

EMPLOYMENT IN BATTLE 1841-1911: A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT



Introduction

This article sets out the main patterns of employment in Battle between 1801 and 1911, with some references to 1939 and earlier. Unusually for English towns, during the period up to and including 1911 the population was relatively stable, and even up to 1939 the major developments with which we have become familiar were still in the future.

It is inevitable that employment in a large rural parish should have been dominated by agriculture. What is meant by agriculture, however, needs definition. There are those who work the land; those who process the products of the land or assist agriculture; and those that fit neither of the other two categories.

This categorisation, or something close to it, has been used in all studies of employment in England. A recent study divides it into three sectors: those dealing directly with raw materials are in the primary sector; those producing goods are in the secondary sector; whilst those providing services comprise the tertiary sector.¹ This mirrors, probably not exactly, the categorisation used in the first three censuses (1801, 1811 and 1821), though it was not used in 1831; no comparable figures have yet been found for that year.

Early census summaries for occupations of individuals at Battle

	1801	1811	1821
Raw	287	235	302
Goods	230	141	155
Other	38	65	59

Given that the population was then always between 2000 and 3000, the proportions of those employed seem very low, and the variations in numbers across two decades are noticeable. The first two censuses were taken in wartime, which would (one speculates) usually lead to an emphasis on agriculture, given the relative difficulty of importing goods; but the UK was then by no means as dependent on imports as during the two major wars of the twentieth century. One might expect there to be higher figures in the third category, given the generally high servant population at the time. Without details it is hard to reach any conclusions.

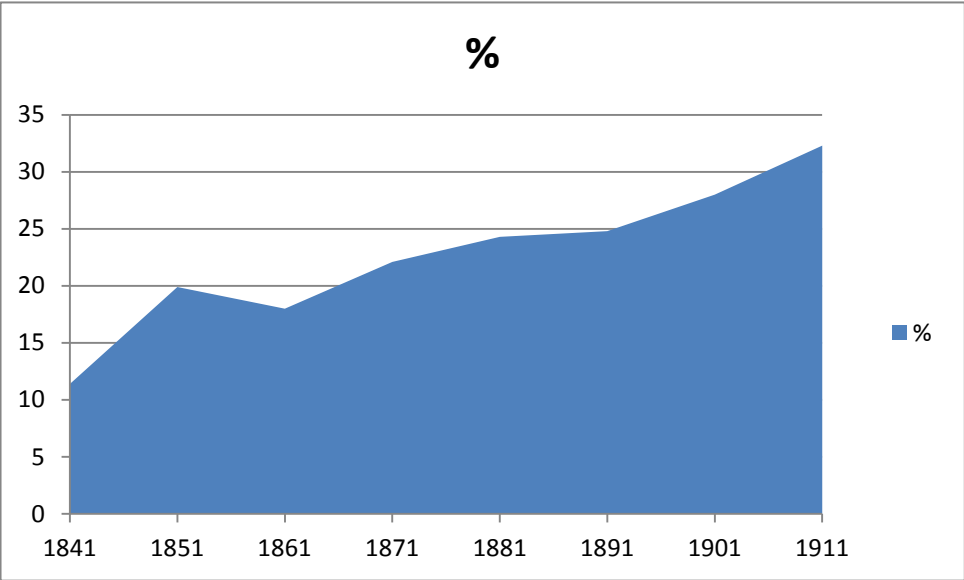
Later censuses are best approached by an examination of names and occupations, and in essence the same categorisation is used here: those working on the land, those working on the products of the land, and the others.

In this article various ‘occupations’ have been omitted altogether: those described simply as landowners or magistrates; those without any recorded occupation, including children at school; annuitants and pensioners; and where possible visitors to the parish.

It must be kept in mind that this is a survey of occupations, not of individuals, and where someone was reported as having two occupations each is shown separately. Moreover, to see (for example) that there were ten grocers in a particular year does not mean that there were ten separate grocers' shops, any more than to record the number of railway workers means that there was more than one railway company in the town.

The only sources for such a study are the eight censuses so far published, those from 1841 to 1911. These were hardly perfect records for the purpose now in mind, and the detailed reservations about their interpretation are given at the beginning of the annexe. The major problem arising from them is an unanswered question: at least in the early years, why do so few mean have jobs? (The figures used exclude children (unless working), annuitants, workhouse inmates and those simply described as landowners or magistrates (which are usually the same thing.)

Those employed as percentages of all recorded



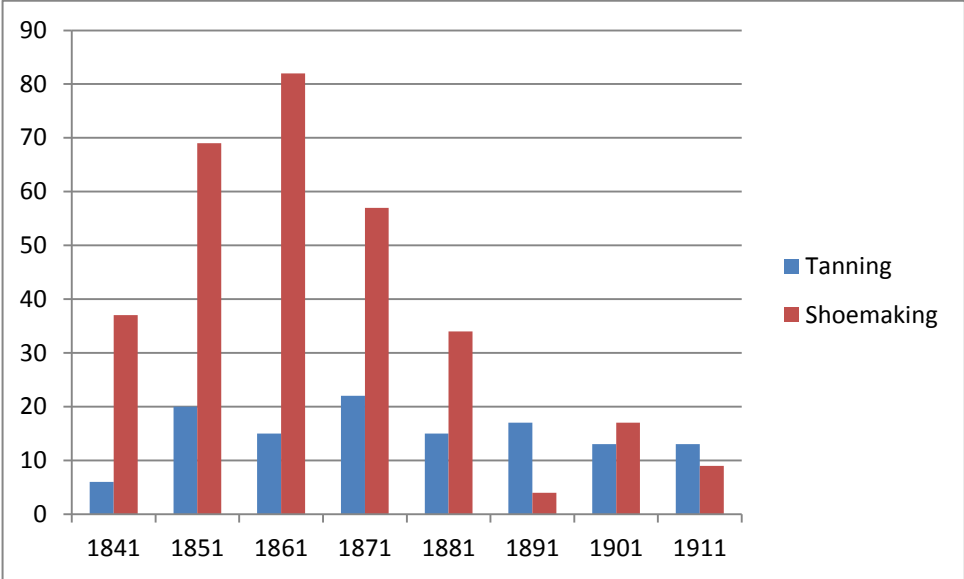
The growth of employed people as a percentage of the population is notable: almost three times higher in 1911 than in 1841. There was no financial support for the unemployed unless they were incapable of supporting themselves and their families, in which case there could be outdoor relief or despatch to the workhouse. The numbers relying on the poor law in these ways would be quite insufficient to explain the low numbers in early years. It is clear that there was a growth of the economy in general, leading to and associated with the larger number of retailers in the town, but again insufficient to explain the shortfalls. Moreover it should be noted that the chart underestimates the problem, for some men had two jobs, counted separately in this study. (See page 7.)

A number of distinct trends can be detected from the data shown in the tables in the appendix, from which workhouse inmates have been excluded.

Leather (see appendix, table 9)

By the middle of the century the major occupation of Battle, apart from agriculture and its associated matters, itself, was concerned with leather: its creation through tanning and its

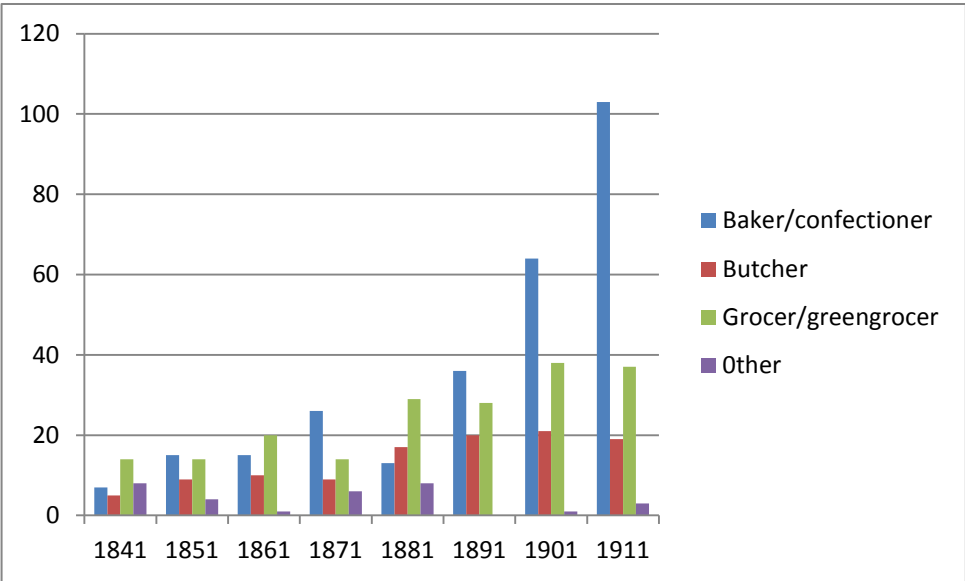
use for personal and equine purposes. This was clearly the largest industry in Battle for most of the century, and was closely associated with the tannery on Battle Hill. The Urban District Council, in 1912 facing a conflict that could result in the tannery closing, had a report that twelve people were employed there and therefore many more than twelve depended on it for their living. (This would have included not just workers but also dependants.)



Growth was due mainly to two concerns: the expanding tannery on Battle Hill, which had a high reputation and lasted until after the Second World War, and Thorpe’s shoe-making business. The latter had shops elsewhere in the area and at Battle, again, the firm lasted until after the Second World War. It is unclear when it gave up actual making shoes rather than simply selling them.

Food retailing (see appendix, table 18)

This was largely in grocery and baking, a testament to the cheapness of food compared with incomes as the century progressed.



Some of this, however, is due to the growth of Newbery's jam factory. The censuses do not reveal its full extent, because they name the factory only from 1891. It was in operation from some forty years earlier, and figures for those earlier periods must have been included in the baker/confectioner data. At a conscription tribunal in 1916 it was accepted that some 60 people were employed by Newbery's, and the 1939 Register suggests some growth after that. The chart below does not divide Newbery's from other bakers/confectioners.

Grocers also show a significant increase. Here, as in some other tables, one can observe the employment of more assistants of various kinds. In early years what became their tasks had been usually performed by the owner and his family.

Closure of traditional trades (see appendix, tables 22, 12)

The nineteenth century saw the end of watchmaking and of gunpowder milling, both long-standing Battle industries. Battle had been a well-known clock-making town. However, by the time of the 1841 census the trade was clearly in decline, with only one maker recorded. It is likely that by 1890 there was no actual clock- and watch-making left in town. The term *maker* does not necessarily mean what it says, any more than the term *jeweller* actually means creating what is then put on sale.

Gunpowder making, on and around the Pepperingeye site for almost two hundred years, closed in 1874 when the landowner, the Duke of Cleveland, declined to renew the lease on grounds of safety and the business moved to Dartford. In the 1871 census twelve employees of the gunpowder industry were recorded, though others would have depended on it such as woodcutters, charcoal burners and carriers.

The arrival of modern industry (see appendix, tables 13, 14)

Two such concerns are notable: Newbery's has already been mentioned but there was also the gypsum mine. There were other, smaller, manifestations of modernity. Coal had always reached Battle by a lengthy and difficult route but after the railway opened it would have been cheaper and more plentiful; the gas works had opened by about 1840; electricity was much later, and the one electrician reported in 1881 was an amateur rather than a supplier to others. The steel works close to the station was a post-WW1 development.

Gypsum was found in the parish of Mountfield in the early 1870s and the mine was quickly developed and a branch built off the railway. Most of the early local workers there came from Mountfield and Netherfield, the miners from Cornwall. The dip in its fortunes can be observed for 1891, but there was a rapid growth thereafter. It was a considerably larger employer in 1939.

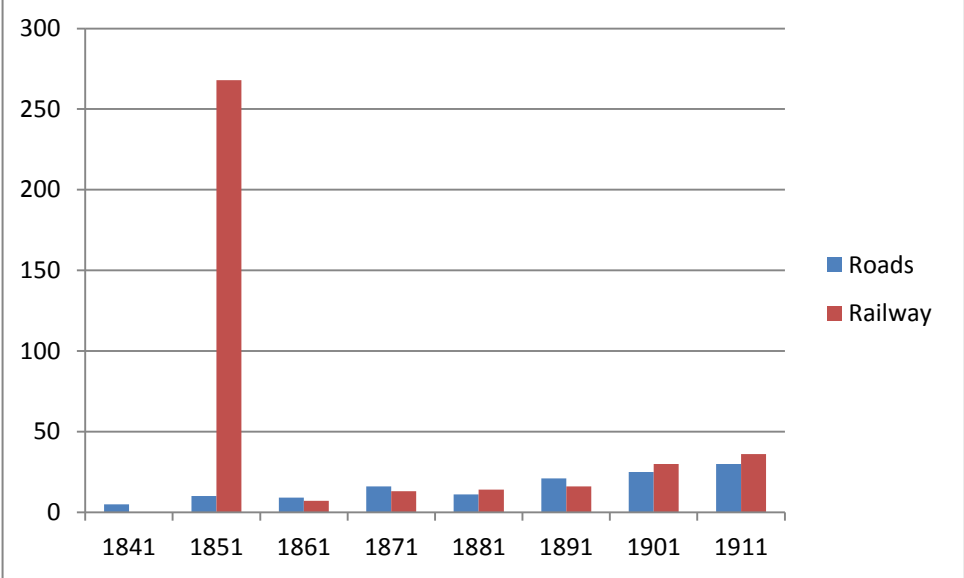
Transport (see appendix, table 15)

There were major changes: from a complete reliance on the horse to the coming of the railway (1852), bicycles (1880) and motor vehicles (1900s and thereafter).

The greatest figure is for the railway in 1851. These early railways were built without mechanical aid; they relied on muscle-power. This meant an influx of labourers, primarily to

dig cuttings and make embankments. Some information is available on the origins of these men: almost none were from Battle and, perhaps contrary to expectation given the date, few were from Ireland. Once the railway opened at the beginning of 1852 these men moved elsewhere, and the later growth of railway use is evident from the figures.

Hard on the railway's heels, later in the century there came first the bicycle and then the early signs of the motor industry that would come to dominate the national picture after 1945. The arrival and growth of the bicycle industry can be observed from 1891. This offered



shorter journeys to work and the opportunity of recreational trips. It allowed much greater mobility for women in particular. (The few road labourers are listed as public employees.)

Origins

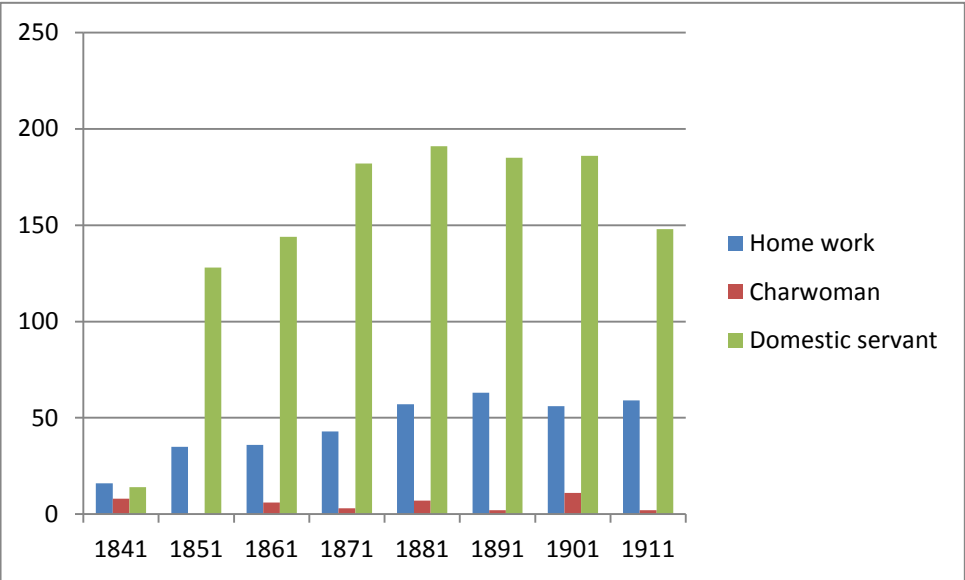
A preliminary examination of birthplaces from 1851 onwards, not given in this study, suggests strongly that the successful enterprises of the town were started or made successful by those born elsewhere. This was true, for example, of Newbery (jam), Thorpe (shoes), Till (ironmongery) and Noakes (tanning). It was also true of all the solicitors, medical men (except the Watts family), and ministers of religion and (frequently) even of farmers and innkeepers.

The role of women (see appendix, tables 2, 3)

Inevitably recorded employment was overwhelmingly male. Almost without exception women were confined to domestic duties. In a very few cases they were in charge of some shop or other business but elsewhere, where they are recorded as working, they worked from home, for example as dressmakers.

The major exception is the large number of domestic servants. Almost all young women went into domestic service as soon as they could, until they married and left paid employment; some, of course, remained in it as single women. Some married women returned to it later, as widows. By the end of the period in question there had been a certain loosening of the historic pattern, but not to any great extent.

Even in 1939 most women were recorded as working domestically though paid employment had increased considerably, possibly because of the absence of men called up for war service. Although there are some definitional problems, it is clear that some 77% of women were working in their own houses without pay, the very great majority on 'unpaid domestic duties'; in the Netherfield area it was nearly 90%. Although the number of paid servants is uncertain it is clear that there were very few. Some of the paid employment might have been as replacement for men; some certainly reflected the increased need for teachers of



the large number of children evacuated from London, many of whom came with their charges. That there had been change was undeniable, but essentially the old pattern held firm.

The growth in numbers will have been due to a number of causes, particularly increasing wealth among those women buying the products; the need for larger family incomes would have been an obvious and continuing driver. Attitudes among both men and women seem unlikely to have changed, and indeed they did not change until after the Second World War: up to the 1960s most women were expected to leave employment on marriage and some occupations were banned to female recruitment. The ceiling was then not even glass.

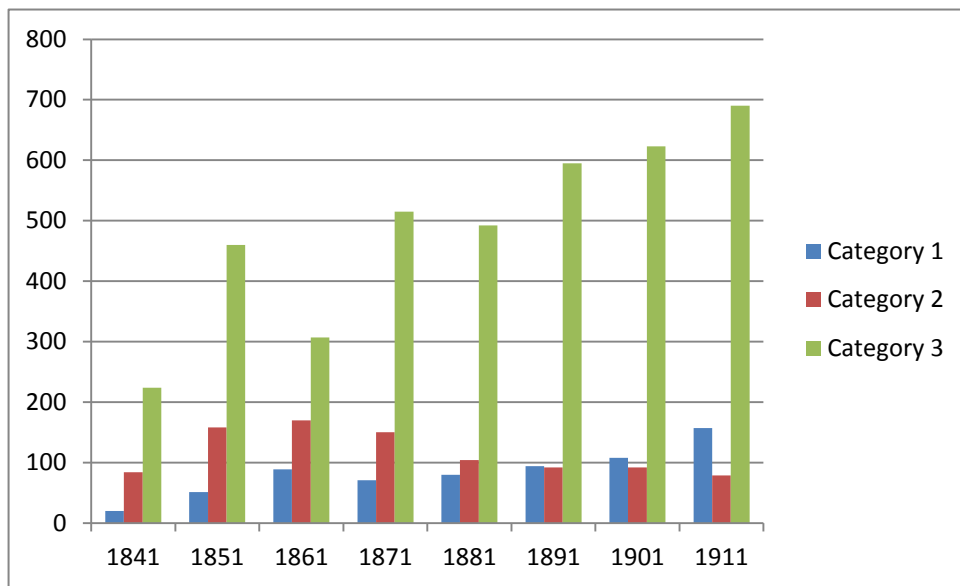
A very small number of these servants above would have been male – butlers and valets, for example – but far from sufficient to distort the overall conclusion: as soon as they had left school the great majority of girls were sent into service. Doing so relieved the family of having to feed and clothe them, and it is likely that much of the daughters' nugatory incomes would have come home. They would have remained in service until their marriages, if indeed marriage happened.

Two cases stand out of those very few whose occupations historically belonged to men. The obvious individuals were Ellen and Ann Burgess. Ellen was born in 1835, the daughter of a draper at 65 High Street, and went on to run his business. She sold up early in the twentieth century to the more recently-known Winsborrow firm; she died in 1917. Ann's father was a hardwareman but she did not follow him. Instead, by the age of 18 she was apprenticed to Francis Ticehurst, stationer and printer, and went on to run her own stationery business at 76 High Street until her death in 1900. Neither woman married; both were dissenters; both signed the petition for female suffrage in 1866. It is likely that they were cousins.

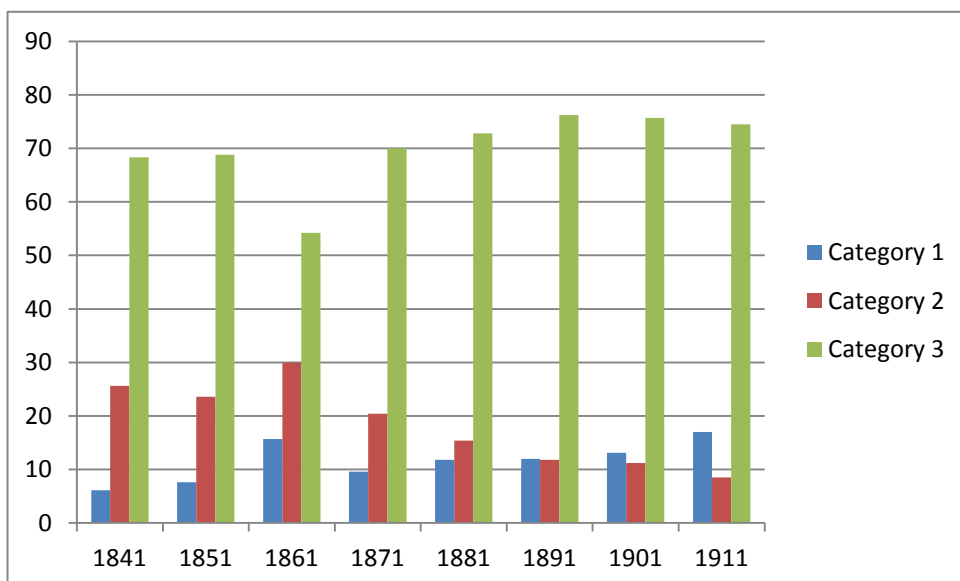
Notably there was Newbery's jam factory. Census returns are not wholly clear during the nineteenth century, but women were employed there from at least 1891 and the numbers appear to have grown up to and possible after 1939. They did not perform heavy work, being mainly in washing and bottling, but one did become forewoman of that department.

Occupations: introduction

The text below relies on the categories adopted for this study: obtaining produce from the land; processing that produce for further sale; and other occupations. All workhouse inmates are excluded. Railway employees (268) are excluded from the 1851 figures. Duplicates are excluded from the 1911 total population.



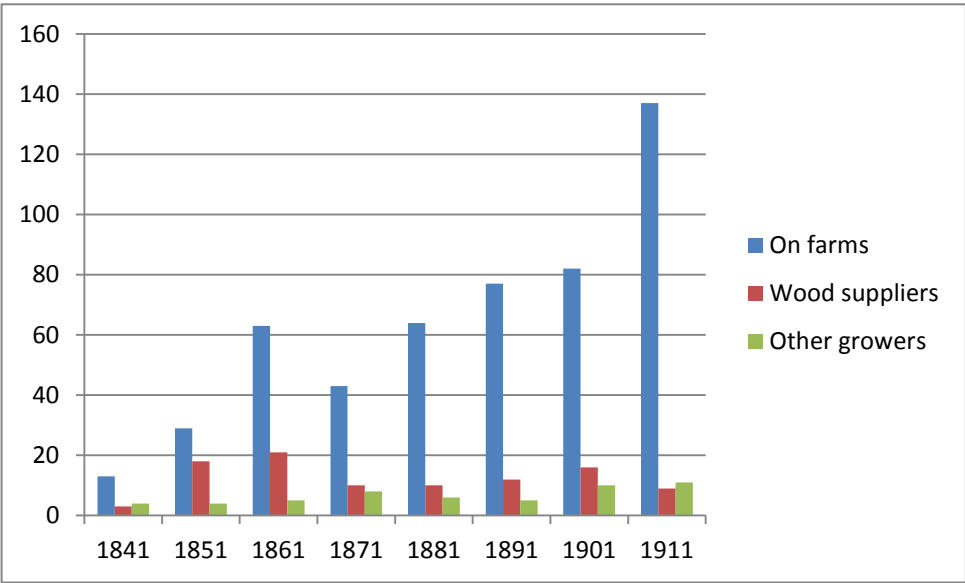
The lack of labourers in the early censuses would seriously distort the figures if the raw data were shown as percentages of census entries. Those figures are in the next chart:



Category 1: obtaining produce from the land

Battle was at the centre of a large agricultural area and at least for the early censuses, apart from the making of gunpowder, it lacked almost anything that would today be called *industrial*. In the early years the market for agricultural produce would have been markedly local: there were no railways or canals, but the growing town of St Leonards would no doubt have been supplied partly from its northern and western neighbours.

There are three sub-categories here: the farms, the woods and other growers, particularly market gardeners. (see appendix, tables 4, 5, 6)



It is hard to deduce why these figures vary so much. The high point of employment on the farms is 1911, but by that point the major changes in agriculture had begun to reach Britain. The first of these was the introduction of the traction engine from the mid-century, followed by an improved plough in 1885; farm tractors were not available until the very early years of the next century and are unlikely to have had an impact on Battle, but the traction engine must have reduced the demand for manpower at peak periods. It may be remarked here that some of those listed must have had very mixed or periodic employment – a hay trusser, for example, would have to work hard at his named occupation for a short time each year: what did he do for the rest of the time? Presumably he worked as a labourer. (The problem of labourer numbers is further considered on page 13.)

The second influence was the importing of grain and meat from overseas from about 1870. Grain came in particular from north America, reaching the Atlantic ports by way of the new railways. Refrigeration of meat allowed heavy imports of beef from Argentina and mutton from New Zealand in particular. But Britain’s population was growing fast and wealth was increasing, blunting the effect on local agriculture, whatever its effect on the cities, so these trends may have had little impact on Battle and its local area.

The main fall in agriculture came after the 1914-18 war, and by 1939 only some 15% of foods were home-grown. The need to improve this figure and the reforms of the late 1940s led to a recovery, but that is outside the scope of this study.

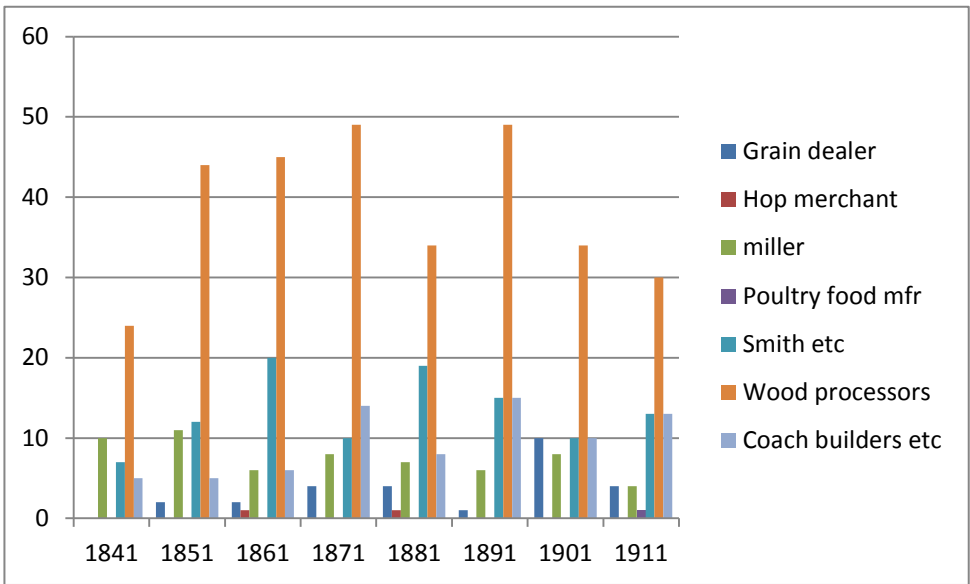
Given the dependence on wood throughout the period, the figures for it seem very small. It must be remembered that wood was used in a great variety of ways: for heating and cooking, certainly, but for the making of furniture by carpenters and joiners, casks by coopers, pit props, hoops and brooms, carriages and carts and other uses and products. Particular woods were preferred for the charcoal used in making gunpowder.

As with farming in general, changes might be explained not only by differential demands but also by increasing mechanisation, for example in the arrival of sawing by means of belt-driven appliances driven by tractor engine power. By the late nineteenth century, too, coal was much easier and cheaper to find for domestic use, and the railways allowed wood supplies and finished goods to be brought in from elsewhere.

Other growers were a very small group, but the increase in the number of market gardeners was considerable. It was almost certainly due to greater wealth and therefore demand, and perhaps to dietary changes. If the latter, then it is likely that at the beginning of the period the great majority of people were confined to small and repetitive menus.

Category 2: processing that produce from the land for further sale, and agricultural support workers

Food dealers and processors (see appendix, table 7)



Wood processors and coach builders (see appendix, tables 10, 11)

This sub-category is concerned with those who took the wood from its suppliers and turned it into useful products. There were other uses, for example in transport (coachbuilders and wheelwrights) but this table demonstrates the variety of local uses where today the requirements implied by almost all of those listed, if not all, would be satisfied by imports from other parts of the country or from abroad. (A bavin was a bundle of twigs turned into a useful tool; a patten was a wooden overshoe to be worn in muddy places.) That census data is not wholly reliable is shown by the lack of a coachbuilder at Battle, for Davis’s was then a well-established firm in Mount Street.

Metal workers (see appendix, table 8)

These are few and are mainly smiths. The table also includes tinsmiths, although their market would have been domestic.

Category 3: other occupations

We now come to the remainder. This is necessarily an untidy group, as unrelated groups are placed next to each other simply because they do not directly relate to agriculture.

Coal, gas, electricity supply etc (see appendix, table 14)

Originally coal would have been brought to Battle by water, to a small wharf near Little Park Farm, and probably even smaller loads by cart from the coast. That remained so even after the building of the gas works in about 1838, though it would have been cheaper and much more plentiful after the arrival of the railway in 1852. This was a very small group of employees.

Horse providers and carers (see appendix, table 16)

Even after the arrival of the railway the horse continued to dominate local transport. It remained essential for short journeys, though one suspects that by 1911 the bicycle had made inroads into these. Delivery of goods to and from the station would have increased, and these would have been by horse-drawn vehicles: those defined by the terms *carman*, *carrier* and *vanman* used at the time would all have been using horses, and they would have been evident on the farms and in some businesses, for example at mills where they were often used as a source of power for the millstones.

Building and associated trades (see appendix, table 17)

The population of Battle barely grew after 1851, and there was little physical expansion of the built-up area until the following century. This is evident from the first half of this table. However, the second shows modest growth. One would perhaps have expected more plumbers and fitters (mains water and sewerage date from the 1850s) and as the use of gas increased).

Inn and hotel keepers, brewers, tea rooms (see appendix, table 19)

The coming of the railway seems to have had less early effect here than in some other places, mainly perhaps because stagecoaches had tended to use Robertsbridge rather than Battle for changes of horse. Later, the railway allowed a modest growth in visitor numbers, though the Abbey was not open to tourists until the turn of the century. Visitors would have wanted tea rooms and restaurants, particularly the women for whom entry to a public house was still frowned upon, among the middle classes at least. The brewery director present in 1911 was of Breeds of Hastings, not of Battle itself.

Clothing (see appendix, table 20)

The figures for tailors are remarkably consistent over the period. They would be solely for men's wear; women were catered for by women.

Metal retailing (see appendix, table 21)

The numbers are small but they do increase a little, presumably catering (as did other businesses) for the area in general and not just the civil parish of Battle. The ironmonger best-known in later years was Till's reputedly the oldest in the country at its closure in 1991. The original Till was a Yorkshireman who married into the family owning the business, which in turn was part of the family running the gunpowder works.

Shops other than for food and drink (see appendix, table 23)

Again small numbers and a slight increase. The slow end of basic living is demonstrated by the arrival of fancy goods and toy shops, albeit on a very small scale.

Private finance (see appendix, table 24)

This term covers banks, insurance agents and related occupations. In 1841 there was only one bank in Battle, a savings bank; growth was slow but reached six recorded employees in 1911, joined by an accountant and three insurance agents. The savings bank was overtaken by the Post Office Savings Bank and shut down in 1897.

Religion (see appendix, table 25)

Battle had a noticeable non-conformist population from at least the early eighteenth century, but it relied on visiting ministers and preachers. The permanent presence in the town remained Anglican, though from the beginning of the nineteenth century churches and chapels were built for dissenters. The first dissident resident minister arrived in mid-century and the first Roman Catholic priest in 1887.

Professions (see appendix, table 26)

At first the beginning the professions were poorly represented. Only solicitors, doctors, surveyors and chemists were there. The arrival of a dentist in 1901 may be thought late, but up to the end of the nineteenth century, and indeed beyond, little attention was given to teeth: medical records from the First World War frequently commented on the poor state of soldiers' teeth.

By the end of the century communications had improved so that people could live at Battle and work elsewhere (there are tramway employees in the transport table) and others came to the town for retirement or semi-retirement purposes. The stockbroker, for example, was the incomer who built Netherfield Court.

It is not known how far the engineers listed were still active. The two notaries (mother and daughter) were a very brief presence. It may be deduced that Battle was becoming known as a suitable place for retirement or even as a dormitory town for those employed elsewhere. The numbers of annuitants and those living on own means, excluded from the tables, increased considerably over the period.

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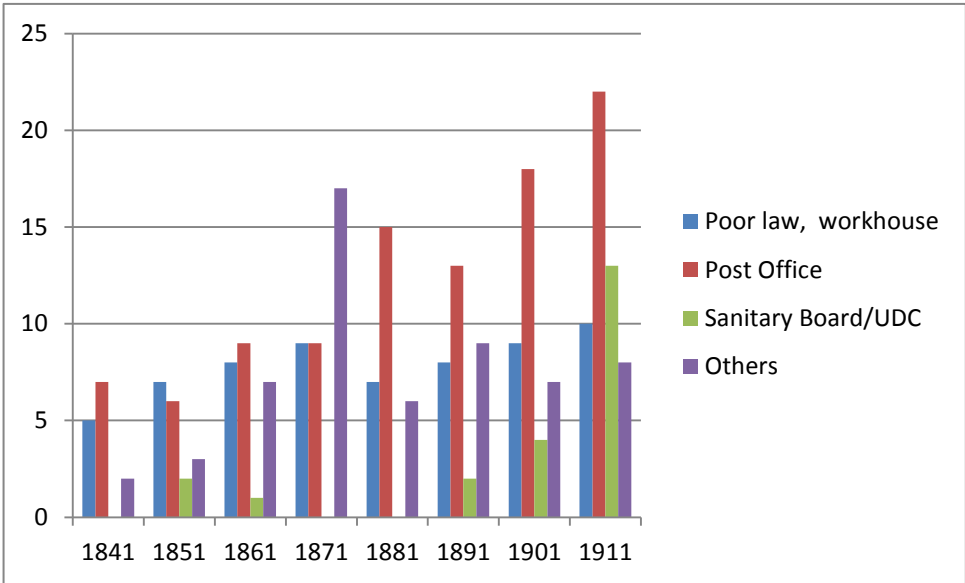
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Education (see appendix, table 27)

Throughout this period the only school that would now be recognised as ‘state sector’ was the Battle and Langton School in Marley Lane. There were several others, appearing and disappearing as time went on, the two largest being in St Mary’s Villas and on the site of what is now the fire station. In early years the figures may include a very small number of pupils described as ‘pupil teacher’. Up to 1871 the workhouse employed teachers, before their children began to go to Marley Lane. The main increase in numbers, though small was at that school.

Public duties (see appendix, table 28)



The 1871 figures are inflated thanks to the temporary presence to two Ordnance Surveyors and their seven assistants but otherwise this subcategory shows a small but insistent growth. While the police force contributed some of this, most arose from the Post Office. While this was overwhelmingly through having more postmen, towards the end there was also new technology: the telephone.

The Urban Council increase was also great. By 1891 its predecessor had four employees, itself an increase on previous years, but the growth to 13 ten years later is due to more duties being passed to the Council (planning, for example, from 1906) and a greater number of interventions by central government.

The poor law numbers do not show inmates. As the Guardians covered a wide area of the county, to include inmates would lead to serious distortion of the overall figures: there were few born at Battle. The staff numbers show consistency, but they mask a slight growth: after 1871 the educational role of the poor law was transferred to the ordinary public system, along with two teachers. Inmate occupations were reported as such until 1911, when those who were unemployed or retired were identified.

Other white collar (see appendix, table 29)

These were few: auctioneers, clerks (unspecified as to the nature of their employers) and a few others.

They included some that might be thought oddities. In 1901 there was Elspeth Paine, aged 18, described as an author, but with an untraced future; in 1911 there was an artist, described as *artist in used stamps*. How far this allowed him to pay for himself is unknown. Neither journalist can be traced, nor can a singer. In 1871 the scientist was Sir Francis Ronalds (1788-1873), living at 9 St Mary's Villas.

Labourers

We must now turn to the matter of labourers. This is discussed earlier, **on page XX**, but one issue remains. The numbers recorded as labourers in unspecified areas of work were:

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Labourer	29	188	2	109	127	106	96	41
Porter	2	2	2	1	1			
Total	31	190	4	110	128	106	96	41

1851: excluding railway workers

That general labourers were a strong feature of Battle, as elsewhere, cannot be denied. What is inexplicable, however, is the exceptional year of 1861. Both of the labourers were in Hastings Road; nowhere in that or any other of the four districts is there a gap in the records that would explain the enumerators' figures. In some places they have written agricultural labourer on another otherwise blank line, but in so few cases that the overall figure is barely changed.

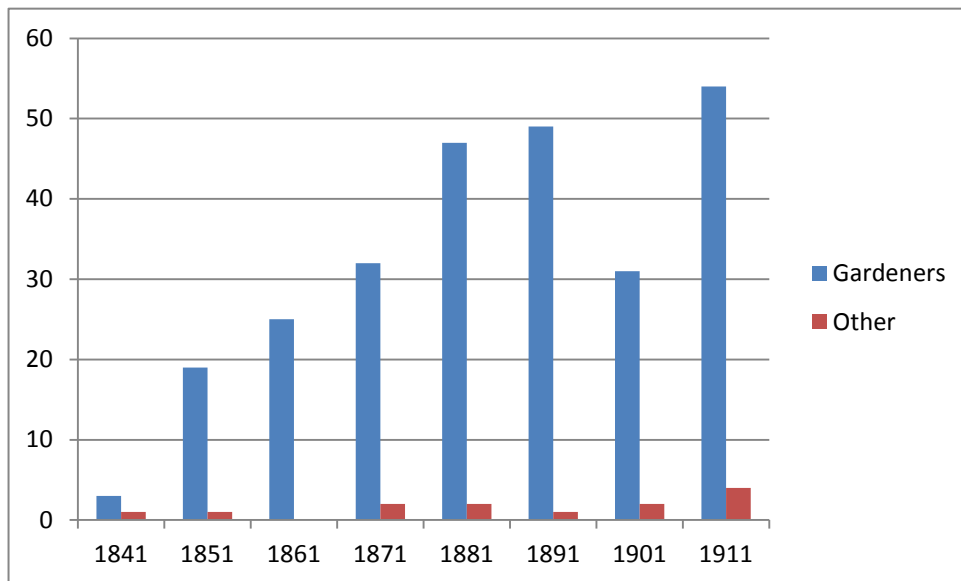
In case there was a sudden shift to the 'specified' category one should look at the overall figures for those labourers –

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Agricultural	4	27	16	30	33	22	53	4
Other		7	13	28	19	13	39	69
Total	4	34	39	58	52	35	92	73

– but they offer no explanation. It is possible that men left the town to work elsewhere, perhaps inspired by the earnings available in the recently-encountered railway development still taking place across the country: the national figures for those *born* at Battle show an increase of 2-300 living elsewhere in 1861 when one compares figures with the 1851 census. This could also account for the drop in the number of agricultural labourers, but to approach that question would require much further analysis.

Servants other than women (see appendix, table 30)

This category includes gardeners other than market gardeners. Their growth was considerable.



Some of these would have been permanent appointments, in so far as such things existed in the period; most would have been jobbing gardeners attending to lawns and gardens. One trend of the nineteenth century was indeed to pay much more attention to these. Again the figures suggest a distinct increase in wealth and an interest in garden maintenance not noticeable in the early part of the nineteenth century save in the great estates.

Miscellaneous see appendix, table 31)

The last category is of those who do not fall into any of the others, often because the nature of the occupation is too brief or the variations in the (small) number of occupations is too great. The totals vary between 18 and 45.

APPENDIX: CENSUS NUMBERS BY CATEGORY

Due note should be taken of the following:

- 1 The data record what the resident told the census enumerator, with some additions by the latter from time to time, and in later years some interpretations. The enumerator had to take the resident's word at face value, which may or may not have been wholly true and may have varied from one census to another even for the same occupation.
- 2 The enumerator did not always record accurately the information given to him. It is likely that errors and omissions were few but they did exist. Additionally the work of one of the 1901 enumerators remains very difficult to read, and in some cases impossible.
- 3 Gaps in the record where clearly the occupation existed can be attributed either to the person concerned being absent when the census was taken or to the owner living elsewhere.
- 4 The first census that gave names is not as reliable as later ones. To some extent it was experimental. Although its general impression is unlikely to be faulty it would be easy to place too much reliance on the detailed data.
- 5 Where possible some entries have been ignored in the tables. They are workhouse inmates, visitors, those living on own means, annuitants, schoolchildren and the retired.
- 6 It is possible that further, small, errors of transcription have taken place. If so they are the fault of the author.

In all cases the reference to engine driver is to the man working a stationary engine, and the term app/assistant means apprentice or assistant.

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Table 1: numbers by category

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Category 1	20	51	89	71	80	94	108	157
Category 2	84	158	170	150	104	92	92	79
Category 3	224	460	307	515	492	595	623	690
Total	328	669	566	736	676	781	823	926
Population	2884	3361	3137	3329	3213	3147	2846	2864
<i>Employed as %</i>	<i>11.4</i>	<i>19.9</i>	<i>18.0</i>	<i>22.1</i>	<i>24.3</i>	<i>24.8</i>	<i>28.0</i>	<i>32.3</i>

All workhouse inmates excluded. Railway employees (268) excluded from 1851 figures. Duplicates excluded from 1911 total population.

Table 2: women's apparent home working

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Dressmaker	8	24	20	14	25	32	27	31
App/assistant							1	7
Laundress/ironer	4	6	8	19	19	21	24	13
App/assistant					1	1		2
Milliner	2	2	6	6	5	2	1	1
Manager								1
App/assistant								4
Sempstress/knitter	2	3	2	4	7	7	3	1
Total	16	35	36	43	57	63	56	59

Table 3: women's domestic service outside their family homes

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Charwoman	8	0	6	3	7	2	11	2
Domestic servant	14	128	144	182	191	185	186	148
Total	22	128	150	185	198	187	197	150

Table 4: those working on farms

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Farmers*	11	20	28	23	29	38	57	80
Farm managers	2	5	8	4	5	6	2	4
Labourers		4	27	16	30	33	22	53
Poultry keeper							1	
Total	13	29	63	43	64	77	82	137

** including farmers' sons*

Table 5: wood/timber suppliers and processors, including assistants

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Carter							1	
Chopper/cutter					1	2	5	
Dealer/merchant			1		3	4	4	4
Labourer								2
Sawyer	1	17	20	8	6	4	2	
Wood buyer				1		1		
Woodman/reeve	2	1		1		1	4	3
Total	3	18	21	10	10	12	16	9

Table 6: other growers

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Market gardener	3	2	4	4	6	4	10	10
Assistant						1		
Labourer								1
<i>Subtotal</i>	3	2	4	4	6	5	10	11
Nurseryman	1	1	1	3				
Foreman				1				
Labourer		1						
<i>Subtotal</i>	1	2	1	4				
Total	4	4	5	8	6	5	10	11

Table 7: foodstuff production

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Grain dealer		1	2	3	3	1	5	2
Carman							1	
Clerk		1		1			1	1
Manager							1	
Office boy							1	
Warehouseman					1		1	1
<i>Subtotal</i>		2	2	4	4	1	10	4
Hop merchant			1		1			
<i>Subtotal</i>			1		1			
Miller	6	7	3	4	5	2	1	
App/assistant	1		1	2		1		
Boy							1	
Carman								3
Clerk							1	
Horse feeder							1	1
Housekeeper							1	
Labourer		1	1				1	
Loader		1	1		1	1	1	
Millwright	3	2		2	1	2	1	
<i>Subtotal</i>	10	11	6	8	7	6	8	4
Poultry food mfr								1
Total	10	13	8	12	12	7	18	8

Table 8: metal workers

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Smith	7	9	13	5	11	7	6	5
App/assistant		1						
Labourer							1	
Striker								2
Tinworker		2	7	5	8	4	3	3
App/assistant						1		
Total	7	12	20	10	19	15	10	13

Table 9: leather workers

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
<i>Tanning</i>								
Bark boy								1
Currier/tanner	4	14	12	19	12	14	8	5
App/assistant	1		1	1	1			
Cutter	1	2	2	1	1		1	1
Clerk				1				
Engine driver					1		1	1
Foreman						2		
Labourer						1	1	3
Finisher							1	1
Flesher								1
Machinist							1	
Subtotal	6	20	15	22	15	17	13	13
<i>Shoemaking</i>								
Shoemaker	29	62	69	46	25	18	15	5
App/assistant	3	4	2	1	1	1		1
Boy							1	
Clerk					1			
Machinist					1			
Traveller					1			
Warehouseman					2		1	
Shoebinder	2		4	1				
Assistant				1				
Shoeclicker			1	1				
Shoemender						1		
Glover			1					
Saddler/harness	3	3	5	7	3	2		3
Subtotal	37	69	82	57	34	4	17	9
Total	43	89	97	79	49	21	30	22

Table 10: woodworkers etc (general)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Basket maker	3	4	3	4	1	2	2	3
App/assistant							1	1
Bavin/broom mker	1	2	8	9	4	12	10	4
Labourer				5	1		5	2
Merchant		3						
Carpenter etc	14	29	27	21	16	18	14	10
App/assistant	1	1		1		1	1	
Charcoal burner		1	1					
Labourer			1					
Cooper	2	3	3	5	2		1	
App/assistant			1					
Hoop/hurdle mker	1	2	5	3	7	15	1	9
App/assistant						1		1
Packing case mkr				1				
Patten maker	1							
App/assistant	1							
Laddermaker					1			
Straw worker	1							
Total	24	44	45	49	34	49	34	30

Table 11: coach builders etc

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Carpenter						1	1	1
Coach builder				1	1	3	1	
App/assistant								1
Manager						1		
Coach painter				1	2	3	2	7
App/assistant				1				
Boy							1	
Smith						2	1	1
Wheelwright	5	5	6	11	5	4	4	3
App/assistant						1		
Total	5	5	6	14	8	15	10	13

Table 12: gunpowder

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Clerk			1					
Foreman		1	1					
Labourer		3	3	6				
Maker	8	5	3	3				
Packer	1	1	3	3				
Total	9	10	11	12				

Table 13: gypsum

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Banksman								1
Burner/grinder						2	4	1
Carpenter								1
Checker								1
Cooper/grinder								1
Engine driver asst								1
Kiln filler/labourer								3
Labourer					6	1	12	12
Fireman/stoker					1	1	2	
Loader								1
Miner					13	7	14	23
Packer								1
Plaster etc maker							3	
Sorter					1	1		1
Store keeper								1
Tram man								1
Total					21	12	35	49

Table 14: coal, gas, electricity supply etc

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Coal etc merchant			1	2	1	3	2	2
Carrier/carman					1	1	3	4
Clerk					1			1
Labourer		1		6		1		1
Manager						1		1
Electrician (Abbey)								1

Gas manager				1	1		1	
Fitter						1		
Labourer							1	
Money collector					1			
Stoker		1				2		1
Total		1	1	9	5	9	7	11

Table 15: transport

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
<i>Roads</i>								
Bus driver							1	1
Cab driver			1	2	1			3
Cab proprietor						1	1	1
App/assistant						1		
Carrier/carman	4	1	2	3	6	7	7	10
App/assistant					1			
Boy								1
Labourer						1		
Coachman		3	2	4	3	11	14	6
Cycle dealer								1
Cycle maker/enginr							2	2
App/assistant								2
Repairer								1
Shop assistant								1
Motor/cycle mech								1
App/assistant								1
Motor driver								1
Tollkeeper	1	5	4	7				
App/assistant		1						
Tramway driver								1
Armature winder								1
Painter								1
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Railway</i>								
Agent		1						
Carman/carter					1		2	1
Clerk			1	1	3	2	5	5
Contractor		9						
Engine fitter							1	
Excavator		1						
Labourer		255	3	7	4	1	8	4
Platelayer				1	1	3	6	6
Labourer						1		9
Porter			2	1	2	4	3	5
Signalman				1	2	3	4	5
Smith		2						
Station master			1			1	1	1
Ticket collector				2	1			
Yard manager						1		
<i>Subtotal</i>		<i>268</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>36</i>
Total	5	278	16	29	25	37	55	66

Table 16: horse providers and carers

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Farrier	1		3					
Groom	5	9	9	21	12	10	16	11
App/assistant			1					
Horsekeeper	3	1						
Ostler	3	3	3	3	4	3		1
Stable boy/helper						1	4	
Stockhorse dealer					1			
Total	12	13	16	24	17	14	20	12

Table 17: building and associated trades

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
<i>Building</i>								
Builder/contractor	1	1		2		2	1	3
Labourer						1		
Works clerk			1					
Bricklayer	9	9	10	18	11	8	11	8
App/assistant				1	1	1		
Labourer		2	4	4	5	5	6	8
Brickmaker		7	2	2		1	1	
App/assistant						1		
Mason	1	3						
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>Maintenance etc</i>								
Chimney sweep		1			1	1	1	1
Electrician				1				
Fitter				1			1	
Furniture etc				1		1	1	
App/assistant						1		
Painter/glazier etc	2	8	13	12	5	5	10	14
App/assistant		3	1		1	1	2	
Boy			1					
Plumber	2	3	1	3	3	2	3	4
App/assistant	1							
Thatcher				1	1		1	2
Upholsterer				2	1			1
App/assistant				1				
Foreman				1				
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>22</i>
Total	16	37	33	50	29	30	38	41

Table 18: food retailers

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Baker/confectioner	7	15	12	20	8	18	27	25
App/assistant			2	4	2	14	7	5
Boy				1				1
Carman/vanman					1		4	4
Clerk							1	1
Labourer			1		1		1	
Manager							1	1
Night duty								1
Shop duties				1	1		1	8

Stableman								1
Traveller							1	1
Warehouseman							3	
Butcher	4	9	10	7	12	15	14	7
App/assistant	1			1	3	5	6	8
Boy								1
Clerk					1			1
Labourer							1	
Manager								1
Shop duties								1
Slaughterman				1	1			
Dairyman							1	
Fishmonger	1		1	1				4
Greengrocer				1			2	
App/assistant							1	
Boy						1		
Grocer	10	10	11	9	17	10	8	10
App/assistant	3	4	8	3	8	16	19	16
Bottler							1	
Boy							2	2
Carman							1	1
Cellarman								1
Clerk							1	2
Manager							2	1
Porter			1	1		1	3	1
Shop duties								1
Traveller								1
Warehouseman	1				1	1	1	1
Jam factory: maker						1	1	3
Baker								1
App/assistant							3	2
Boiler							1	1
Boiler assistant						1		4
Bottle washer							2	3
Bottling foreman								1
Carman							1	2
Clerk								1
Cooper								1
Engine driver								1
Labeller							1	
Labourer						1	5	24
Packer							3	10
Stoker							1	
Sugar boiler						1		1
Milkman	2	3		1	5	5	1	3
App/assistant								1
Milkboy					1			
Soda water maker				2				
Tea dealer	4	1						
App/assistant	1							
Wine/spirit merch				2	2			
Total	34	42	46	54	64	90	127	163

Table 19: inn and hotel keepers, brewers, tea rooms

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Barmaid		1	2	4	4	1	5	1
Barman								4
Beerseller		1						
Brewer		1	1	1	2	2	2	2
App/assistant							1	
Bottler								1
Clerk				1		1	1	1
Drayman					1	2	2	1
Engine driver						1		
Foreman			1					
Labourer			2	2	2	1	1	
Traveller				1			1	1
Vanman							1	1
Brewery director								1
Innkeeper	5	8	13	10	10	9	9	8
App/assistant	1				1			2
Manager							1	
Hotel keeper				1		1	1	2
Boots				1				
Coachman								1
Labourer							1	
Porter								1
Kitchen maid			1					
Restaurant assist't							1	
Tea room propr'tor								3
Waiter		1		1	1		1	
Total	7	12	20	22	21	18	28	30

Table 20: clothing

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Draper	3	7	4	4	20	4	5	4
App/assistant	7	2	6	13	1	9	6	6
Porter					1		1	1
Shopman					1			
Traveller				1				
Glover	1	1	3	2	1	2		
Hosier							1	
Tailor/outfitter	17	13	16	13	22	15	10	10
App/assistant	2	3	2	1	3	2	2	1
Foreman				1				
Warehsmn haberdr								1
Total	30	26	31	35	49	32	25	23

Table 21: metal retailers

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Cutler		2						
Hardwareman		1				1	1	
Porter							1	
Ironmonger	3	5	3	4	1	4	2	2
Agent							1	
App/assistant		1		2	1	3	6	3

Boy								1
Clerk				1	1			1
Fitter								2
Manager						2	1	1
Shop duties				1				1
Warehouseman			1				1	
Total	3	10	4	8	4	10	13	11

Table 22: watchmakers etc

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Jeweller			1			1		1
Silversmith	1	1		1	1			
Watchmaker	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
App/assistant				1				
Total	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	1

Table 23: shopkeepers other than for food and drink

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Bookseller		1				2		
Curiosity dealer						1		
Florist								1
App/assistant								1
Marine stores			1		1	1		1
App/assistant						1		
Oil merch assistant							1	
Oil shopman						1		
Paper boy								1
Printer		2	2	3	2	3	3	1
App/assistant			1			1		
+ stationer						2	1	1
+ app/assist't						1		
Shop duties								2
Stationer	1	1	2	2	3	4		
App/assistant	1		1	1		1	2	2
Boy								1
Shop assistant				1		1		
+ newsagent								1
+ fancy goods								1
Sweetshop keeper							1	
Tobacconist			1	1		2	4	2
+ newsagent								1
Toyshop keeper	1							
Unspecified/general	2	1		3	3		1	1
App/assistant				1			1	1
Boy			1	1	1			
Total	5	5	8	13	10	20	13	18

Table 24: finance (private)

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Accountant		1		1	1			1
Banker	1			2	3		1	2
Accountant					1			
Clerk	1		2	1	1	2	3	4
+ insurance ag't						1		
Company secretary					1			
Insurance agent						4	2	3
Total	2	1	2	4	7	6	6	10

Table 25: religion

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Bell ringer						1		
Minister	2	4	4	7	8	7	6	7
Parish clerk				1		1	1	1
Preacher					1			
Organist			1	1	1			
Sexton		1	1			1	1	1
Total	2	5	6	9	10	10	8	9

Table 26: professions

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Chemist	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	1
App/assistant		2	2	1	1	1	1	
Boy						1		1
Storekeeper							1	
Dentist							1	1
Engineer electrical							1	
Engineer marine								1
Engineer mech							1	
Medic	2	4	2	3	5	3	2	2
Dispenser							1	
Notary			2					
Nurse						2	6	2
Optician		1						
Solicitor	7	8	7	7	5	3	4	4
Clerk	4	5	8	3	7	7	9	6
Office staff								2
Stockbroker								1
Surveyor	2	2	1		1			1
App/assistant	1							
Vet		2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	18	25	25	18	22	20	30	23

Table 27: teachers and support staff

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Attendance officer								1
Cleaner								1
Instructress							1	
Music professor						1	1	
Music teacher								1
Schoolkeeper							1	
Schoolmaster	1		3	3	3	1		
App/assistant							1	1
Schoolmistress	4	3	4	7	8	4	5	
App/assistant						2	2	
Other teacher	1	7	7	6	6	6	6	9
App/assistant				1		2		1
Total	6	10	14	17	17	16	17	14

Table 28: public duties

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Army/navy		1	1	4	1	2	1	2
Carter								1
Cemetery keeper						1		
Engineer			2			1		
Gaoler		1						
Librarian					1			
Ordnance Survey				2				
Assistant				7				
Police	2	1	4	4	4	5	6	5
Post Office								
Boy	1						1	
Assistant			1					1
Clerk				1	1	1	2	1
Mail contractor					1	1		
Messenger			2	2			2	2
Postman			4	3	6	9	10	13
Postmaster	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sub-postmaster						1		
Telegraphist					1		1	1
Telephonists								2
Surveyor	1				1		1	
Registrar	1	2						
Tax/excise man	2	2	1	2	2			
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>Sanitary Board/UDC</i>								
Bricklayer								1
Labourer								2
Rating officer								2
Roadman		2				1	3	7
Sewer labourer								1
Water engineer							1	1
Weights inspector			1			1		
<i>Subtotal</i>		<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>			<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Poor law and workhouse</i>								
Guardians clerk						1	1	
Assistant						1		

Relieving Officer			1	1	1	1		1
Governor	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Matron	1	1	1	1	1		1	1
Assistant						1		
Chambermaid					1			
Cook							1	1
Boys' attendant								1
Nursery attendant								1
Schoolmaster	1	1	1	1				
Schoolmistress	1	1	1	1				
Male assistant							1	
Nurse	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Under-nurse				1	1			
Ward maid								1
Porter		1	1	1		2	2	2
Servant		1	1					
Vagrant master				1				
+ porter					1			
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>
Total	17	18	25	35	26	32	39	53

Table 29: other white collar

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Artist								1
Auctioneer	1							1
Clerk/pupil							1	1
Author/journalist							2	1
Clerk (unspecified)	1	1		4	1	3	2	4
Estate agent				1	1			1
Clerk							1	
Office boy						1		
Scientist				1				
Secretary				1		2		1
Singer				1				
Warehouse clerk						1		
Total	2	1		8	2	7	6	10

Table 30: servants other than women

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Chauffeur								3
+ coachman								1
Gardener	2	18	25	26	45	45	24	52
+ groom	1			4	1	2	6	4
+ agric labourer						1		
+ stable lad							1	
App/assistant				2	1	1		
Boy		1						
Labourer	1			2	1		2	
Porter						1		
Total	4	19	25	34	48	50	33	60

Table 31: miscellaneous

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Asst supervisor						1		
Bill poster								1
Boy		7	1			4		2
Cartridge gauger						1		
Dealer						1		
Dog keeper				1			1	
Engine driver etc			1	1	2	2		
Fisherman		2						
Florist			1					
Flower gardener	1							
App/assistant								
Gamekeeper	4	4	6	6	7	4	3	15
App/assistant							1	
Gate keeper								1
Labourer								1
Gun maker	1		1					
Hairdresser	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	3
App/assistant								1
Hawker/pedlar	5	6	2		3	3	5	3
App/assistant							1	
House proprietor			1					
Laundry agent								1
Lodging hse keeper					1	3	1	8
App/assistant							3	1
Huntsman				1				
Machine feeder						1		
Master mariner							1	
Merchant						1		
Photo artist			1				1	1
Polisher			1					
Political agent						1		
Prisoner				1				
Pump maker							1	
Quarryman		1	1	1	1	4	3	
Labourer				1				2
Rag & bone man				2				
Royal Arsenal wker								1
Rubber planter								1
Seaman		1						1
Seedsman			1					
Sewing machinist							1	
Ship owner					1			
Staff manager							1	
Tea planter								1
Trapper				1	1			
Labourer				1				
Undertaker				1		1	1	1
Warehouseman				2	1			
Boy						1		
Manager						1		
Weaver		1						
Total	13	23	18	21	18	30	26	45

Sources

Census returns and the 1939 Register from www.ancestry.co.uk

The non-conformist register at <https://bmdregisters.co.uk/>

Keith Foord: *Battle Abbey and Battle churches since 1066* (2011)

A tapestry of Battle (various authors, 2002)

Figures for 1810-31 are from the East Sussex Records Office

Also see other relevant articles in Collectanea:

B1.3 Roads in the Battle district

B3.1 Railways and the Battle district

C2.1 Former breweries of Battle

C6.1 Gypsum

D4.1 The Battle Union workhouse

K2.1 Sir Francis Ronalds – inventor of the electric telegraph and other devices

George Kiloh

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In all tables

¹ Lucy Walker: *The economic development of Sussex, c.1700-1881* (Downing College, Cambridge)