

# Household Structure in Early Nineteenth Century Ireland

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## Introduction

Studies of the early nineteenth century were based mainly on the tour by Young [Young 1892], and on studies by Mason [Mason 1819], and Wakefield (1812), and the Poor Inquiry in 1836. Only after 1841 did reliable census statistics become available. In addition while statistics on marriage, birth, and death did not become available until 1864, agricultural statistics had become available from 1841. In other words, statistical data before these years are lacking. Due to the limited data, there have been no established views or theories in social and economic research for the period from the end of the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century. The dispute on population growth before the Great Famine among Connell [1950], Drake [1963], and Lee [1968] can be cited as a typical example of such a situation.

Earlier papers examined the family structure of Ireland in the early twentieth century based on the records of the 1901 and 1911 census returns. These papers advanced the hypothesis that the family structure in early nineteenth century Ireland, was based on the nuclear family system, shifting to the stem family system in the mid-nineteenth century due to the integration of the dowry-based matchmaking system and impartible inheritance. In addition the papers examined the family structure of the early twentieth century by verifying the hypothesis from the 1901 and 1911 census returns. Studies on the Irish family structure in the early nineteenth century have been incomplete since they were based on the analysis of limited samples from census data that existed only in some counties. However, recently, a database on based on the remnants of early census returns was compiled, opening the door to more detailed analyses.

Therefore, this paper aims to elucidate the household structure of Ireland in relation to the economic conditions of Ireland based on the remaining the record of the 1821 census returns. In the following, the author first examines preceding studies by F. J. Carney and J. Gray, then proposes a hypothesis on the family structure in the early nineteenth century, and finally verifies the hypothesis based on the records of the 1821 census returns. The author believes that this

paper will contribute to the elucidation of the household structure in Ireland, because this paper provides an analysis based on surviving census returns, although the data themselves are not complete.

### **1. Family studies in the early nineteenth century**

The studies using the records of the 1821 census returns include research papers by Carney and Gray. Carney wrote two research papers: “Aspects of Pre-Famine Irish Household Size: Composition and Differentials” (1977, hereinafter referred to as “the First Paper”) and “Household Size and Structure in Two Areas of Ireland, 1821 and 1911” (1980, hereinafter referred to as “the Second Paper”). The details of these two papers examined in an earlier paper [Shimizu 2003] will be reviewed briefly here. The First Paper was an analysis of 2,663 households in Cavan, Meath, Fermanagh, King’s, and Galway, based on a sample of one in six households extracted from the 1821 census. Carney divided households into the three categories of houseful size, household size, and family size, and explained the characteristics of households with the average household size and the average family size as major indexes. He then compared the average household size (5.5 persons) and the average family size (5.0 persons) with those in England at that time (4.45 persons and 3.82 persons respectively) and concluded that the household size in Ireland was greater than in England. Moreover, according to the average household size, he divided the five counties into three groups: the first group comprising Galway where the average household size was highest (5.6 persons), the second group comprising Cavan (5.54 persons) and Fermanagh (5.49 persons), and the third group comprising King’s (5.34 persons) and Meath (5.26 persons). He then showed that the household size had regional characteristics and was closely correlated with the age of the heads of households: The household size reached peaked in the age group of 45 to 54. While credit should be given to Carney in that his study clearly showed that the family life cycle was correlated with household size, his First Paper lacked a detailed explanation of the household structure.

The Second Paper focused on the comparison between household size and household structure based on the 1821 and 1911 census returns. The data used a sample of one in six households obtained from the 1821 and 1911 census returns, and a total of 1,034 households in two counties (528 households in Galway and 506 households in Meath) were analyzed. It was shown that the household size increased from 5.95 persons in 1821 to 6.62 persons in 1851, and decreased afterwards falling to 5.09 persons in 1911. He argued that the changes in household size corresponded to changes in family size, the number of married couples in households, and the number of adults in the households.

Moreover, he also examined changes in household types from 1821 to 1911 based on the

Hammel=Laslett classification. In 1821, while the simple family household predominated (65.8%), the compound family households (extended family households and multiple family households) also existed (27%). In 1911, however, the simple family households and the compound family households both decreased (65.8% to 10% and 27% to 21.5% respectively), whereas solitary and no family households increased from 7.2% to 20.4%.

However, the data of Carney is sample data of County Meath and County Galway, and it is conformed a ratio of compound family households in Galway (27%) more than 15.3% of the total data including five counties (Cavan, King's, Fermanagh, Meath and Galway). Therefore, we need to notice that there is a regional bias in his data. This regional bias is proved to mention it later, because there are considerably many compound family households of Galway.

In 1821, the number of simple family households was largest in household age groups aged of 35 to 44 and 45 to 54, whereas the number of extended family households was largest in the age cohort of 40 or older and that of multiple family households was largest in the age cohort of 55 or older. These differences were explained by family life cycle. However, the household structure in 1911 was diversified, and all household types were formed by elderly household heads leading to the conclusion that household type cannot be explained simply by the life cycle of the heads of households.

In short, the analytical framework for the household structure by Carney was based on a nuclear family system. While the system could explain the household structure of 1821, it could not explain that of 1911. What was required for the explanation of the household structure of 1911 was the perspective of a stem family system.

Another researcher who used the 1821 census returns was Gray. Her studies include two papers: "Household formation, inheritance, and class-formation in nineteenth century Ireland" where she used samples from the census returns of County Fermanagh, and "Gender composition and household labor strategies in pre-Famine Ireland" where she used samples from census returns of County Cavan. Since the latter paper deals with the relationships between farm households and gender, only the former paper is reviewed here.

Gray questioned the traditional understanding that the family structure in nineteenth century Ireland shifted in a discontinuous manner from a simple family system resulting from early marriage and partible inheritance to a stem family system resulting from late marriage and impartible inheritance after the Great Famine (research by Arensberg, Kimball [2001], and Connell [1950]). In the paper, she states the purpose of the paper as follows: "This chapter makes a contribution to this developing scholarship through a detailed examination of household and landholding patterns in two parishes in County Fermanagh between 1821 and 1862" [Gray 2012, 153]. In the first half of the paper, she first gave a clear explanation of the socioeconomic

background of County Fermanagh in the first half of the nineteenth century by outlining landholding patterns in the nineteenth century in light of research on marriage, household formation, and inheritance system around the Great Famine, and then made a detailed analysis of the family and the household structure in two parishes. In the latter half, she concluded as follows: “I concluded by arguing that the changes in marriage and household formation that occurred in nineteenth century Ireland might more fruitfully be understood as adaptation within a dynamic system of inheritance, than as consequences of a transformation from one system to another” [Gray 2012, 154]. The interesting point relevant to this paper is that for the household types in County Fermanagh, it made clear that while the simple family household was more prominent in Aghalurcher Parish (82.1%) than in Derryvallon Parish (69.3%), the compound family household was higher in Derryvallon Parish (21.6%) than in Aghalurcher Parish (10.9%).

Moreover, her study also showed that Aghalurcher Parish comprised medium farmers and landless spinners and workers and that sons and cohabitants in farm households engaged in linen weaving. The practice of linen weaving served to diversify household income sources, and provided a family strategy to delay the departure or independence of children from their homes. The development of the extended family household was explained by this family strategy [Gray 2012, 165–168].

On the other hand, the socioeconomic pattern predominant in Derryvallon Parish was small holder farming, and these small landholding farmers adopted a strategy of having family members engage in farming and rural industrial production. Mainly the heads of small farm households engaged in weaving. They were younger than other landholders. The household structure of these small farm households had the characteristics that would lead to the formation of the simple family household, although their inheritance strategies remained ambiguous [Gray 2012, 165–168].

Regarding the aforementioned papers by Gray, the following knowledge and viewpoint should be noted: the knowledge that while the formation of households in the early nineteenth century involved a nuclear family system as a family norm, it was significantly influenced by family conditions and the viewpoint that the change from the predominance of the nuclear family system in the first half of the nineteenth century to the stem family system after the Great Famine was not a discontinuous, but a continuous process.

## **2. Analytical hypothesis about the household structure in the early nineteenth century**

Generally, family structure is determined by the family norm and family conditions. The present paper proposes, therefore, a hypothesis that while the nuclear family form based on the

nuclear family system was dominant in the early nineteenth century, the stem family form based on the stem family system would become dominant after the mid-nineteenth century. Based on that hypothesis, the author analyzed the household structure in the early twentieth century based on the 1901 and 1911 census returns [Shimizu 2011, 2013, 2014, and 2015].

It has been found from previous studies that the household structure in the nineteenth century must be based on the social class and regional characteristics at the time. Cullen divided the social classes into the following categories based on the 1841 census: The first category comprised landowners and farmers holding land of 50 acres or more; the second category comprised skilled workers and farmers holding land of 5 to 50 acres; and the third category comprised workers and small farmers holding land of 5 acres or less. Based on these criteria, he divided Ireland into three regions [Cullen 1972, 111].

The first region includes Leinster and the eastern part of Ulster (i.e. excludes the western counties of Donegal and Fermanagh). In this region, the population of the first and second categories accounted for 34% and Louth and Meath occupied 32%. This region suffered poverty due to a decline in the linen industry. In surrounding areas other than Belfast, the linen industry declined due to the introduction of wet spinning in the late 1820s, and the domestic industry declined due to the mechanization in the linen spinning industry.

The second region included the western counties of Leinster, Munster (except Clare, southwestern Cork, and peninsular Kerry), the eastern part of Galway, and part of Roscommon, Leitrim, and Sligo. In this region, the population of the first and second categories accounted for 35% in Limerick, 33% in Tipperary, and 28% in Cork. This region, however, was poorer on the whole than the first region.

The third region included Donegal, Sligo, Leitrim, Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, and Clare. In this region, the percentage of people in the first and second categories was low 23% or less. Particularly in each county, a sharp contrast was found between the coastal areas where poverty prevailed and the inland areas that were relatively wealthy [Cullen 1972, 111-2].

Based on the aforementioned regional classification and the remaining censuses, it can be said that Meath and King's belong to the first region while Cavan and Fermanagh are in the second region and Galway is in the third region. Coupled with regionality and the social class, the following analytical hypothesis about the household structure can be proposed.

In Meath and King's first region, the average landholding ratio was higher than in the other two regions and there were many farmers holding of 20 acres or more. These larger farmers had to employ agricultural laborers and farm servants because they could not manage their farms with family members alone. This region, where the domestic linen industry declined relatively early, featured a mixture of people who still engaged in domestic industry in the northern part of Meath,

larger farmers employing laborer who shifted from grain farming to livestock farming and the presence of a market town, such as Kells. The examination of the family system in this region showed that large farmers tended to delay the succession of their properties to their sons, which resulted in the marriages of sons based on matchmaking and dowries in contrast to laborers who married early, even at the time of the Poor Inquiry in the 1830s [Yonemura 1981, 141-145]. Children who could not expect to inherit their parents' properties found a job in the country or emigrated to America, leading to an increase in emigrants. On the other hand, laborers and farmers with small landholdings were able to get married by paying some money to priests, and therefore, marriage within their economic conditions was their family strategy. Thus, such a social context in this region facilitated the formation of the simple family households among laborers and the predominance of the extended family households and multiple family households among farmers.

In the second region of Cavan and Fermanagh, there were many farmers with small and medium landholdings, and the partible inheritance system based on the rundale system was widely practiced. For example, each of the five Cooke brothers in Killanure Townland, Crooserlough Parish, County Cavan, held 12 acres, which demonstrated that the family farm was divided among the five sons. In this region, small farmers and laborers were able to earn income easily from weaving (males) and spinning (females) as the home linen industry expanded in eastern Ulster Province. Therefore, farm management based on the early partible inheritance system, and the matching of small farming and the manufacturing of linen textiles and yarn at home were regarded as effective family strategies. Such family conditions supported the nuclear family system, leading to the predominance of the simple family households as a family form.

In the third region of Galway, landless laborers and smallholders were predominant. This was a poor region where people in the second and third categories accounted for 80%. While smallscale farming was the core industry, a variety of work forms existed: people who engaged in domestic manufacturing, such as hemp weaving and spinning, employed laborers who engaged in farming or road construction or port labourer and people who engaged in fishing in the costal and peninsular areas. While partible inheritance made possible by the rundale system, existed late inheritance due to either parents' expectation of being taken care of by their heirs in their old age or the postponement of the heir's marriage or a married her living in the households were considered effective family strategies. Such family strategies or conditions accelerated the formation of the compound family households (the extended family households + the multiple family households). However, the compound family households form was organized not by the stem family norm, but by the nuclear family norm and was significantly influenced by family conditions. The formation of the compound family households were positively correlated with the

age of household heads due to the life cycle in the nuclear family system.

In the following, the hypothesis by which the country was divided into the three regions is verified based on the 1821 census returns.

### 3. Data Attributes

Map 1. Ireland



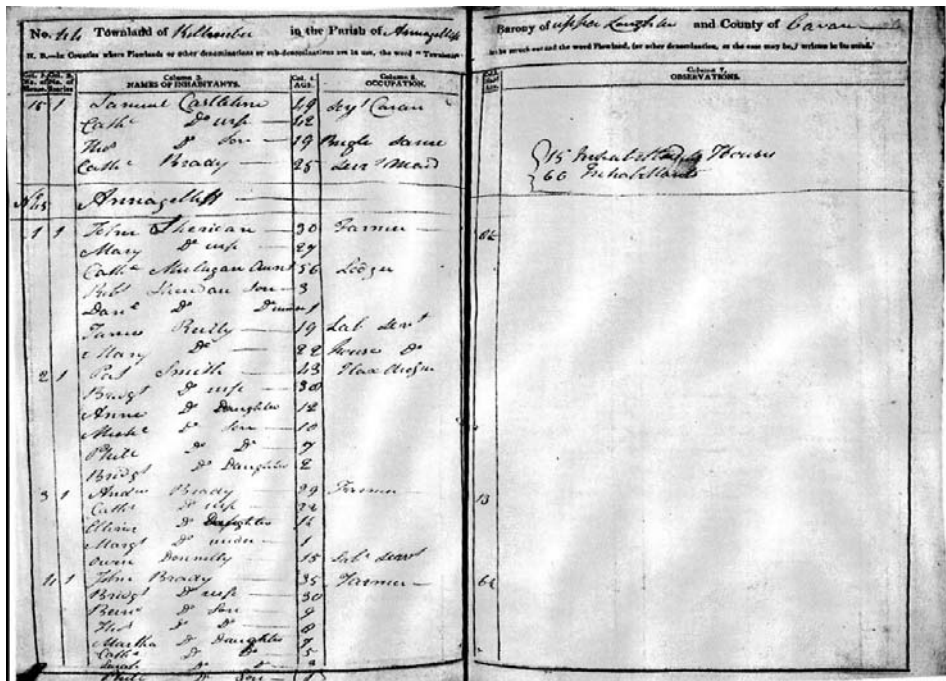
The data used herein are the remaining data of the 1821 census returns. As shown in Map 1, it includes the five counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Galway, King's, and Meath. Table 1 shows the data attributes by county. When the C and F items of the data are examined, Cavan ranked at the top in terms of total population and percentage of sample households (44%). The percentage of sample households in other counties ranged from the 3.6 level to the 13% level. Therefore, the possibility of data bias should be considered. As the G item shows, the percentage of samples was

Table 1. Attribute of data of census returns of each counties

	Cavan	Fermanagh	Galway	King's	Meath
A. Total population	195,076	130,997	397,374	131,088	159,183
B. Sample of census	85,791	9,930	12,188	17,124	18,840
C. Percentage of B ÷ A	44.0	7.6	3.6	13.1	11.8
D. No of house	34,148	22,585	54,180	22,564	27,942
E. Sample of household	15,076	1,699	2,128	2,115	3,363
F. Percentage of E ÷ D	44.1	7.5	3.9	13.8	12.8
G. Percentage of sample	59.6	6.9	8.5	11.9	13.1

Note: The sample excludes the member of institutions, for example, hospitals, schools, and churches.

Figure 1. A Sample of 1821 Census Returns in Co. Cavan



Source: National Archives Dublin

highest in Cavan (60%) while it was lowest in Fermanagh (6.9%).

As Figure 1 shows, the 1821 census had seven separate columns as follows [Gilligan, P. 2013, 6].

Column 1: A Number is given to each house.

Column 2: The number of storeys in each house.

Column 3: The name of householders, male or females, name and names of those residing in the household and their relationship to the householder.

Column 4: The age of each person listed.

Column 5: The occupation (if any) of persons.



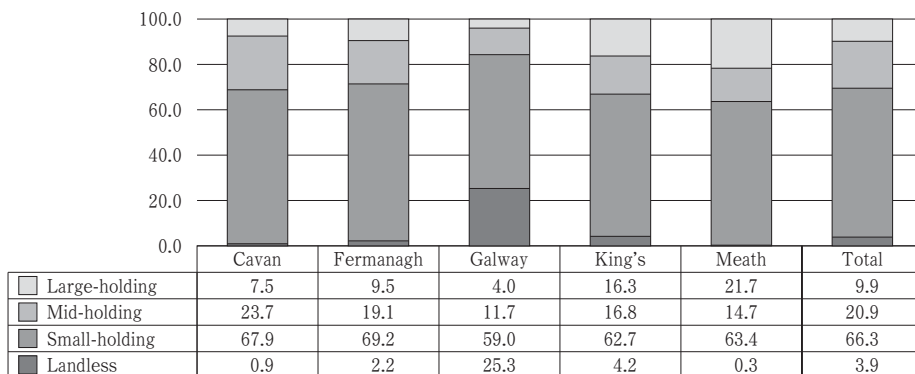
Column 6: The number of acres each householder held.

Column 7: Other observations, if any.

Accordingly we get nine basic variables: Barony, Parish, townland, number of houses, the number of storeys, names of inhabitants, age, occupation, and number of acres. While the 1821 census return included a simple tabulation of houses (families and buildings), population by gender, occupation (farmers, employers, and other), and the number of students, it had a serious shortcoming that the simple tabulation could not afford a cross tabulation. Since the census returns lacked the items of gender and marriage status, these two structural variables were estimated on the basis of the names and family relationships and added to the final data. Thus, the resulting database had limitations, but the present paper uses the data good enough to admit of analysis. While the variable of landholdings was not used in the censuses after 1841, it should be noted that this is an important economic variable.

#### 4. Regional Attributes

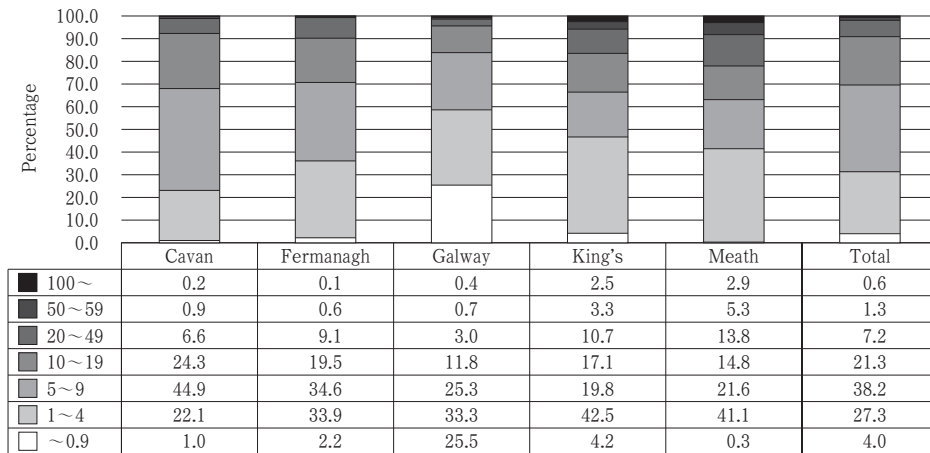
Figure 2. Distribution of Landholding Categories by County in 1821



The average landholding size was highest in Meath (17 acres), followed by King's (14.7 acres), Cavan (9.2 acres), Fermanagh (8.4 acres), and Galway (5.8 acres). The landholding size in Figure 2 and 3 was divided into four categories: Landless = 1 acre or less, small holding = 1 to 9 acres, medium holding = 10 to 19 acres, and large holding = 20 acres or more. Based on this categorization, the counties can be divided into the following three regions: the region of Cavan and Fermanagh where small and medium holdings were predominant; the region of King's and Meath where large holdings were predominant with some small holdings; and the region of Galway where landless and small holdings were predominant.

The examination of the details of these counties based on figure 3 showed that in Meath, the number of small landholders (1 to 9 acres) was highest (63%), followed by large landholders (20 acres or more) (22%) and medium landholding farmers (10 to 19 acres) (14.8%). Here, it is

Figure 3. Classification of Landholdings by County in 1821



noteworthy that farmers holding land of 50 acres or more accounted for 8.3%. In short, it can be said that Meath was a county featuring large farmers. In 1830, twenty families, each holding land of 3 to 14 acres, were evicted in Lower Kells, and their houses and buildings were torn down. Their lands were leased to a large farmer (800 acres) and were converted to grass. Moreover, in the same barony, 18 to 20 families, including five small farmers and 5 to 14 laborers, were expelled, and their houses were torn down. Their lands were integrated into one farm, and the small tenants on the farm became laborers [Poor inquiry, Appendix (F), 97]. Thus, since the productivity of small holders was inferior to large farmers in terms of both quality and quantity, they did not enjoy the favor of their landlords. Since then, the formation of large farmers and the shift in farming from grain to livestock accelerated in Meath.

In King's, small landholdings (1 to 9 acres) accounted for 62.3%, followed by medium landholdings (10 to 19 acres) (17.1%) and large landholdings (20 acres or more) (16.5%). Thus, King's had similar characteristics to Meath, but large landholdings (50 acres or more) were smaller in number than Meath (5.8%). According to the Poor Inquiry, the average size of landholding was 15 acres, and on the whole, the farm size was shrinking due to the partible inheritance system. However, there were also farmers who increased the size of their holdings, although they were small in number. Landlords preferred to lease their land to secure farmers than to small farmers. Consequently, small farming centering on grain farming decreased and large farming shifted from grain farming to livestock farming [Poor inquiry, Appendix (F), 93].

In summary, landlords in Meath and King's tried to streamline their land management by expelling inefficient small landholding farmers and leasing their land to large farmers. These large farmers shifted from cereal cultivation to livestock farming after the Napoleonic Wars (after 1815), which resulted from an increase in food exports due to the expansion of the food market

in England [Hynes 1988, 164]. As the result, with respect to land holding, in response to landlords' intentions, we should consider that the non-division inheritance in Meath and King's began to more gradually penetrate than the partible inheritance.

Cavan was a region featuring small and medium landholdings as 1 to 9-acre landholdings accounted for 70%, followed by 10 to 19-acre landholdings (24%) and landholdings of 20 acres or more (8%). In the barony of Loughtee located in the southeastern part of Cavan, the average landholding size was 8 acres. The landholding size in this area decreased with population growth. It was reported that farmers could only leave small pieces of land to their heirs, and that landlords did nothing to expand the land of these farmers despite receiving higher rents per acre from them [Poor inquiry, Appendix (F), 125]. Consequently, the heirs of these farmers became cottiers. In addition, land division was practiced widely, leading to population growth. Since there was not enough land for livestock farming, livestock farmers were few in number. Therefore, small farmers were poor and engaged in growing potatoes and grain-leading to an increase in the production volume of potatoes and cereals. Moreover, cereal cultivation was conducted in crop rotation which included wheat, flax, barley, oats and potatoes. [Poor inquiry, Appendix (F) 310]. Due to the very limited land for livestock farming, only a small number of sheep and young cattle were grazed [Poor inquiry, Appendix (F), 126]. Based on these findings, it can be said that small and medium landholdings based on land division prevailed in Cavan. However, as influenced by the development of the domestic linen industry in eastern Ulster, there were small farmers who grew flax and sold flax yarns, and the families whose members engaged in domestic linen manufacturing, such as the heads of households and sons as weavers and wives, daughters and their employers as spinners. In Cavan, the domestic linen industry and population growth were closely related due to early marriage and a high birth rate [Clarkson 1989, 266].

As was the case with Cavan, it can be said that Fermanagh was a region where small and medium landholdings predominated with 1 to 9-acre landholdings accounting for a little less than 70%, followed by 10- to 19-acre landholdings (19.5%) and landholdings of 20 acres or more (10%). The Poor Inquiry showed that the farm size ranged from five to 50 acres and the average farm size was 10 to 12 acres, and that the landholding size was shrinking due to the division of land to heirs, which was widely practiced among farmers. However, landlords had no intention of consolidating farmlands, and did not expel tenants as long as they paid their land rents. While the production volume of small landholder in one barony was less than that of large farmers, their expenditures were also less than those of large farmers. They were able to cover the expenditures by family labor. They consumed what they produced, although they were not better off than laborers. The land rent was two pounds per acre [Poor inquiry, Appendix (F), 129-30]. In this barony, cottiers rented cottages and small patches of land under the conacre system from

landlords or tenant farmers and grew potatoes for subsistence [Poor inquiry, Appendix (F), 33]. Thus, in Fermanagh and Cavan, small and medium farming based on the partible inheritance system played a core role in its economy, and smallholders and landless laborers engaged in weaving and spinning at home as a family strategy to earn their living.

Compared to the other two regions, Galway featured much smaller farming as landless occupiers with holding of 1 acre or less accounted for 1/4 of its population: among farmers, 84% held 9 acres or less (including the aforementioned landless occupiers); 12% held 10 to 19 acres; and 17% held 20 acres or more. While Galway is known as a poor region, it must be noted that the data include both very poor districts, such as Connemara and better districts in the east of the county. Due to the division of land into many small pieces, a large part of the land was wasted on fences and ditches. Small farmers grew grains and potatoes on very small plots without using any fertilizer. While the division of landholdings occurred on estates, it met the disapproval of landlords, survey officials and Catholic priests [Poor inquiry, Appendix (F), 80-1]. The conacre system was widely practiced in this area, where many laborers grew potatoes on the land leased from merchants or small farmers on a short-term basis in return for expensive labor [Poor inquiry, Appendix (F), 1]. Thus most of Galway was a poor region due to base on the rundale system and the sub division of land. On the other hand, there were also a variety of work forms, such as linen weavers and spinners working at home, laborers either engaged on farms or on the construction of roads, and fishermen, all of which served to promote family strategies.

Based on the above discussion, it is clear that Meath and King's were the regions featuring large landholdings whereas Cavan and Fermanagh were the regions featuring medium landholdings and in the case of Galway widespread smallholdings. In the following chapter, the characteristics of families that vary with the region are analyzed.

## 5. Analysis of the household structure in 1821

### 1) Attributes of the heads of households

Table 2 shows that the average age of household heads in the five regions is 44.9. It was highest in Fermanagh (46.6) and Galway (45.6), lowest in King's (44), and Cavan (44.8) and Meath (44.9) in between. When examined by age cohort, household heads peaked in the age cohort of 30 to 39 in some counties whereas the peak was in the age cohort of 40 to 49 in other counties. On the whole, the heads of households in Meath and King's were somewhat younger than those in Cavan, Fermanagh, and Galway. Table 3 shows the difference more clearly.

Table 3 is the cross-tabulation of the three occupation categories of household heads (farmers, laborers, and other), their age, and county. According to Table 3, the average age of laborers was lower than both the average age of farmers and the aforementioned average age of the household

Table 2. Percentage of Age Distribution of Household Heads by County in 1821

	Cavan	Fermanagh	Galway	King's	Meath	Total
10~19	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.3
20~29	10.3	11.6	10.9	11.8	10.6	10.7
30~39	26.2	21.8	23.3	26.9	24.3	25.5
40~49	23.6	24.2	24.9	26.1	25.2	24.3
50~59	20.9	20.4	20.4	18.6	20.4	20.5
60~69	13.8	15.0	14.2	11.9	14.4	13.8
70~79	4.0	4.7	4.7	3.6	3.4	4.0
80~	0.9	1.9	1.5	0.9	1.3	10.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	15,065	1,698	2,128	3,106	3,556	25,553
Mean	44.8	46.6	45.6	44.0	44.9	44.9

Table 3. Age Distribution of Household Head by Age Cohort, Occupation and County in 1821

		10~19	20~29	30~39	40~49	50~59	60~69	70~79	80~89	90~	Total (%)	N	Mean
Cavan	Farmer	0.3	9.8	26.1	23.0	21.8	14.2	4.0	0.7	0.1	100.0	9,054	45.0
	Labourer	0.4	12.5	28.2	24.6	18.9	12.2	2.8	0.4	0.0	100.0	3,171	42.9
Fermanagh	Farmer	0.1	10.7	21.2	23.3	22.3	16.4	4.5	1.3	0.3	100.0	1,027	47.1
	Labourer	1.1	12.6	22.7	32.0	19.0	9.3	2.2	1.1	0.0	100.0	269	43.7
Galway	Farmer	0.1	9.9	23.0	25.1	20.5	15.1	4.6	1.5	0.1	100.0	1,169	46.1
	Labourer	0.0	13.0	25.9	27.9	18.2	9.5	4.0	1.2	0.2	100.0	401	43.4
King's	Farmer	0.0	10.1	26.3	24.6	18.4	15.9	3.6	1.1	0.0	100.0	832	45.2
	Labourer	0.1	13.8	31.2	25.0	19.3	8.1	2.2	0.2	0.0	100.0	947	41.7
Meath	Farmer	0.3	7.1	18.5	23.9	25.2	18.7	4.6	1.4	0.3	100.0	658	48.2
	Labourer	0.2	12.8	27.2	25.0	18.4	12.7	2.7	0.9	0.1	100.0	1,267	43.3

heads in each county. A clear difference was found between farmers and laborers in that while farmers were most numerous in age from 42 to 47, laborers were on ages 43 to 44. The breakdown of these two occupation categories showed that while laborers were few in number in the age cohort of 10 to 19, they accounted for around 13% in the age cohort of 20 to 29. On the other hand, farmers accounted for 10% in Fermanagh and 7% in Meath. In the age cohort of 30 to 39, the percentages of laborers increased (23 to 31%) whereas the percentages of farmers remained low (19 to 26%). This clearly indicates that laborers formed households earlier than farmers.

It can be said that the aforementioned difference between laborers and farmers suggests that laborers married earlier than farmers. According to the Poor Inquiry, the age of first marriage among men was 18 to 25 in Fermanagh, 20 to 25 in Meath, 17 to 20 in King's, and 18 to 21 in Galway [Poor Inquiry, Appendix H, 1836]. These figures seem to correspond to laborers. In Galway, it was relatively easy for laborers to get married as what they needed for marriage was 1.1 pounds, from which they paid 5 shillings to a priest and 10 pence to a clerk [Poor Inquiry, Appendix (D), 93]. Farmers, however, seemed to marry later than laborers, although some small farmers were able to marry early. According to the Poor Inquiry, the family strategy among

laborers and servants was to marry early, whereas that among farmers heirs had to wait for inheritance of property from their parents while engaging in various types of work at home and married only after inheritance in the property. As was the case in Cavan and Fermanagh, people who engaged in weaving linen fabrics and spinning yarns also had the potential for early marriage. While the partible inheritance system was widely practiced in Cavan, Fermanagh, and Galway, in Meath and King's, children left their homes by obtaining a job or emigrating to other countries, although there were some children who waited for inheritance.

Table 4. Percentage of Occupation of Household Heads by County in 1821

Code		Cavan	Fermanagh	Galway	King's	Meath
33	Teacher	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.6
56	Domestic Indoor Servant	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.5
60	Other Service Office Keeper	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1
85	Carman, Carrier, Carter, Haulier	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.4
89	Bargeman, Lighterman, Waterman	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
100	Farmer, Grazier	64.5	62.8	58.4	32.7	23.4
102	Farmer Bailiff	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.7	0.6
103	Agricultural Labourer	0.5	1.2	1.7	2.0	1.7
104	Shepherd	0.1	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0
112	Gardener (not domestic)	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.7	0.6
121	Fisherman	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0
168	Carpenter, Joiner	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.5	1.9
170	Mason	0.3	0.6	0.4	1.0	1.0
171	Slater, Tiler	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.2
197	Saddler, Harness, Whip Maker	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.2
214	Innkeeper, Hotel Keeper, Publican	0.1	0.1	0.1	1.7	0.4
225	Bucher, Meat Salesman	0.1	0.2	0.3	1.2	0.9
269	Weaver	1.5	4.0	3.1	2.2	1.9
271	Factory Hand Textile	3.3	0.0	0.6	0.2	0.0
280	Hatter, Hat Manufacture	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1
282	Tailor	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.6	1.4
290	Shoe, Boot-Maker, Dealer	0.6	0.7	0.7	2.2	1.3
325	Cooper, Hoop Maker, Bender	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5
377	Blacksmith	0.4	0.4	0.8	1.1	1.3
399	General Shopkeeper, Dealer	0.3	0.0	0.2	1.6	1.2
404	General Labourer	20.9	12.3	17.8	34.6	42.6
406	Artizan, Mechanic	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.4
	N	14,051	1,637	1,911	2,539	2,822

Note: over 0.3% of total occupation

Table 4 shows the percentage of household heads engaged in occupations with 0.3 percent or more among the 414 occupational categories [Schurer K. & M. Woollard, 2002, 46-52]. According to the table, 27 types of occupations accounted for 0.3% or more of 414 occupations. In Cavan, Fermanagh, and Galway, farmers ranked at the top (58% to 65%), followed by laborers (12 to 21%) and workers in the textile industry (4%). It is noteworthy that fishermen accounted for 2.8% in Galway. On the other hand, in King's and Meath, laborers ranked at the top (35% and 43% respectively), followed by farmers (32.7% and 23.4%), agricultural laborers

(2.0% and 1.7%), weavers (2.2% and 1.9%), and shoemakers (2.2% and 1.3%).

From the above, it can be said that Cavan, Fermanagh, and Galway had a multiple work pattern whereas King's and Meath had a combined pattern of large farmers and agricultural laborers as discussed in relation to the landholding size. In other words, these occupational differences reflect the regional economic differences between the counties of Cavan, Fermanagh and Galway and those of King's and Meath.

## 2) Size of Household

Table 5. Percentage of Household Size in Percentages of Total Householdsheads by County in 1821

Person	Cavan	Fermanagh	Galway	King's	Meath	Total
1	1.6	1.9	1.7	2.6	2.9	1.9
2	6.6	6.1	6.2	8.3	9.3	7.1
3	11.4	11.7	10.3	13.3	13.6	11.9
4	14.7	14.0	14.5	14.9	15.5	14.8
5	16.0	14.2	17.0	14.9	16.5	15.9
6	15.0	13.9	15.8	14.3	14.5	14.9
7	13.0	12.3	12.6	12.1	10.5	12.5
8	8.5	10.8	9.9	7.2	7.4	8.5
9	6.3	7.9	5.9	5.5	3.6	5.9
10	3.6	3.6	2.8	3.0	2.8	3.3
11~	3.4	3.6	3.3	3.9	3.3	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	15,076	1,698	2,128	3,115	3,563	25,580
Mean	5.66	5.80	5.67	5.44	5.24	5.58

According to Table 5 showing the size of households, the average household size was high among Cavan (5.66 persons), Fermanagh (5.8 persons), and Galway (5.67 persons) and low in King's (5.44 persons) and Meath (5.24 persons). While the number of household members was five across all counties, the percentage of five persons or more was 65.8% in Cavan, 66.3% in Fermanagh, and 67.3% in Galway, whereas it was 60.9% in King's and 58.6% in Meath. Thus, the size of households can be divided into two groups with five as the borderline number. In short, there was a distinctive characteristic that while there were many households with five members or more in Cavan, Fermanagh, and Galway, there were many households with five members less in King's and Meath. This difference in the size of households was also found in the size of families: while the average size of family was 5.13 persons in Cavan, 5.0 persons in Fermanagh, and 5.23 persons in Galway, it was 4.95 persons in King's and 5.07 persons in Meath. These figures corresponded to the size of households.

Table 6 shows the size of households by occupation. The average size of households among farmers was 6.3 persons while it was 5.0 persons among laborers and 4.8 persons in other. A distinct difference was found between farmers and laborers: that is, the average size of

Table 6. Percentage of Size of Household Heads by Occupation in 1821

	Farmer	Labourer	Other	Total
1	0.7	1.3	4.9	3.2
2	3.2	8.6	13.1	10.1
3	7.9	15.2	16.4	14.4
4	11.9	18.7	16.7	16.3
5	14.9	19.4	14.7	16.0
6	16.6	14.9	11.6	14.3
7	15.1	10.8	9.0	10.6
8	11.4	5.4	5.7	7.0
9	8.4	3.1	3.6	4.5
10	5.0	1.7	1.8	2.1
11~	5.1	1.0	2.5	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	12,745	6,056	6,781	25,582
Mean	6.3	5.0	4.8	5.1

households among farmers (6 or more) was greater than that among laborers. This result clearly indicates that the farmer household was large in size and the laborer household was small in size.

Table 7 shows the average size of households by age of household heads. The size of households started increasing from the age cohort of 25 to 34, reached its peak in the age cohort of 45 to 54, and started decreasing after that in all five counties. This verified that Carney's hypothesis was attributable to family life cycles [Carney 1980, 162]. Based on this result, it can be said that while there was a clear contrast between the household structure of farmers and that of laborers, both household structures included nuclear family life cycles.

Table 8 shows the average size of households by county and by landholding category. In each

Table 7. Average Size of Households by Age Cohort of Household Head and by County in 1821

	Cavan	Fermanagh	Galway	King's	Meath	Total
~24	3.88	3.75	3.57	3.36	3.58	3.73
25~34	4.82	5.09	4.85	4.92	4.74	4.84
35~44	6.06	6.48	5.97	6.08	5.66	6.03
45~54	6.49	6.61	6.26	5.92	5.84	6.32
55~64	5.80	5.83	6.09	5.42	5.20	5.70
65~	5.19	5.04	5.58	5.03	5.02	5.17
Total	5.69	5.85	5.73	5.50	5.29	5.63

Table 8. Average Size of Household by Category of Landholding and by County in 1821

	Micro-holdings	Small-holding	Mid-holding	Large-holding	Total
Cavan	5.44	5.80	7.01	8.45	6.30
Fermanagh	4.83	6.14	7.35	7.18	6.55
Galway	6.16	5.88	6.94	8.74	6.19
King's	5.50	6.01	6.76	8.15	6.46
Meath	6.00	5.57	7.28	7.89	6.54
Total	5.91	5.85	7.02	8.43	6.33



county, the four landholding categories and the household size were correlated positively. In other words, this result shows that the size of households increased as the size of landholdings increased from micro and small landholdings to medium and large landholdings. It clearly indicates that the family size and the labor force were required to have levels adequate to each landholding size. In other word, in each counties, the greater the landholding size, it is possible to recognize the features that the average household size is also increased. The landholding size have shown that determine the labor scale and household size.

Since the size of households seems to be related to the number of children, the number of children is reviewed below :

### 3) Number of Children

Table 9. Percentage of Children by Household and by County in 1821

	Cavan	Fermanagh	Galway	King's	Meath
1	16.1	18.8	15.8	16.2	18.6
2	19.2	20.3	22.5	20.5	21.2
3	18.2	15.7	18.6	19.1	20.5
4	15.8	16.8	17.4	15.6	17.2
5	12.8	11.0	12.6	12.6	10.1
6	8.6	9.3	7.3	7.6	6.6
7	5.2	4.8	3.5	4.5	3.3
8	2.5	2.4	1.8	2.2	1.8
9	1.1	0.6	0.2	1.2	0.3
10~	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	12,961	1,432	1,796	2,508	2,881
Mean	3.59	3.45	3.37	3.50	3.24

Table 9 shows the number of children by county. The average number of children was highest in Cavan (3.59), followed by King's (3.5), Fermanagh (3.45), Galway (3.37), and Meath (3.24). The households with three children or less accounted for 54% to 60% in each county and there was no big difference among counties although the number of households with three children or less was highest in Meath. However, Cavan and Fermanagh were higher than other counties in the categories of six children or more. When the average number of children was examined by occupation, it was higher among farmers (3.9) than laborers (3.1), suggesting that poor laborers had their children start working earlier.

Table 10 shows the distribution of children by age. While there were more children aged 14 or younger in King's and Meath than in Cavan, Fermanagh and Galway, the situation reverses in the age cohort of 15 to 24. For the number of children by gender, while the male-to-female ratio was almost the same in the age cohorts of 24 or younger in each county, there were more males than females in the age cohorts of 25 or. It was also found that the percentages of males in the age

Table 10. Percentage of Children by Age Cohort and by County in 1821

	Cavan		Fermanagh		Galway		King's		Meath	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0~14	65.7	69.2	63.3	63.9	63.6	67.7	69.2	70.3	69.9	69.0
15~24	27.1	26.6	28.1	27.9	25.8	26.1	23.8	25.5	24.9	25.2
25~34	6.5	3.6	7.5	6.8	9.1	5.1	6.4	3.6	7.1	4.9
35~	0.8	0.5	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.1	0.5	0.6	1.1	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	23,771	22,171	2,496	2,397	3,157	2,739	4,465	4,255	4,816	4,405
Average	11.8	10.9	12.2	12.1	12.4	11.3	11.2	10.6	11.6	11.2

cohorts of 25 to 34 and 35 or older were higher in Galway than in other counties. These results indicate children's early departure from their homes and females earlier departure from their homes than males in King's and Meath, which have led to the formation of the simple family households. They also indicate Galway's potential for the formation of the compound family households as discussed later. Moreover, the households of laborers had children leave their homes earlier than the households of farmers.

The above discussion shows that there was a strong connection between the size of households and the number of children; that the number of children varied with the occupation of the heads of households; and that the distribution of children by age differed among the three regions.

#### 4) Household Types

Table 11. Percentage of Composition of Household by Household Category and County in 1821 (%)

Category	Cavan	Fermanagh	Galway	King's	Meath	Total
1. Solitaries	2.6	3.7	2.4	4.5	4.2	3.1
2. No family	3.0	3.7	3.9	4.2	5.3	3.6
3. Simple family households	82.2	77.7	65.2	75.7	70.4	78.0
4. Extended family household	8.6	10.9	17.4	11.5	14.5	10.7
5. Multiple family household	3.5	4.0	11.2	4.0	5.6	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	3545.0	100.0
N (households)	15,011	1,687	2,118	3,094	3,545	25,455

According to the Hammel=Laslett classification scheme in Table 11, the number of simple family households was highest in Cavan (82.2%), followed by Fermanagh (77.7%), King's (75.7%), Meath (70.4%), and Galway (65.2%). The number of extended family households was highest in Galway (11.2%), followed by Meath (14.5%), King's (11.5%), Fermanagh (10.9%) and Cavan (8.6%). The number of multiple family households was outstandingly high in Galway (11.2%) whereas it accounted for 4 to 5% in other counties. In other words, simple family households were more predominant in Cavan and Fermanagh than in other counties, whereas the percentage of compound family household (extended family households + multiple family

Table 12. Percentage of Composition of Household by Category, Class and County in 1821

Category	Class	Cavan	Fermanagh	Galway	King's	Meath	Total
1. Solitaries	1a Widow	2.6	3.6	2.4	4.5	4.1	3.1
	1b Single	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2. Nofamily	2a Coresidence siblings	2.2	2.5	3.4	2.9	4.0	2.7
	2b Coresidence kins	0.7	1.2	0.4	1.2	1.4	0.8
	2c Persons not related	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
3. Simple family households	3a Married couple	5.5	5.2	4.3	6.7	5.1	5.5
	3b Married couple with children	61.6	56.3	47.1	55.7	48.8	57.6
	3c Widowers with children	5.5	6.2	5.3	4.2	5.5	5.4
	3d Widows with children	9.6	10.0	8.4	9.0	11.1	9.7
4. Extended family household	4a Extended upwards	3.3	3.3	4.9	3.9	4.1	3.6
	4b Extended downwards	2.1	3.0	4.6	3.4	4.3	2.8
	4c Extended laterally	3.0	4.3	6.5	3.9	5.8	3.9
	4d Combinations of 4a-4c	0.2	0.4	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.4
5. Multiple family households	5a Secondary units upwards	1.6	1.4	3.8	1.8	2.8	2.0
	5b Secondary units downwards	1.8	2.2	6.5	1.9	2.4	2.3
	5c Secondary units lateral	0.1	0.5	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.3
	5d <i>Frdreches</i>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	5e Other multiple family households	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N		15,011	1,687	2,118	3,094	3,544	25,454

households) was outstandingly high in Galway and relatively high in Meath and King's.

Next, household types were examined by class according to Table 12. While most simple family households take the form of nuclear families, there were also widowers with children (3c), and widows with children (3d), which resulted from the deaths of their spouses. In Galway where the percentage of extended family households was highest, while vertically extended family households (4a and 4b) accounted for 9.5%, there were also laterally extended family households (4c, 6.5%). This indicated that within extended family households (4a + 4b) accounted for 55% and (4c) 37%, demonstrating that lateral extension was relatively predominant.

The similar tendency was found in Meath, where laterally extended family households accounted for a high percentage of extended family households. This was re-confirmed by the number of collateral relatives (a large number of siblings, nephews and nieces) discussed later. On the other hand, vertically extended family households was more predominant than laterally extended family households in Cavan, Fermanagh and King's.

The multiple family households typically represent the stem family system. In counties except Galway, there was not much difference between upward multiple family households (5a) and downward multiple family households (5b). When multiple family households were examined in relation to the age of household heads, upward multiple family households were more numerous in the age cohort of 25 to 34, whereas downward multiple family households were more numerous in the age cohorts of 55 to 64 and 65 or older. The coexistence of these two sub-types

corresponded to the nuclear family life cycles. In Galway, however, multiple family households accounted for a large percentage of total (11%), with a big difference between downward multiple family households (6.5%) and upward multiple family households (3.8%). Moreover, for the age of the heads of multiple family households (11%), household heads aged 65 or older accounted for 41.6% and those aged 55 to 64 accounted for 38.7% of the entire downward multiple family households. In upward multiple family households, the household heads aged 25 to 34 accounted for 53% and those aged 35 to 44 accounted for 24.7%. These results show that the household heads clung to their positions for a long time, instead of handing them over to younger generation as they become older.

Table 13. Percentage of Distribution of Household Types by Household Heads Occupation and by County in 1821

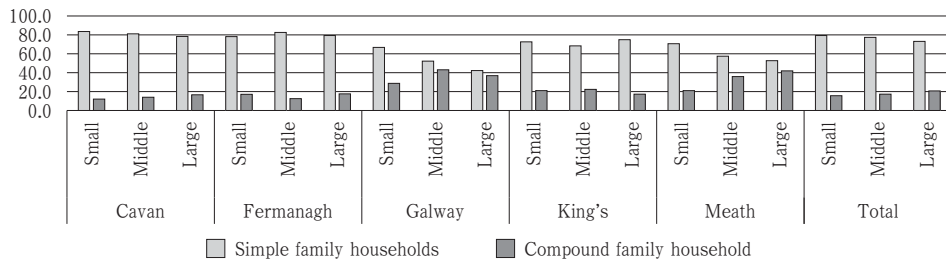
Categories	Cavan		Fermanagh		Galway		King's		Meath		Total	
	Farmer	Labourer	Farmer	Labourer	Farmer	Labourer	Farmer	Labourer	Farmer	Labourer	Farmer	Labourer
1. Solitaries	1.5	1.6	1.1	3.0	0.8	1.8	1.4	1.6	2.0	1.9	1.4	1.8
2. No family	2.7	2.8	3.1	1.9	3.4	3.8	4.9	3.3	4.6	4.7	3.0	3.3
3. Simple family households	82.6	84.5	79.3	82.2	64.0	71.3	71.6	80.7	64.1	75.4	79.0	81.0
4. Extended family households	9.1	8.6	11.2	11.2	18.0	15.8	14.5	11.3	18.7	14.1	11.0	10.8
5. Multiple family households	4.2	2.4	5.3	1.9	13.9	7.5	6.6	3.2	10.7	3.9	13.9	7.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (households)	9,027	3,171	1,021	269	1,164	400	830	946	657	1,266	12,699	6,052

Table 13 is the cross-tabulation of the occupations of the household heads (farmers and laborers) and the household type. It shows that simple family households predominated among laborers as opposed farmers while extended and multiple family households were more numerous among farmers than laborers. In particular, King's and Meath were the counties that strongly reflected areas featuring the pattern of large farmers + laborers, where compound family households were predominant among large farmers, and simple family households were predominant among laborers.

Figure 4 is the cross-tabulation of two household types, that is, simple family households and compound family households (extended family households + multiple family households), and three landholding categories. According to Figure 4, there was a general tendency where simple family households were predominant in the small landholding category, whereas compound family households prevailed in the large landholding category. The size of landholdings seems to correlate with the two household types.

When the details of these results were examined, regional characteristics of each county became apparent. In Cavan, while the percentage of simple family households was high across the

Figure 4. Types of Households by Category of landholdings and County in 1821



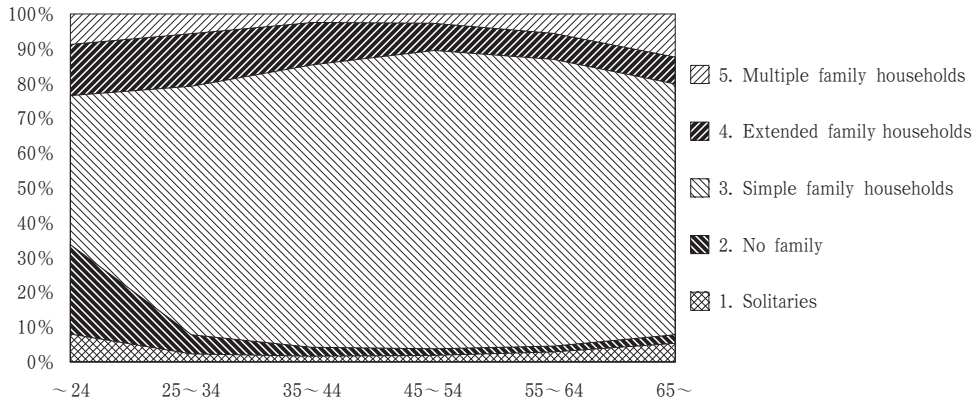
three landholding categories, the percentage of compound family households positively correlated with the size of landholdings and was high among large landholdings. In Fermanagh, the percentage of simple family households was high across all landholding categories. While the percentage of the compound family households was about the same in both the small and large landholding categories, it tended to be lower in the medium landholding category. In Galway, simple family households negatively correlated with the size of landholdings, and there were more simple family households in the small landholding category than in the large landholding category. On the other hand, compound family households positively correlated with the size of landholdings, and there were clearly more compound family households in the medium and large landholding categories than in the small landholding category, demonstrating a distinct contrast to the simple family households. In King's, the percentage of simple family households was high in all three landholding categories, but it was lower than that in Cavan and Fermanagh. On the other hand, the percentage of the compound family households was lower in the large landholding category than in the small and medium landholding categories. Thus, no correlation was found between the two household types and the size of landholdings in King's.

In Meath, simple family households correlated negatively with the size of landholdings: The percentage of simple family households was high in the small landholding category whereas it was low in the large landholding category. On the other hand, compound family households correlated positively with the size of landholdings: it increased as the size of landholdings became larger.

Thus, on the whole, there were a negative correlation between simple family households and the size of landholdings and a positive correlation between compound family households and the size of landholdings. When these relationships were examined by county, complicated distributions were found: In general, the size of landholdings had a greater impact on the household types in Galway and Meath than those in Cavan, Fermanagh, and King's.

Figure 5 shows the relationships between household types and the six age cohorts of the heads of households. According to the figure, solitary households existed in all age cohorts. While no family households existed in large numbers in the age groups of 25 or younger, they decreased

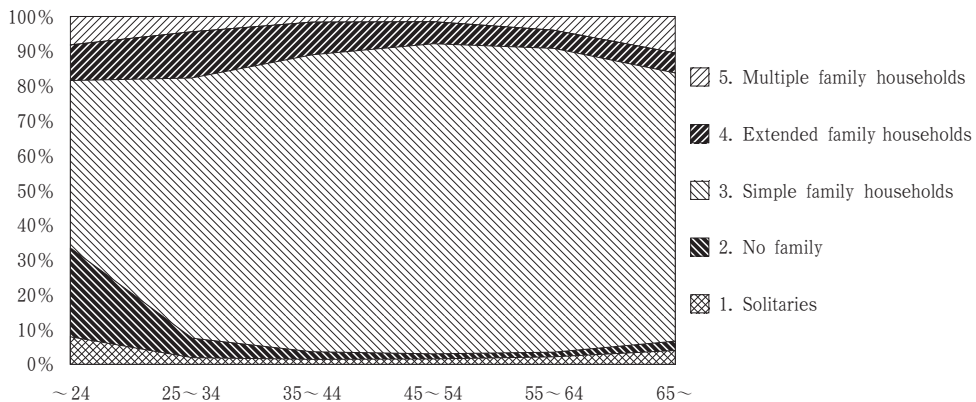
Figure 5. Household Category by Age Cohort of Household Head (Ireland, 1821)



after the age of 25. Simple family households started to increase at the age of 25, reached its peak at the age cohort of 45 to 54, and slightly decreased afterwards. Extended family households existed in large numbers at the age cohort of 25 to 34 and continued to exist afterwards while slightly decreasing, which indicated that extended family households were differentiated into the upward and downward ends. Multiple family households existed in large numbers up to the age 35, decreased until the age of 54 along with an increase in the number of simple family households, and increased again after the age of 55, which indicated that multiple family households were differentiated into the upward and downward ends.

Below is the detailed examination of such dynamics in relation to the age of the heads of households in Cavan (Figure 6), Galway (Figure 7), and Meath (Figure 8).

Figure 6. Household Category by Age Cohort of Household Head (Co. Cavan, 1821)



The dynamics of Cavan were represented by the large number of simple family households. The dynamics of Galway were represented by the facts that compound family households were numerous up to the household heads from 45 to 54 years old whereas simple family households

Figure 7. Households Category by Age Cohort of Household Head (Co. Galway, 1821)

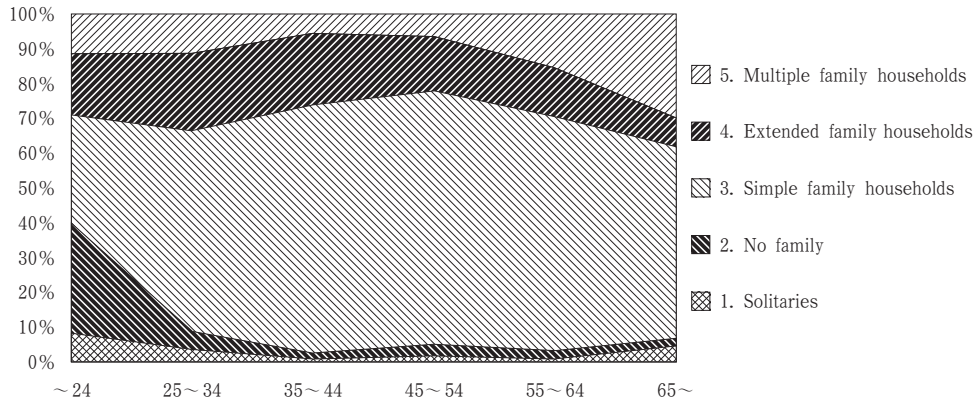
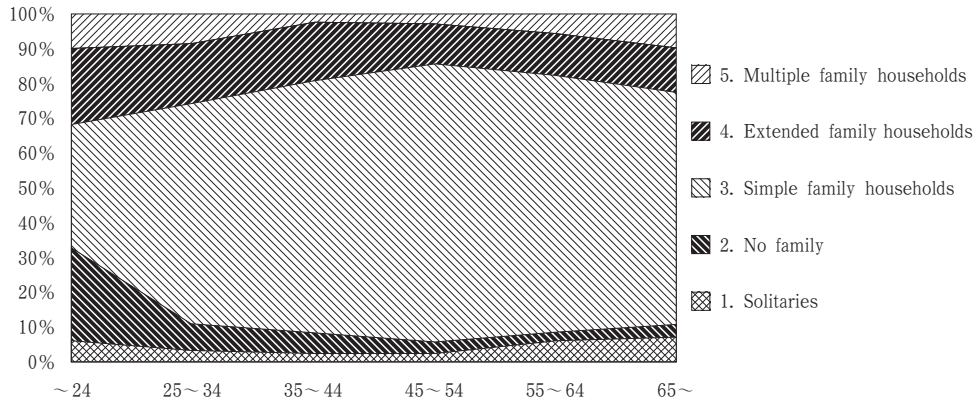


Figure 8. Household Category by Age Cohort of Household Head (Co. Meath, 1821)



increased afterwards, and that compound family households increased again after the heads of households reached 55. The dynamics of Meath were represented by the fact that compound family households decreased when household heads were between 45 and 54 and increased again afterwards. In short, these dynamics had two stages that branched off at the age cohort of 45 to 54.

From the above analysis of household types, it can be said that on the whole, simple family households were predominated. Compound family households also existed across the three counties, although their distributions varied from county to county in the range of 12 to 28%. However, compound family households should be understood as one stage in the life cycle of the nuclear family system.

### 5) Number of kin members

The figures in Table 14 show the relationships between co-resident kin and the heads of

Table 14. Number of Resident Relatives and Others per 100 Households by county in 1821

	Cavan	Fermanagh	Galway	King's	Meath
Parents	4.1	4.2	6.1	5.3	6.3
Parents in law	1.2	1.1	3.1	1.2	1.5
Siblings	10.6	10.3	20.1	12.0	17.3
Siblings in law	1.1	2.3	4.6	1.9	3.3
Children in law	2.0	2.5	6.9	2.0	2.6
Nephew and Niece	3.7	5.5	7.7	7.0	10.4
Grandchildren	8.3	13.7	17.9	10.7	9.8
Other relatives	0.6	1.1	4.3	1.0	1.3
Total kin	31.4	40.7	70.7	41.1	52.5
Servants	36.9	40.8	27.1	29.3	31.2
Lodgers	15.9	41.3	19.3	23.7	17.9
Visitors	0.7	1.5	1.8	0.8	0.1

households and the size of kinship per 100 households, which were computed based on the method proposed by R. Wall in 1983. The total number of kin members was highest in Galway (70.7 persons), followed by Meath (52.5 persons), King's (41.1 persons), Fermanagh (40.7 persons) and Cavan (31.4 persons). It was low in Cavan and Fermanagh where the simple family households were predominant and high in Galway and Meath where the compound family households were predominant. The close examination of kinship showed the following: In Galway, siblings were largest in number (20.1), followed by grandchildren (17.9), children-in-law (6.9), and parents and parents-in-law (9.2). While these kin members constituted the core of the households, they seem to be members of the stem family, which supports the fact that the compound family households existed in large numbers particularly in Galway. In Cavan where the total number of kin members was smallest, siblings (10.6) and grandchildren (8.3) accounted for 60%, which seems to be linked to the emergence of the simple family households. Fermanagh and King's seem to have the same characteristics as Cavan, except that the number of siblings and of grandchildren was higher than in Cavan. Meath falls between Galway and Cavan and features the large number of collateral relatives, such as siblings, nephews, and nieces.

It should be noted that servants (40.8) and lodgers (41.8) were exceptionally numerous in Fermanagh. It can be said that this was due to the large number of people who engaged in linen domestic manufacturing as weavers and spinners and lodgers who also worked as spinners.

## 6) Life Course

Figure 9 shows the overall life course of five counties. Children left their homes early (before 15 years of age) as servants or employed laborers. While some siblings continued to stay at home until around 30, it seems highly likely that many of them were already married. While household heads made their appearance as an age cohort in the late 20s, they were most numerous age



Figure 9. Life course in Ireland in 1821

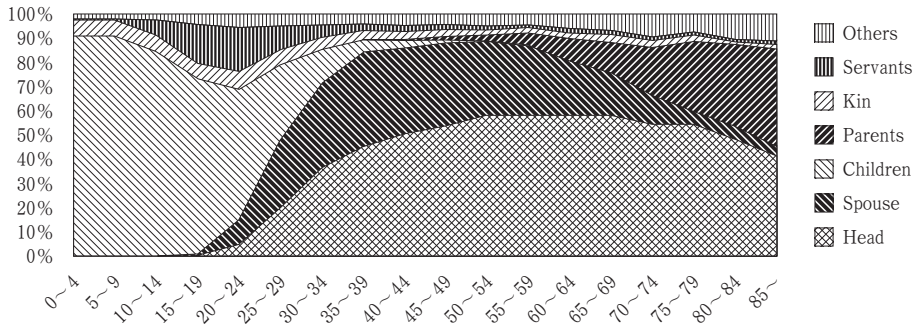
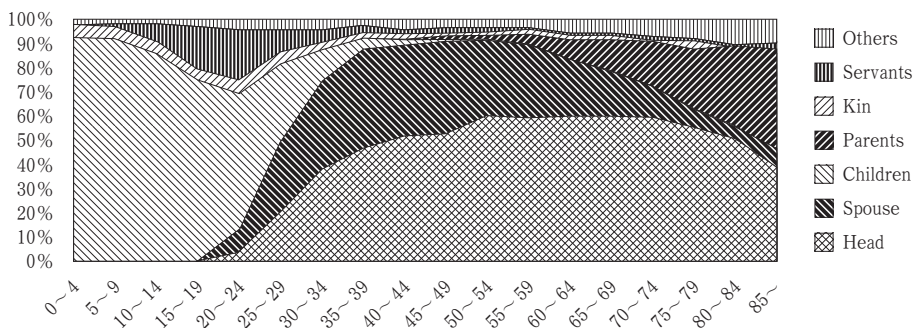


Figure 10. Life course in Co. Cavan in 1821



cohort of the 50s to 60s. Their spouses, in response to the heads, appeared in their early 20s and reached their peak in their 30s to 40s. Parents started appearing at around the peak of the heads of households and continued increasing afterward, suggesting that a change in the head of the household took place early in 1821. Abundance percentage of the parents means that they were quickly households substitution children, as the resulting, it would form a simple family households, but there means the family formation based on the nuclear family system. Servants appeared in their teens, reached their peak when they were 20 to 24, and decreased afterward, which can be understood as the characteristics of life-cycle servants limited to young households.

Below is the examination of regionality of Cavan, Galway, and Meath as opposed to the aforementioned overall tendencies. Cavan (Figure 10) had the aforementioned unique characteristics and the same overall characteristics. As discussed in the previous section on the number of kin members, in Galway, (Figure 11) parents were numerous in age cohorts of household heads in their in their late 50s, but It indicates the parent has expanded over the 70-year-old from the second half of 50-year-old distribution. Wherever the combination of this parent's distribution with the large number of extended family households and multiple family households was the characteristics of Galway. While Meath (Figure 12) had the life course similar to that of Galway, it showed characteristic awkward distributions after the age of 65, which

Figure 11. Life course in Co. Galway in 1821

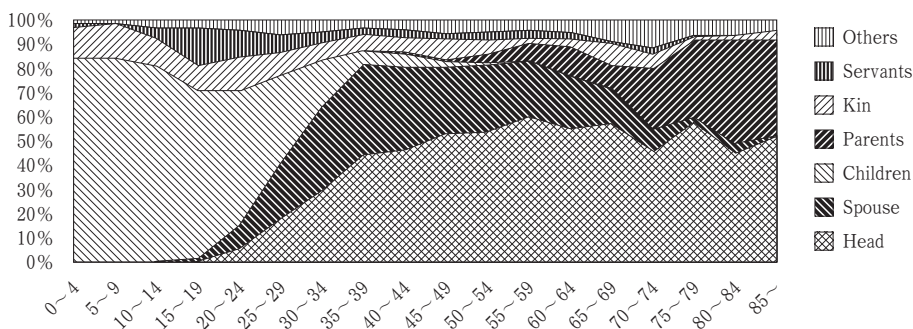


Figure 12. Life course in Co. Meath in 1821

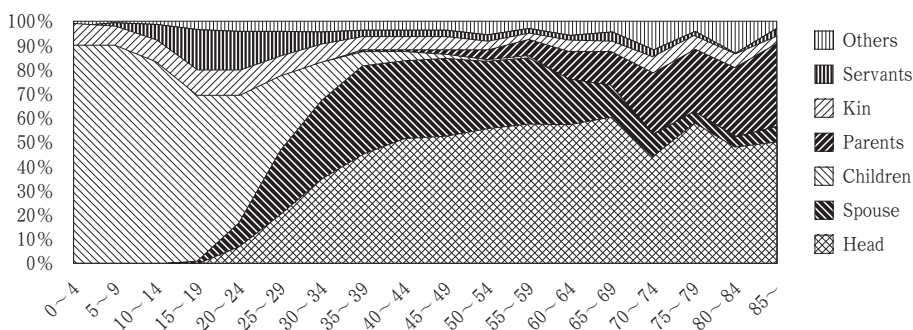


Table 15. Average Age of Member of Households by County in 1821

	Cavan	Fermanagh	Galway	King's	Meath	Total
Household Head	44.7	46.6	45.6	44.0	44.9	44.9
Spouse	38.7	40.3	38.7	37.7	39.0	38.7
Children	11.5	12.3	12.2	11.0	11.6	11.6
Parents	65.3	68.5	66.0	66.8	63.5	65.4
Kin	17.5	19.3	18.5	18.6	20.5	18.5
Servant	20.5	23.5	23.8	24.3	23.1	21.7
Other	28.5	28.8	30.5	29.8	32.0	29.4

resulted from the continuous distributions of kin (siblings, nephews, and nieces), servants, and other.

Table 15 shows the average age of household members by county. According to the table, the average age of the heads of households was 44 to 47; that of spouses was 39 to 40, that of children was 12; that of parents was 64 to 69; and that of servants were 21 to 24. It can be said that these results clearly represent a household life cycle and correspond to a family life course.

## 7. Conclusion

In this present paper Meath and King's are put forward as the first of three regions identified at an earlier stage, Cavan and Fermanagh as the second region, and Galway as the third region.

The paper has also sought to verify an hypothesis based on the 1821 census returns. The analytical framework used was that of families in early nineteenth century Ireland, where the nuclear family based on the nuclear family system was predominant. In reality, however, the stem family must also have existed. Such stem families, it has been assumed, were supported by family conditions and their presence reflected a life cycle in the nuclear family system. Moreover, it was also assumed that the differences among family conditions arose from regionality and occupational differences (farmers and laborers). Below are the analysis results based on the 1821 census:

In Meath and King's, in the more utilitarian management approach of landlords, large farmers gradually changed their farming from grain to livestock. Since the partible inheritance system was not practiced, children other than heirs left their homes or emigrated early after obtaining the share to which they were entitled of their parents' property in immovable or movables. They worked as artisans (carpenters, masons, or coopers) in surrounding cities or stores or emigrated to other countries. On the other hand, heirs stayed at home working on the farm in anticipation of inheriting the farm at which stage they someone arranged by their parents [Connolly 1985, 80]. On the other hand, laborers worked on large farms or obtained other jobs. Consequently, laborers were able to get married as soon as they earned a certain amount of income. In other words, it is unknown whether the marriage of the worker will get wealth in the future, but they judged to be based on the calculating strategy that it is said so that there is well-being life than a single person for them by the marriage. However, marriage was not what symbolized their future prospects, but rather their immediate family strategy. A predominance of compound family households among large landholding farmers and of simple family households among laborers reflected the family strategies behind each household type.

In Cavan and Fermanagh, small and medium landholding were predominant due to the division of land based on the rundale system. While farmers could make a living by farming if they had land of medium size or greater, small farmers needed the support of both farming and manufacturing linen yarn and textiles at home. In other words, they adopted the family strategy of manufacturing linen as weavers and spinners. This family strategy among small landholding farmers included early marriage based on the land subdivision, leading to the predominance of the simple family household.

In Galway, the partible inheritance system was predominant. However, since farmers held only small pieces of land, they were not able to make a living from farming alone and had to engage in the manufacturing of linen textiles and yarns or in fishing, or else to engage of work as laborers in agriculture or in road construction. The family strategy of householders in this poor region was to retain children at home so that the children would take care of them in their old age. This

accounts for an unexpectedly large number of compound family households. In other words, although compound family households in Galway were dominant, but it was not mean it that type was based on a direct stem family norms, also we should understand it was one phase of the life cycle on based by the nuclear family norms.

The household structure in the early twentieth century, it has been argued, was controlled by regionality, which was in essence based on economic differences in agriculture, and the occupation categories of farmers and laborers. On the whole, simple family households were predominant among small and medium landholder due to the ready division of land, whereas compound family households were predominant among larger farmers. Laborers formed simple family households, which to be based the nuclear family system, through early marriage. These structures, however, there remained the possibility of these households taking the form not of nuclear family, but of the stem family depending on family situational conditions. Therefore, the structure of compound family households, which were formed in Galway where small landholdings prevailed may have begun in the nuclear family system.

In Meath, a region featuring large farmers, the conditions to shift to the stem family system already existed in the mid-nineteenth century. Such an understanding admitted of change as a smooth transition from the nuclear family system to the stem family system. The analysis in this paper does not fully address the connection between the changes in the family structure and the domestic linen industry and lacks a demographic approach. These issues should be addressed in future studies.

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# Household Structure in Early Nineteenth Century Ireland

SHIMIZU Yoshifumi

In this article, the author proposed the hypothesis that the nuclear family based on the nuclear family system was predominant in early nineteenth century Ireland. However, the stem family must also have existed. The author assumed that such stem families were supported by family conditions and could be explained by a life cycle in the nuclear family system.

We divided the subjects of survey ground into 3 areas in consideration of economic regionality, namely regarded Meath and King's as the first region, Cavan and Fermanagh as the second region, and Galway as the third region and has verified the proposed hypothesis based on the records of the 1821 census returns.

In Meath and King's, it can be said that the facts that the compound family households was predominant among large landholding farmers and that the simple family households was predominant among laborers reflected the family strategies behind each household type.

In Cavan and Fermanagh, people adopted the family strategy of manufacturing linen as weavers and spinners. This family strategy among small landholding farmers included early marriage based on the land division system, leading to the predominance of the simple family households.

In Galway, the householders in this poor region had their children wait for inheritance so that the children would take care of them in their old age, and these children acted according to this family strategy. This is why there were an unexpectedly large number of compound family households. However, the forms of these households corresponded to their life cycles.

Based on the aforementioned analysis, it was found that the nuclear family system was predominant in early nineteenth century Ireland. However in Meath, a region featuring large farmers, the conditions to shift to the stem family system have already existed in the mid-nineteenth century. Such an understanding allows to position changes in the family structure of Ireland as a smooth process to shift from the nuclear family system to the stem family system.

Keywords: Ireland, Household structure, 1821 Census database, Nuclear family system, Partible inheritance