in the 11-15 years age group and thereafter decline to 7% in the next age group. Part-time workers start with a minimum of 9% in the 1-5 years age group, rise rapidly to a maximum of 37% in the next age group and thereafter steadily decline to 25% in the 16-20 years childrens' age group. On comparing the results for Class B and Class C the main contrasts appear to be the uniformity of the figures for full-time and part-time workers in Class B whereas in Class C there is a marked difference behind these figures. Secondly in Class B full-time workers are from twice to four times as numerous as in Class C but in only one case are part-time workers in Class C outnumbered by their counterparts in Class B - and this is after the normal school-leaving age when it is probable that a higher percentage

of Class B children are still at school than children of Class C parents.

Among several reasons put forward for going out to work was the desire to improve the material standards of the home. Thus an extra income enabled working wives to purchase better furniture, labour saving machines, record players and television sets and frequently a second-hand car. To investigate this matter informants were asked if they possessed a car, washing machine, refrigerator and a television set. Results were then analysed under the following headings:

Table 11

Amenities in household in relation to wife's work situation. Number of listed amenities.

	4	3	2	1 or less
Sample as a whole	15%	27%	30%	28%
Full-time workers/Housewives	18%	33%	26%	23%
Part-time workers/Housewives	12%	31%	30%	27%
Housewives only	16%	26%	32%	30%

From Table 11 it is clear that the incentive for durable consumer goods is merely one of several reasons for going out to work as housewives who do not work have approximately the same joint percentage of 4 & 3 amenities as housewives who work only part-time. Full-time workers however rate the largest percentages among those having 4 & 3 amenities respectively but this is not the complete answer. Whilst the survey was being made it became evident that many homes possessed these amenities

because of the husband's income and that in other cases they may have been obtained prior to the wife working. It was also possible for housewives to spend their wages on things other than household amenities and thus in this respect to appear poorer than housewives not working. An attempt was thus made to break these figures down into status groups to smooth out differing income levels but Class A was omitted as the sample was too small.

Table 12

Amenities in households in relation to housewives work/ status group.
(Per cent of each status group)

<u>Amenities</u>	<u>Class B</u>			<u>Class C</u>		
	Full time	Part time	Not working	Full time	Part time	Not working
4	13%	43%	53%	18%	4%	6%
3	47%	36%	25%	29%	30%	22%
2	27%	21%	15%	24%	32%	36%
1	13%	0%	7%	29%	34%	36%

From the table, in Class B over half of the households where the housewife does not go out to work possess four amenities and this is clearly a reflection of the economic status of the husband. While part-time workers were 10% less than housewives not working they were substantially better off than the full-time workers. With fewer amenities in the homes percentages decrease uniformly with decreasing work.

In Class C the position is quite different in that a complete reversal of the position is shown with regard to four amenities. Here housewives working full-time are the dominant group exceeding the sum of the other two groups instead of being the minority group as in Class B. With three amenities workers both full and part-time are appreciably better off than housewives not working. A marked contrast is noted between percentages of these homes in Class B and Class C with four amenities where the housewife does not go out to work from one household in every two in Class B it falls to one in twenty in Class C.

Another aspect of housewives employed outside the home was the type of work undertaken. With a widely varying social and educational background it was not difficult to assume there would be a range in the type of work from a highly skilled and full-time professional job to one merely requiring physical presence for a few hours a week. The occupations were thus listed as follows:

Table 13

Types of occupations followed by housewives
(Per cent of each status group)

	Class			Sample as a whole
	A	B	C	
1. Doctor, teacher, nurse, etc.	-	18%	1%	4%
2. Supervisory level (Manager of shop, bookkeeper etc.)	75%	14%	5%	9%
3. Secretary, typist, student nurse, etc.	25%	32%	11%	16%
4. Office clerk, shop assistant, medical orderly:	-	36%	31%	31%

	Class			Sample as a whole
	A	B	C	
5. Skilled trade. machine sewing operator	-	-	9%	7%
6. Semi-skilled manual (factory operative)	-	-	10%	8%
7. Unskilled-office cleaner, miscellaneous domestic work:	100%	100%	100%	100%

In the sample as a whole a rather low percentage is revealed among those occupations for which either an extended professional training is necessary or a fairly lengthy apprenticeship. This is partly due to the preponderance of Class C housewives over the other two social groups in the sample. Most women either chose work for which they had had some training or in which they had experience such as office or shop work, but a substantial minority amounting to one in four opted for unskilled domestic work.

In order to assess the effect of social and former educational advantages on the choice of occupation the replies were again analysed into status groups. This revealed marked contrasts. Thus in the small sample in Class A women were employed in only two categories and these were relatively highly placed! In Class B the range was greater and embraced the four top categories, with most women opting for work in offices and shops. Class C revealed a range embracing all types of employment but with most women - amounting to two out of every three - fairly evenly divided between office and shop work or miscellaneous domestic jobs.

Married women working are thus employed for a variety of reasons and few did so with the idea of pursuing a career or "seeking fulfilment by holding positions of responsibility"¹. Many factors ranging from the number of children, the age of youngest child, the husband's occupation, educational and social background all contributed to the need for working and the type of work performed, and those cases where there were children no work was undertaken which might cause unnecessary worry to the children. Only with the full co-operation of the rest of the family was the housewife able to earn an extra income for her family and this often entailed a more carefully organised routine for herself and greater physical and mental stress.

In conclusion it has been seen that the occupation followed is usually a function of several variables. Thus while educational background is a major factor, on occasion parental influence can be of greater local importance than innate intellectual ability. As however the type of occupation is frequently accepted as the main criterion in determining a person's social status, this chapter has attempted to show to what extent these two factors are correlated in the social hierarchy of Gloucester.

CHAPTER 5

Housing in Gloucester

One of the essentials for every family in Britain is a dwelling in which to live and one of the main purposes of this chapter will be to analyse the many varieties of houses built in Gloucester as social status symbols.

Before discussing in more detail the various types of houses and the differing locations within the city each with slightly different status values, it will perhaps be advantageous to give a brief introduction to the urban geography of Gloucester as a background to the varied values placed on different locations within the city.

Prior to the advent of the railways in the middle of the nineteenth century Gloucester remained fairly compact in plan and had not materially changed in area for many years. However the railways provided the means of transporting heavy goods and raw materials between Gloucester and other places, notably Bristol, the Midlands and South Wales, and enabled it to develop industrially. During the period 1870-1914 it was this industrial growth that determined the extent and direction of the city's expansion and in 1900 the major extension of the city's boundaries on the south side was evidence of the growth.

In the early development of industry in the city there was no marked division between areas which contained factories and those purely devoted to housing, but the construction of the railways and the docks understandably

tended to attract factory buildings alongside them. Other small factories then were built on the fringe of the city but with the building of many streets for the ever increasing number of workers these slowly became engulfed resulting in a compact but haphazard collection of houses and factories. Later with fewer suitable sites near the docks or railways firms unable to expand laterally did so vertically, erecting multi-storey buildings. Contemporaneous with this development was the ever increasing need for accommodation for workers in houses needing the minimum of capital and this was partly accounted for by the in-filling of plots among the terraces of the eighteenth century.

In addition to many smaller terrace-type houses being built in the central area of the city from about 1880 onwards complete estates of similar type houses were built on the periphery of the city. These were different in that all the houses in the road were identical and no factories were built amongst them. Frequently they were built as semi-detached villas with tiny front gardens protected from passers-by by stone walls on which were embedded cast iron railings. Building dates of streets grew progressively later as distance from the centre of the city increased but this growth was not symmetrical as the Severn prevented any westward extension.

Contemporaneous with the spatial expansion, changes took place within the city. Thus in the commercial

core, family businesses frequently with living accommodation above them were sold to wealthy multiple stores, who using only the ground floor sub-let the other storeys as offices for lawyers, insurance firms and other commercial undertakings- many examples of this are found in the streets intersecting at the Cross. Similarly some of the spacious Regency houses built in Spa Road and Brunswick Road became divided into flats the occupants of which were socially and economically very different from the type of people for whom this type of house was originally built. The former advantage of this type of house in being near the city centre became increasingly less important with the development of modern transport. Proximity to the nearby park is however partly responsible for the relatively high rateable values of houses in these roads.

Having briefly outlined the urban geography of Gloucester as far as housing is concerned it is now necessary to try and evaluate the importance of a house as a social status symbol among the differing classes in the city's population.

To a limited extent the size and quality of a house and the location in which it is built is a reflection of the social status of its occupier. The correlation between houses and the social status of their occupiers was higher in the inter-war years than post World War II, in that during the last sixteen years there has been a

chronic shortage of houses partly due to war damage, partly to the absence of house building during the war period and partly to the improved standards of housing needed: this has resulted in soaring house prices and this in turn is reflected in certain young families having to occupy houses inferior to their social status. In general, however, most families try to live in the best type of house they can afford.

As discussed earlier the physical construction and design of a house is not the complete answer either to its cost or its popularity: frequently in Gloucester as elsewhere location can be as important as construction. Thus there is a marked difference between the newer council estates like the Coney Hill area, and the area near The Oval, and the social heights of Barnwood, Longlevens or the Stroud Road. While there are still some of the older terraces with rather small houses lacking all the modern amenities many of the worst have been cleared under various demolition orders some prior to, and others post second world war. The more recent clearances have been made in the vicinity of the cathedral exposing part of it to more general view and as part of the Jellicoe plan for the city. Other areas in Westgate Street and in the Kingsholm area have been cleared for casual house building mainly in the form of flats owing to the high site cost and the need for a higher density per acre.

The problem of limited land for suitable building sites has been overcome in the past by simply extending the boundary and even today the outward sprawl of the city is beyond the city limits in areas already built up. This expansion during the last seventy years has often been carried out by areas of land being developed as estates, the houses of which for the most part are nearly identical. Thus the semi-detached houses with small gardens in front, built before the first World War in streets near Howard Street, Knowles Road and Hanman Road, were clearly residential in character when originally built. Not only were these houses an improvement in size, style and layout, and in density to the acre, compared with those streets to the immediate north of them, but they were located on the south side of the city with no building beyond them. Similarly the area including Heathville Road, Alexandra Road and Denmark Road was residential but in having much larger houses, conservatories and gardens, clearly superior to the former area. In the inter-war years further building took place but for the first time this included council house building as well as private building. This period saw the completion of an estate of small brick houses some part rough case, others with wholly brick exteriors, some semi-detached, others in short terraces, around The Oval. The private housing estates built around this area while fairly uniform in

character were superior in type as houses in Robinson Road or Calton Road would soon reveal. An equally clear contrast could be made between the Corporation's Coney Hill estate and the various roads constructed in the Barnwood Road and Cheltenham Road areas. In neither of these areas were there any inter-mixture of radically different types of houses as occurred nearer the city centre due mainly to infilling.

Among the various criteria on which houses may be classified into different groups are age, initial cost and density to the acre. Age is not entirely satisfactory as design is not a steady evolution: thus earlier Regency houses now divided into flats in Spa Road and Brunswick Road are considered by most people to be architecturally superior to houses built much later. Density per acre involves area of garden and length of frontage: prior to the first world war good class houses frequently had small frontages as is seen in Brunswick Road and Alexandra Road, but what these houses lacked in this aspect they made up for in depth of house from front to back, and in the number of storeys. With traffic limited to horse drawn vehicles traffic noise was at a minimum and garage space was not needed. As regards size and initial cost the greater the size the greater was the need for domestic help but in the days prior to 1914 when most of the larger houses in Gloucester were built, this presented no difficulty.

In general these various factors are incorporated in the rateable value of a house and in so far as this involves the occupant in financial commitments,¹ the rateable value may partly be correlated with status. Strictly speaking the payment of similar rates by different people reflects their common financial liability and in theory it would be possible for people of widely differing social status to pay the same rates. In general however this is not true as differing social groups reflect different order of priorities and the possession of a highly desirable residence is of the first importance among those who consider themselves in the upper echelons of society. Thus the division of the population of Gloucester into three divisions can be correlated with a similar three-fold division of houses on the basis of their rateable values. The lowest rateable group included those houses whose rateable values were £25 or less annually. This group including most of the smaller and older houses and the majority of the Corporation houses, accounts for two out of every three houses in the city. The intermediate group which comprised those in the range £26 to £40 annually included some of the more recent and better designed semi-detached Corporation houses. The highest category were those houses with a rateable value in excess of £40 annually and involved a wide range of houses from the smaller well designed and

1. The national values quoted are those prevailing on 1/4/62 and prior to the present assessment made in 1963.

and equipped modern houses to the large Victorian houses.

The disposition of the houses of Class^A category amounting to 5.7% of the total houses in the city are concentrated in four distinct areas either on the periphery of the city or fairly central but near the Park. In the north of the city the two areas are different in age and style. Thus along the ring-road - Estcourt Road - and roads in between the intersection of the Cheltenham Road and Barnwood Road such as Kenilworth Road, Merevale Road, Groevenor Road, the houses are fairly recent, either inter-war or post-war in age and include detached and semi-detached houses.¹ They are in general only slightly superior in design, location facilities or ground space to many very similar if slightly smaller houses in the intermediate rateable value group. In general they are the houses of the better paid professional men or owners of small businesses. The other group situated inside the angle between Estcourt Road and London Road, and bounded on the west by a line running from Heathville Road to Denmark Road and Lansdown Road, comprises houses built in the period 1875-1914: a similar small group of large houses are located at the northern end of Horton Road.

The larger of these houses are mainly detached, but the slightly smaller ones are either semi-detached or are built in short terraces. Nearly all are built of brick only, the very large ones are of local Cotswold stone.²

1. See photographs and plans in atlas.

2. See photograph of Hillfield - now offices.

and have ornamental porches, loggias, large bay windows, conservatories and a drive leading to the front door. To the side or rear, former coach houses or stables still stand but are now utilised as garages, often with flats above. 1. These houses were built when servants of different types and of both sexes were easily available at low wages and when income tax was less than at present: this allowed the upper group in society to lead comfortable if not fairly luxurious lives. However with increases in wages, rates and taxes and with smaller families the demand for this type of house has seriously declined during the last fifty years and in consequence many conversions have taken place. Thus Hillfield House has become a block of offices and its garden a place of rest and relaxation for the general public. Other uses to which these types of houses have been put during the last forty years, include students' hostels, preparatory schools, nursing homes and private hotels but no business premises have been permitted in this residential area.

Apart from changes in use many of these large older types of dwellings have been converted into self-contained flats which in view of the unsatisfied demand for houses in the city has enabled many people of the slightly lower social group to live in this area. This explains how some people of Class C social status acquire a Class A address.

A small "island" of Class A houses exist in the

1. Denmark Road area.

cathedral precincts, surrounded by streets - some of which are now being cleared - of the lowest rated property. These terrace houses of three floors and constructed of brick, in contrast with the cathedral, lack large grounds and make do with small front gardens. Forming a quiet enclave near the city centre they are now much used by professional people partly as offices and partly for residential purposes. Some of them now contain self-contained flats and people connected with the cathedral who formerly lived here, now live elsewhere.

The second area of Class A houses includes the area near the Park and the Spa and comprises roads with those names and Montpellier. These houses, many of Regency style, were built when this was the residential part of the city. In general the houses are tall and include a basement and ground floor and two upper floors. In general apart from the use of two buildings for scholastic purposes, there has been very limited change of use in this area. However rising costs have caused the majority of these houses to be converted into flats for residential uses. While the Park with its facilities for recreation including cricket, tennis, bowls, apart from merely walking remains as a lung for the city, so long will this area retain its residential character. It is notable however that although there is no marked architectural difference between the east and west end of Spa Road, the quieter

cul-de-sac nature of the former is understandably more highly favoured than the west end abutting on to the busy main Gloucester-Bristol Road.

The third area comprises a very recent housing estate situated on the lower slopes of Robinswood Hill at Tuffley and providing excellent views of the Severn and the Forest of Dean beyond. The houses in general are mainly of brick, detached, and of differing architectural design but all with garages or garage space. People living in this area are mainly professional men or business executives and live in their own houses. Prices are high but the estate has neither grown as fast nor found as much favour as its developers originally thought. This may in part be due to the nearby large council estate. As these houses are built for owner-occupiers none of the lowest social groups occupy houses in this district.

Houses in the middle rateable value range account for 27.3% of all private houses in the city and whereas they are smaller in size than the former group they are rarely occupied other than by one family. The group includes brick houses built from the end of the nineteenth century to the present day and includes private and public building. The older houses such as those of Belgrave Road include those with a basement kitchen and two other floors but with narrow frontages and no garage space and are clearly houses built earlier for middle class occupants.

The more recent houses are usually detached or semi-detached of brick with garages or garage space. While occupying less ground than type A houses they usually have larger gardens than the older houses of the same rateable value but this is mainly a reflection of cheaper sites away from the city centre. The smaller gardens usually include small lawns at the front with larger houses with flower beds, with or without small vegetable plots to the rear.

Internally the houses from the inter-war period to the present day are of similar design, with a lounge, dining room and kitchen downstairs, and 2-4 bedrooms upstairs with a bathroom and lavatory.

In accounting for more than one house in every four, these houses are widely scattered in the city but the distribution is mainly peripheral in character. Thus in the north of the city older brick built terrace houses of limited frontage occur. In Henry Road and Honyatt Road adjacent to the Class A houses of Heathville Road and Seabroke Road and a small group comprising North Road, Malvern Road and Hinton Road lead off from the Class A Lansdown Road. In all cases frontage is limited but small bay windows are protected from passers-by by tiny front gardens.

In contrast whole estates built in the inter-war years on either side of the Cheltenham Road and Barnwood

Road are much more modern in design and are either detached or semi-detached: gardens however are not large and the houses themselves differ only slightly from the smaller modern Class A houses of Merevale Road. During the same period a similar small estate triangular in shape was built between Painswick Road and the Cemetery and after the last war another small estate of private building was completed nearby at Cotteswold Road and Teddington Gardens.

The inter-war period also saw the completion of many streets of red brick villa type houses in similar terraces in the area to the south and west of the Stroud Road and immediately east of the older streets abutting on to the Bristol Road. Typical examples include Robinson Road and Bloomfield Road in the north, Newark Road, Podsmead Road, Roseberry Avenue, Kitchener Avenue and Calton Road in the south. Later rather more modern houses more frequently semi-detached than in terraces, were built along Podsmead Road, Tuffley Crescent and between Cole Avenue and Tuffley Lane. In all these areas most inhabitants were the lower paid professional people, the owners of small businesses or skilled artisans.

Contemporaneous with this programme of private building the Corporation, after the end of the first World War, embarked on a policy of building houses partly to replace slum clearance properties and partly to house its

ever increasing population. Estates with houses of medium rateable value were those built at Coney Hill, on both sides of Finlay Road, and also included Wheatstone Road, Parry Road, Bathurst Road and Hartland Road. For similar reasons the Corporation at the end of World War II built newer estates but only parts of these estates contained houses in this rateable group. In the north amidst a private estate The Triangle was built as infilling but nearby on the east of Elmbridge Road, only Elmlease in a large estate had this rateable value. Adjacent to the earlier Coney Hill estate additional roads such as St. Lawrence Road, Durham Road, Lichfield Road and Chester Road were built, and these were residential in character. To the south of the city at Tuffley only two streets in the Podsmead estate were in this group and broadly speaking this was equally true of the very large council estate at Matson.

An excellent example of some of the consequences of urban growth is shown by Brunswick Road which is now in the middle rateable group. Originally this was clearly one of the leading residential roads leading to the Spa but with the continuous shifting and overlapping of the city's area of utilisation the ground floors of many houses have now been converted into offices. Similarly, Brunswick Square has civic offices and the former large houses requiring many domestic servants for their upkeep

and now divided into flats both for professional and artisan families.

The third and largest group with a rateable value of £25 or less, accounts for 67% of all houses in the city and on the basis of age can be divided into two groups, those built prior to 1914 entirely by private enterprise and those built after by private enterprise and the Corporation.

In general the pre-1914 houses built of brick are small and are built in short streets. The main areas in which they are found are firstly in the Kingsholm district where many are or have been demolished to form the site for a multi-storeyed block of flats for the Corporation. A second area similar in character and age and also being demolished by the Corporation so that new flats may be erected occur near the Cathedral and Lower Westgate Street. The third area comprises a group of streets such as Alma Place, all parallel and all ending at right angles to the Bristol Road. Lastly, the greater part of Tredworth - the area sited completely within the railway loop - has many such streets including Dainty Street, Moor Street and Percy Street, all with rateable values of £12. Most of these houses have no front garden and structurally consist of two rooms upstairs and two rooms downstairs, with occasionally small back kitchens or sculleries at ground floor level only, tacked on to the rear of the building. In the very smallest the front door leads

straight into the sitting room₁, and no space is available for a passage.

Above a rateable value of £14 per annum the houses become larger in size having more bedrooms and facilities like bathroom and internal lavatories. At the front of the houses porches and bay windows set in front gardens are further indications of their material and social superiority to the first group. In the upper levels of this rateable group little difference existed between them and the next group and at the limit, minor differences in design or slight difference in location was sufficient to divide them.

During the inter-war years many of the older houses were condemned for various reasons as unsuitable for people to live in and this led to various slum clearance orders being carried out. During this period the Corporation erected 2,167 houses and flats and in addition, under the Housing Act of 1923 plus a subsidy from the Corporation, 435 houses were built in the city by private persons and builders.₁ To this total must be added 4,096 dwellings which the Corporation has erected from 1945 to March 1963. The building of corporation houses was stimulated immediately after the last war in that private building was controlled by licences and in curtailing the private section of housing the public sector had the greatest share both of men and materials.

In general the Corporation houses erected before 1939 are somewhat different from the post war types partly in design, partly in amenities provided, and partly in location. Thus pre-war, nearly all the dwellings erected except for a small number near Tredworth Road, were houses and not flats and almost all of them had either three or four bedrooms. The houses in general were for large families removed from sub-standard houses or for over crowding reasons and rehoused at Coney Hill or in the "White City" area. On the Coney Hill estate, houses were well built of brick and were of the living-kitchen type with grates and a parlour and bathroom downstairs: a geyser supplied hot water for the bathroom. The houses were built in fairly long terraces with a small garden in the front and a large one to the rear of the house.

In the "White City" area houses were of the non-parlour type with one large living room, kitchen and bathroom downstairs and three bedrooms upstairs. Whereas some were built of unadorned brick, others were wholly or in part covered with stucco: other houses built with concrete blocks had condensation problems. Here the terraces were shorter in length and frequently houses were built six to eight to a block.

The third area comprised the roads sited between Reservoir Road and the railway line to the immediate west.

Here the houses and character of the estate had more in common with the Coney Hill estate with long brick built terraces. In this estate Duplex flats were constructed each of which could be converted into 3 bedrooomed flats, or 2 bedrooms upstairs and one bedroom downstairs flats.

In all these estates the gardens were large and the inhabitants were keen on gardening - some even had allotments as this was the period of low wages and little overtime. The tenants of these estates were materially better off than they had been in their former homes in that they had most conveniences and as they were selected from the poorer areas their rents were low.

The post war dwellings not only differed markedly from some of their pre-war predecessors but also among themselves and this was partly intentional to avoid monotony and partly forced on the corporation by internal economic forces. Thus irrespective of structure the best equipped houses were built at the immediate end of the war. Later with increasing costs for land, loan charges, increasing wages and building costs, economies were inevitable forced on the Corporation: these economies varied but "extras" such as the immersion heater, the second lavatory and cupboards were not provided in later houses and partition walls were not built downstairs creating an L-shaped room. Later instead of semi-detached houses, terraces were built with a way through to the

rear of the house. Still later houses were made rather smaller and in longer terraces, e.g., Westbury Road with the front and back doors near each other and the garbage can near both.

The Elmbridge estate built between April 1949 and 1962 is composed mainly of Easiform houses. Most houses are either semi-detached or in blocks of four and have two or three bedrooms. In addition there are four blocks of three storey two bedroom flats in blocks of twelve built in traditional brick and a recent innovation on estates, the provision of eight bed-sitting and one bedroom Old Age Pensioners' bungalows. The estate also includes a hundred houses built by the Air Ministry as R.A.F. Married Quarters.

On the south side of the city is the Podsmead Estate which initially was a continuation of the private building on Podsmead Road. Here traditional semi-detached three-bedroomed brick houses were constructed but later on the main site one hundred semi-detached aluminium bungalows were built: these dwellings with three bedrooms were larger than the better known two bedroomed "pre-fabs." To conserve space and reduce costs three and four storey blocks of flats were later erected the type being "Wimpey's No-Fines" and the provision of under floor heating at off-peak periods. So far only one old age pensioner type of bungalow has been built but sites for another six are available. Sites are available for police houses and shops. This estate

was built mainly from 1946-1962.

Another estate on the south side of the city is the Tuffley estate which has two clearly distinct areas. The western portion of the estate comprises 300 two bedroomed aluminium bungalows known as "pre-fabs" and has a small shopping centre. The eastern half is mainly a mixture of two bedroomed flats and houses. Other dwellings include 22 three bedroomed Wates concrete frame houses, 50 "Oolite" two and three bedroomed houses and over a hundred "Recma" houses pre-fabricated blocks fitted in a frame but with a normal roof. By the process of in-filling 34 traditional brick bungalows for old age pensioners have been constructed, some of the single bedroom type and others of the bed-sitting room type with a kitchen, bathroom-toilet and a recess for a bed. In general they are occupied by widows/widowers or elderly single persons.

To the east of Robinswood Hill the Corporation has acquired 190 acres for development and hopes to house eventually 4,500 people in 1,500 dwellings¹. This self-contained estate already has a population in excess of three thousand and among its amenities lists schools, churches, a community centre and recreation grounds. This large estate contains a variety of houses, flats and maisonettes with one, two or three bedrooms, the main types being Easiform or Wimpey No-Fines. To avoid monotony

the dwellings have been divided into small groups, some semi-detached, others in blocks of four or more. Some of the smaller maisonettes appear as semi-detached houses but for two adjacent front doors. As elsewhere to conserve sites eight blocks of three storey two-bedroomed flats have been built and in the centre of the estate a small group of shops including a post office has been erected to cater for the more immediate needs of this community. The blocks of flats have few entrances leading to staircases and on the landings leading from these are pairs of doors, the entrances to each of the flats at that level. From the rear short balconies provide light and air but to parents with very young children the stairs and balconies pose problems. In general these flats have a living room, kitchen, bathroom and one or two bedrooms. "It is these blocks of flats that anger English susceptibility - not so much their bee-hive utility as the prison look."¹ In some of the one-bedroom flats of the "Wimpey No-Fines" type under floor heating at off-peak periods is installed. Small old age pensioners' bungalows have been scattered throughout the site.

A reflection of the scarcity of suitable sites for private building in or near Gloucester, is the fact that the Corporation has been able to sell sites on the periphery of this large estate at Winneycroft Lane to individuals for private building.

1. The English Inside out. P. Binder London, p.70

A much smaller Corporation venture is the Westgate area "designated as a Comprehensive Redevelopment area"¹ which is now being cleared of obsolescent property. This region of 13 acres in extent is largely confined to the medieval part of the city close to the present commercial and social centre. Over a period of 15-20 years it is hoped to re-settle 1,250 persons at a density of 90 persons to the acre. The first contract saw the construction of 64 dwellings including bed-sitting flatlets and 2 bedroom flats and maisonettes. In view of the high value of the land multi-storey building up to 6 storeys will be permitted - beyond this height, would spoil the effect of the Cathedral. On the ground floor of some of the three storey buildings facing the main street, shops have been constructed. At present some of the clearer space is being used temporarily as parking space.

The last major slum clearance area is in the Kingsholm area near Sweetbriar Street. Here old houses have been cleared and a block of multi-storey flats dominates the skyline. Here it hoped to achieve a housing density of ninety to the acre as in the Westgate project. This building will contain one-bedroom flats which are to be let at economic rents when completed.

The Gloucester Corporation like many other housing authorities had to face from time to time the problem of rationalizing rents. If rents were to be fixed on costs

then most rents would be too high whereas if they were to be fixed by house-area, the houses built after 1955 were smaller than those built earlier. All-round increases were made on pre-war houses and in 1958 it was agreed to relate rents to $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the rating assessment: by 1962 it became necessary to increase rents to twice the rateable assessment. Strikes over paying rent are now rare and among those who do not pay rents regularly the causes are usually the result of a poor marriage, drink or mental inadequacy.

Social gradings occur among corporation tenants as among owner-occupiers elsewhere and until 1957 the Corporation was able to deal with the "hard core" of poor rent payees by housing them in ex-R.A.F. huts sited along Eastern Avenue. While these dwellings provided accommodation including living room, kitchen, one or two bedrooms and a bathroom far superior to some of the old houses, they were still huts and they were not considered the equal of houses. After being evicted from Council houses to these huts tenants had to prove their worth before being permitted to occupy corporation houses elsewhere. Unfortunately in 1957 these huts were demolished and the Corporation has now found it necessary to purchase property elsewhere in the city to house these people. The tenants of these houses now take some pride in them, but still purchase household goods rather than pay their rent regularly.

In theory people are housed according to need but the Corporation very sensibly arranges that their best tenants - those who care for the property and pay their rent regularly - eventually get the best houses. Thus while no policy exists for movement from 2-bedroom flats to 2-bedroom houses it is probable that good tenants may be considered more sympathetically than others. There is at present a large waiting list for 3-bedroom houses but easy movement is restricted for several reasons. Thus parents whose children may have grown up and departed often insist on remaining in a "good area" such as Podsmead. Other tenants will not move to pre-war houses with bathrooms downstairs or to maisonettes: they insist on a house and garden as they now possess.

The intake on the transfer list for 2 and 3 bedroomed houses is about 80 families a year and of these about 30 to 35 are dealt with. Movement may be either way, e.g., downwards by eviction or upwards by promotion to area of choice or type of house. In cases of hardship, e.g., children of different sex, some partitioning of rooms is permitted but over crowding in prefabricated houses has to be carefully watched.

Most corporation houses are needed when families are young and many young families are afraid to take on a mortgage even of 100%. When young most people tend to think of purchasing a private house or spend their limited

capital on improvements or decorations. The purchase of corporation houses thus appears to be largely dependent on the age of the tenant and those with the amount for a deposit may be interested as sitting tenants. The average mortgage in this case is for ten years so that the payments are completed by the time the husband retires from work. A pilot scheme of building to sell by the Corporation at a favoured residential area at Reservoir Road with 100% mortgages found that most people wished to pay a deposit either to reduce the payments or to shorten the period: of the 68 houses 27 were allocated to Corporation tenants.

Life on the larger Corporation estates has been described elsewhere¹ as rather like that on an outside village with everybody knowing everybody else's business and the atmosphere one of day to day living. Parents are more ambitious for their children than for themselves and if the wives go out to work then it is for the money. While there is a great deal of gossip and women are critical of each other, they are usually warm hearted and agree that practical help is of more value than criticism. Families in difficulty are usually helped by neighbours either practically, e.g., with outgrown garments, or else with advice when applicable. Inevitably some families try "to keep themselves to themselves" and the young people from such homes usually are anxious to break away from

their environment.

In contrast, on the private estates, despite the closeness of houses, a great deal of loneliness exists mainly due to shyness and lack of social confidence. Many new housing estates are populated with young married couples who, uncertain of their status and afraid of a snub, are diffident about making preliminary overtures to their neighbours. Many of the housewives who prior to marriage had interesting jobs feel tied to the home with children and household chores and feel a strong need for outside interests. If they go to work it is mainly for this reason rather than merely for the money.

Economically, living in a rented caravan is not much cheaper than renting a corporation house and a small minority live in them on the edge of the city. Most caravan sites leave something to be desired as a physical and social environment for peoples' homes and generally the facilities are inferior to the average house. While authorities and architects would like to do away with caravans - even modern well-designed ones - the high price of housing will make them attractive to those sharing a house or paying exorbitant rents for a few furnished rooms.

While the main factor controlling the occupation of a house is financial the extent to which different status groups are controlled by it varies. Thus the lower groups

are more limited than the highest social group and the extent to which status groups live in differently rated properties can be gauged from the following table:

Table 1

Occupation of differently rated houses by different status groups.

(Per cent of all in status groups)

Status Group	Rate Status of House		
	A	B	C
Class A	40.0	40.0	20.0
Class B	22.4	53.0	24.6
Class C	2.3	27.5	70.2

Thus in Class A the majority live in the higher rated roads and where listed in C property this is more applicable to the street as a whole rather than to the property in particular, in which the people live. In Class B only one in four live in Class C surroundings and this is mainly due to the high price of property which young married people on professional status find difficult to save: later on an^d higher up the salary scale these surroundings will be left for more congenial ones. In the lowest social class 2.3% are resident in the more socially accepted housing districts but in most cases this is due to superior types of houses or houses in highly regarded residential areas being converted into self-contained flats: this ensures a first class address but often the flat and its amenities are in no way superior to other Class B or Class C accommodation. As might be expected,

the bulk of Class C people are housed in Class C dwellings and it is pertinent to note in the above table that the majority of each social group is found in the same housing group.

While financial considerations largely determine the choice of housing, other factors apply more particularly to people with specific jobs. Thus shopkeepers frequently live alone or behind their premises, clergymen live in the rectory or the manse and schoolmasters occupy school houses: occasionally firms own blocks of property for their workpeople, e.g., Messrs. Morelands, or firms are allocated corporation houses for their "key men."

Among many Class C people living in the older parts of the city it is not uncommon to find married sons or daughters living very near their parents: this is due mainly to efforts made by parents on their children's behalf for the limited accommodation available belonging to their own landlords. On transfer to some suburban corporation estate this condition no longer obtains and for a while many hanker for their former inferior housing accommodation because of the sense of not belonging.

The extent to which informants were satisfied with their housing was largely a reflection of the amount of choice they had had when they began living there originally.

Among the upper social group, informants on being

questioned if they preferred living elsewhere in or near Gloucester, could be divided into two groups. Most living in suburban areas were usually well content with their houses but of those living in more central locations mainly because of business, some preferred more rural surroundings while others appreciated the many conveniences of living near the centre of the city. The more favoured rural sites quoted were in the Cotswolds, e.g., Upton St. Leonards, Haresfield, Painswick or Tuffley: of those wishing to remain,

A - "Find it convenient and it is near the Park",

B - "Buses run locally and we are not overlooked".

The middle social group were practically equally divided on this issue with 49% stating satisfaction with their present homes. Of those content to remain where they were, the reasons quoted were often quite diverse.

Stroud Road - "We like big old houses and this is all right for antique furniture."

Deans Walk - "No, handy for shops and work".

Kingsholm Square - "Stay, central here."

Podsmead Road - "Nice district, good school nearby, lengthy garden - open aspect."

Stroud Road - "No, bus stop near - not too far out and near countryside."

Of the remainder the majority again expressed preference for houses in the Cotswolds and Upton St. Leonards was again very popular: this village while not far away from the city is still quite rural in character.

Of the newer more suburban sites Tuffley, Longlevens or Churchdown also popular.

Among C type informants 17.2% expressed satisfaction with their present homes when allowed a free choice of areas in which to live irrespective of the necessary finance needed to move. Of these, most were living in medium rented roads such as Calton Road, Furlong Road or in residential districts like Argyll Place or Grafton Road. Of these who wished to remain -

Bloomfield Road - "Happy here: quiet. Not too far out from centre for walking and it has two bus routes."

London Road - "More central for wife's work."

St. Michael's Square - "Stay here - convenient for shopping."

On expressing preference for particular areas approximately one third opted for Tuffley, Upton St. Leonards, Painswick and Longlevens: of these the last three were equally popular but only in total were equal in popularity to Tuffley.

Among reasons for moving specimen, replies were as follows:

Hailes Road - "Cheltenham Road - more residential and open."

Bloomfield Road - "Tuffley - I lived there once and I've always liked it - it is high."

Conduit Street - "Highnam - near enough to the city but within reasonable distance of the country."

All Saints Road - "Churchdown - nice for young people."

Beaufort Road - "Tredworth - a pleasant area. People don't natter there."

Having analysed how the quality and location of a house reflects its occupants' social status it will not be necessary to examine briefly the main status symbols contained within it.

It has been stated elsewhere that "Britain is going the American way - about 15 years behind"¹ not only in the large things like the growth of the electricity power supply and internal migration, but also in matters like the concentration on consumer goods. This in turn will mean that most families will consider a car to be as indispensable as a television set. With the general rise in the wages of the more poorly paid, Parkinsons law "that expenditure rises to meet income" becomes operative, and the extra earnings are largely spent on these consumer goods.

For many years many of the household consumer goods have been classified as "luxury goods" and not as "necessities" and this from the governmental point of view has proved profitable, in that it has been able to collect over £50 million pounds annually in purchase tax on so-called "luxury household goods." The definition as to whether any such article should be considered as a luxury or as an essential depends mainly on the personal philosophy of the individual which is largely coloured by his or her upbringing or economic status. As with many other aspects of life, use of these household gadgets slowly seeps down from the upper classes to the lower

1. Professor M. Wright at Summer School in Nottingham 27/8/62

social groups and, slowly, what was considered a luxury becomes acknowledged as a necessity. Thus electric irons and sewing machines of different types are common at all levels of society. With regard to sewing machines, most of the older women cannot visualise existing without one but some younger ones brought up in a more affluent society and in an age of good but cheap mass-produced clothes, appear quite unconcerned about not possessing one.

The results of a survey to find out the "Top Ten" articles needed by the "average housewife" were published in the Daily Mail on 18/5/62: the household goods listed were - Vacuum Cleaner, Refrigerator, Spin Dryer, Electric Iron, Sewing Machine, Washing Machine, Gramophone, Electric Toaster, Television and Electric Floor Polisher. Few lists submitted were identical, each one mirrored an individual way of life. Thus differences which arose could be attributed to varied family commitments - wives working, suitable space for drying clothes, - apart from purely financial factors. In general women appear to have thought out what they need for their type of life and apart from a small element of "keeping up with Jones's" they do not buy gadgets merely for the sake of owning them. Thus washing-up machines are not only considered inessential by many people but as relatively useless by others.

Among some of the reasons put forward for the

increasing purchases of household gadgets is the need by working wives or women who cater for themselves, for appliances which will minimise the time spent on household chores. Thus while the vacuum cleaner, washing machine and spin dryer save much time and labour in cleaning, the refrigerator saves time on food preparation and shopping, but is apt to lead to more expensive ways of living.

However the problem of women working and their household possessions is dealt with elsewhere in this thesis so in this chapter the analysis of the possession of household goods such as the wireless, television, washing machine, refrigerator, car and telephone will be limited to the three main social groups.

The possession of a wireless is now regarded as an essential and in the 3% of the sample which lacked this amenity it was largely due to television replacing it with the news and general interest programmes.

Table 2

Household goods	<u>Class</u>			Sample as a whole
	A	B	C	
Wireless	100%	95.7%	97.4%	97%
Television	70%	88.8%	88.4%	87%
Washing Machine	70%	60.2%	42.0%	46.4%
Refrigerator	95%	70.3%	31.9%	41.4%
Car	90%	74.0%	31.6%	41.5%

Table 3

	Class			Sample as a whole
	(Percentage of all persons in same class)	A	B	
Wireless + TV + Car	60%	74.0%	28.6%	38.0%
Wireless + TV + Washing machine	55%	60.2%	37.9%	42.9%
Wireless + TV + Refrigerator	70%	68.5%	28.8%	36.3%
Wireless + TV + 2 others	70%	76.4%	33.3%	42.7%
Telephone	100%	69.4%	9%	23.2%
		(Business 69.7%)		
		(Social use 30.3%)		

Television was viewed by 87% of the sample as a whole but many of those who watched programmes on this medium rented it weekly from a local firm. Thus of the various household goods considered this was the only one which was owned by some and rented by others. Most of the rented sets were watched by people in Class C who did so largely to avoid paying out a large sum or to incurring hire purchase payments spread over a year or more. Other reasons for renting was the avoidance of maintenance charges and a steadily deteriorating set. Watching television seemed to be a common characteristic of all three classes and the relatively lower figure for Class A was mainly due to the small sample. A few in this social group however did regard it as socially superior not to watch television. As might be expected the popularity of various programmes

varied with each social group as also did the period of watching. Among those with limited interests indiscriminate viewing was common with sets switched on as soon as possible and switched off only at the end of transmission.

With regard to washing machines the position was quite different in that it was not merely entertainment for the family as a whole, but only directly affected the housewife. Thus possession steadily increased from 42% in Class C to 60.2% in Class B and to 70% in Class A. Among the three classes few in Class C either employed other people to do their washing, used laundrettes, or sent their clothes to the laundry. Thus over half of these people washed the hard way in contrast to less than a half in Class B and less than a third in Class A some of whom also made use of laundries. In the sample as a whole just under a half possessed washing machines.

The next piece of household equipment discussed was the refrigerator or where appreciable differences existed among the social groups - larger than occurred with the washing machine. Thus amongst the lowest group less than one third possessed it as against more than two out of three in Class B and nine out of ten in Class A: in the sample as a whole rather less than a half possessed a refrigerator but this was due to the relatively higher percentage of Class C in the sample as a whole. The possession of a refrigerator during warm weather eliminates waste in food and the increasing purchase of frozen foods

especially prepared vegetables minimises shopping time. In some ways it is tending to increase the standard of living and altering the household economy.

High among the status symbols for many years was a car but as cars became more numerous thus decreasing their second hand values, their relative position as status symbols has decreased. Indeed today it is the possession of two cars that is the real status symbol and financially the running costs including road tax, insurance and petrol, are greater deterrents than the initial cost of a second hand car. Thus while it is possible to compare the frequency with which cars are owned by the three social classes, it is impossible objectively to compare the types of cars owned by them. Generalising it may be said that people in Class A own the bigger and more recent cars and use them far more frequently. At the other extreme is the small rather aged family saloon taxed only during the summer months and used at weekends only for journeys into the surrounding countryside. Only one in three in Class C owned a car compared with nearly three out of every four in Class B and nine out of ten in Class A. Strangely enough the figures for car and refrigerator are closely correlated as is seen in Table 2

On investigating how many families possessed a wireless set, television set, plus one car or washing machine, or refrigerator the figures for the sample as a

whole only differed from the previous analysis by about 4%. In the same way the percentages for the sample as a whole of those owning a wireless set, television set and any two of the remainder showed little variation.

In all combinations Class B had appreciably higher figures than Class C most noticeably in the group containing a car or two other articles other than a wireless and television set. The lower figures in Class A compared with Class B in the first two groups is partly due to the limited number of Class A people in the sample, and also to the lower percentage of those owning TV sets.

On analysing the popularity of these household goods within the three social groups, marked differences are noted. In Class C television is more than twice as popular as any other article discussed. Washing machines rate second in popularity with refrigerators and cars in joint third place. In the intermediate social group, TV is again most common but the car owned by nearly three quarters of this group is only narrowly more numerous than the refrigerator: the washing machine is least popular. In the highest social group - possibly due to the limited sample the popularity of these four household goods is nearly the inverse of those in Class C. Thus the refrigerator with 95% only leads the car by a mere 5% and these are the two least favoured in Class C occupying joint third positions with 70% comes television and the

washing machine, least favoured by informants in Class C.

The frequency with which members of the three social classes had the telephone installed was analysed separately for two reasons. Firstly the telephone cannot be purchased outright like the household goods already mentioned, and secondly its use is partly conditioned by the type of occupation carried on: thus a small trader in a side street may have a telephone installed for the convenience of his customers whereas a professional man with a larger income and higher social status may not deem this convenience worth its rental. In a recent survey¹. - "three times as many families have a TV, twice as many a lawn mower, nearly twice as many a washing machine, then come cars, refrigerators, houses - and the telephone." The telephone is used less in Britain than in any other major country², but despite this 48,000 people were waiting for it to be installed in 1962. This waiting list and compulsory shared lines are the results of the increasing popularity of the telephone in post war years. Among the reasons for the low priority families give a telephone, the Post Office is blamed because of its inability to supply one and secondly because of its failure to encourage its use.

In the three social groups investigated very marked differences occur in the frequency of telephone installation.

1. Post Office Engineering Union Research Report - See Daily Mail 29/7/62 and The Observer 5/8/62.
2. Post Office Engineering Union Research Report - See Daily Mail 29/7/62 and The Observer 5/8/62.

In Class C only 9% had them and of these approximately 75% used them mainly for business purposes. In Class B nearly 70% had them installed and of these about 60% used them mainly for business: in Class A all homes had a telephone and of these 85% had business connections. In the sample as a whole only 23.2% had telephones installed and of these nearly 70% were basically for business purposes. From this it will appear that the use of the telephone is still mainly a middle and upper class trait and that faced with paying a rental of several shillings a week before making a telephone call or renting a television set, most people in the lower social groups would choose the latter.

In conclusion it may be said that the variety in the types of houses from an architectural viewpoint is a reflection of the period in which the houses were built and the resources of the people living in them. Modern houses in the newer estates on the outskirts of the city differ in architecture and amenities from the older terrace houses near the city centre. Whereas the appearance and amenities of a house largely determined the esteem in which it is held by the general public, the area in which it was built was of greater social importance. Thus while the better designed and equipped houses were more expensive, they inevitably attracted purchasers from the upper and middle social groups, who in turn tended to impose their standards of living on

the inhabitants of the area as a whole. This in turn stimulated the phenomenon of "keeping up with the Jones's" which is most easily achieved by the acquisition of consumer goods. From the foregoing chapter this phenomenon and the choice of a house in Gloucester is seen to be largely an indication of social status.

CHAPTER 6

Education in Gloucester

As in most cities, schools in Gloucester are divided into two groups, the state schools involving the majority of the children and the private schools for the children of wealthier parents or less wealthy parents who prefer this type of education, and are prepared to make sacrifices so that their children may receive its benefits. The main objective in this chapter will be to show how the differences in the types of schools reflect the social status of the population of the city. Later an attempt was made to analyse the educational background of households in the sample, firstly as a group and secondly in their social classes, and the comparative success of their children at the competitive entrance examination for selective secondary school places. Lastly an analysis was made of the occupations entered by pupils on leaving the secondary schools, in order to attempt to evaluate the influence of the educational background in the determination of social status.

Within the city education up to the age of eleven is carried on at seventeen infants' and sixteen junior schools - including eight Church of England Voluntary Controlled and two Roman Catholic Voluntary Aided schools - and one junior Educationally-Sub-Normal school. Although Gloucester has no separate Nursery schools, a number of children attend Nursery classes in Infants' schools. Except on the Matson Estate

where there is at present considerable pressure on the two schools and at Elmbridge Junior School where admissions to this year's first year have had to be restricted, there are no catchment area restrictions in the city. Pupils from these schools normally proceed after the examination for selective secondary education places to the four grammar schools (two for girls and two for boys) to two secondary technical schools (one each for boys and girls) or to six secondary modern schools not one of which is mixed. Pupils are allowed to opt for particular schools and as far as possible these options - subject to their abilities being sufficient - are met by the educational authorities. Girls are more willing to travel and usually get to the school of their choice and this is where the attraction of good buildings and adjacent playing fields is important. With boys if they do not qualify for the grammar school of their choice, they proceed to the Central High School, but again if below the entrance requirements for this school, attend one of the three secondary modern schools. Occasionally boys and girls who qualify for grammar school places opt for the Central High School where the emphasis is on technical subjects for the boys and commercial work for the girls. To cater for the slower witted children the city has an Educational-Sub-Normal secondary school and to cover the needs of the physically handicapped or delicate children, a special school exists. In the private sector of

education are three preparatory schools, viz: The Park School, Spa Road, the Midland Road Preparatory School, Midland Road, and the St. Michael's Convent School, Denmark Road. In the Park School boys from 4 - 7 years are taught and then leave to proceed to the King's School, Gloucester or to a preparatory school elsewhere. The girls remain to sit the examination for places at selective secondary schools. At the Midland Road School which is now fifty years old, boys and girls are taught up to 11 years when both sit the 11+ examination. After this examination all the boys leave but some girls who do not qualify for entrance to the local grammar schools either stay on to do commercial courses until they are fifteen or sixteen, or leave at 13+ for the Central School, or at 16 years for the local Technical College or Art College. At St. Michael's Convent School girls are prepared for the 11+ examination when they proceed to St. Pater's R.C. School or one of the local grammar schools for girls. Whereas among the pupils of these three schools girls are more numerous than boys, many of the latter from 5 - 9 years old attend the Junior Department of the well known King's School - the only independent boys' school in the city. This school founded in 1541 A.D. has a close historic link with Gloucester Cathedral and daily prayers are still said in the nave of the Cathedral: the main school was once the Bishop's Palace. From 9 - 11 years

the boys enter the Lower Division of the Senior School. After 11 years the boys mainly stay in the senior school until 16-19 years of age but some leave for other independent schools or the local grammar schools. To balance the need for an independent school for girls over ten years of age a new school - Selwyn Road, Matson - was recently founded: one of its main aims is to provide "O" and "A" Level courses and facilities for candidates for university entrance. Finally there is the St. Peter's Roman Catholic School for children with Roman Catholic parents but many of them proceed to the local grammar schools until the proposed new secondary grammar school is built in the Streud Road area.

At all the primary schools, pupils receive a good general education with some emphasis on the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic as selection for the grammar schools largely depends on ability in English and Arithmetic. Since the 1944 Education Act scripture is taught compulsorily in all schools - with more emphasis in the Anglican or Roman Catholic schools than in the undenominational schools. Indeed pupils with a Catholic parent attending the local grammar schools do not attend scripture lessons in school hours, but report to the presbytery after school hours for instruction by the local priests.

In the King's School every day begins with a Service

held in the Cathedral and every year there is a School Confirmation for which the boys are prepared by the chaplain. Subjects taught include Geography, History, Nature Study, Music, Crafts, Physical Education and Games.

In the private schools similar instruction is given but in one school, lessons in elocution and music (instrument playing) are also given: in all three private schools good manners and deportment generally form an essential part of the instruction. Dancing lessons were formerly given in one of the schools and it was considered that more pupils would attend this school if it could offer in addition to its present curriculum, instruction in languages, dancing and horse-riding. A sound general education is provided for pupils in the junior department of the King's School where the boys are taught by Freebel methods and prepared for their entrance into the Senior School.

The social status of the private schools is partly financial and partly a reflection of the social status of the parents whose children attend them. Although money available for fees is a limiting factor for some parents, the mere ability of being able to afford early such a type of education for one's children is not in itself the only reason for their attendance. One of the reasons for the attendance of children at private schools is their parents' opinions of private as against State

education. These opinions are usually more concerned with the relative prestige of educating a child privately than with a keen evaluation of the academic success of private school education.

Among some of the reasons suggested as to why there is a demand for junior private schools, were the smallness of the classes and the desire of some parents for their children to commence school in a home-like atmosphere without too big a crash into the outside world. The small size classes enable the children to receive more individual attention and this may enable them later to prove successful at the 11+ examination. Again for nervous or delicate children, small classes in a civilised and pleasant setting is very important. Some parents do not wish their children to mix with children with bad habits and poor speech and appreciate the greater refinement and social grace that their children acquire in private schools. Many parents think the private schools supply something that is not available in the State primary schools and at the same time are not unaware of the snobbish distinction conferred on parents who send their children to private schools. To counter balance this last assertion is the identical remark made by the headmistress of two of the three private schools that they charge lower fees than they could so as to attract children who are prepared to work whilst they are in school as a

future preparation for the day when they enter the adult world.

Parents of children attending private schools are mainly drawn from the professional, or business groups, with some artisans. Thus on analysing the occupations of parents whose children attended one private school the grades were A - 15.6%, B - 59.8%, C - 24.6%. Similarly on evaluating according to street addresses (which automatically excluded those who lived in the county outside the City boundaries), the results were A - 25.8%, B - 37.1%, and C - 37.1%. As the social status of parents is largely a function of their occupation, the dominance of the two upper classes accounting for 75% of the parents is clearly revealed. In the junior department of the independent King's School children attend for basically the same reasons as for the other private schools plus the strong and well known music tradition linked with the cathedral. On listing the occupations of parents the dominance of the upper and middle class is again revealed with Class A - 21%, Class B - 61% and Class C only 18%.

With regard to the education of children over 11+ years of age the position is much more complicated in that a selection process is operated and whereas some parents can afford the modest fees of the private junior schools they may not be in a position to pay the much

higher fees of private schools offering a secondary education. The citizens of Gloucester are however fortunate in having an independent school in the city whose modest fees for selected day boys are much lower than the fees for a comparable boarding school elsewhere. This enables many boys in the city to receive a secondary school education with an academic bias which otherwise would not have been possible. However, as in other areas the selection at 11+ years for a selective secondary education in Gloucester is not foolproof and in order to remedy any defects in this selection meetings are held to discuss pupils who it is thought are wrongly graded. In general more pupils are upgraded from secondary modern to central school to grammar school, than are downgraded and usually only about ten pupils annually are affected in any way. Some cases arise when children enter secondary modern schools in Gloucester from areas where the authorities are far less generous in awarding places at grammar schools.

Table 1
Status Composition of pupils at Secondary Schools in Gloucester based on occupations of father (or head of household)

Per cent of pupils in each school

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Class A</u>	<u>Class B</u>	<u>Class C</u>
Independent	Boys	23.5	66.4	10.1
Grammar School "A"	"	2.7	20.9	76.4
Sec.Modern "C"	"	0	4.6	95.4
Independent	Girls	33.3	40.0	26.6
Grammar School "B"	"	2.8	15.6	81.6
Sec.Modern "D"	"	0.0	4.8	95.2

Table 11

Status Composition of pupils at secondary schools in Gloucester based on streets in which they live.

Per cent of all pupils in each school

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Class A</u>	<u>Class B</u>	<u>Class C</u>
Independent	Boys	14.6	48.8	36.6
Grammar School "A" (weighted)	"	18.0	35.8	51.2
Grammar School "B" (unweighted)	"	6.7	34.8	58.5
Sec. Modern	" ^{1.} "C"	3.8	29.7	66.5
Independent	Girls	40	60	0
Grammar School "B"	"	7.3	36.0	56.7
Sec. Modern	"D"	5.3	31.7	63.0

NOTE: The information in the above tables was given by the headmasters and headmistresses of the schools.

From Table I marked differences are observed between the percentages of boys and girls in the different classes receiving an academic education. Thus at the Independent Boys School only one in every ten comes from the lowest category and about two in every three from the homes of professionally qualified or business men. Even allowing for the moderate fees for day boys this is in the public sector of education not surprising whereas approximately three out of four grammar school pupils come from Class C homes, this figure rises rapidly to nineteen out of twenty in the secondary modern school. With this increase in Class C children in the secondary modern school goes a decreasing number of Class B children decreasing from

1. "Un weighted" - number of pupils in a particular street not given with information.

20.9% to 4.6%. Only 2.7% of Class A boys attend one of the boys' grammar schools and no pupil with Class A parents attended the secondary modern school investigated. Among girl pupils a similar trend was noted, children of Class C backgrounds increasing from 26.6% in the girls' independent school to 81.6% in the grammar school and to 95.2% in the girls' secondary modern school. The figures for both boys and girls in the state schools were very similar but the difference in the independent school figures may be partly due to the much smaller intake in the girls' school and partly due to its very recent origin compared with independent boys' school. As with the boys, girls from Class B homes decreased in number steadily from the independent school to the secondary modern, and this trend was also reflected among Class C children.

As the type and rateable value of the house largely reflects the social status of the persons living in it, a similar analysis to Table I was made to obtain Table II. This table in many ways is more objective than Table I in so far as it removes any subjective estimate of a man's occupation. It does not however take into account if a person merely lives in a flat or part of a house in a given street. In this table Class A boys and girls are again found mainly in the independent schools but small percentages are found in the secondary modern schools. Among Class B boys the decreasing percentage from those in the independent school to those in the secondary modern

is not nearly so steep as the equivalent figures in Table I. Thus instead of two out of three attending the independent school less than one in two attend and instead of only one in twenty attending a secondary modern school the figure rises to nearly one in three. Among boys of Class C background a similar smaller range in the percentages attending the independent, grammar and secondary modern schools was noted but among the girls the absence if any at the independent girls' school was particularly noteworthy. On comparing the percentages for boys and girls in the state schools a large measure of correlation is observed but the differences in the percentages of pupils attending the independent schools is mainly due to the small sample of girls attending the girls' independent school.

From Table II it is a fair generalisation to suggest that the children from the down town wards or council house estates have a lower average intellectual endowment than those living in the suburban residential areas.

It is generally recognised that the more intelligent people achieve distinction in professions which are highly regarded by most people, whereas at the opposite end many people are engaged in essential but menial jobs. The extent to which heredity accounts for the transmission of intelligence is beyond the scope of this thesis as is also a discussion of the average level of intelligence

among the three social groups, but in so far as the educational background of the people in the sample is in part a reflection of their intelligence, then an analysis can be made.

Table III

Educational background of Householders in sample, by sex, school and status group (Per cent of people in status groups)

	<u>Class A</u>		<u>Class B</u>		<u>Class C</u>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Grammar School	100	81.0	66.3	58.3	14.7	14.1
Central Tech.School	-	4.7	7.0	9.5	7.9	9.4
Sec. Modern School	-	14.3	26.7	32.2	77.4	76.5

Before comparing the various groups it must be noted that the effect of a favourable social background is ignored in the above table as well as the fact that women may achieve a higher social class simply by marriage. However, accepting these limitations, the percentages among the men with at least a grammar school education decreases rapidly from 100% in Class A to two out of three in Class B and to less than one in five in Class C. Among females the trend was similar but the disparity was not quite so well marked. Among Class B males and females the percentages with grammar school education differed by only 8% but in Class C this difference was negligible. Approximately a quarter of Class B males were educated at secondary modern schools (or their former equivalent schools) whereas in Class C over three quarters were so educated: similarly one female in three from Class B had

attended these schools compared with three quarters of Class C. In Table IV the educational background of all males and females in the sample were calculated irrespective of status groups so that an overall picture could be obtained.

Table IV

Educational background of householders in sample by school and sex. (Per cent of males and females in sample)

	Males	Females
Grammar School	27.0	25.0
Central Technical School	7.5	9.2
Secondary Modern (or equivalent)	<u>65.5</u>	<u>65.8</u>
	100.0	100.0

From Table IV it is immediately seen that the percentages for both males and females with a grammar school background are practically equal and amount to about one in four in each sex. For the Central Technical Schools the percentages are again very similar, but although the intake at the moment into these schools is only a half of those entering the grammar school, the percentage figures account for only about a quarter. The majority of the people in the sample amounting to about two out of every three, both male and female, attended secondary modern or their equivalent schools.

On accepting Table IV as the results of a random sample of the educational background of householders in

Gloucester and assuming broadly most people receive the education they can cope with, it becomes at once apparent that the two upper classes received a greater share of grammar school places than their numbers merited: this could only happen at the expense of those in Class C. It must be remembered however that many of the householders interviewed completed their school days prior to the 1944 Education Act: this enabled many parents in the past in Class A and Class B to send their children to a grammar school for the payment of small fees while some parents in Class C during the slump in the thirties with more intelligent children were unable to shoulder these liabilities. With the passing of the Education Act and the advent of the Welfare State such anomalies are being removed. The two significant figures worthy of note are firstly, grammar school places obtained by Class C people were only about half of the average for the city, and secondly about 76% of Class C people were educated in secondary modern schools as against an average of 66% for the city. One suggestion explaining why more pupils with a Class A and Class B background are found in the grammar schools is because the selective educational system itself and the 11+ examination are severely biased in favour of these children and against those from poorer families. The general entrance examination for places at the grammar schools is composed of standardized tests in English and

The Intelligence test used in Gloucestershire for the elimination of those obviously unsuited for an academic education is not given. The tests take place at a specified time each year and the papers are marked centrally and orders of merit are prepared on the basis of which, places at selective secondary schools are allocated in accordance with the previously ascertained wishes of the parents. Borderline candidates also have to write an essay. These tests involving a good command of English language clearly afford a positive differential advantage to the children whose parents have extensive vocabularies, speak well and who correct any wrong speech from their children. In these types of homes more newspapers and magazines are available and children are often encouraged to read as early as possible. Any child who qualifies is offered a place at his or her first choice, but if no place is available then one is offered at his or her second choice. Children with the higher marks usually proceed to the grammar schools but they need not necessarily proceed to them unless they so wish. In some cases boys have opted for a place at the Central Technical High School with its emphasis on the practical engineering side and some of these pupils later proceed to Colleges of Advanced Technology. Similarly in view of the reputation of the Girls' Central High School for a thorough training in book-keeping, shorthand and office routine girls interested in a commercial career opted

for this school rather than either of the city's two girls' grammar schools. After pupils were selected for the grammar schools and also places allocated at the Central High School to those who could have proceeded to the grammar school, the latter schools were filled by the more able of the remaining pupils leaving the secondary modern schools with the remainder. In general girls do better at this age than the boys as they reveal a keener interest in the curriculum and show a much higher degree of application to the more academic appeals of the syllabus: however as all the secondary schools in Gloucester are single sex schools no allowance for this desperate keenness between the sexes has to be made as in the county where most secondary schools are mixed.

The home environment clearly influences the pupil's chance of success at the 11+ examination and in middle class homes the importance of this examination is stressed in relation to the future careers for children: this aspect is dealt with more fully later. The extent to which the educational background of the parents in the sample had in relation to the success of their children in the 11+ examination was analysed and the results tabulated in Table 5. Parents were divided into three main groups, those where both parents had attended a grammar school, those where one parent had attended, and those parents, neither of whom had attended a grammar

school. Before going into more detail it will perhaps be useful to compare the success of boys and girls in the 1961 11+ examination in Gloucester with the success of the children in the sample which clearly extended over several years. Thus in 1961 43.6% of the boys and 48.0% of the girls in Gloucester were successful in gaining places at selective secondary schools and 40.3% boys and 39.6% of the girls in the sample over a period of several years.

Table 6

Places obtained at Grammar Schools according to parents education - non status groups.

(S.M. = Secondary Modern, G.S. = Grammar School)

(a) Both parents attended grammar school (11 families)

Boys 0. S.M. + 18 G.S. (7.3)₁: Girls 2 S.M. + 26 G.S.(11.0)

(b) One parent attended grammar school (78 families)

Boys 14 S.M. + 33 G.S. (19.0): Girls 22 S.M. + 37 G.S.(25.0)

(c) Neither parent attended grammar school (212 families)

Boys 181 S.M. + 81 G.S.(106): Girls 165 S.M. + 62 G.S.(90)

From Table 6 it is at once apparent that children with parents who have attended a grammar school have a very positive differential advantage over those who have not attended such schools. Thus with boys none attended a secondary modern school and instead of achieving about seven places at a grammar school - calculated simply on numbers in the sample - the eighteen boys were all

1. The numbers in brackets indicate into the number of places statistically they might be expected to gain.

successful. The girls in this group were similarly very successful with only two attending secondary modern schools and twenty six attending grammar schools instead of eleven - again proportional to their total numbers.

In the second group with one parent who had attended a grammar school the same trend is noted but not so well marked. Whereas in the first group both boys and girls obtained twice as many places as was expected proportionally, in the second group both boys and girls obtained fourteen more places than expected statistically.

Clearly with both these groups obtaining materially more places than expected numerically, they could only do so at the expense of the third group in which neither parent attended a grammar school. Thus whilst on numbers the boys were expected to gain 106 places, they actually obtained only 81 places: similarly, the girls only obtained 68 places instead of the 90 places expected.

On re-grouping the statistics on the basis of the status group of parents the above differential advantage is similarly revealed:

Table 7
Places obtained at grammar school according to parents status group

Class A	Boys 11 (5)	Girls 9 (4)
Class B	Boys 31 (17)	Girls 50 (23)
Class C	Boys 90(111)	Girls 66 (99)

Thus children of the two upper groups obtain more places at the expense of children of the lowest group,

but even within the last group there were important differences. In Class C of the three children both of whose parents had attended grammar schools two were successful at the 11+ examination and where only one parent had attended this type of school 56.3% of all boys and girls in this group were similarly successful. The only group where children who had attended or were attending non-grammar schools - were numerically superior to those who had been or were in grammar schools even in the Class C status group was where neither parent had attended a grammar school. In this group boys who obtained grammar school places were approximately half as numerous as those in secondary modern schools but among girls the fraction was approximately one third. This then is the least favoured group academically assuming the techniques for selection are objective and unbiased.

It was not considered possible to evaluate the extent to which education or status contributed towards success at the 11+ examination as frequently greater intelligence or superior education or both resulted in a higher status category and this in turn was apt to perpetuate this division.

The National Survey of Health and Development of Children confirmed that the "wastage of undeveloped talent in children does not begin after the school leaving age,

but at least as early as the primary school itself." ¹.
Dr. Douglas estimates a third of the children who should have gone to a grammar school, according to his estimates at eight years of age, did not in fact get there. Most of the children denied the academic education suited to them came from poorer than average family backgrounds. Thus of children with an I.Q. 105 at the age of eight, only 12% of the children of lower manual working class parents proceed to grammar schools compared with 46% of upper middle class children. ² Similarly with children who have I.Q.'s of 111 at the age of eight, 60% of the upper middle class children and only 30% of the least favoured group, proceed to the grammar school.

Another factor of crucial importance is the parents' attitude to their children's work: if little interest is shown by the parents, the quality of the work decreases. Thus while some Class C parents are prepared for their children to proceed to grammar schools if selected, they are unable to prepare their children for the selection examination.

The former discouragement from a grammar school education is now fortunately largely inoperative. With the closing down of various engineering firms in Gloucester who earlier offered many valuable apprenticeships, plus the bulge in the birth rate and a more

1. The Observer 28/4/63 p.7.
2. " " " " " "

critical evaluation of a grammar school education and the improved employment consequent on it, not many able children miss this opportunity. While certain financial obligations such as school uniforms, sports subscriptions and pocket money, are still necessary for one year extra at a grammar school compared with other forms of state education, these expenses are lessened by the children's allowance, income tax allowance, subsidised school meals and free school milk: in cases of hardship facilities exist for confidential grants to be made to parents towards the upkeep of their children and these factors in total, partly explain why so many children of Class C status group now enjoy a grammar school education compared with a similar status group only forty years ago.

Another factor which materially affects the chance of pupils proceeding to a grammar school is the type of primary school attended. A school with a good reputation for gaining "scholarships" to the local grammar schools can compensate for other disabilities of the child of working class parents. The gain from a good school is however less than the loss from a correspondingly poor school. It was hoped to evaluate this in Gloucester in relation to the part of the city in which the primary schools were situated but as the relevant information was not granted this aspect reluctantly had to be abandoned. In passing it might be noted however that the only school

in the main part of the city where admissions to the first year had to be restricted, was a junior school with a good record for obtaining places for its pupils at the local grammar schools: this may be pure coincidence but in a neighbouring town in the same county a strictly drawn catchment area was initiated by the authorities owing to the pressure for admissions to a certain primary school, which was largely a reflection of the success of its pupils at the local grammar school entrance examination.

One other factor revealed by the National Survey of Health and Development of Children¹, was the standard of housing: unsatisfactory home conditions affected the upper middle class children less than those of lower manual working class parents. With the extensive re-housing of many of the poorer families in Gloucester to the more rural and residential periphery of the city this handicap should decrease in importance.

Another aspect of education which is receiving much attention at the present time is that of the age of leaving school. In the National Survey of Health and Development it was found that at I.Q. 122 - sufficient for a university place - 10% of children from lower middle and manual class homes have concluded their education: nearly all children from the upper middle class stay on. In the same Survey at I.Q. 100 it was found that an upper middle class child was four times as likely to stay on

at a school as the child of a manual worker. In Gloucester a similar pattern emerged with the children of Class A parents invariably staying on longer at school than those of Class C, but the main difference in age of leaving was largely a function of the type of school attended. Thus most children - boys and girls alike - left the secondary modern schools at fifteen, whereas the minimum statutory leaving age at a grammar school is sixteen. At some secondary modern schools efforts are made to encourage pupils to stay on for an extra year and to sit for certain external examinations. On analysing the occupations of parents of girls who stayed on for a fifth year at a secondary modern school it was at once apparent they were either mainly lower middle-class business or executive types or the more skilled artisans. Their stay may be due partly to a desire on the part of the parents to try and compensate for the loss of a grammar school education earlier and partly to equip their children more efficiently for the present-day more critical labour market.

A marked trend in grammar schools since the war has been the gratifying increase in the number of pupils of both sexes who elect to stay on at school to enter the sixth forms. This contrasts markedly with the pre-war size of sixth forms when only really able children who were either entering a recognised profession or proceeding

to an institution of more advanced education remained at school. It is now common for some sixth forms to number over a hundred pupils and these include pupils who wish to ensure a place at a university as well as those who return to school either to add more "O" passes to a former "O" Level Certificate or to wait until a suitable job appears. The increasing size of the sixth forms largely reflect the general all round rise in the standard of living of most of the people, coupled with the advantages of the welfare state as shown by children's allowances, the large increase in grants to university and training colleges and the vastly increased number of places for students at these colleges. This in turn is progressively increasing the age of leaving of pupils attending grammar schools as the number and age at entry remains fairly static from year to year. In the secondary modern schools this is not so marked but if the proposed new Secondary School Leaving Certificate is introduced in the near future, as a goal towards which children in this type of school may aspire, then it is probable that increasing numbers may elect to stay on for a further year until they are sixteen years of age. Several parents thought the justification for an extra year was the chance of a better job and that this was more important for a boy than for a girl. The Crowther Committee in its Report in 1959 considered the problem of raising the statutory

minimum school leaving age to sixteen years in all State Schools and in a survey¹, in Sheffield it was found that whereas some pupils would gladly accept the change a very high proportion would resent it. Many children only stayed at school because they had to do so.

From the foregoing it is clearly seen that both Class A and Class B have positive differential advantages over Class C as far as places for their children in grammar schools are concerned. This difference is further emphasised by parents in the two upper classes deliberately contracting out of the state educational system by sending their children to private schools both at primary and secondary levels. The really well to do in any case send their children away to boarding schools at both levels of education.

The next aspect of education to be analysed was the relation between the types of schools attended and the types of occupations obtained by their pupils, but before doing so it will be interesting to note some of the findings of the Sheffield survey on the influence of schools on choice of occupations on leaving school.² In the Sheffield survey it was found that headteachers had little direct influence on individual school leavers and that the efforts of other teachers to help were more

1. Home, School, Work. M.P. Carter London 1962 p.82
2. Home, School, Work. M.P. Carter London 1962 p.101

appreciated if detailed information about specific jobs were given as distinct from vague generalisations about several jobs. Teachers in general advised pupils to avoid dead-end jobs and at different times alternated between presenting a gloomy or roseate picture of the chances of obtaining suitable employment. Careers' masters apparently made little impression but within the time and scope allowed the Youth Employment Officers provided a valuable service.

In Gloucester the position is probably very similar and in Table 8 a breakdown of the various jobs obtained by pupils is shown. The leavers in the boys' grammar schools prior to the G.C.E. examination are regarded as "misfits" academically because in not obtaining some sort of G.C.E. certificate, the grammar school was for them a secondary modern school. With some employers however the mere fact of having attended a grammar school was considered some recommendation for a job compared with other applicants who had attended secondary modern schools. In both boys' grammar schools the numbers were very small and employment obtained varied from minor clerical work to relatively unskilled manual jobs. It is pertinent to note that no boy left the Independent Boys' School before G.C.E.

The main aspects of comparison for boys leaving school are firstly those proceeding to institutions of further education, secondly those entering clerical and

Table 8

Occupations entered after leaving school July 1962
(Per cent of all school leavers in each school)

School	Boys								
	Kings School		Grammar School A		Grammar School B		Central High School		Secondary Modern
Occupation	Post GCE	Pre GCE	Post GCE	Pre GCE	Post GCE	Pre GCE	Post GCE	Pre GCE	
University	14.9		17		8.2				
C.A.T.	2.1				3.3		4.3		
Training College	10.6		3		1.6				
Other Colleges	14.9		9		6.5		3.2		
Clerical & other "B" types Occupations	25.7		3.3 11.6		27.0	1	12.9 7.5		4.8
H.M. Forces	10.6		8.2	1.6	5		1.1		
Apprentices			8.2				30		18.9
Unskilled or semi-skilled, manual or non-manual	12.7		31.1	3.3	25	3	5.4	16.1	14.0
Agriculture & Forestry	8.5					1		2.2	7.2
Other Occupations			13.1		11		2.2	1.1	21.4

Table 8 (contd.)

Occupations entered after leaving school July 1962
(Per cent of all school leavers in each school)

School	Girls		Secondary Modern
	Grammar School	Central High School	
Occupation	Post GCE	Pre GCE	
University:	5		
C.A.T.			
Training College	19		
Other Colleges	19		25
Clerical & other "B" type Occupations	7	90	18.2
H.M.Forces			
Apprent- ices			
Unskilled or semi- skilled, manual or non-manual	5	10	56.8
Agriculture & Forestry			
Other Occupations			

other B type jobs, and thirdly those entering apprenticeships, unskilled or semi-skilled work.

As might be expected no pupils from the sample secondary modern schools proceeded to an institute of more advanced education: the awarding of a very generous number of grammar school places and the sending of the best of the remainder to the Central High Schools means that no secondary modern school in the city can attempt a G.C.E. course: indeed the examinations of the Royal Society of Arts and the Union of Educational Institutes provide sufficiently difficult examinations for even the best pupils at these schools. The proposed new Leaving Certificate for secondary schools should test the best pupils. On the other hand 42.5% of the boys from the Independent School proceeded to various colleges and 29.0% and 19.6% from the two boys' grammar schools. The disparity between the boys' grammar schools was due in part to the earlier abandonment of a four-year G.C.E. "O" Level course for able boys in favour of a five-year course at one school. This left the school for a year without an "A" form and this was reflected in an unusually low number of boys proceeding to the universities. On the other hand the Independent School which has steadily improved during the last fifteen years had a good year in 1962 and with fewer numbers achieved high percentage figures. The lower figures for the grammar

schools may support claims made elsewhere that children with ability - and more often of Class C parents - are leaving school without their full potential being exploited. It is interesting to note that the Central School obtained places at Colleges of Advanced Technology for 4.3% of its pupils - but some of these may have been of grammar school standard who deliberately opted for the Central High School because of its reputation for the practical engineering courses in contrast to the more academic courses at the grammar schools.

With regard to clerical and other B-type occupations, only one boy obtained such employment without a G.C.E. certificate but as in the previous paragraph marked differences emerged between those results from the different types of schools. Thus the Independent and Grammar School B were practically equal, with about one boy in four in such employment: Grammar School A with 14.9% had more in common with the Central High School's 20.4% so employed. From the Secondary Modern School however rather less than one in twenty obtained such employment. It is probable that a grammar school education with its emphasis on clarity of thought and expression and its more rigid academic training offers a more suitable training for work where accuracy and a sense of responsibility are important, than the training provided in secondary modern schools. With more limited

academic ability it is probable that leavers from the secondary modern schools find less competition for the manual jobs. The normal clerical wage structure with its low initial salary and annual increments may appear too poor compared with the higher non-incremental wage rates paid in such occupations as building.

The third contrast lies in the lower echelons of industry including apprentices and the semi or unskilled workers. Unfortunately figures for apprentices were not available for the Independent School nor for Grammar School B but grammar school A with 8.2% was well behind the Central School with 30% and the secondary modern school with 18.9%. As regards unskilled or semi-skilled the independent school rated the lowest percentage with 12.7% whereas in the grammar schools approximately 25-35% of the boys entered such employment. In the Central High School the position was much clearer in that the pupils who obtained a G.C.E. were nearly all apprenticed whereas an equal number without this qualification joined the ranks of the semi-skilled or unskilled workers. Of the school leavers from the secondary modern school 47.7% entered this type of employment.

Many ex-pupils of secondary modern schools accepted jobs for which little or no recognised training was necessary, frequently hoping to proceed from an errand boy to becoming a fully fledged shop worker. Similarly

others entered the building industry and either lacking the ability or initiative to qualify as craftsmen remained as unskilled labourers - the first to become redundant when work became difficult to obtain. Far greater mobility of labour existed among these people than among those who had received some training.

On classifying the occupations of boys leaving the secondary schools in 1962, in terms of social status conferred by those occupations, it is seen that 67% of secondary modern school leavers proceed to work with Class C status compared with 13% in the Independent school, 25% in Grammar School A, and 39% in Grammar School B. Many farmers living outside the city sent their sons to the Independent school and this partly accounted for the 13% some of whom would be working for their parents. In the grammar schools the number leaving without a G.C.E. was too small to be significant whereas in the Central School the corresponding figures for this type of employment for those with or without a G.C.E. certificate were 35% and 30%. The relatively high figures for the grammar schools were probably due to the very generous allocation of free places at these schools plus the fair number of light-engineering firms existing in the city.

The types of occupations obtained by girls on leaving school are rather similar to those obtained by boys with similar educational backgrounds. Thus of those

who left grammar school with a good G.C.E. certificate, nearly one in four proceeded to an institution of higher education, and one in five went to other educational establishments. Fewer girls obtained clerical jobs and rather surprisingly, about a half took jobs of a semi-skilled type. In contrast 90% of girls leaving the Central High School for girls which specialises in a commercial training, obtained clerical jobs. Of the girls from the secondary modern school one in four attended classes at the technical college but the majority obtained work requiring limited skill or training.

From the foregoing it is fairly clear that the occupations achieved or entered by school leavers are to a very large extent controlled by the type of secondary education received by them. Neither the grammar schools nor the secondary modern schools provided particular preparation for specific occupations but the Central High School for Boys with its emphasis on practical engineering was tacitly recognised as a centre of vocational education: similarly girls wishing for a commercial bias in their secondary education proceeded to the Central School for Girls. Earlier it was thought that a vocational education was apt to result in a restricted outlook and that its curriculum was inimical to personal development but this view is now largely outmoded. While a grammar school education is not in itself a pre-requisite for a particular job, only at

grammar schools can the necessary academic background be absorbed and tested so that certain pupils can proceed to selected professions. The grammar schools since the nineteenth century have been teaching specific sorts of skills which their pupils could later make use of in careers such as administrators, lawyers, persons and civil servants. It was thought that a "liberal education is only natural in the sense of giving training for liberal professions."¹ As the vocational value of a grammar school education decreased in England some people thought it became necessary for the requirement of superior social status: "this ritual included cricket, rugger, prefects and a chapel centred christianity."²

In the secondary modern schools the more limited abilities of their pupils is reflected in a different quality of work and this in turn inevitably results in occupations of a Class C type either manual or non-manual. While educational authorities seriously attempt to provide equal opportunities for children as far as is possible in both types of schools so that "parity of esteem" may result in practice as well as in theory, parents hoping that their children may achieve the better jobs suffer no such illusion. The proposed new examination for pupils in secondary schools and the provision of new

1. Education & Urban Child Social Research Series
Liverpool Univ. (Press 1962 p.120

2. Secondary Education for all H. C. Dent Routledge
Kegan & Paul 1949 p.2.

school buildings with playing fields attached are two such measures to try and equate conditions in these two types of schools but despite these and other innovations only the best pupils from the secondary modern schools will be able to compete with any measure of success with the poorest pupils from the grammar schools for the same occupations.

While it was impossible to examine critically the influence of the secondary schools as agents of social mobility it was quite clear that for the many pupils with a Class C social background they provided the main means of escape from this environment. Thus in the boys' grammar school for which information on fathers' occupations was available, 76.4% pupils came from homes where the parents were in Class C occupations: from the same school 34.5% pupils left to undertake occupations considered economically and socially superior to the group.

From the foregoing it is seen that the social status of pupils of the differing types of school - independent and public, and the secondary modern and grammar schools within the public sector - varies considerably, and that the type of secondary school attended has a marked effect on the occupations of its school-leavers. Whereas the main social difference between the pupils of independent and state schools is a function of the parents' ability

and preparedness to pay the cost of such education, that between the pupils of the grammar and secondary modern schools is not so clear cut since the 1944 Education Act abolished fees in state schools. Willingness to pay fees for a grammar school education is no longer one of the criteria for entry to such schools and the inability to pass the selective examination for entry into such schools has to some extent boosted the demand for private schools offering a secondary school curriculum similar to grammar schools. Theoretically the main criterion for selection to grammar schools is intelligence but other factors such as the home environment, the parental interest in the child's work and adequate training in the primary school, all contribute in varying degrees to success at the selection stage.

Finally, in so far as the type and character of a person's education enables him to enter a specific form of employment which carries its own social status, then education may be said to be one of the fundamental factors in the perpetuation of social status at the present time.

CHAPTER 7

Church going in Gloucester

Organised religion has been for many centuries an important feature of social life in rural and urban areas. In most European cities "religious bodies had ample opportunity to develop institutional forms and modes of leadership suited to urbanism."¹ Thus the parish became the unit of the congregation and has been maintained despite confusion and rivalry between neighbouring parishes and their late decay by the migration of population to more socially accepted residential areas.

Towns attracting people from rural areas with the chance of better paid employment, may acquire citizens who have lost religious attitudes and moral restraints acquired in their rural upbringing and who have not acquired urban standards to replace them. These individuals are frequently unattached to any religious denomination. Despite the drift away from religion, religious congregations are larger proportionately and more highly organised in the cities than in rural areas as the population there is larger and more compact in its distribution. This is reflected in the variety of denominations, the more formal and ritualised services, and the use of symbolism and pageantry. The financial resources are better and frequently within a church there may be several organised groups.

Despite the common feeling of spiritual hunger "western religious communities affirmed egalitarianism more clearly

in theory than in practice and at times modified their theory of "station" to sanction stratification."¹
 In Victorian days social status was revealed in the frequency of church going and denominational membership. As well as the attendance of people at church the tenets of religion reveal their importance in secular activities in that many public meetings commence either with a brief service or a prayer. Again, one of the terms of reference in the 1944 Education Act stated that religious instruction must be given in all schools.

The larger attendances at all churches of all denominations on special anniversaries - religious and secular - would tend to indicate a greater latent feeling for religion than is revealed by weekly church attendances.

Gloucester has many places of worship ranging from its cathedral to small buildings housing meetings of minor evangelical groups. The main churches are:

1. Church of England:

Cathedral	1
Parish Churches	20

2. Roman Catholic 2

3. Major Non-conformist Groups

Baptist	4,	Congregational	2,	Methodist	1,
Presbyterian	1.	8		

4. Other Non-conformist Groups:

Unitarian 1, Society of Friends, 2
Salvation Army 5, Apostolic Church 1,
Plymouth Brethren 2, Church of Christ (Tabernacle) 1,
Elim Pentecostal Church, Gloucester Spiritualist
Church, Jehovah's Witness 1, Ebenezer Gospel
Hall (Brethren) 1, Seventh Day Adventists 1.

In addition there are about another dozen small Mission rooms and halls.

The siting of the individual churches and chapels results from historical causes and the need for them later with the physical expansion of the city boundaries. The greater relative importance of religion in former times is reflected in the greater concentration of the churches near the city's nucleus and the relative poverty in the newer suburbs. Frequently on the newer housing estates amidst the new houses, cinemas and schools, the only building missing is the church. Thus the earlier tradition of parishioners in the city being able to walk to their parish church is not so to-day.

In a city which is the centre of a diocese most households interviewed claimed adherence to the Church of England and from Table 1 the relative strength of the varying denominations in the sample may be seen.

Table 1

	<u>Percentage</u>
Church of England	75.8
Roman Catholic	5
Major Nonconformist Group	15
Minor Nonconformist Group	3
No religion claimed	2
	<hr/>
	100%

From Table 1 the over-riding nominal affiliation to the established church is clearly seen, amounting in total to three times the others but this in many cases is quite superficial. Thus adults who have never been to a church or chapel for many years claim this relationship but would never dream of claiming membership with one of the Nonconformist denominations. Whereas during the enquiry little evidence of the positive effect of the cathedral on the population of the city was found, it is possible that a social link with the Established Church centred around it may be considered superior to a link with a small nonconformist chapel. Only two per cent claimed no religious affiliation.

Table 2

Denominations claimed by Class people over 16 years
(Per cent of total adults in each group)

	A	B	C
Church of England	57%	70%	76%
Roman Catholic	17	3	5
Major Nonconformist Group	15	17	15
Minor Nonconformist Group	11	5	3
None	0	5	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>101%</u>

In Class A which was numerically small the dominant position of the Church of England is still evident but the relative position of the Roman Catholic group is not typical of the sample as a whole. With a larger Class A sample it

is probable that the Roman Catholic proportion would decrease and more of this increase would be absorbed into the Church of England percentage. In this group nonconformity is equally represented by the more orthodox Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, etc., as by the more evangelical Plymouth Brethren, Salvation Army, the Friends, etc. In Class B the only group of importance other than the Church of England is the major nonconformist group which exceeds the sum of the Roman Catholics, minor nonconformist group and agnostics. More in Class B either claimed no religion or declared themselves agnostics than in Class A or Class C. In Class C, Church of England and the major nonconformists group still claim most adherents but now a slightly increased proportion are Roman Catholic and this increase is at the expense of nonconformity and agnostics.

Table 3

Frequency of churchgoing of all people over 16 years by status groups.

(Per cent of total people in each status group)

<u>Status Group</u>	<u>Regular</u>	<u>Irregular/Occasional</u>	<u>Never/Very Rare</u>
A	51%	2%	47%
B	45%	15%	40%
C	29%	15%	56%
All Classes	33%	14%	53%

Note: The term regular was used to represent a visit to church/chapel at least once per month: Irregular clearly meant a lower frequency, e.g., three or four times annually.

One in three of Gloucester citizens attends a place of worship at least once a month but more than a half either never or very rarely attend a place of worship.

Both Class A and Class B were fairly evenly divided into two groups, viz: those who attend church regularly and those who very rarely went. In Class C this pattern is reversed, in that non-churchgoers greatly exceed adherents. From Column I it is seen that with increase in status the percentage of visits increases.

Table 4

Frequency of Regular Churchgoing, all adults by denomination

Church of England	29%
Roman Catholic	78%
Major Nonconformist Group	38%
Minor " "	91%

These figures superficially may be misleading in that many claim to be Church of England but visit church only on isolated and very special occasions. These people materially help in reducing the percentage of regular adherents but if it were possible to eliminate them, the percentage of adherents making regular visits would have more in common with the major group of nonconformists. With regard to the attendance of Roman Catholics, at least once per Sunday is expected; this accounts for the high percentage of nearly eighty per cent. The people listed as "other nonconformists" are those attending more evangelical forms of worship and the zeal with which they

have set up their own churches and chapels is equalled by the fervour of their attendance.

Table 5

Frequency of churchgoing, all adults by status and age
(Percentage of age and status groups)

Class A (age group)	Regular	Irregular	Rare/Never
20-39		Sample too small	
40-59	46	4	50
60-79	38	0	62
80+	0	0	100
Class B			
20-39	41	14	45
40-59	46	16	38
60-79	54	12	34
80+	0	0	100
Class C			
20-39	24	18	58
40-59	34	15	51
60-79	34	8	58
80+	21	0	79

In so far as attendance at a place of worship confers social prestige, a factor which may lower the incidence of attendance is age. In Classes B and C regular attendance increases with age up to 79 years, beyond which the figures are too small to be statistically significant. In Class A the converse is true in that attendance decreases with age but this may be due to the accident of sampling.

In the 20-39 years group marked differences occur in the three classes: whereas in Class A just under a half attend church either regularly or rarely, in Class C persons attending regularly amounting to one person in four are less than half those who attend church rarely. In Class A the sample was too small to be statistically important.

In the 40-59 years age group, in Classes B and C, higher percentage for regular visits occurred than in the younger age group and the reverse of this was true in the percentages of rare visits. In Class A however nearly half claimed regular visits with only few people making occasional visits. In Classes B and C of those making only irregular visits the percentages of 16% and 15% reveal nearly an identical pattern.

In the 60-79 years age group percentages of regular visits varied considerably compared with the middle age group: in Class C they were equal but in Class B more attended regularly in the higher age group. Class A and Class C reveal higher percentages with rare visits than their younger age groups but this trend is reversed in Class B with one in three visiting church rarely.

From the table it appears that frequency of church attendance increases with age until infirmity prevents it. In practically all age groups in Class A and Class B over 40% claimed at least a monthly visit whereas no age group in Class C attained this figure. With more young children

in families belonging to the 20-39 years than in older groups, it is not surprising that this age group should have a relatively low incidence of attendance. When this fact is coupled with the present day policy of housing people, not merely for financial reasons on council estates where few if any places of worship have been built, it is not surprising that the age groups in Class C should have the lowest percentage of all in regular attendances. Fifty years ago prior to the more recent urban spread of Gloucester and when Sunday traffic was limited in amount, and leisurely in its pace, many Class C children whilst still small could be taken to church. Now living in housing estates away from churches this is impossible, unless their parents have cars. With the financially better-off Class A and B people this does not obtain.

Table 6
Frequency of churchgoing, adults over 20 by sex and status
(Per cent of sex - status groups)

Class A	Regular	Occasional	Rare/Never
Males	55	5	40
Females	48	0	52
Class B			
Males	39	14	47
Females	50	15	35
Class C			
Males	26	14	60
Females	33	15	52

Among both lower classes women claim higher percentages for regular attendance and lower percentages for

rare or non-attendance than men. Approximately half the women in Class A and Class B claim regular attendance but in the lowest social class the figure drops to one in three. The largest difference between the sexes occurs in Class B with 11% and the smallest in Class C with 7% .

Table 7

Frequency of churchgoing, adults over 20 years, by age, sex and status

(Percentage of age-sex-status groups)

Class A Age Group	Regular		Irregular		Rare	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
20-39	84	80	-	-	16	20
40-59	35	55	10	-	55	45
60-79	66	20	-	-	34	80
Class B						
20-39	34	47	16	15	50	40
40-59	39	52	17	15	44	33
60-79	56	53	-	18	44	29
Class C						
20-39	19	28	18	18	63	54
40-59	32	36	14	15	54	49
60-79	30	38	8	8	62	64

In Table 7 for all age groups in Class B and Class C women show a higher incidence of regular attendance than the men, whereas in Class A this is only true for the 40-59 years age group. Similarly in the same groups, women claim a lower percentage than men of attending church rarely except in Class 60-79 age group when the

percentages are nearly equal. Excluding Class A females and Class C males there is a proportionate increase in regular attendance after 60 years of age. In Class A among those rarely visiting church the difference between the sexes is most marked, in that the middle age group for males changes from 55% to 34% in the upper age group and the figures for females increases from 45% to 80%. In Class B little difference occurs, but in Class C the percentage for males increases from 54% to 62% and females from 49% to 64%. Among the older group of men the position changed considerably with status, in that two men out of every three in Class A were regular churchgoers, one in two in Class B and only one in three in Class C. In all classes irrespective of age, few claimed to be occasional visitors: informants either counted themselves members of a church or made visits on rare but special occasions.

One of the reasons advanced by several housewives in Class C explaining their absence from church was caring for young children.

Of wives in the 20-59 years group with children of school age the percentages in status groups were Class A 100%, Class B 72% and Class C 82%: this reason by itself is clearly not the answer to the low attendances at church of Class C women in this age group. It is probable that the women in the older age group are permanently

better off, with husbands higher on the salary scales than younger men. This improved financial position is frequently reflected in the possession of a car, and with this, attendance at church is possible even if living on a housing estate some distance from a church.

Among the questions informants were asked on religious matters was why they went to church. The answers were too numerous and varied to be investigated statistically but among Class C adults the predominant answers were:

1. "I was brought up to going"
2. "I believe it is the proper thing to do"
3. "My religious convictions"
4. "I thoroughly enjoy going to chapel"
5. "To worship God"

The first two reasons show the effect of tradition and was more indicative of the feeling of the older people in the group. This feeling of the respectability of church going was also reflected in a social conscience concerning the upbringing of children, thus -

1. Husband - "to set an example to the children"
2. " "I think to encourage the children to go"
3. " "Because Susan wants us to go: we're not strongly religious"
4. Wife "To set an example to the children and because I think we should"
5. " "Religion and a Christian background is very important for children"

Among other replies were those of people who went to church for psychological reasons and felt the better for their going.

1. Husband "To get a type of inner spiritual satisfaction which is difficult to describe"
2. " "To get a sense of calm and satisfaction"
3. Wife "It gives you a lift-up in life"
4. Husband "I go for my faith and feel better for it"

Not quite so numerous but quite varied were the replies for not attending church. The chief reason given - mainly in a defensive tone - was that one could be ^{as} good (in the moral sense) as those who attended without attending oneself, thus:

1. Husband "Can be religious without going to church"
2. Wife "Can be good enough without going to church"
3. Husband "I think I'm just as good a person (although not attending church) as some who go regularly"

Personal prejudice was also a factor inhibiting attendance at church and this was frequently slanted at ministers or those who attended more regularly than the informants. Typical replies were -

1. Husband "I don't think the average clergyman's attitude on life is in keeping with modern life. He is still living in the past with hell fire and damnation."
2. Husband "I think they (clergymen) are out of touch with modern people so I don't go."
3. Husband "If I liked a person who practised what he preaches, I'd attend."
4. Husband "The hypocrisy of those going put me off"

5. Husband "So many people seem to be two faced: seemingly religious but act differently."
6. Wife "I think they're a lot of hypocrites"
7. Husband "Don't believe in it much - some a lot of do-gooders"

Very few people questioned referred to competition with church going from more secular activities. The coming of a modified "Continental Sunday", the five day week and the Welfare State, have together altered the pattern of Sunday behaviour from what it was fifty years ago. The lower percentage of regular church-goers in the younger age groups may be correlated with half empty churches and some ministers realising this change in religious observance have deliberately amended the order of church services to fit in with it.

In modern times two inventions used for mass instruction in all matters have been the radio and television. On the radio during weekdays two periods each of five minutes duration were allocated for religious broadcasts each day starting at 6.50 a.m. and 7.50 a.m. with Lift up your Hearts and 15 minutes for a short daily Service at 10.15 a.m. On Sunday more time was allocated, for example on the Home Service the five minutes for prayer at 7.50 a.m. were later followed at 9.45 a.m. by a Service of one hour's duration. In the evening provision for a-nother service was made usually between 7.45 p.m. and 8.25 p.m. On the Light Programme similar

services were held but so arranged that they did not clash with the Service on the Home Service, thus the morning Service commenced at 11.30 a.m. and a half hour programme of hymn singing in the evening started at 8.30 p.m. These regular and fully religious programmes were supplemented throughout the week with talks and discussions on social matters in which religious beliefs were closely inter-woven: here the emphasis lay more on the effect of christian moral standards of behaviour than on religious dogma.

On Television on Sunday a somewhat similar allocation of time has been given for religious matters, the two peak periods being three quarters of an hour for a Service between 10.30 - 11.15 a.m. in the morning and 70 minutes from 6.15 - 7.25 p.m. in the evening. This evening programme has been split into three divisions each aimed at a differing section of the unseen audience. The programme usually begins with a discussion lasting 30 minutes and aimed at young people who have usually left school. This is immediately followed by a brief 5 minutes bible story for young children: the remaining 35 minutes is for hymn singing mainly for the elderly people who for many and varied reasons are not present in church. On I.T.V. about 75 minutes is allocated for a religious Service in the morning and 25 minutes for a religious discussion in the evening. On most programmes transmission at night concludes with an epilogue.

Opinion is divided on the merits and demerits of radio and television on broadcasting religion. On the positive side it may be argued that it enables the old and infirm and those at work, those injured in accidents or living in isolated places away from churches, to enjoy a religious Service otherwise not possible. On the negative side it may be suggested that it requires only the minimum response from those listening, that listeners who are physically able to attend a church are neither contributing to its upkeep nor showing a good example to others who might follow their leadership.

With regard to the frequency of listening to religious broadcasts by families, informants were asked if they made a special effort to listen regularly, to special programmes only, or never listened. The family was taken as the unit in the sample although in most cases it was the parents who did most listening. Although many admitted to listening, most confessed that in the morning this was accompanied by the performance of some household chore like getting the dinner ready but this was not true of evening listening when presumably they were able to relax more.

Table 8

Religious Broadcasts - Frequency of listening by families
and status groups

(Per cent of families in each status group)

Status Group	Regular and Frequent	Irregular or special only	Never specially
Class A	10	85	5
Class B	42	47	11
Class C	55	36	9
All Classes	49	42	9

From Table 8 it would appear that one in two were regular listeners and only one in ten were quite indifferent to religious broadcasts¹. It is probable that many who were entered in the middle group as special listeners only would be more correctly put in the third group but on being asked if they would listen to a special programme from Gloucester Cathedral they invariably replied in the affirmative. The most significant fact to emerge from Table 8 is the increasing percentage of regular listeners with decrease in social status ranging from a mere 10% in Class A to 42% in Class B and to 55% in Class C. Secondly whereas the difference between regular and irregular listening in Class C was not large, in Class A it was most marked. Both in regular and irregular listening Class B retained its intermediate character. Table 8 may be correlated with Table 6 where attendance

1. Note: This appears much higher than result in survey of larger sample made by B.B.C. in 1955
See B.B.C. on the Air 1955 p.7.

at church by status groups is the inverse of Table 8
Column I.

Table 9

Religious Broadcasts - Frequency of listening by regular
and non-regular churchgoers and status

(Per cent of regular and non-regular churchgoers in each
status group.

<u>Class A</u>	Frequency of listening			Percentage of all <u>families</u>
	<u>Regular and frequent</u>	<u>Non- regular</u>	<u>Never specially</u>	
At least one adult goes to church at least once a month.	60%	40%	0%	50
No adult goes to church at least once a month.	30%	60%	10%	50
<u>Class B</u>				
At least one adult goes to church at least once a month.	50%	43%	7%	52
No adult goes to church at least once a month.	33%	52%	15%	48
<u>Class C</u>				
At least one adult goes to church at least once a month.	65%	42%	5%	36
No adult goes to church at least once a month.	51%	38%	11%	64

From Table 9 it appears in all status groups that
those who attend church regularly also listen most
frequently to religious broadcasts. The disparity in each

status group decreases steadily with decreasing social status from 30% in Class A through 17% in Class B to 14% in Class C. Of those who never specially listen, the disparities between the two classes within each status group were less marked but again decrease with decreasing status being Class A 10%, Class B 8% and Class C 6%. Again, among those who never listen specially the higher percentage in each status group is with the group that rarely attends church. Among those who listen irregularly Class A and Class B are similar in that the percentage for regular churchgoers is in each case less than for families which rarely attend church: in Class C this trend is reversed but the disparity is only slight.

From the preceding tables is seen that the majority of people hear some religious broadcasts at some time or another during the week, but that only half are regular listeners of whom some confess to performing other activities simultaneously. Those who listened only to occasional broadcasts were conditioned by some specific appeal such as a Service from a particular church, e.g., Gloucester Cathedral, Welsh programmes (- there are many of Welsh origin in Gloucester -), special preachers particularly if evangelical in their approach, or to services with special musical or choral qualities. One particular television programme televised mainly for children featured the travels of two young people through

the Holy Land and each place visited provided the background for religious discussions. This programme was highly esteemed by many children and adults and was responsible for many adults viewing, contrary to usual practice. The amount of listening is a function of the status groups and within these groups varies according to the incidence of church attendance. From the series of tables it is clear that more hear religious broadcasts than attend church or chapel but their effectiveness in raising moral standards or increasing or decreasing membership of churches cannot be estimated. Religious institutions like other societies wish to perpetuate themselves and undertake to train their younger members for more responsible work later on. This instruction may take several forms such as Bible Class or the Family Service, but the most well known is undoubtedly Sunday Schools which were started by Robert Raikes and Thomas Stocks in Gloucester, though not for this reason. The general decline in church attendance during the last half century has coincided with a decline in Sunday School attendance and while all the causes of these declines are not identical several are common to both. Incidence of attendance at Sunday School is a complex function but the main variables are age, and home background.

Table 10

Attendance at Sunday School by age-group (Per cent of age group)

<u>Age group</u>	<u>Frequency of attendance</u>		
	Regular	Irregular	Never
0-4 years	12%	2%	86%
5-14 "	35%	13%	52%
15-19 "	27%	9%	64%

The highest frequency of attendance is claimed by schoolchildren with the lowest percentage among the 0-4 years group who normally only attend with older brothers or sisters, or a child living nearby. Above the age of 14 years two out of three do not attend Sunday School. With the general trend for the school leaving age to rise the tendency for the age to leave Sunday School would appear to be lowering. With adolescents maturing earlier it is probable that attendance at Sunday School may increasingly be regarded as a juvenile activity by children whose parents do not wish to use coercion or persuasion.

In Table 11 attendance by age and status groups reveals clearly the effect of status on the incidence of attendance. In the youngest group 0-4 years regular attendance decreases steadily with decreasing social status from Class A with 25% to Class C with 10%. Figures for non-attendance in the same age group are complementary. In the 5-14 years group status again is

reflected in regular attendances with Classes A and B with 43% both exceeding Class C with 33%. Class B appears equally divided between regular pupils and those who never go, while its share of occasional pupils is practically equal to those in Class C. In the 15-19 years group the sample in Class A was too small - several children of this age were away at boarding school. Regular attendance was practically equal in Classes B and C but among children never attending Sunday School the percentage was higher in Class B.

Table 11

Attendance at Sunday School by age and status
(Per cent of age and status groups)

<u>Age Group 0-4 years</u>	Regular	Irregular	Never
Class A	25%	-	75%
Class B	18%	-	82%
Class C	10%	3	87%
<u>Age Group 5-14 years</u>			
Class A	43%	-	57%
Class B	43%	14%	43%
Class C	33%	13%	54%
<u>Age Group 15-19 years</u>			
Class A	-	-	100%
Class B	27%	4%	69%
Class C	28%	9%	63%

Another important factor influencing the frequency of attendance of children at Sunday School is the strength of the religious connections of their parents, reflected

in the regularity of their attendance at church. In Table 12 this factor was evaluated by comparing the regular attendance of children one of whose parents at least attended church once a month.

Table 12

Regular attendance at Sunday School according to status and parental churchgoing habits

Per cent of each age and status group, for each section of Table treated separately.

	At least one parent goes to church once a month or more.			Neither parent goes to church once a month or more.		
	0-4 yrs.	5-14 yrs.	15-19 yrs.	0-4 yrs.	5-14 yrs.	15-19 yrs.
Class A	50%	50%	-	-	-	-
Class B	25%	59%	40%	11%	33%	-
Class C	18%	48%	4%	15%	29%	

The figures are percentages of age groups in each section of the Table treated separately: for example 48% of children in Class C in the 5-14 years age group whose parents attend church regularly, themselves attend Sunday School regularly: of those in the same age group and class whose parents do not attend church regularly the percentage is only 29%.

From Table 12 the close positive correlation between parents' and children's attendance at church is apparent. Thus in all age groups and social classes children of regular churchgoers attend Sunday School more regularly. In the 0-4 years age group in Section A frequency of attendance decreased with diminishing social status from one in two in Class A to one in four in Class B and less

than one in five in Class C. In Section B this trend was reversed and the largest figure claimed was only 15% in Class C. In the next age group - children of school age, all classes recorded higher figures than the young children, but the range was much more limited in Section A in that roughly half the children in each class attended Sunday School. In the same age group Section B reveals a marked contrast with no one in Class A and approximately only one in three claiming regular attendance in the older two classes. In both Section A and B in this age group Class B has the highest percentage. In the 15-19 years age group the most noticeable feature is the complete absence in all classes of regular pupils in Section B and in Class A in Section A. Class B again easily outnumbers Class C in Section A.

The social class which clearly takes a keen interest in the attendance of its children whether or not parents attend regularly is Class B. In this class children not only attend regularly when very young but are the premier group during normal school age and after the minimum statutory school leaving age.

One other factor linked with attendance at Sunday School is the age at which most pupils leave. In most cases this largely coincides with leaving school and is much more clearly marked in Class C than in Class B. Thus pupils attending regularly whose parents attend church at least once per month, in Class B 43% of those

attending in the 5-14 years age were attending in the 15-19 years age group: in Class C however the corresponding figure was less than 4%.

As a check on the efficacy of a Sunday School training for future membership of a church, householders of all ages who had children who were old enough to become church members were asked if their children had attended Sunday School, and if they were members of a church. The enquiry embraced children who had left home but whose parents could answer these queries.

Table 13

Percentage of children of householders who attended Sunday School at some time, by status groups.

Class A	71%
" B	82%
" C	96%
All Classes	92%

Table 13 reveals the majority of children at some time went to Sunday School and that attendance increased with decreasing social status.

Table 14

Percentage of former Sunday School pupils who became Church members, by status groups.

Class A	58%
Class B	69%
Class C	26%
All Classes	26%

From Table 14 two interesting facts emerge, firstly

that Class B is the main recruiting class compared relatively with Classes A and C, and secondly although Class C easily outnumbers Class A in Table 13, its effect is not as important, in that twice as many in the upper class compared with Class C became members of churches.

Probably during the last decade the overall number of Sunday School pupils has decreased for varying reasons, one of the main ones being the apathy of parents. With the advent of the welfare state former attractions such as visits to the seaside no longer form the incentive to children of the poorer classes as they once did. Frequently their parents now own cars and this militates against attendance at Sunday School, though they can in some cases be asked to take children to Sunday School from the peripheral estates.

In order to counteract the drift from Sunday School one feature common to several churches and chapels in Gloucester has been the transfer of Sunday School from the afternoon to the morning, or the introduction of a family service so arranged that both adults and children benefit from it. This not only makes one journey now take the place of two, but it also enables the family to go visiting - usually in the car - in the afternoon.

The position of the Sunday School movement in Gloucester varies somewhat not only between denominations but also between churches of the same denomination partly

depending on the site of the church. Thus one church (Church of England) on the edge of the city has a newer church situated nearer a council housing estate: parents of children attending Sunday School at the mother church are frequently seen in church whereas parents of children attending the latter rarely attend church. In this church few Sunday School scholars become members later and only about 5% return as teachers - mainly girls.

The Methodist Church sited away from the homes of most of its members is another church which changed its Sunday School to the morning in order to retain its members. Most of the Sunday School scholars of this denomination become church members in contrast with the Church of the Plymouth Brethren where only 10-15% become members.

In the Presbyterian Church, children attending morning service with parents, are later separated but conclude their worship at the same time as parents. This church, to stimulate recruitment, organises different children's organisations each with their own distinctive uniforms, e.g., Life Boys 8-11 years. Boys' Brigade 11½-17 years, Girl Guides 8-15 years and its Fellowship of Youth 17-35 years.

The Roman Catholic Church is not so concerned about the strength of its Sunday Schools as their children get religious instruction each day at school and children

of grammar school level proceed directly from school to church on Fridays for such instruction. This church-like one of its famous sons - believes "If you raise children without religion you raise a nation of anarchists".¹

In order to obtain information as to the social composition of the varying denominations clergymen responsible for the churches and chapels listed in Table 15 were interviewed and these membership lists - or in the case of Church of England churches their parochial rolls - were examined. It was appreciated however that the parochial rolls were not as accurate for membership figures as lists supplied by nonconformist ministers.

Table 15

Social Composition of Member of churches/chapels, by rateable value of homes.

Church of England	Number of Members householders in city.	A	Class B	C
St. Catherine's	191	51%	33%	16%
St. James	106	-	27%	73%
St. Mary de Crypt	60	3%	60%	37%
St. John the Baptist	65	-	-	-
St. Barnabas	Parochial roll not available	-	-	-
Roman Catholic	1009	9%	33%	58%
Baptist	198	13%	50%	37%
Methodist	156	20%	40%	40%

1. Edmund Burke

Table 15 (contd.)

	Number of Members householders in city	A	Class B	C
Congregational	114	23%	55%	22%
Presbyterian	79	24%	47%	29%
Salvation Army	151	6%	20%	74%
Plymouth Brethren (one group)	43	33%	16%	51%
Friends				

A direct comparison of this table with Table 2 - denominations claimed by informants arranged in social groups is not strictly valid as many members included in the above table lived outside the city boundary. This was especially true of Roman Catholics who travelled considerable distances to attend Mass and of people living in the residential area to the north who had no church or chapel of their particular denomination near their homes.

The table does however afford useful comparisons. Thus from the percentage of Class A members of St. Catherine's the popular idea of the socially superior being closely linked with the Established Church is confirmed, but on examining the figures for St. James's Church, this conclusion appears to be refuted. The answer in both cases lies in the location of the churches: St. Catherine's is sited on the northern side in a predominantly residential area and has four out of five

of its members in Classes A & B. On the other hand St. James's Church is sited in an older part of the city - a down town parish - where nearly three out of four are in Class C. With regard to the two ancient churches of St. John the Baptist and St. Mary de Crypt the position is again different in that there is virtually no parish with either and having no parishioners in the accepted sense, both the function and development of these churches is different from the former two churches. The main difference in the social composition of their members is the dominant position of Class B at St. Mary de Crypt church in being greater than Class^A and Class C together, whereas at St. John the Baptist church Class C equals the other classes.

Among the orthodox nonconformist churches Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches had similar percentage figures in Class A members but Baptists were considerably lower with only 13%. Approximately half the membership of all four denominations were found in Class B but in the lowest class percentages ranged from a minimum of 22% in the Congregational to a maximum of 37% with the Baptists.

The Roman Catholic Church was noted for the large number of adherents compared with the main nonconformist churches but many of these lived outside the city. With regard to the social class of Catholic members in the city nearly two out of three were in Class C. This was

mainly due to the influx of many Irish families which had been attracted by employment in the city, mainly in the less skilled occupations connected with building, the docks and engineering.

The Salvation Army in total membership was only exceeded by the Baptists and was practically equal to the Methodists. Here however the similarity ended in that only 6% were in Class A and three out of four in Class C. Of the other minor nonconformist sects one group of the Plymouth Brethren (open) classed one in three, as belonging to the upper group and about one in two in the lowest group.

To confirm various results already obtained and to have a clearer picture of the main denominations ministers were interviewed concerning their churches.

St. Catherine's church is sited in a residential area which included two old-age pensioners hostels. The church cares for about two hundred and fifty families, mainly those of business and professional people. Although the age group distribution is fairly even, women account for 60% of the members. Three services are held every Sunday, the evening service being the best attended with about 150 members present. Every fourth Sunday a family service is held which attracts people who might otherwise not attend. A church Youth Club is available for children who attend church.

In contrast, St. James's Church is sited in an

older part of the city among streets of low rateable value. Most members live near the church and few are professionally qualified. In this area a practical approach to Christianity is appreciated far more than a more formal academic or intellectual one. This church flourished until about 1935 and its decline was accelerated by the war. One of the factors accelerating its decline was the lack of lay leadership and it is possible that those who might have provided this have left the district or are dissipating their energies in religious splinter groups. Accompanying the general social decay of the area is the arrival of coloured people. In general this church serves an area which is predominantly nonconformist, e.g., the Tyndale Methodist Church and several evangelical movements such as the Pentecostals, Mormons, Plymouth Brethren and small groups of people holding religious meetings in private houses.

Situated on the eastern edge of the city alongside a main ring road is the post war church of St. Barnabas. Of the three hundred odd members about a half attend the morning and evening services respectively. A family service is held on the first Sunday in the month and this boosts attendance up to nearly 66%. Socially the congregation reveals a normal cross section of the people in the city being composed of professional and business people and many artisans. A daughter church sited in Tuffley near a council estate has members who are

predominantly working class with elderly widows from the Old Age Pensioners' bungalows. Women again account for about 60% of the membership and the main category missing is the 22-35 years age group largely embracing the newly marrieds, or families with young children. During the last seven years population in this area has doubled and this accounts for an increase of 20-25% in membership.

The church of St. Mary de Crypt founded c.1080 A.D. and the church of St. John the Baptist founded c.941 A.D. are both quite distinct from the preceding churches in that neither has parishioners in the generally accepted sense. Both churches are sited in the centre of the city amongst the shops and offices and in general members of these churches work nearby. These people could easily be absorbed into churches nearer their homes but prefer to remain as members of the city churches and are invaluable in keeping the churches in good repair. Professional and executive people form the majority of the congregations with women being more numerous than men. Attendance at Sunday evening service is usually double that in the morning but it is usually small. Larger congregations occur on special occasions during the week or if conducted at industrial or business premises. Although the Sunday School movement originated in the church of St. Mary de Crypt it is no longer carried on here. Both churches were also responsible for the establishment of

the two boys' grammar schools in the city. As these churches have no parishioners it is proposed to maintain them for a different function, this being, to link the activities of the churches with the life of the city as a whole, and to intensify a weekday ministry rather than the week-end round of services. In general the churches are to be developed along the lines of the London Guild churches which are sited in the central block of offices and flats.

The Roman Catholic church from a modest membership of 200-300 people at the beginning of the century now claims 2,500 members: from 1900 until 1931 was a period of development but since that date there has been a threefold increase. With the end of the slump in 1931 employment prospects in Gloucester improved: the extension of the Gloster Aircraft Company and the Rotol Aircraft Company, prior to the Second World War, provided many openings for the semi-skilled and attracted Catholics from Ireland and other towns in the Midlands. Since the war nationals of other countries who elected to remain in Britain settled in Gloucester and practised their former religion. Members are of all age groups and social classes with 90% members of working class origin and the remaining 10% being professional people. To cope with increased membership during the last 30 years a new church has been built at Matson and new centres for Mass provided at Churchdown, Brockworth and Tuffley. Despite

this, the increasing membership plus the high percentage of attendance at Mass has made it necessary to duplicate each of the three Sunday Mass services. This vigorous growth of members plus the deliberate emphasis on religious instruction which this church insists on is reflected in the development of secular education for their children. In 1954 127 Roman Catholic children attended one all-age Roman Catholic school: in 1962, 4 Roman Catholic schools have 900 pupils. The original school now serves as an 11 year plus school but it is hoped in the near future for the establishment of a new Secondary Roman Catholic school on a 16 acres site. One final contrast between this church and others is that it has members of different races and nations such as Poles, Italians, Lithuanians, etc: this common religion gives them a sense of belonging.

With regard to the Methodist denomination comparison with the past is rather difficult in that various amalgamations have taken place and circuits altered. Some churches in the city have been closed since the Union of Wesleyan, United and Primitive Methodists. The main church in Northgate Street has, like most churches in Gloucester, declined in the last 30 years: from over 400 members in 1931 the membership has decreased to just under 300 in 1961. In recent years membership has remained fairly stationary except that city improvement

schemes centred on Albion Street and near the cathedral has caused the loss of some working class members, and their children from Sunday School. These people are probably rehoused on estates out at Tuffley and Matson. The change of shop-types from owner-occupiers to multiple stores has also affected membership as the chapel is sited in an important shopping area. Members are sporadically distributed throughout the city and largely depend on cars or buses to go to church. Professional and business people are in the minority. With regard to age-groups teenagers are fewer than the 20-40 years age group, who in turn are fewer than those over 40 years of age.

The Congregational Church sited in a down town area with the docks nearby has declined from its relative importance earlier in the century: but during the last few years the decline has been altered and membership is increasing. Members are fairly evenly divided into age groups, and business and professional people form the majority: these are, in the main, best approached on an intellectual plane. As most of the members live in all parts of the city the former afternoon Sunday School has now been altered to the morning so that one journey for the parents is needed: this is at least one example of the church coming to terms with modern life.

The main Baptist church sited near the city centre is slowly declining from an earlier peak reached in 1939:

it is thought this trend will continue. Age group distribution is fairly even up to 65 years of age but thereafter the percentage of members is higher than it is in the general population. Evening services with nearly 200 members are roughly double that of the morning. Members are mainly office workers, shop assistants, artisans and lower middle class professional people and in general are distributed widely throughout the city. With the re-housing of people from houses demolished near the centre of the city, this church has had to face a similar problem to the Methodist Church.

The last of the major nonconformist churches investigated was the Presbyterian Church efficiently conducted by the minister, elders and deacons. While the deacons were responsible for the financial side of the church each elder "looked after" members of the congregation living in a given district. Approximately two out of three of the members are elderly and usually retired, and a marked gap occurs in the 35-50 years age group. Men and women are fairly evenly balanced in membership and there is a wide range in social classes: some contact is made with West Indian immigrants some few of whom attend services and have their children baptised here. Among the professional group in the membership is a floating element, partly Scottish in character, which gravitates to this church: on promotion to better jobs they tend to proceed to other towns.

Another religious group investigated was the Salvation Army with one main centre, two outposts for seniors, and two for juniors. Men and women are roughly equal in numbers and the middle age group is equal numerically to the young and older age groups. Socially, members are very mixed but are mainly working class or small business people and with few professionally trained people. In addition to the usual three services indoors on Sundays, three other outdoor services are held and of these the average member attends two of each. Members are distributed all over the city and home-buying is strongly encouraged. Active membership not only involves strong moral codes but also the relinquishing of smoking and drinking intoxicants.

Another numerically minor group investigated was one group of the Plymouth Brethren (Open) denomination. This group numerically rather small had most of its members in the older age groups. Socially, membership was mainly confined to business men owning their own businesses, artisans, clerical workers, but few professionally qualified people. Apart from the general decline in attendance common to most denominations, one added reason here is the formation of other assemblies in the newer building estates. Members live all over the city and are not concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the church.

Thus it is seen that churchgoing in Gloucester is

confined to a minority but that the attendance of the varying age and social groups within this minority varies widely. Equally varied is the pattern of listening to the radio, or viewing on television, programmes of a religious character, but the extent to which this more passive form of religious observance balances the more active churchgoing cannot be estimated.

CHAPTER 8

The use of Leisure

The way in which a person has to earn a living may be due to circumstances beyond his control, but the way in which he utilises his leisure hours reflects his social and educational background.

"To enjoy our lives in the only way we can understand it is necessary for us pre-adolescent English to take our work lightly and our play seriously."¹ The same author adds "The English of all classes, like single minded children are impassioned amateurs - we always do it better when we do it for love, when we can look upon it as a hobby."²

Binder, it would appear, has made a close study of the manner in which the English spend their leisure hours though often half of the problem lies in considering the method in which the leisure hours are spent.

The extent of leisure pursuits in any city is obviously large and is in part controlled by the facilities necessary for it. Thus the gift of public libraries to many towns by trustees of the Carnegie Trust greatly stimulated reading, whereas towns still lacking swimming baths or skating rinks may have few devotees of these sports simply because the facilities do not exist. On the other hand, facilities for sports as similar as rugby and association football may exist side by side, yet owing

1. The English Inside Out P. Binder London 1962 p.150
2. " " " " " " " " p.161

to other facilities such as the game played in the main schools in the city, the type of football played by the main team in the city, or the social cachet attached to one game and not another, the relative participation in each game may be vastly different. Thus it has been asserted "that rugby is not a poor man's game except in S. Wales or in Rugby League"¹ and it is perhaps significant that when the B.B.C. broadcasts a Rugby Union match the commentator is either public school or university educated, whereas with a Rugby League match the commentator may have been an excellent player but his speech is more homely. A reflection of this stratification in sport is observed in the amount of space reserved for the differing sports in upper and middle class newspapers and the "glossies" and newspapers purchased by the working class.

A third control on leisure pursuits is clearly economic in that some sports may not be played without expensive equipment like a yacht or polo ponies.

A more important control however is the social and educational background of the individuals, such that although having both the time and money in middle age, they are unable to follow certain leisure activities because they did not when younger receive a certain type of education. Many people with a limited social and educational background spend a great part of their

1. English Social Differences, Pear. London p.251

leisure time in the more passive pursuits, such as watching sport or television, or visiting the cinema.

With the coming of the shorter working weekend with automation allowing many workers to leave work less tired than their forbears, the trades unions are becoming increasingly aware of the new problem of leisure for their members. These members are in the main those with leisure pursuits limited in number and more passive in character, and they are largely unaware of the added richness in life that appreciation of art, good music and literature provide. The stimulation of an ever increasing interest in the more cultural forms of leisure may provide the trades unions with an added responsibility.

An analysis of the leisure activities pursued at home or away from home in Gloucester was made, its purpose being in the main, to show the differing participation in these pursuits, of the three main social groups.

Among the several pastimes investigated for differences between the social groups, reading was clearly important. Thus informants were asked which newspapers and periodicals they read and also the amount of time spent per week in reading. It was soon noted that some newspapers and periodicals were much more popular with one group than with the others and that time spent reading also varied from group to group.

With regard to the purchase of daily newspapers by all householders in the sample, the Daily Mirror easily occupied first place. Trailing a long way behind came the Daily Express, the Daily Mail and the Daily Telegraph. The percentage totals of these newspapers of all newspapers purchased were Daily Mirror 36%, the Daily Express 22%, the Daily Mail 15% and the Daily Telegraph 11%. On closer analysis several interesting facts emerge. More copies of the Daily Mirror are sold than the Daily Express which occupies second place and the Daily Telegraph - the leading newspaper in the A and B groups - added together.

Strangely enough, the Daily Sketch which is very similar in size and presentation of its news to the Daily Mirror, lags far behind the latter, amounting to only 8% of total sales in the sample. This wide disparity may not be due to these factors but may reflect the political background of its readers.

The Daily Telegraph read by approximately 14% of the sample owes its fourth position largely to its relatively greater importance in the A and B groups.

The Daily Sketch and Daily Herald, although politically far apart, nevertheless show nearly identical patterns both in total sales and in class distinction.

With regard to the relative connection within each social group, different patterns emerge.

In Class A the Daily Telegraph led with 33% of the total papers purchased, followed by The Times and Daily Mail each with 17% in joint second place.

In Class B the Daily Telegraph and Daily Express tie for first place, each with 25% of the newspapers purchased by the groups. These papers are closely followed by the Daily Mail with 22% which is double the circulation of the Daily Mirror, the only remaining newspaper read by more than 10% of this group.

In Class C the Daily Mirror with 44% easily exceeds its nearest competitor, the Daily Express, with 22% and the Daily Mail with 13%.

As might be expected there is a positive connection between the popularity of Conservative newspapers in the upper and middle groups. With regard to the popularity of the Daily Mail in the lowest group it is probable that the human interest side of the newspaper outweighs its political aspect. The dominating position of the Daily Mirror is probably due more to its "Readability" especially among those who find reading more factual newspapers an irksome discipline. Its well-known cartoons, sports reports, "readers'" letters section combined with its sensational style practically pre-digesting the information for its readers, enabled them to absorb easily and largely unconsciously the main news items. Odd items of news can easily be read from it

during regulation breaks in a factory shift.

The nearest in size and layout to the Daily Mirror is the Daily Sketch but in a city with a large proportion of working class people, its circulation in the sample was only one sixth that of the Daily Mirror. The circulation of the Daily Sketch in groups A and B is practically negligible, indicating that its style and format outweigh its political slant among its Group C readers.

The Daily Herald linked with the opposite party to that of the Daily Sketch only just leads it in total circulation and equally narrowly in the Class C Group where it ranked fourth.

Of the newspapers larger in size but very similar in the treatment of news, layout, cartoons, etc., the Daily Express comes second in total circulation, second in popularity in Group C, but joint favourite with the Daily Telegraph in Group B. Here again presentation of easily absorbed information probably accounts for similar percentages in the B and C groups which might differ politically.

The more serious factual newspapers requiring greater mental discipline and a longer time to read them, are not unexpectedly found to be more popular in the A and B groups - but whereas The Guardian is equally popular in Group A and B, The Times is proportionally five times as popular in Group A as it is in Group B.

Similarly, the Financial Times is proportionally more popular in Group A than in Group B and like The Guardian, is not read by members of Group C.

Occasionally retired people from other towns read newspapers they formerly read elsewhere and two examples of this are the purchase of the Western Mail by a resident Welshman and the Hereford Times by a former inhabitant of that town.

The only local daily newspaper - the Gloucester Citizen - which is an evening newspaper, leads all other newspapers in total circulation being read by 88% of the sample. With regard to local groupings the percentages are high in all cases being, A 90%, B 80% and C 91% respectively. While this newspaper clearly gave the most recent national news, its biggest appeal comes from its largely local character. The newspaper is not confined either in content or circulation purely to the city but ranges as far afield as Coleford in the Forest of Dean to the west, to Ledbury in the North and Dursley in the south: a line joining Birdlip to Tetbury would serve as its eastern boundary. With a net sale in excess of 40,000 copies per day, only a relatively low percentage of homes in the city are not conversant with its contents. Apart from the most recent national news, the contents include accounts of local politics, local sport, local flower shows and marriages, interspersed with

advertisements of local trades people.

With regard to Sunday newspapers a similar pattern to the distribution of daily newspapers is observed. The newspaper with the greatest circulation in the sample was the Sunday Pictorial purchased by 45% of the households and constituting 26% of all Sunday newspapers bought. The next three most popular newspapers are the News of the World, the People and the Sunday Express being purchased by 36%, 33% and 25% of all households: their percentage sales of total Sunday sales in the sample were 22%, 20% and 16% respectively. The more restrained papers, more popular with groups A and B such as the Sunday Times, Sunday Telegraph and the Observer are all in much smaller total demand but this is mainly a reflection of the disparate divisions of the social groups in the city. Clearly the most popular pages of the largest group will command the largest circulation.

<u>Class A</u>		<u>Class B</u>		<u>Class C</u>	
S. Express	60%	S. Express	46%	S. Pictorial	52%
S. Times	50%	S. Telegraph	22%	News of World	44%
Observer	25%	S. Times	21%	People	18%
S. Telegraph	25%	Observer	19%	S. Express	16%

On comparing Groups A and B the four most important papers are practically identical. It is interesting to note that whereas in Group B the Sunday Express, with 46% of total sales, has no close rival:

it is less popular than in Group A where 60% of all households read it. Whereas the Sunday Times is second in popularity in Group A and equal to the sum of the Observer and Sunday Telegraph sales, in Group B these three papers are approximately equal and together are purchased by 62% of the households in the sample. On comparing the choice of Sunday reading of Group C with Groups A and B a clearly marked division is observed. The main choice - the Sunday Pictorial - is again similar in style and format to the most popular daily - the Daily Mirror - and is purchased by 56% of Group C households. The second most popular paper is the News of the World which once claimed the largest circulation in the world: this is now purchased by 47% of Group C households. This newspaper for a long time gave plenty of space to sex and crime, but in more recent years has been more restrained than formerly. This modification in style and a greater coverage of sport even to the extent of sponsoring important international athletic matches has enabled it to return to its earlier popularity.

The People forming the third most popular newspaper, purchased by 43% of the households in the lowest category is another newspaper which sells mainly on its human interest biographies, rather than for its demand on the intellect. Trailing a long way behind come the more serious and featured newspapers with a minimum of human

On analysing families taking three or more daily newspapers and families taking three or more Sunday newspapers, it was found in all groups that higher numbers took three or more Sunday newspapers. In view of the popularity of the local evening newspaper, this is not altogether surprising, and this fact coupled with the purchase of the Daily Mirror at work whilst another is delivered at home for the family, is the probable explanation. On checking where individual households purchased more Sunday newspapers than dailies the percentages in the various groups were A 20%, B 14% and C 15%. With few people working on Sundays and decreasing numbers attending church or chapel, it is not surprising that so many papers are purchased on Sunday, and whereas Groups B and C in this connection have similar percentages, it is suggested that in the former group reading is a serious pastime whereas in the latter it is only superficial.

With regard to the weekly local newspaper - The Gloucester Journal - which includes photographs of the more important local functions, local persons or places, the circulation figures are much smaller than the corresponding daily newspaper, being approximately 10,000 copies per week in the region. This newspaper is more local than its daily counterpart and contains less national news - both politically and sporting. It thus lacks the "hot from the press" aspect of the local daily

especially with regard to sporting events like the racing results and cricket and football scores. Thus in the sample as a whole only 10% purchased it but in the several groups the percentages were Group A 30%, Group B 13% and Group C 8%. From this it would appear that decreasing interest in local matters is evinced progressively from Groups A through Group B to Group C.

As well as being asked about their newspaper reading householders were queried regarding the magazines and periodicals they read. In order to make a reasonable comparison between the groups only those of widespread interest were considered. This meant the elimination of magazines connected with certain trades, e.g., the Horological Monthly and Natsopa, with hobbies, e.g., The Amateur Cine World, and with organisations like the Women's Institute and its magazine Home & County. Magazines of interest to all include the Radio and T.V. Times, the Readers Digest and the National Geographical Magazine and it was soon apparent that women were much more magazine conscious than their male counterparts. Thus from the highly popular "Woman" and "Woman's Own" magazines in the lower price group, women's magazines increased in thickness and price to the "glossies" like "The Queen" and "Vogue". Clear class prejudices were noted in the choice of some magazines frequently reflecting the differing educational, economic and social backgrounds.

With practically all households having radio and/or television, it was seen apparent that the Radio Times would be purchased by all groups. Thus 40% of Class A purchased it compared with 47% in Class B and 23% in Class C. Many in this class thought its purchase largely unnecessary and abstracted abbreviated accounts of radio/T.V. programmes from their newspapers. Groups A and B were frequently as much concerned about the identity of articles appearing and individual items in concerts as they were with the name of the particular show and for this information the purchase of the Radio Times was necessary.

With regard to the T.V. Times which provided details for I.T.V. programmes in contrast with the Radio Times which also included radio programmes, the total circulation was not so large. Circulation decreased with descending status levels, viz: Class A 30%, Class B 23% and Class C 20%. In Class B households only was there a wide disparity in the sales of these two magazines.

A list of the various magazines and periodicals purchased by the different social classes is contained in Appendix 3 and an analysis of the main ones read by these classes is shown in Fig.31. As with newspapers, so again with magazines, the differing cultural and economic background of the three groups is reflected in the purchase of magazines of widely divergent tastes,

interest and cost. Thus whilst Class A appreciates the more subtle and satirical humour of a magazine like PUNCH which requires of its readers a certain educational background, Class C avidly reads the more obvious jokes and sallies of magazines like Reveille and Tit-bits requiring no intellectual background except the ability to read. Again the "glossies" like the London Illustrated News, The Field, Country Life etc., are read mainly by Class A whilst the lower class finds "To-day" and "Week-end Mail" of great interest. As might be expected the advertisements of expensive clothes and cars, photographs of hunt meetings, etc., in the glossies while revealing the interests and culture of the upper class, only serve to emphasise the social gulf between it and the lowest class, despite the Welfare State. The women of Class C as magazine conscious as those in the other two groups read mainly those prefixed with "Woman", e.g., "Woman's Own," "Woman's Mirror", etc., or paper backed novels like those of the Oracle Library.

As with newspapers the position of Class B is transitional, the upper part of this class reading magazines enjoyed by Class A, e.g., The Illustrated London News, whilst the lower sections of this group have tastes more akin to Class C reflected in the purchase of Reveille.

The women in the middle class like their menfolk, evince tastes characteristic of both other classes some reading Vogue, House & Garden, Good Housekeeping, while others read magazines like Red Letter.

Of all the many and varied magazines read by women, two magazines were outstanding in their popularity in all groups. These are "Woman" and "Woman's Own." Over the sample as a whole one in every three households read "Woman" and in the three classes separately the percentage figures were respectively A 25%, B 35% and C 33%. The only real competitor to this magazine was "Woman's Own" read on average by every fourth household: the percentages for this magazine in the two lower classes is again very similar. Both magazines are attractively presented and are relatively inexpensive. Their contents in fact and fiction largely reflect middle class morals and values. In all fiction stories good always overcomes evil, all temptations are overcome and the hero is stylised in such middle class professions as medicine, dentistry or accountancy. Even the male and female names are chosen with care and are frequently found on school registers a few years later. The factual side of the magazine comprises a never ending series of articles set on improving the readers' standards in dress, personal appearance and home surroundings. The articles possibly reflect the constant strivings of the readers in trying

to keep up with the Jones's or stimulating them to enter such a contest. The combined result of these magazines, plus the Do-it-yourself magazines and the Welfare State is reflected in the materially improved appearance of homes in the lowest classes.

The number of women in the sample reading the poorly produced magazines such as Red Star and paper backed novelettes was so small as to be statistically insignificant.

With regard to men the only magazines which appeared to be of general use were Amateur and Popular Gardening and the series of Do-it-yourself magazines. The demand for the Do-it-yourself magazines would appear to be partly due to the major expense in having certain jobs performed by craftsmen, the innate desire of most men to create something with their hands especially if they obtain their livelihood in work requiring more mental than practical skills, the deliberate policy of certain firms in promoting new materials and tools for people lacking a craft training and the ever present demand of most housewives for improvements to their homes. In the sample, Class A is the only one that does not purchase this type of magazine and it is probable that males in the groups - nearly all with a professional non-manual training - are not able to carry out alterations in the home up to the standard required by their wives and being in the upper income brackets they can resolve their difficulty by

employing competent craftsmen.

Of the two gardening magazines Amateur Gardening was clearly the more popular in the three classes and was read by just under 9% of the total households interviewed. This magazine was most popular with the lowest class where 9% read it but in the two other groups only about 5% read it.

Another line of evidence revealed by magazine reading on the social stratification of the population is the character of the professional journals and trade magazines read by members of the three groups. Thus in Class A the Architects Journal, the Law Journal and the Times Literary Supplement indicate professional men and women, whereas the Journal, NATSOPA and the Police Review indicate employment requiring a shorter and less exacting training.

With regard to the time spent reading by age, sex and social class, it was appreciated that in view of the inherent difficulty of estimating this time, a less critical approach was needed than in dealing with the reading of precise periodicals. Three divisions of reading time were decided on. The first 0-5 hours basically applied to those who read their newspapers and an occasional magazine: the middle group 6-9 hours included those who read their newspapers, magazines and an occasional book and the last group comprised those

to whom the printed word was an integral part of their lives.

In the male over twenty years age group, in the sample as a whole, the dominant section is the group reading 0-5 hours weekly, which accounts for nearly 50% of the men. The next two reading divisions are strangely enough nearly equal the 6-9 hours group being 27% and the ten hours and more being 24%

Table 2

Reading time by age, sex, non-status groups
(Per cent of all readers in sample)

	<u>Under 20 years</u>		<u>Over 20 years</u>	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0 - 5 Hours	68%	57.4%	47.9%	52.6%
6 - 9 "	15.1%	27.8%	27.8%	25.4%
Over 10 "	16.9%	14.8%	24.3%	22.0%

In the same age group females revealed a similar pattern in that 53% were included in the shortest reading period. The next group 6 - 9 hours included 26% and was nearly identical with the male counterpart as was the keenest reading group with 22%. In view of the multiplicity of magazines produced for and purchased by women it is indeed rather strange that the reading pattern of the age groups should be so similar.

On analysing similarly the reading times of the younger generation the main section is in the shortest period group but with these people it occupies a more

dominant position accounting for nearly 68%. The remaining one third of the sample is again practically evenly divided being 15% in the 6-9 hours group and 17% in the longest reading group. The females under twelve years in the same group are divided 0-5 hours 49%, 6-9 hours 28% and over ten hours 15% respectively. Here again the pattern is repeated except that the 6-9 hours group is nearly double the 10+ hours group.

The main conclusion from the complete sample is that most people both males and females are not avid readers and on age and sex grouping no radical differences exist.

Table 3

Reading time by age, sex and status groups
(Per cent of all readers in status groups)

	<u>Over 20 years</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
<u>Class C</u>		
0-5 Hours	51%	57%
6-9 "	28%	25%
Over 10 "	21%	18%
<u>Class B</u>		
0-5 Hours	35%	39%
6-9 "	26%	27%
Over 10 "	39%	34%
<u>Class A</u>		
0-5 Hours	39%	36%
6-9 "	33%	32%
Over 10 "	28%	32%

On analysing age-sex social class groupings, different patterns emerge. Thus in the males over 20 years Class C

group, the main group is the first with 51% followed by 28% of the 5-9 hours reading group and 21% of the over ten hours reading group. In Class B the reverse is true, the most important group being the over ten hours group with 39%, followed by the 0-5 hours with 35% and least of all the intermediate group 6-9 hours with only 26%. In Class A there is a steady percentage decrease with increasing hours of reading from 39% to 33% and 28% in the three groups.

Class C females over 20 years of age reveal reading habits closely allied to their male counterparts in that the dominant group is the 0-5 hours group and decreases steadily from 57% in this group to 18% in the last group. Class B females over 20 years old are not identical in their reading habits with the males in the same group, as more women - 39% - are in the 0-5 hours group, and 34% in the over ten hours group. Here again however the 6-9 hours group occupies an intermediate position. In Class A an almost identical pattern is found with males and females, in that the 0-5 hours group is the most popular.

In the younger age-sex social class group the smallest reading group is largely the most important, both in males and females in Classes B and C. In Class C this group accounts for 66% of the males and 56% of the females, whereas the over ten hours group only rates 16% and 15% respectively.

A useful check on the extent of reading in the city of Gloucester is furnished by statistics published by the City Public Library. In 1951 18.52% of the population - comprised of 10,217 adults and 2,243 children - were members of the public library and this essential service cost the city 3/11.27d. per head of the population. Ten years later adult members had increased to 14,022 and child members to 5,099 amounting to 27.40% of the 1961 population. This gratifying increase in membership was however far outstripped by overhead expenses, the cost per head having risen to 11/2.08d. It is regretted that the library did not possess information concerning the number of men or women members or the number of households which contain at least one member. A similar request for the relative popularity of differing types of books and an approximation of the main age group and social grouping of members, also met with polite regret.

In the sample, excluding the Matson Estate, 21% of all households interviewed contained a member of the library. Of these Class A with only 16% and Class C with 18% were far behind Class B with 33%. Here at least was one social trait where Class B forsook its traditional intermediate position between the other two classes. Although superficially it would appear that as many in Class C read library books as in Class A, it must not be forgotten that two other circulating libraries - Messrs. Boots and Messrs. Smiths - issue many thousands

of books annually in Gloucester. Membership of these libraries which involves an expense was practically confined to Class A and Class B. Thus, in Messrs. Boots Library approximately 70% of total members were women, mainly in the middle aged group, with older people in second place and the youngest group last. More books of fiction were issued than non-fiction and the order of popularity under the main headings differed according to sex. Thus women chose mainly light romance, crime and general fiction last, whereas men preferred crime, general fiction and as a poor third the Westerns.

A partial explanation of the dominating position of Class B in this interest, may be the very high proportion of professionally qualified men and women in this group: these people having spent all their formative years studying, regard books as more than things merely to be read and discarded. Again with the high cost of books in the post-war years this group, by no means well-off financially, may by circumstances be forced to use the library services more than pre-war. The increasing purchase by libraries of new novels has caused much dismay among present day writers in that total sales are smaller.

Another more positive leisure time activity investigated was that of playing musical instruments. Members of households were asked which instruments they could play: their replies were statistically examined to reveal which instruments were played by the differing

social groups and the incidence of playing at least one instrument. It was decided not to count playing the recorder, as evidence of proved musical ability, as some adults did not regard it in the same light as playing a piano or violin. From both lines of enquiries results reflecting differing social status emerge.

Table 4

Proportions of persons interviewed claiming to play at least ONE instrument (per cent of age-sex-status groups)

	<u>Males & Females</u>			<u>Males</u>			<u>Females</u>		
	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
All Ages	20	30	15	16	29	12	24	35	15
Adults and post school adults.	21	32	22	22	28	11	20	37	14
Children at school.	18	34	21	0	33	18	50	32	23

From the table it appears that playing a musical instrument is predominantly a middle class activity as in all cases the percentage for Class B is higher than the other two classes. The only exception is in Class A school girls where probably the small size of the sample makes the result, as with Class^A school boys, statistically suspect. In all groups involving adults Class A was superior in this respect to Class C. In order to discern if there was any marked change in the incidence of practical musical ability between differing age groups, the status groups were further sub-divided into two age

groups comprising children still being educated and people who had finished their full time education. In both Class A and C small declines of 3% and 1% respectively occurred even between adults and children but in Class B this trend is reversed and children at school rate 2% higher than their own class adults. In general this is not a completely valid comparison as young children now listed as non-players might early in the next few years take to playing instruments requiring more care and attention than they possess at the present time.

On breaking down the figures into sex and social groups it is soon apparent that in all cases women are more proficient than men in their respective social classes. With decreasing social status in all the age groups the difference between men and women progressively decreases from 8% in Class A to 6% in Class B and only 3% in Class C. With children at school the percentages for Class A should be ignored in view of the small sample but it is rather surprising that not a single boy in this class was able to play an instrument. With regard to Class B little appreciable difference occurred between boys and girls but in Class C the girls again were more successful by 5% viz: 23% and 18%. In all cases children rated higher percentages than the adults in their social class except for the Class B females, where the older group with 37% exceeded the schoolgirls by 5%.

The second aspect of musical instruments investigated was the type of instrument played by members of the different social classes.

From Table 5 it is seen that 26 different instruments were played by people who answered the questionnaire and marked differences are noted in the variety of instruments played by members of the three social levels.

In Class A the smallest variety of instruments played occurred ranging from the piano to the Double Bass and this is the only class which includes the Violin and Dolmetsch Recorder.

At the opposite end of the social scale, Class C claims 18 out of the 26 instruments quoted and of these only the piano, clarinet and double bass were common to Class A: of the remaining instruments eleven from the electric guitar to the drums were claimed solely by this class.

In Class B 15 instruments were claimed and of these only the piano and clarinet were common to Class A and seven ranging from the 'cello to the guitar were common to Class G. Six instruments ranging from the flute to an un-named bass instrument were claimed exclusively by this Class.

Only the piano and clarinet were common to all three social classes.

From the sample in view of the small number of instruments common to differing classes, it would appear

that there is some positive correlation between instruments and classes. The half-expected intermediate position of Class B is again reflected here and it is further noted that in the sample this class has more in common with the one below it rather than the class above.

In Table 5 the relative importance of playing each instrument in the three social groups is shown.

Table 5

Proportion of those who play musical instruments in each status group (per cent of all players in each status group)

<u>Instrument</u>	<u>Class A</u>	<u>Class B</u>	<u>Class C</u>
Piano	75%	72%	68%
Clarinet	6%	2%	1%
Viola	6%		
Dolmetsch Recorder	6%		
Double Bass	6%		1%
Flute		2%	
Saxophone		1%	
Pianola		1%	
E Flat Bass		2%	
Tuba		1%	
Brass Instrument		2%	
Cello		1%	1%
Organ		1%	1%
Trombone		1%	1%
Violin		7%	7%
Cornet		1%	3%
Trumpet		2%	2%
Guitar		3%	5%
Electric Guitar			1%
Mandolin			1%
Banjo			1%
Ukelele			1%
Harmonica			1%
Euphonium			1%
Accordion			3%
French Horn			1%
Bugle			1%
Ocherino			1%
Drums			1%

From the table the dominant position of the piano in popularity in the three classes is clearly evident and the percentages decrease with diminishing social prestige. With the coming of T.V. the piano would appear to have lost some of its prestige as a status symbol and in many of the smaller modern labour saving homes would take up much valuable space. However despite these factors it still retains pride of place in popularity. Among adult women the percentage playing the piano, of all women playing any instrument, decreased with diminishing social status, e.g., A 100%, B 94% and C 87%. Among adult males this did not occur, Class A and Class B being practically equal with 33% and 34% respectively but Class C claimed 43%. With the exception of Class A boys, piano playing was much more popular with adult men and women than with boys and girls at all social levels.

The only other instrument played by any appreciable numbers was the violin. Probably due to the accident of the sample chosen, no person in Class A claimed the ability to play this instrument but in each of the two remaining classes 7% said they did so.

With regard to the variety of instruments played, adult males in all status groups played more than the women in these groups. This was probably due to the greater predisposition for men rather than women to play

wind instruments. Percentages in the three classes with figures for men first, were A 3%, B 10% and 4%, C 22% and 10%. In Class A and B few instruments are important other than the piano and violin, but in Class C the guitar and accordion are worthy of mention. The most outstanding family in the strictly musical sense was one in Class C in which the husband played the guitar and banjo, his wife the piano accordion and electric keyboard, one son played the clarinet, the second son the drums, and the daughter the piano. They could- and did, on certain occasions - play as a family band.

From the foregoing it appears that social status is reflected from musical skills in two ways. Firstly in the relative number of persons able to play musical instruments and secondly in the variety of instruments played by people in differing social levels.

Some of the factors which may account for these trends are somewhat contradictory. Thus whilst the children may learn to play certain instruments when they are older, educational authorities now employ peripatetic teachers to teach them after school at nominal fees and frequently even provide the instruments. In the twenties and thirties when present day parents were children the only way to learn to play a musical instrument was by receiving paid private tuition arranged by parents. This clearly precluded many of the lowest social class acquiring these skills as large scale unemployment

allowed only the essentials of living. In direct opposition to this trend is the advent of forms of entertainment requiring less active participation. The television and the record-player take up time that formerly might have been spent on making music and many people now prefer to listen to professionals performing with greater skill rather than attempt an indifferent performance themselves. With the ever increasing quality of sound reproduction and the facilities to see and hear first class artistes on radio and television, people are becoming increasingly more critical of local amateur talent and they in turn may depress the interest in personal practised skill.

The interest of the inhabitants of Gloucester in classical music is shown by the variety of music societies flourishing in the city. These include the Gloucester Music Society, the Gloucester Orchestral Society, the Gloucester Operatic and Dramatic Society, the Grand Opera Group, the Gloucester Orpheus Society and the Madrigal Society. In the 1962-63 season the Gloucester Music Society with about 150 members had an even balance between the sexes, but most members were over thirty years of age. In general, members came from the professional and executive classes. The local Education Committee in order to stimulate an interest in serious music amongst its pupils, generously awards a number of free tickets to them for the series of annual concerts.

Another leisure activity linked with the preceding one is membership of a choir. Householders were asked which type of choir they belonged to in order to distinguish between membership of religious choirs or more secular ones. Membership of a choir by men equalled that of women in Class B and Class C but this activity was relatively more popular in Class B. In Class A only one woman claimed to be in a choir.

Of Class B males all belonged to church/chapel choirs whereas females in the same group were twice as numerous in this type of choir compared with similar choirs like the Women's Institute. Amongst the children in this class boy choristers outnumbered the girls and were mainly connected with religious choirs whereas the girls mainly belonged to school choirs. One housewife in this class belonged to three choirs, ranging from the Gloucester Choral Society during week days to a church choir and the cathedral choir on Sundays.

In Class C of adult males only one did not belong to a church/chapel choir and the figure for women in this category was only three. Among boys in this class the dominant trend towards a majority in religious choirs is still present but to a lesser degree, in that school choirs exert a greater influence than adult secular choirs do on their parents. Among the girls church and school choirs are on even terms.

Apart from an excellent cathedral choir, Gloucester has several outlets for the expression of its inhabitants love of song, and of these the Gloucester Choral Society founded in 1845 and still going strong, is one of the main societies. In 1962 the membership had risen to 175 with an age range from 16-70 years and slightly unbalanced as to the sexes, the women predominating with 55%. The members attend weekly meetings from September to March and form the nucleus of the choir for the Three Choirs Festival. Although the bulk of the choir hails from the city, membership attracts from as far afield as Cinderford, Stroud and Cheltenham.

The choir gives three main concerts, one before Christmas in December, the second on Boxing Day when part of Handel's Messiah is sung, and the third concert just before Easter.

Another choral society which is now only a shadow of its former strength at the end of the last century is the Gloucester Orpheus Society founded in 1880. In its heyday it boasted a membership of about 150 members and employed a professional conductor. Its early object of bringing together people who enjoy music, is still maintained, but now only about 30 - all men - ranging in age from 15-70 years attend weekly meetings from October to April. Most members are in the 40-50 years age group but a pleasing sign is the recent recruitment

of younger members under 30 years old. Several concerts are given annually, all for charitable purposes, e.g., in hospitals, chapels and schools.

Another group with a more precise interest in singing is the Gloucester Grand Opera Group with approximately 55 members of whom 32 are women. Membership fluctuates a little from year to year but the predominant age group is invariably 20-40 years. Meetings are held weekly and one major opera, usually Italian, is produced annually. The singing is entirely amateur and no professionals are engaged to take leading roles. Practically all members both male and female are employed in clerical posts, in offices or factories, a few men are skilled manual workers and six housewives seek release from household cares in this way. From this it would appear that most members, socially, would be in Class C and not in the higher classes.

A larger society equally interested in opera but also embracing drama is the Gloucester Operatic and Dramatic Society. This non-profit making society established in 1914 has now about 150 members and 250 associate members. The latter members pay contributions but are non-acting. Ladies account for two-thirds of the members and twenty juniors are also included. The shortage of men is overcome by some males doubling up in certain shows.

Members mainly come from the professionally and technically qualified people - Class A and B - but some from Class C are also included.

Apart from a professional producer employed for the production of musicals the entire membership is amateur and during the last three years one major musical, one secondary musical show and two straight plays have been produced annually. Less ambitious shows and concerts for churches are also included.

In addition to the production of operas and plays, various social activities take place such as visits to other shows, treasure hunts, Christmas parties, etc.

The number of people in the sample actively engaged in Amateur Dramatics was small and in Class A no one admitted to such an interest. Among the two lower classes the only point of interest was that males and females were roughly equal and that Class B showed a rather greater interest in this form of leisure activity than Class C.

In addition to the former major society, a smaller Ladies Amateur Dramatic Society was founded in 1954. This society with about two dozen members, mainly over thirty years of age, has few executive and professionally qualified people amongst its members. Three members out of every four are married and the same fraction had been educated at Grammar or High Schools. The society produces one play annually and most of the proceeds go towards charities.

In recent years comment - both informed and uninformed - has been made on the effect of television viewing on the

public, to fill many books. Opinions mainly may be divided into two schools of thought, those for and those against. In general it would appear that females₁ are rarely against this modern invention and that the males disapproving of it do not merely confine their disapproval to not viewing themselves but also disapprove of others doing so.

That television is a wonderful medium for the extension of knowledge and for bringing - metaphorically - first class artistes into everyday homes would be denied by no one. Controversy has mainly raged on the subject matter of the programmes and the social effects on those viewing, especially children. Partly in order to investigate these matters and partly to aid future policy making for television, the government set up the Pilkington Committee. Among other criticisms in its report the Committee criticised those responsible for programmes of being guilty of a "priggish distaste for, and an incomprehension of popular taste"₂. This under estimation of public taste and the consequent systematic triviality of many programmes is not necessarily related to the subject matter of the programmes. A great deal of the evidence heard by the committee was for a range of programmes that would be both good and popular and this inevitably would lead to fewer programmes of Westerns, Crime stories (frequently including scenes of violence) and variety. The committee

1. Article in Daily Mail by A. Ross Professor of Linguistics
Birmingham University. August 1962.

2. Pilkington Report.

in turn was then criticised for "being out of touch with public opinion and national sentiment."¹

One simple reason for not having a television set was economic but while this was highly probable with old age pensioners in Class C it was clearly not true of householders in Class A. Soon after television became popular a T.V. Aerial above one's house, especially in Class C, became a status symbol: with Class A the reverse became true. With this latter group television became associated with the hoi-polloi and therefore was to be ignored as Non-U. All of Class^A possessed wireless sets but whilst it was agreed that many programmes on this medium were as trivial as those on television, this did not prevent them from listening to selected programmes on it. Selectivity of programmes and the switch on control is clearly the answer.

One trait however, among householders in Gloucester common to all classes was the immediate impact of television: this was the subordination of most other activities to watching television - even to eating meals watching it. In general this honeymoon period varied in length from class to class, giving way to a more rational use of this agent of mass entertainment and permitting other activities to re-establish themselves if only on a more reduced scale.

To consider critically the specific effect T.V. had on various other activities, householders with T.V. were

1. Daily Mail July 20, 1962.

asked, if since having it their interest in watching sporting events, reading books and listening to the radio had altered materially.

With regard to sporting events no-one in any class claimed to watch more sport after having T.V. at home. Of those who claimed it had made no difference the percentages in the three social groups were - Class A 86%, Class B 93% and Class C 79%. There are gate receipts at outdoor sporting events and here in Gloucester the largest percentage drop in spectators occurs in the largest social group in the city. That television is a contributory factor to falling gate receipts is no longer news and strong objections have been made to the televising of international rugby matches as supporters of club rugby matches frequently prefer to watch the former rather than the latter. A football supporter has to be very keen on his local team to watch it in cold and inclement weather when he can watch at less expense another game in the comfort of his own fireside. Association football too has been hit in this way and compromises have ranged from only televising the second half of an advertised match to televising the whole of a match un-named until the kick-off. By these and other ways soccer has attempted to lure back to watching the million of its fans which has given up this activity since the end of the war.

With regard to reading books only one person in Class B and two in Class C actually claimed they were

reading more than prior to their having television. Television had stimulated an interest unknown to them before and this had caused them to proceed to the library to follow up this matter. On the reverse side however, Class A with roughly one in three reading fewer books was more affected than either Class B or Class C where approximately one in four read less. This result was rather unexpected in that it was assumed that Classes A and B with frequently a somewhat similar educational background and generally wider interests in cultural matters would be less affected by T.V. than Class C. Reading any book requires rather more mental discipline than watching T.V., but Class A with 36%, Class B 26% and Class C with 23% all read less than before having T.V.

The activity on which T.V. has had a most startling effect is undoubtedly the radio. With this medium having more in common with T.V. than any other activity this is not surprising. No-one claimed to listen more since having T.V. and the percentage listening less was in Class A 79%, Class B 81% and Class C 93%. This result was expected. In Class A and Class B approximately four out of five now listen less and Class C with 93% was the most affected.

One leisure activity that involved people of all ages and of both sexes is that of cinema going. Before the advent of T.V. this interest was mainly a function of the age, education, status and domestic commitments

of the people involved. Thus with engaged couples a weekly visit to the local cinema was a part of their normal weekly routine but several years later as a married couple with young children this was no longer possible unless they were able to find a baby-sitter. Once this habit had been broken in this way and coupled with the ease of entertainment at home with the television set, cinema going became a special outing in place of a regular routine. Again whereas elderly people might visit the cinema during inclement weather when there was no other entertainment, T.V. by one's own fireside makes the effort and discomfort hardly worth while. With regard to education and status - two variables that are frequently interlinked - their effect on cinema going is in general to minimise its importance in that a sound education has widened the interests and activities of those fortunate enough to have received it. Frequently people of good education are less interested in the more passive pursuits like cinema going and prefer to spend the greater part of their leisure time in more creative activities.

During this investigation householders were asked the frequency of their visit to the cinema and these were classified under the headings weekly, fortnightly, rarely, never. The people visiting the cinema either weekly or fortnightly were regarded as regular patrons, the remainder as merely occasional visitors. The replies were later divided into three age groups viz: 15-29 years,

30-49 years and 50 years and over, and the usual three status groups A, B and C.

The group with the highest attendance of frequent visits was the school to 29 years of age group of C status, the figures being 40% males and 30% females claiming a visit at least once a fortnight. Of these two of the males were weekly visitors but among the females the division between weekly and fortnightly visit was quite small.

In Class B the youngest age group was again the one attending most often but here the frequency was much less than the C group, being males 10% and females 17%.

In the 30-49 years age group in Class C and Class B and in both sexes, a much lower frequency of attendance is revealed. Thus in Class C male and female claiming regular visits dropped to 8% and 5% respectively but in Class B with 5% and 6% females go more frequently than males. This is the age group where parents with young children find it difficult to leave their home together unless they are able to find a baby sitter and it was noted that cinema going among married people was usually a joint affair.

In the 50 years and over group the pattern is continued with a still lower incidence. Thus in Class C those claiming to be regular patrons of the cinema were males 4% and females 2%. In the B class males at 4% were identical with their C class counterparts but

strangely enough no female in this group claimed to visit the cinema at least once a fortnight: this may have been due to the accident of the sample.

With regard to the incidence of rare visits among the varied group Class B as would be expected invariably had higher percentages in all age groups and in both sexes. Thus Class B males with 80% was quite distinct from Class C males with 40% but although the trend was similar with females the disparity was smaller being 66% and 50% respectively.

In the middle group 30-49 years the same pattern is followed as was observed in the younger group in that males and females in the B Class have a higher percentage than their counterparts in Class C. However with regard to males the disparity is much smaller e.g., B males 75% and C males 60%: with 76% of Class B females and 56% Class C females visiting the cinema but rarely, the disparity is greater.

In the last age group the same pattern is again revealed with higher percentages in the B Class than in the C Class but the sexes in each class are approximately equal, being B males 50%, females 50%, C 33% and 30%. In the three age groups this was the group with the lowest percentages of attendance with the heading of rare visits.

Among the last group - those who either never went or who went so very rarely as to count the same - Class B

people with 10% males and 14% females in the youngest age group had lower percentages than their Class C counterparts with males 18% and females 19%. The most noticeable feature of their group as a whole is that the percentages increase with age in both Classes B and C and this pattern is the complete opposite of the former group with rare visits. It would be natural to assume that there would be higher percentages in this group among the more elderly people as infirmity or indifferent health would minimise the opportunity to leave the home. Thus in Class B in the youngest age group approximately one in ten males and females never visit a cinema whereas in the group over 50 years of age this has increased to one in two. Similarly in Class C the same ratio changes from one in five to two out of three.

Households in all classes quoted the advent of television as a major contributory factor in the decline of attendance at a cinema but householders with T.V. sets on being asked how it had affected their attendance at cinemas gave the following replies:

Table 6

Attendance at cinema after purchase of television, relative to before purchase, by class groups.

	More frequently	The same	Less frequently
Class A	-	79%	21%
Class B	-	77%	23%
Class C	-	67%	33%

From these figures it would appear that either households in the sample were not very keen cinema-goers, or if so, then in Class A and B only about one household in every five has been affected in this way by television. With regard to Class C however, the effect as would be expected, is much more pronounced in that one out of every three households visits the cinema less frequently than before obtaining the television set.

Another line of enquiry about which householders were asked was their hobbies. In general hobbies reflect peoples' social and educational background and also certain physical attributes. Thus whilst the ability to play the piano with moderate success may largely be a question of social status or economics the ability to play cricket for one's county may be mainly due to an individual flair for this game. A hobby in this context was explained as a pursuit in which the householders showed more than a passing interest and one at which they spent a reasonable amount of their spare time.

Among both men and women gardening as a hobby and not as an unfortunate chore, was fairly popular. Among males, Class C had the highest percentage with 43%, followed by Class A with 32% and Class B with only 25%. While it is probable that several in Class A employed a part-time to do the heavier manual part of digging it was safe to assume that the males in Class C did all the work

themselves. A further difference was one of kind in that many in Class C grew their own vegetables to save money whereas in Class A growing flowers, tending lawns and shrubberies constituted gardening. To Class B males gardening was similar to that carried out by Class A with some vegetable growing as well. With regard to women the interest in gardening decreased with status from Class A with 32% to Class B with 25% and Class C with 16%. Here again gardening amongst Class A females was non-arduous and mainly revolved around flower beds and lawns: with fewer women in the group earning a living and frequently children away at school more time was available to indulge in this activity which proved soothing and satisfying. It is worthy of note that men and women in Class A and Class B separately have roughly similar interest in gardening whereas in Group C with 43% for the men and only 16% of the women there is a great disparity. With many houses in Class C with no front garden and only a tiny plot to the rear of the house plus the working class idea that gardening is a man's job, this disparity may in part be explained.

Another practical hobby socially lower than gardening but still concerned with the home is the hobby of decorating and Do-it-yourself jobs. In recent years this interest, largely initiated by the high cost of craftsmen's labour, has been made much more popular and successful by the production of tools, equipment and materials requiring little skill in their handling, and the publishing of

practical magazines for the amateur, indicating clearly the necessary steps to complete a job. That this interest is national more than local is reflected in a successful B.B.C. T.V. series which attracts 25,000 queries weekly. Among males the most interested group as might be expected was Class C with 25%: in this group with more people trained to use their hands in a variety of trades, coupled with the lowest incomes, the interest was partly economic as well as creative. A marked difference existed between Class B males with 18% and Class A with 9% but in Class B the economic motive was stronger. Among females practical interest in this activity decreased with social status: several women in Class C were proud of their own skill at decorating whereas in Class A the subject was never mentioned.

Two hobbies linked with the home economy but entirely feminine are knitting and sewing. Whereas knitting was clearly defined, sewing included needlework and embroidery. In both activities the importance of status is clearly revealed. Thus with Class C knitting with 44% was obviously a more important pastime than in Class B with 28% and Class A with 14%. Sewing revealed an identical pattern but was much less popular, with Class C 31%, Class B 20% and Class A only 4%. The probable explanation for the differing percentages in sewing is an economic one in that women in Class C have to make do and mend especially

if there are young children in the family whereas in Class A garments may be discarded not because they are worn out but simply because their owners are tired of them or that they have become unfashionable. Sewing is less popular than knitting in that it needs rather greater concentration: thus experienced knitters can perform many other non-manual operations simultaneously with knitting, ranging from reading a book to watching television. Again knitting can be done whilst travelling to work or during lunch time intervals. Here again however, Class A females are more likely to purchase knitted garments both for themselves and their men folk from shops or professional knitters.

On analysing the sparetime activities of Class A males the first result after noting the dominant position of reading and gardening is the relatively wide range of interests. Activities range from learning languages, recording music, motoring, an active interest in social affairs, travelling in this country and abroad to mime-making and an interest in ornithology and architecture. Photography, a rather expensive hobby was claimed by more males in this class than the other two classes the figures being Class A 9%, Class B 8% and Class C 4%. Reading was clearly one of the dominant interests of this group as would be expected in men of its educational and cultural background and compared favourably in this respect with the other two classes, the approximate figures being

Class A one in three, Class B one in five and Class C one in seven.

In Class B, males claimed a large range of hobbies which apart from gardening, reading, an interest in sport - active and passive - and photography were frequently practised by few people. These included attendance at art and pottery classes, boating, playing and listening to music, car driving and car maintenance, an interest in the live theatre and the collection of books privately printed. The interest in social affairs was stronger than in Class C and less than in Class A.

In non-working hours Class C males spent most of their time gardening, doing jobs about the house including decorating, watching T.V., playing or watching sport, car maintenance and breeding canaries. Other activities with fewer devotees included fishing, amateur dramatics and an interest in church affairs and religious meetings.

From these brief summaries it would appear there is a direct correlation between the cultural and social background of the people in the varying classes and the manner in which they spend their leisure hours. Thus in Class A with an average education superior to most in Class C, more non-manual activities are possible, and when to this is added greater wealth, the range of possible pursuits is clearly expanded. Thus when some in Class A may engage in manual pursuits such as gardening it is

often as a complete change from working with one's brain to earn a living, whereas in Class C many manual pursuits are an extension of skills learnt for their work. Class B occupying an intermediate position and with jobs ranging from those requiring a university education to those needing a highly developed skill - naturally has varying pastimes, some requiring intellectual ability and others practical skill.

One activity of relatively little importance in the two lower classes but relatively important in Class A, is that of social service. This includes philanthropic work performed through various societies such as Toc H, the Round Table, the Rotary Club and Inner Wheel, etc., and individual work serving as a magistrate, a member of the corporation, or as a member of committees such as Gloucester Health Committee, Gloucester Child Welfare Committee, the Red Cross, the Ministry of Labour Employment Committee, the Ministry of Labour Committee for the Disabled, the Gloucester Education Committee, the School Meals Committee, the Hospital Management Committee, the Three Choirs Committee, etc. While this activity in Class A may be compared with the traditional lady of the manor philanthropy, it must be remembered that serving on many committees especially during working hours could cause severe financial loss to members of Class B and Class C who might otherwise be more suitable to assist with these causes. Few women in Class A find it necessary

to go out to work and with homes possessing labour saving equipment, time is available for them to assist the community with the performance of "good works."

An analysis of women's interests based on status levels, reveals a similar pattern to their male counterparts in that different classes not only indulge in different pastimes but when they do have similar interests they occupy differing relative positions within each status group. Thus in Class A reading, gardening, social work and flower arrangements are the leading activities whilst in Class B gardening, followed closely by knitting and reading are the most important. In Class C knitting and sewing occupy pride of place with reading third. A wide range of other pursuits were listed in all three classes but the number of people following them were too few for them to be statistically significant.

Among the activities demanding physical presence at a particular place at a special time and usually needing the company of other people, is organised sport. Realising that most organised games reflect the educational background of the informants, and knowing that games are compulsory in all schools unless children are medically unfit, it was decided firstly to find out what percentage of the population took an active interest in this. To minimise the school effect the minimum age was taken at 20 years and realising age limits active participation

in many sports, the upper limit was taken at 50 years.

The replies were then analysed by age groups, sex and status groups:

Table 7

Active participation in Sport: Males & Females: 25-50 years

	Class A	Class B	Class C
Males	78%	58%	49%
Females	40%	28%	11%

From the Table it is immediately seen that active participation in sport is clearly correlated with status levels in both sexes. Nearly four out of five in Class A males play some form of sport dropping to one in two in Class C. Class B with 58% occupies its usual intermediate position. This is probably the outcome of an education - especially if obtained at a boarding school - where more time and coaching facilities are provided than in the state schools in which most of Class C were pupils. Even when age precludes participation in the more active sports such as rugby or football, members of Class A continue their interest in sport, in less active forms such as golf.

With regard to women's active interest in sport figures in the table reveal much lower participation at all social levels. Thus Class A with 40% is similar to Class B in having approximately only half as interested as their menfolk. In Class C however the figure is very much lower being only about a quarter of Class C males.

With the more passive activity of watching sport, householders were asked, first if they watched local sport and if so the frequency of their visits. Replies from male householders over 20 years of age (to eliminate schoolboys and their matches) were then examined under three headings, viz: Regular visits (visits at least once a week to once a fortnight), Sometimes (less than once a fortnight), and Non-viewers.

Table 8

Male spectators over 20 years of age by status group
(percentage in each class)

	Class A	Class B	Class C
Regular Viewers	18%	28%	33%
Sometimes	12%	28%	22%
Never	70%	44%	45%

From the overall figures it is at once apparent that the majority of males in all classes do not watch local sport regularly but the proportions in which they do largely reflects their social status, in that with decreasing social status the percentage of spectators increases. On analysing replies from informants concerning their hobbies, only 13% of Class B and 11% of Class C included watching sport as one of their hobbies.

On investigating the main games watched it was at once apparent that rugby was pre-eminent being the most popular sport in all three classes. Replies in the three classes for watching rugby were practically equal for

weekly and fortnightly viewing. Next in popularity was soccer with only one third of the weekly spectators of rugby but about a half rugby's total of fortnightly viewing. In both cases the incidence of fortnightly visits was higher than weekly visits but much more pronounced in the case of soccer. Possibly the reserve rugby team gives better entertainment than its soccer rival or possibly the rugger fan is a keener supporter of his club. Then came cricket with weekly viewing equal to that of soccer but strangely its fortnight figures were only about a half of the weekly ones.

That rugby would prove to be the most popular winter game was not surprising in that Gloucester always has a team of first class standard whereas its soccer team does not even play in the lowest of the Football League's main four divisions. The low figures for cricket are partly due to the national drift from watching this sport in general and to the Gloucestershire County Cricket Club's relatively recent decision to limit its play in Gloucester to only two or three matches annually.

Among other sports listed but with only a few in the sample watching them were swimming, darts, motor cycle racing bowls and badminton.

On summarising the sports listed on the completed questionnaire it was soon evident that the varieties of sport practised closely linked with status levels. In Class A males sports included tennis, badminton, rugby,

rowing, fishing, shooting and golf. Bridge was the most popular card game. Among Class C males football (rugby and association), fishing, swimming, cricket and in athletics men training for the pentathlon. In contrast to Class A many indoor games are played at public houses and working mens clubs and of these skittles, darts, billiards, snooker and cribbage are the most popular varieties. In Class B the wide range in sports can be correlated with the diversity of occupations and in rugby and rowing males in the class were similar to Class A males, whilst others indulging in bowls, swimming and skittles had more in common with Class C.

So far the only contributory factor discussed limiting participation in a sport has been age. Another factor having a considerable effect on the ability to participate in certain sporting activities is the expense involved. In most Class C sporting activities, both indoor and outdoor, the average working class man can perform. Thus most large industrial firms or administrative groups have their own social and sports clubs and money to meet expenses for the various teams is obtained from an overall contribution from players and non-players alike. With regard to indoor games like skittles, darts, bowls and cribbage - these are frequently fostered by innkeepers who provide premises and all the necessary equipment. Interest in these games is stimulated by various inns

having teams in these activities which compete with one another. In both these indoor and outdoor sports no initial heavy expense is involved and no social nomination is necessary. In contrast certain Class A and Class B sporting activities like golf need heavy initial outlay. In some cases nomination for membership of certain clubs is rejected for non-economic reasons and this may be contrasted with the ease with which the general public mainly of Class C status can enjoy the amenities of the municipal tennis courts or bowling green.

With regard to the evergreen topic of rugby v. association football it was appreciated that the choice was due more to the type of school attended than to any other factor. Thus in Gloucester the two grammar and the independent boys school play rugby where most secondary modern schools play association football. One factor which is partly responsible for a higher percentage of ex-grammar school pupils taking a more active interest in sport after leaving school than pupils from secondary modern schools, is that in leaving later, they probably have acquired better skills. A second factor appears to be the much greater social cachet in being in grammar school teams than in secondary modern teams and this fosters a more highly developed team spirit. On leaving school the ex-grammar school pupil frequently finds his or her school runs an Old Boys or Old Girls team which is very rare with secondary

modern schools.

With regard to womens interest in sport although lesser in intensity, the same social pattern obtains. Thus in Class A although few in the sample are now actively interested in sport, and only tennis, badminton and hockey were actually quoted, it was clear during questioning that a greater variety of games had been learnt during school days. In Class C, games mentioned were table tennis, skittles, darts and cribbage. Most of these were played at the local public house in company with their husband. Class B females, like their male counterparts, revealed their intermediate position: women with an educational background similar to Class A women played or had played similar games whereas those with a limited education who had married Class B husbands had more in common with Class C women. A leisure activity requiring less physical effort and which does not require physical fitness is drinking. At the present time, Gloucester has nearly a hundred public houses and hotels: its early importance as a county and market town is reflected in the relatively high proportion of the hotels being situated near the centre of the city compared with the more recently built residential suburbs.

The two major divisions in type are those inns near the centre of the city which also supply meals - and those which only supply drinks. In recent years some men working in or near the city centre had sandwiches and some

drinks at certain public houses in lieu of lunch but this does not apply to smaller public houses on the fringe of the city. These two types of public houses attract rather different types of customers, the city inn having many business and executive individuals mainly frequenting the saloon bar where the beer is slightly more expensive but where the standard of comfort is somewhat higher: the same type of hotel caters also for the skilled artisan but he mainly keeps to the public bar. The customers in the smaller inns especially those in the side streets are usually of working class background - skilled and unskilled. In the larger hotels beer accounts for two thirds of the total sales and spirits for the remainder but more of the spirits are consumed in the lounge bar by the relatively more prosperous customers. In the smaller inns few drink spirits. The custom of "treating" is much more common in the public bar than in the saloon bar and customers in the former are in general friendly and less aloof than in the latter. In general there is little mixing of differing social classes and the landlord acts as the bridge between them.

On average during the week customers are mainly 80% men and 20% women, but at week ends the percentage for women rises to 40% and this may be correlated with the five day working week and the idea that week ends are for rest and recreation. During the week the younger male customers with their girl friends arrive at the hotels

about 8 p.m. and stay until about 10 p.m.: the older customers - those mainly over forty years of age - arrive about 9.30 p.m., remain until closing time but are more frequent in their visits. At week ends the younger customers arrive about 8 - 9.45 p.m. as the prelude to proceeding to a dance elsewhere, where frequently admission is refused after 10 p.m. to avoid possible brawls. The older customers however appear between 7.30 - 8 p.m. and remain until closing time. Some business men frequent inns in the city during the working week but visit a local public house near their home in the evenings and at weekends. The younger customers drink mainly beer and shandy and in general utilize the saloon bar, probably in order to impress their girl friends.

Trade is not even throughout the week; Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday being the least popular days. Pay day on Thursday makes it as popular as the weekend. However with the five day week and the increasing number of cars owned by all classes and the frequent trips by people in coaches into the surrounding countryside during the summer, trade is not as brisk in the city's inns as it would otherwise be.

It is generally assumed that one of the main reasons why people visit inns is the gregarious instinct in human beings: people tend to regard them as clubs to which nomination is not applicable. In the past with poor housing, large families, limited education and fewer rivals

for man's more limited leisure time, inns were more popular. To-day however they are becoming rather less important and this is reflected not only in the closing in recent years of several inns which became uneconomic from the brewery company's point of view, but also by the necessity for several licensees of smaller inns to seek part time work elsewhere.

Various reasons were suggested for the decline in drinking, among them being the viewing of television at home and the provision - if still needed - of drink by local off-licence shops. More recently the craze of Bingo - played five nights weekly - has also materially affected trade. The more critical reason however was the closing of several of the larger engineering works and with increasing unemployment the immediate tendency is to economise on inessentials. During the early months of 1962 the icy conditions lasting for over two months added further to the decline.

A feature of the last twenty or thirty years has been the establishment of various "clubs" which have drink licences. Many of these were moribund when the introduction of "fruit machines" (often known as "one-armed bandits") injected fresh life into them. These gambling machines operated simply by the insertion of a coin and the pulling of a simple lever exert a fascination over all classes and some people of working class origin are known to spend two to three pounds weekly on them. The management of clubs

are rewarded by the owners of these machines with 40% of the total takings after prizes have been subtracted. As it involves no capital outlay on the part of the club, and little space is needed it is no wonder club managers welcome the installation in clubs and some inn keepers are not happy about this situation. To attract new or to hold existing customers some public houses have installed juke boxes but so far they are in the minority. Most inns rely on the provision of darts, dominoes and skittles and many have their own teams for some of these pastimes. Various leagues and competitions have been organised both within and without the city to stimulate interest among men and women in these activities.

One of the more recent crazes in Gloucester, as elsewhere, is playing "bingo" (Tombola or Housey-Housey, as it is alternatively known.) The main centre is in a former cinema and attendances average about 600 persons of both sexes. The Bingo Club has operated every evening except Monday and Tuesday from 7 - 9.30 p.m. for the last year. Before being allowed to play persons must become members and so far over ten thousand membership cards have been issued.

Bingo is also played in small halls or clubs elsewhere in the city and opposition to it comes indirectly from members of local chapels and the Salvation Army.

Most people who attend are middle aged and women, most of whom are married, form 75% of the membership.

Whereas the spread of television was largely responsible for the decline in the habit of cinema going, Bingo does not compete directly with television as the latter did with the cinema.

From the management point of view it is thought that many play Bingo because of the chance of winning money - gambling - and usually the greater the prizes offered the larger the attendances. In some ways it has taken the place of public houses - especially for women in that they may attend without a male escort. Here they can sit for a couple of hours, converse with friends, have cups of tea in the intervals and still have the chance of winning money. The Bingo hall serves a useful place of entertainment for those women whose husbands have gone to the public houses to play skittles and many women attend three times weekly.

Typical reasons for attendance were:-

- (a) Married women c.35 years. "I like the game and I can meet friends and people I don't know. I prefer it to a pub and I don't spend so much.. My husband doesn't come often." (Attends five times weekly)
- (b) Single woman Age c.71. "It's the only bit of enjoyment I get. I don't drink or smoke and I haven't been out for years to enjoy myself." (Attends three times weekly)
- (c) Married woman c.55. "To get the money and a night out for relaxation. If you win it makes you keener. My husband prefers the horses." (Attends 2-3 times weekly)
- (d) Family group - Mother, daughter and son-in-law.
 - Mother - "Somewhere to pass the time."
 - Daughter - "We like coming and it gets a hold on you."
 - Son-in-law - "Its a pleasure."

(c) Married man age c.65. "I come for relaxation. After T.V. going to the cinema was like moving from one room to another. Can have a drink at half-time."
(Attends 2-3 times weekly)

(f) Single man Age c.25. "Somewhere to go. There's more movement - one can talk during intervals - can't in cinema."

Another social tendency characteristic of all social classes is membership of voluntary organisations of widely differing types. Among males 79% Class A, 62% Class B and 43% Class C were members of at least one voluntary organisation but among women the figures were Class A 82%, Class B 54% and Class C only 23%.

Table 9

Number of Societies to which persons belong, in sex and status groups

Number of Societies	P e r c e n t a g e s					
	Males			Females		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
0	21	38	57	18	46	77
1	16	30	32	41	27	19
1-3	63	56	42	73	50	22
4-6	16	6	0	9	4	0

Among males, Class A like Class B had a greater range than Class C but whereas in Class A the percentage belonging to only one organisation equalled the number in 4-6 organisations, in Class B the former was five times as great as the latter. In Class A and Class B most people - just over a half - were in the 1-3 society group but in Class C over half did not belong to any organisation.

Among females a similar pattern emerged in that with

decreasing social status a higher percentage did not belong to any organisation e.g., Class A 18%, Class B 46% and Class C 77%. Among females this pattern is quite clear in that in all groups Class A has a higher percentage than Class B, and Class B than Class C. As with the males, most women in Class A and Class B belong to the 1-3 societies group and with Class C females three out of every four did not belong to any organisation. Again, females in Class A and Class B show a wider range than those in Class C and Class A has more than double the number of Class B females in the top group with 4-6 societies.

An explanation for the varying pattern of participation in voluntary societies by classes of differing social status may largely be educational and economic. Thus many in Class C would lack both the mental ability and the financial resources to belong to certain societies which have members in Class A and Class B. Recognition of financial hardship to some people serving the community as members of certain public bodies has now been recognised in that grants are now available from public funds to cover this contingency: this arrangement does not however cover all public committees and this precludes certain members of Class C from serving on them. Similarly membership of the more exclusive organisations is arranged on social grounds.

With regard to females the position is somewhat similar to their menfolk but the pattern is complicated in Class C by the large number of women - single and

married - who now go out to work. Unlike their husbands, most married women on returning home find another job awaiting them so that not only are they unavailable to attend meetings in the afternoon like their non-working sisters, but they have much less leisure time in the evenings. Other things being equal - they might have been available for meetings.

The social status of the three groups is also reflected to a certain degree in that they tend to belong to societies differing in the interests and in expense of membership.

Class A males naturally belong either to the socially more exclusive societies such as the Gloucester Wildfowlers Association, the Gloucester Tennis Club, Cleeve Hill Golf Club, the Rose Society, the Wine Society, or to philanthropic organisations like the Rotary Club, the Freemasons, the Catenian Society, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul (R.C.): they frequently serve the community on public committees ranging from the Gloucester Corporation and the Magistrate's Bench to less august ones. Among Class C males membership of sports and social clubs frequently organised by the firm with whom they were employed, were more popular than the next group comprising ex-servicemens' clubs (the British Legion, Burma Star Assoc.) political clubs, the R.A.O.B. and the Gloucester Cage Birds Society. In this group Toc H replaced the Rotary Club as the most popular philanthropic institution.

Class B males were again intermediate in membership of societies, in that some were members of societies containing Class A members and others containing Class C members. Thus members of the Opera Group, Freemasons, the Council of Magistrates Association, the Fabian Society, the Gloucestershire Architectural Association, the Marriage Guidance Council, had more in common with Class A whereas the societies with most members were the sports and political clubs - a characteristic of Class C.

Class C males generally belonged to societies such as works and social clubs connected with their employment or darts and skittles clubs linked with the public house they frequented. Service associations also had many members in this social group. A specialised interest was revealed in a society such as the Gloucester Cage-bird Society. Among Class A females a similar pattern to their menfolk is apparent in many societies except that in some cases the women have only achieved Class A status by marriage and thus mentally, may have more in common with the other two groups. Among some of the societies listed were the Flower Arrangement Society, the Inner Wheel, the Gloucester Club, the Soroptomists, Three Choirs Festival Committee, the Gloucester County Club, the Conservative Association, the British Red Cross Society and public organisations including the Family Planning, Gloucester Corporation Health and the Gloucester Childrens' Welfare Committees.

Class C females concentrated mainly on membership of

political clubs in which they had as many members as the men claimed and also to sports clubs where they were far outnumbered by Class C males. Women in this class revealed a much more active membership of religious organisations e.g., the Mothers' Union, the Young Wives and the Christian Fellowship, than Class C males, and here again membership of Toc H took the place of the Inner Wheel in Class A.

Among Class B females the greatest concentration appeared in the professional organisations like the Townswomens' Guild, the Gloucester Business and Professional Womens' Association, the Womens' Institute, followed by religious groups such as the Mothers Union, Young Wives and the Church Guild. As a group generally, they were similar to Class C women in showing more active support for religious groups than their menfolk, whereas certain individuals in particular, belonging to societies such as the Flower Arrangement Society, the Literary Club, the Grand Opera Group, the Friends of Gloucester Cathedral, and serving on bodies like the Education Committee and Refugees Association had more in common with Class A females.

In conclusion the main purpose of this chapter has been firstly to consider the leisure time activities of the people of Gloucester and secondly, to try and evaluate the varying interest shown in them by the main social groups. It was noted that interest in particular pastimes varied considerably among the social groups and that

interest in a specific activity was frequently a reflection of the individual's social and educational background.

CHAPTER 9

Conclusion Status in Gloucester

In all communities social status is an important factor which is reflected in most aspects of everyday living: the main purpose of the preceding chapters has been to reveal the principal differencesⁱⁿ these aspects of the three major social classes recognised in Gloucester.

As in any other city the ways of life and the various social strata are partly a result of the type of city Gloucester happens to be now and partly a result of its historical and cultural background. One important factor underlying its social stratification is its importance as the centre of a diocese, and selected individuals were questioned on the impact of the dignitaries of the cathedral on civic and social matters.

By the turn of the century the earlier disputes between the Corporation and the Dean and Chapter had long been settled and the dignitaries of the cathedral played an active but not dominant part in the social life of the city. The "cathedral set" mingled with the more successful professional men, local "county" families and the more prosperous merchants. Whilst wealth on its own did not command entry into this group there did not appear to be rigid rejection of the more successful people engaged in commerce. Family background, education and occupation were the main criteria for entry into this Anglican Ecclesiastical group. Nowadays the "cathedral set" is

unknown to the majority of Gloucester citizens and to those conscious of its existence few would grant it the influence it had before 1914.

The upper social group to-day in Gloucester would appear to be the better qualified and more successful of the higher professions such as medicine and law, and the dignitaries of the cathedral. It must not be forgotten that Gloucester has two hospitals both requiring specialist physicians and surgeons and its important as a county town, and administrative centre with a court of Assize explains the presence of many lawyers. Some of these specialists however, now live outside the city boundaries and living beyond the city boundaries for some of them has a status connotation.

There appears to be little direct evidence of widespread social contact by means of regular parties or dinners among the highest social group. Although the lawyers have a branch of the Law Society, contact between local members appears to be restricted to only a few meetings annually and these are held more for the discussion of business and legal matters than for social intercourse. On the other hand members of the medical profession with a strong local branch of the B.M.A. have more frequent meetings but this may in part be due to the common interest, both general practitioners and specialists have in the city's hospitals.

In general it may be said that Gloucester has no one social point. Thus for a "Conservative " picture of

Gloucester a visit to the New Inn might prove profitable but for the Labour image it would be necessary to visit the party's new headquarters in Barton Street. The former importance of the Cathedral in civic affairs is now practically non-existent and little social contact between its personnel and members of the Corporation occurs.

The decline in the social influence of the cathedral can be traced back to the outbreak of the First World War. Among probable reasons for this decline is the decreasing national interest in religion and the great decrease in real incomes of the clergy relative to other comparable vocations. The beginning of the War in 1914 saw a gradual change in the character of the city: prior to that date the only large industry/^{was} the Wagon works but with the growth of other engineering firms and the replacement of local merchants running their own businesses by multiple stores a more cosmopolitan element appeared with smaller regard for tradition. Some of the canons' wives before 1914 exerted appreciable influence in local affairs and this was partly due to "good" family connections as much as being connected with the cathedral 'set'.

With regard to entry into the highest social group personal occupation was the chief criterion: this was largely a reflection of the person's education and social background although with the advent of the welfare state and mass education, social mobility could and did occur. While wealth was more important than sixty years ago, the

way in which it was obtained was even more so. The former low regard for people who obtained their money from trade is now largely obsolete and this is partly due to the top executives - usually engaged in directing public and private companies owned by other people - having had an education and training in business and social matters, which has enabled them to bridge the social gulf which formerly would have existed between them and the upper social group. Acceptance by this group inevitably involved good manners and a good accent - qualities emphasised in most preparatory and public schools.

Social intercourse among members of this group was facilitated by meeting at the bars of certain hotels such as the New Inn and the Bell Hotel and at functions of certain societies like the Rotarians and the Freemasons which drew a fair percentage of their members from this group.

With the change in the character of the city consequent on the growth of industry after the First World War and the growth of the Labour party locally and nationally, the political structure of the Corporation changed. Thus former Conservative and Liberal members of some social standing found themselves replaced by shop stewards from the engineering works and factories. This meant that the upper social group could no longer determine - overtly - the way in which the Corporation could act. The energies of this group for social welfare was thus diverted from

channels determined by the electorate into "good works" which required people with organising ability to perform varied voluntary tasks. As many of these activities took place during the working day it was much easier for many of this social group, who were self-employed, to perform these tasks, than for employees working standard hours. Thus many helped voluntarily with tasks connected with the various hospitals, the old-age pensioners and the physically and mentally handicapped.

In Gloucester as elsewhere a person's social standing is largely a reflection of his occupation and his way of life is largely controlled by the various aspects of living common to the social group in which he lives. The main purpose of this survey has been to analyse and examine critically these aspects differentially on a social basis and to compare and to contrast them. While it was realised that division into smaller groups was possible an analysis of the results of these would have been statistically suspect owing to the smallness of the sample. However it is thought that the classification used recognises the main social levels in Gloucester and the varying social characteristics of the social levels studies would tend to confirm this.

In Gloucester as elsewhere a man's occupation is more than merely a livelihood: outside working hours it materially affects his social welfare. In general the

main criterion for occupational prestige include a highly specialised training, intelligence and ability, and a responsibility for public welfare. Whereas status in general may be subjectively determined by personal experience and ambitions, not infrequently those in a given occupation rated their status more highly than other persons did. However, among the poorer people - mainly the Class C group - job evaluation was closely correlated with high wages, whereas among the two higher social groups, values were less material and greater emphasis was placed on the personal satisfaction arising from the occupation, its contribution to society and its social prestige. With the coming of the welfare state with greater security for the bulk of the population, parents' ambitions for their childrens' advancement saw that this necessitated mobility: this in turn was largely dependent on education. Thus much of the pressure for places at grammar schools and later at institutions of higher education involved the tacit recognition that without them most professional occupations were impossible. While much of this drive was economic in origin some parents admitted to wishing their children to have less boring jobs and a more socially satisfying life.

While similar aspirations were held by parents in the two higher social classes they were in a much stronger position to assist their children. Thus not only did they

have personal experience of business or the professions, but they knew how to obtain information concerning them. Again, when necessary they often had the social contacts, so that their children had a differential advantage over those from a lower social group. Not infrequently among the higher professions such as medicine and law sons followed their fathers.

With the advent of light engineering and similar works to Gloucester, each employing several hundred workers, social status within the factory was largely a reflection of the type of work done. Thus whilst workers on the factory floor might earn more than other workers classed as "staff" they frequently had to use canteens considered inferior by "staff" workers. These works frequently had social and sports clubs but while the former were used mainly by extroverts the latter could only be used by those young enough and keen enough on sport. These social clubs did not provide any serious opposition to attendance at church or chapel.

Another aspect of the occupations analysed was the position of the married woman. This phenomenon, largely post-war in origin, had important effects on the social status of the families involved. The addition of a second income materially altered the standard of living in all ways not least in the choice of a house, the possession of the usual status symbols and the use of

leisure time. This in turn slowly altered working class standards to lower-middle class ones in some aspects of living, with a corresponding change in status.

Another important factor underlying social status was educational background and elsewhere it is stated " - the English educational system has always seemed caste ridden and money dominated."¹ Among the three social groups recognised in the sample it was evident that most of the two higher social groups had received at least a grammar school education and they assumed that their children would also achieve at least this standard. Analysis of the results at grammar school selection examinations revealed that more places were gained by these pupils than would have been expected on a statistical reckoning. This was partly due to the nature of the examination itself, which was biased in favour of children who spoke and wrote English well, and partly due to the encouragement given and facilities provided, in middle class homes. While an increasing percentage of children from Class C homes are now found in the grammar schools compared with pre-war days, the probable explanation is two-fold. Firstly since the abolition of fee paying in state grammar schools consequent on the 1944 Education Act and the coming of the Welfare State, schools are larger, and most of the increase comes from pupils from Class C

homes. Secondly the percentage figure of Class C children is further increased in that the generous award of grants for higher education has encouraged many of these pupils to stay longer at school. Even at the end of a grammar school education the social background of the pupil could be of material assistance at interviews by revealing ease of manner and degree of confidence.

While the two higher social groups were concerned that their children should receive at least a grammar school education so that they could continue to have a reasonable standard of living, many parents in Class C realised that only through this type of education was there opportunity for social mobility for their children.

Housing in Gloucester while mainly reflecting social status was really consequent on achieving a certain economic level. Thus, whilst the source of the income might prevent one from membership of certain social groups this did not apply to house purchase. The purchase of a house in a socially select residential area however did not necessarily provide entry into the more favoured social circles.

The highest social groups lived mainly in the larger detached houses on the periphery of the city such as Estcourt Road and the new private estate at Tuffley. Some people considered it socially superior not to live within the city. Most of the middle social group were found

either in the smaller modern detached and semi-detached houses or in flats in the older and larger houses in Alexandra Road, Heathville Road and Spa Road. The third social group was found mainly in the older streets of terraced houses nearer the city centre, in Tredworth, or in the varied Corporation housing estates scattered throughout the city. Thus while many were financially better off than pre-war days and had acquired many household labour saving devices, they frequently thought purchase of a house was beyond them economically and hoped they might obtain a corporation owned house. Status levels existed between corporation estates and in general the best tenants were given the best houses.

With regard to regular church going in Gloucester it was discovered that this was confined to a minority and the frequency of attendance depended largely on the religious group. Religious differentiation into sects and denominations could be correlated with social groups. Thus most members of the Anglican churches built in the residential areas were middle class whereas those attending the various Pentecostal chapels were in general working class. It is suggested elsewhere that this may "represent a protest against social inclusion and a compensatory method in religious form for regaining status and for re-defining class lines in religious terms."¹

1. Class, Status, Power. Bendix & Lipsett London 1954
p.321.

Among Protestants generally those who were not regular church members were found in the lower income groups or amongst those with a limited educational background. This was not true of the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith who frequently had received a poorer education and socially were mainly in the lowest group. With the increasing drive for schools for Catholics only, the disparity in educational attainments should decrease and this ultimately may result in more of this religious group occupying a higher social classification.

Of the major nonconformist groups most members had a middle class background especially the Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians.

Summing up it may be said that regular attendance at church is confined to an active minority and apart from Roman Catholics is mainly a middle class activity.

An analysis of leisure pursuits in Gloucester revealed as might be expected marked social stratification. This was a function of several variables including the expense involved, the facilities available and the social and educational background needed for participation. Among sports rowing and rugby rated higher than football or skittles and most young women playing hockey had received a grammar school education and were of middle class background.

Thus it is seen that in most aspects of life investigated in Gloucester, marked differences emerge

between the characteristics of the three recognised social groups, and it is these differences which distinguish the respective social groups as groups, from one another, in the population of the County Borough.

APPENDIX I

Occupations of heads of families in the sample according to the status group to which the families have been assigned.

CLASS A

Males

Accountant
Architect
Company Director
Draper (Master)
Fruit Merchant (Retired)
Hotel Proprietor
Medical Practitioner
Physiotherapist
Solicitor
Timber Importer

CLASS A

Females

Company Director
County Librarian
Independent Means

CLASS B

Males

Administrative Assistant
" Officer
Architect
Art Dealer
Baker (Master - retired)
Builder "
Building Foreman
Butcher
Caterer
Clerk
" (G.P.O. - retired)
" (Printer's)
College (Tech.) Lecturer
Company Director
Contractor (Electrical)
" (Haulage)
Credit Traveller
Draughtsman
Engineer (Civil)
" (Mechanical)
" (Heating)
" (Planning)
" (G.P.O.)
" (Research)
Estimator (L.A.C.)
Fire Officer (Chief)
Florist (Wholesale)
Head Teacher (Retired)
Hotelkeeper
Insurance Inspector
Lecturer
Librarian
Local Government Officer

CLASS B

Females

Art Mistress
Clerk
Headteacher
Housewife
Librarian
Pharmacist
School Mistress
Secretary
Sister Tutor

CLASS B

Males

Manager (Cinema)
" (Factory)
" (Office)
" (Sales, Assistant)
" (Sales)
" (Shop)
Mental Welfare Officer
Meteorologist
Newsagent
Osteopath
Pharmacist
Police Inspector
Postmaster (Sub.)
Purchasing Officer
Sales Representative
Schoolmaster
Schoolmaster (Retired)
Schoolteacher
Shopkeeper
Store Superintendent
Surveyor
Tobacconist
Traveller (Commercial)

CLASS C

Males

Agent (Br. Rlys.) - Retired
" (Insurance)
Blacksmith
Boiler Operator
Brass Moulder (Retired)
Bricklayer
Building Contractor
" Labourer
Builder's Site Agent
Capstan Setter Operator
Car Assembler
Carpenter
Carpenter's Mate
Cashier
Caterer
Cattle Buyer
Charge Hand
" " (B.N.S.)
" " (Permali)
Checker (Goods B.R.)
Civil Servant (Clerical)
" " (Tech.)
Clerk
" (Accounts)

CLASS C

Females

Almoner (Hospital)
Announcer (Railway)
Canteen Assistant
Civil Servant (Clerical)
Cleaner (Office)
Clerk
Clerk (Filing)
Dressmaker
Housewife
Policewoman (Retired)
Schoolteacher (Retired)
Shopkeeper
Sister Tutor
Waitress

CLASS CMales

Clerk (B.R.)
 " (Progress)
 " (Solicitor)
 " (Time)
 Coachbuilder
 Commission Agent
 Compositor
 Conductor (Bus)
 Contractor (Haulage)
 Core Maker (Foundry)
 Crane Driver
 Crane Wife
 Credit Draper
 Dairyman
 Dismantler (Metal)
 Draughtsman
 Driver (B.R.)
 " (Bus)
 " (Fork Lift Truck)
 " (Lorry)
 " (R.A.F.)
 " (Truck)
 Electrician
 Engineer (Development)
 " (Electrical)
 " (G.P.O.)
 " (Heating)
 " (Hydraulics)
 " (Maintenance)
 " (Marine & Retired)
 " (Mechanical)
 " (Planning)
 " (T.V.)
 Fireman
 Fitter
 " (Aircraft)
 " (Assembler)
 " (Electrician)
 " (Gas Maintenance)
 " (B.R.)
 " (Machine Tools)
 " (Maintenance)
 " (Pipe)
 " (Tools)
 Fitter's Mate
 Foreman (B.R.)
 " (Dowty)
 " (Foundry)
 " (Metalworks)
 " (Permal)
 " (Surveyor's Department)

CLASS CMales

Foreman (Timber Yard)
 Foundry Examiner
 Garage Hand
 Gardener
 Gas Works Operator
 Gravedigger
 Greengrocer
 Grinder
 Grocer
 Guard (B.R.)
 Hairdresser
 Illustrator (Technical)
 Inspector (Aircraft)
 " (B.N.S.)
 " (B.R. O Retired)
 " (Dowty)
 " (Engineering)
 " (G.A.C.)
 " (H.P. Accounts)
 " (Permal)
 " (Rotol)
 " (Station, B.R.)
 " (Wagon Works)
 " (Works)
 Instrument Maker
 Ironmonger
 Journalist
 Labourer
 " (Transport)
 Librarian (Technical)
 Local Government Officer
 Malster
 Manager
 " (Engineering Works)
 " (Factory)
 " (Grocery - Retired)
 " (Shop)
 " (Stores & Garage)
 Machine Operator
 Machinist
 " (Fibre Glass)
 " (Metal)
 " (Permal)
 " (Wood)
 Maintenance Ganger
 Master (of Tanker)
 Mechanic (Motor)
 Mental Nurse (Retired)
 Milkman
 Millwright

CLASS C

Males

Moulder (Iron)
Newsagent
Office Cleaner
Operator (B.N.S.)
Overseer (G.P.O.)
Painter (Coach)
Painter & Decorator
" (Highways)
Panel Bester
Pattern Maker
Patrolman (.A.A. & Retired)
Planning Assistant
Plasterer
Platelayer (Air Ministry)
Plumber
Policeman (Air Ministry)
" (B.R.)
" (R.A.F.)
" (Retired)
Porter (B.R. - Retired)
" (Shop)
Postman
Press (Rotary) Assistant
Press Operator (Foundry)
Press Telegraphist
Press Tool Cutter
Printer
Printing Works Operative
Prison Officer
Production Worker (Walls)
Furser
Riveter
Salesman
Sales Representative
Saw Doctor
Sawyer
Scaffold Erector
Schoolteacher
Scrap Iron Merchant
Setter Out
Sexton (Retired)
Sheet Metal Worker
Ship's Mate
Shirt Cutter
Shop Assistant
Shopkeeper
Shunter (B.R.)
Slaughterman
Soldier
Spinning Operator (B.N.S.)

CLASS C

Males

Stoker
Stores Checker
Storekeeper
Storeman
Surveyor's Assistant
Surveyor (Excavating)
Tallyman (Timber)
Technical Adviser
Technician (Laboratory)
Telephonist
Timber Labourer
Toolmaker
T.V. Linesman
Unemployed
United States Air Force
Wagon Repairer
Warehouseman
Watchmaker
Welder
Yardman

APPENDIX 2

Questionnaire for families

A. General

1. For all members of the family the following information is required:-
 - (a) Age last birthday in 1961: Husband... Wife....
Son(s).... Daughter(s)..... Any step-sisters?...
Half-brothers?.....
 - (b) Places of birth: Husband... Wife... Son(s)..
Daughter(s).....
 - (c) Present Occupations: Husband... Wife... Son....
Son... Son... Daughter... Daughter... Daughter...
 - (d) Length of residence in Gloucester of (a) Husband..
(b) Wife....
 - (e) Length of residence in present house...
 - (f) Former address(es) in Gloucester: Husband.. Wife;;;
2. For members of the immediate family - children, who are no longer living at home: (a) Age last birthdate in 1961..
(b) Place of birth... (c) Present occupation...
(d) Length of time away from home and reason for absence...

B. The Home

1. Does the family possess - (underline if so):
(a) Wireless set, (b) Television set, (c) Washing machine, (d) Telephone, (e) Refrigerator, (f) 1 car/
2 cars/motor cycle.
2. Are there any special reasons for living in present house:-.....
3. Is there any part of the city in which you would prefer to live compared with your present district.....
4. If you can earn extra money by overtime, or other ways, what are the three chief ways in which you spend it....

C. The Family

1. Is the family normally together for meals? If not, state which meals are taken separately, and why....
2. Does the family as a unit indulge in the following activities:

<u>Please tick</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Never</u>
(a) Visit cinema					
(b) Church going.....					
(c) Walking.....					
(d) Playing games at home					
(e) Sporting events					
(i) Spectators					
(ii) Participants					
(f) Dancing					

3. Does the family spend together:
- (a) Bank Holidays Yes/No
 - (b) Annual holidays from work and those of its members who are in full time employment Yes/No.
 - (c) If divided:
 - (a) What sub-divisions is family split into...
 - (b) What reason(s) for separation...
4. Since having television in the house:- (underline)
- (a) Sporting events - have you attended: more, the same, or fewer.
 - (b) Cinema - " " " More, the same, or fewer:
 - (c) Books - " " read: more, the same, or fewer.
 - (d) Radio - " " listened: more, the same, or less.
 - (e) Homework - (a) Do you complete homework before watching T.V. Yes/No
(b) Do you arrange homework to fit in with T.V. programmes: Yes/No.
5. FOR WOMEN ONLY
- Are you employed (a) Full-time (b) Part-time?
- Age Group: 20-29...30-39...40-49...50-59...60-69....

D. Educational and Occupational Background

1. For all members of the family who have completed their period of full time education, the following information is required:
- (a) Type of education received:
Primary/Sec.Modern/Sec.Technical/Sec.Grammar/Public School/Tech.College/Trg.Coll./Univ.
Husband.... Wife,....Son(s).... Daughter(s).....
 - (b) Age starting work or age at which full-time education ceased.....
 - (c) Present Occupation: Former Occupation(s) if any:
Husband...
 - Wife.....
 - Son(s)....
 - Daughter(s)..
2. What were the reasons why you chose these occupations:
Husband... Wife Son(s)..... Daughter(s).....

E. Church Going

1. For each member of the family the following information is required:
- (a) Place of worship (if any)..... Location.....
 - (b) Frequency of attendance at church: weekly/monthly/annually/rarely.
20-39 yrs. 40-59 yrs. 60-79 yrs. 80+ yrs.

2. If you attend a place of worship, why is this?....
If not, why not?....
3. Why do your children attend: Forcibly... with friends....
4. Do your children attend Sunday School? Underline:
Reg: early/frequently/rarely.
-4 yrs. 5-14 yrs. 15-19 yrs.
5. Do your children attend Sunday School? and if so, are they now members of a church/chapel? Yes/no.
6. Does any member of the family make a special effort to listen to religious broadcasts?
(a) Yes/No (b) Who.....
Regularly Special Programmes Never
7. Has any member of the family changed from (a) Protestant to Catholic, (b) Catholic to Protestant....
8. For children going to Sunday School, with
(a) Parents who go to church at least once per month
0-4 yrs. 5-14 yrs. 15-19 yrs.
9. For children going to Sunday School, with
(b) Neither parent going to church once a month or more
0-4 yrs. 5-14 yrs. 15-19 yrs.
- F. Leisure Time Activities:-
The following questions apply to any member of the family.
1. How often do you attend a cinema - weekly, fortnightly, rarely, never. (a) Parents..... (b) Children.....
2. Do you play any musical instruments: Which -
(a) Parents (b) Children.....
3. Do you belong to a choir? Name.... Parents/Children.
4. Do you belong to a Dramatic Society or Operatic Society Parents/Children.
5. What are your main hobbies? Parents... Children....
6. To what societies/clubs/associations/do you belong?
Parents..... Children....
7. Do you attend evening classes, or have you attended in the fairly recent past? State subjects....
State number of sessions attended.....
8. Do you take part in sport? Which? Parents.....
Children.....
9. How much of your leisure time is spent in reading per week(excluding reading for your occupation)?.....hours
10. What newspapers and magazines are obtained by the family by purchase or borrowing?
11. Do you watch local sporting events? Yes/No.
Which ones..... How often (underline): weekly, fortnightly, rarely, never.

G. Political Behaviour

1. Did the adult members of the family vote at the last Council Election. Yes/No.
2. Did the adult members of the family vote at the last General Election. Yes/No.
3. Does any adult member of the family attend Council meetings? Yes/No.
4. Does any adult member of the family pay special attention/partial attention/no attention at all/ to newspaper reports of Council meetings.
5. Has any member of the family interviewed a member of the Council to register a complaint or to seek advice? Yes/No.

APPENDIX 3AGeneral Magazines

Percentage of all families in each status group who obtain
the stated periodicals.

<u>Name of Periodical</u>	<u>Status Group</u>		
	A	B	C
Radio Times	40	47	23
T.V. Times	30	23	20
Angling Times	-	1	2
Argosy	-	2	-
Autocar	-	5	1
Country Life	5	4	-
Do It Yourself	-	1	3
Gardening - Amateur	-	5	6
Gardening - Popular	5	2	2
Geographical Magazine	-	4	-
Gloucester Countryside	20	2	-
Illustrated London News	5	2	-
Knowledge	-	-	1
The Listener	5	4	-
Look and Learn	-	-	2
The Motor	-	-	1
National Geographical Magazine	5	2	-
New Statesman	-	4	-
Practical Householder	-	7	4
Punch	10	5	-
Readers Digest	5	9	5
Reveille	-	1	5
The Spectator	5	2	-
The Tatler	-	-	1
Times Educational Supplement	-	2	-
Times Literary Supplement	-	2	-
Titbits	-	-	2
Today	5	2	2
Weekend Mail	-	-	4
Which	5	2	1
Wide World Magazine	-	-	1

APPENDIX 3BWomen's Magazines

Percentage of all families in each status group who obtain
the stated periodicals

<u>Name of Periodical</u>	<u>Status Group</u>		
	A	B	C
Woman	20	35	33
Woman's Own	10	23.4	28.7
Flair	-	-	1
Good Housekeeping	5	4	-
Housewife	5	2	-
Homes & Gardens	10	6	-
Ideal Home	-	9	1
The Lady	-	2	-
My Home	5	1	-
Red Letter	-	2	1
The Queen	-	-	-
She	-	-	1
Vanity Fair	-	-	1
Vogue	-	2	1
Woman and Home	5	7	3
Woman's Illustrated	-	1	-
Woman's Journal	5	2	-
Woman's Mirror	-	2	10
Woman's Realm	5	9	10
Woman's Weekly	-	7	9
Woman's World	-	1	1

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