This End of Award Report should be completed and submitted using the grant reference as the email subject, to reportsofficer@esrc.ac.uk on or before the due date.

The final instalment of the grant will not be paid until an End of Award Report is completed in full and accepted by ESRC.

Grant holders whose End of Award Report is overdue or incomplete will not be eligible for further ESRC funding until the Report is accepted. ESRC reserves the right to recover a sum of the expenditure incurred on the grant if the End of Award Report is overdue. (Please see Section 5 of the ESRC Research Funding Guide for details.)

Please refer to the Guidance notes when completing this End of Award Report.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grant Reference</th>
<th>RES-062-23-1260</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grant Title</td>
<td>Life in the Suburbs: Health, Domesticity and Status in Early Modern London</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grant Start Date</td>
<td>1 June 2008</td>
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<td>Grant End Date</td>
<td>31 May 2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Amount Expended</td>
<td>£904,505.16 (100% FEC)</td>
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<td>Grant holding Institution</td>
<td>Institute of Historical Research, University of London</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grant Holder</td>
<td>Dr Matthew Davies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant Holder's Contact Details</td>
<td>Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email</td>
<td><a href="mailto:matthew.davies@sas.ac.uk">matthew.davies@sas.ac.uk</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
<td>020-7862-8698</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Co-Investigators (as per project application):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Co-Investigator</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professor Vanessa Harding</td>
<td>Birkbeck, University of London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor Richard Smith</td>
<td>University of Cambridge</td>
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1. NON-TECHNICAL SUMMARY

This project sought to investigate the character and development of London's eastern suburb by examining the lives of the inhabitants of the extra-mural parishes of St Botolph Aldgate and Holy Trinity Minories from 1550-1700. During this period, this area saw a six-fold increase in its population, with open ground and gardens making way for densely packed residential, mercantile and industrial premises. It was representative, in concentrated form, of developments that were taking place on a national scale. The findings will both inform and underpin large-scale explanations of the development, or ‘modernisation’, of England's society and economy in the early modern period.

Research drew on a large and varied archive – including detailed parish records, taxation material, property surveys and poor relief accounts – and focussed on three themes: 1) the demographic consequences of the population explosion; 2) the effects of rapid urbanisation upon the health of the inhabitants; and 3) the social and economic characteristics of the population, and families and households. Although some of the project’s findings reinforce current thinking about suburban development, others present it with a serious challenge. Overall, the area was amongst the poorest in the capital, characterised by its low rents, small properties and transient population. But against this, a small proportion of wealthy inhabitants lived there throughout the period; some families resided in the area for many decades; infant mortality was no higher than in central and wealthier parts of London; and the quality of low rent housing may have been higher than in other areas.

2. PROJECT OVERVIEW

a) Objectives

Please state the aims and objectives of your project as outlined in your proposal to the ESRC. [Max 200 words]

1) To investigate the demographic consequences of six-fold population increase and extensive urbanisation in London's eastern suburb. The project sought to identify (and test perceptions of) these demographic trends principally through a full family reconstitution. This would establish a continuous nominative structure, adding a 'family-level' aspect to the social, economic and demographic analyses conducted elsewhere in the project.

2) To investigate housing and residence, and the impact of a changing environment upon the health of the inhabitants. The project gathered detailed information linking individuals, households and housing, and particular neighbourhoods were examined, sometimes at the level of individual houses and clusters of dwellings, enabling the characterisation of type/quality of housing, density of occupation, and their correlation with mortality data.

3) To determine how the social, economic and domestic attributes of the suburban population - origins, age and gender ratios, skills and employment, domestic arrangements and social and economic prospects - changed across the period. Changes in specific characteristics of the domestic unit, including, size, structure, and location, were identified to test contemporary
perceptions of the fragmentation of the family.

4) To disseminate the project’s findings through journal articles, online datasets, working papers, a symposium, and seminar/conference presentations.

b) Project Changes
Please describe any changes made to the original aims and objectives, and confirm that these were agreed with the ESRC. Please also detail any changes to the grant holder’s institutional affiliation, project staffing or funding. [Max 200 words]

No changes were made to the original aims and objectives.

In January 2010 Dr Mark Merry, one of the named researchers, was appointed to another post at the IHR. He retained a connection with the project through his supporting work on the database. By agreement with the ESRC a new postdoctoral researcher, Dr Mark Latham, was appointed, from 4 January 2010 to 31 May 2011.

c) Methodology
Please describe the methodology that you employed in the project. Please also note any ethical issues that arose during the course of the work, the effects of this and any action taken. [Max. 500 words]

The project utilised and extended a number of proven methodologies, but also employed original procedures in order to fully exploit the evidence available. First, the project team further developed their innovative procedures for the demographic analysis and family reconstitution of highly mobile metropolitan populations. These modify substantially the established methodologies in the field, as devised by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, for use in an urban context. To that end, more than 170,000 baptisms, burials and marriages were inputted from the original registers of St Botolph Aldgate and Holy Trinity Minories, from which 28,000 families have been reconstituted, of which families more than 10,000 have useable information for demographic analysis. In addition, an extra 5,000 marriages with age information were inputted from the printed registers of the neighbouring liberty of St Katharine by the Tower, in order to investigate changes in age at first marriage and the role of clandestine marriage. A high proportion of the inputted entries were extremely detailed, containing information such as addresses and occupations that were vital to the project’s other strands, while the reconstitution also made full use of contemporary inhabitants’ lists in its analysis. Within the project as a whole, the reconstitution provided a vital diachronic context within which its social and demographic analyses were placed, and also ensured that its conclusions were anchored upon specific families across the period.

Second, the project used the established method of property history to produce new narrative accounts of a sample of the dwellings in the study area. These accounts provided the basis for an analysis of variables such as housing quality and amenity (e.g., construction materials, size, access to piped water and privies), rental values, ground rents and housing density. However, this standard approach was also extended by developing a sophisticated spatial analysis of these variables in parts of the study area via GIS mapping techniques. Combining this with information on household size and wealth enabled the project to undertake a detailed investigation of the housing stock and local environment of the study area, revealing particular
trends and patterns and the social dimensions that underlay them.

Third, the project team utilised the classification and coding schemes developed during an earlier project to undertake a detailed analysis of the composition of the study area’s families and households and their wealth and status, based on taxation and other synchronic sources. This methodology was further enhanced by the addition of a GIS mapping element and by linking the synchronic sources to the demographic data – the first time this has been undertaken in a study of a large metropolitan suburb.

Finally, information was gathered from narrative sources relating to the inhabitants of the area and their way of life in order to integrate it with the project’s statistical and other textual data. This represented another major methodological advance, with the key source being the 4,531 pages of the St Botolph Aldgate parish clerk’s memoranda books.

No ethical issues arose during the project.

d) Project Findings
Please summarise the findings of the project, referring where appropriate to outputs recorded on the ESRC website. Any future research plans should also be identified. [Max 500 words]

Four main findings have arisen from analysis of the study area’s parish registers:

1) Infant mortality was high but largely invariant by occupation (and, by implication, social status) and geographical areas within London

2) The epidemiological regime changed following the last plague of 1665, with a reduction in the volatility and shifts in the age structure of mortality

3) The suburb’s occupational structure saw a stable sectoral distribution across the period, but also the development of many new types of manufacture. European migrants played a significant role in these new industries, such as gunmaking.

4) Age at first marriage varied considerably over time although the age gap between the sexes remained relatively stable. Clandestine marriage was especially popular among younger men and women, and appears to have siphoned off these couples from their home parish registers.

The main findings relevant to the area’s housing and inhabitants were threefold. First, the low ground rents charged by the numerous institutional freeholders often enabled lessee landlords to provide housing at low rental charges, whilst still ensuring that they invested in amenities and the build quality of the housing stock. This dynamic probably explains the ability of lessee landlords to meet the demand for cheap, high density housing, without apparently resorting to the poor quality structures that characterised much of the low rent housing in other areas of early modern London.

Second, despite pockets of extremely poor quality housing with a high density of occupation, particularly in East Smithfield, the overall character of the topography and housing stock of the suburb was mixed. Larger ‘mercantile’ type dwellings were present across the period, as were smaller artisanal houses.
Finally, information from the sample property histories and related sources indicates that the duration families and individuals could occupy their dwellings was often considerable, regularly spanning decades. This questions somewhat previous assumptions regarding the inherently transient nature of suburban dwelling.

Investigations into the health of the area’s inhabitants focused on the issues of poor relief and nursing provision. Through detailed biographical reconstructions it was possible to establish that the local authorities made no distinction between the ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ resident poor throughout the period when it came to the provision of relief. This approach was not simply the result of an attempt to preserve the stability of the community but was also founded on a strong sense of neighbourly responsibility. Research also suggested that the extensive seventeenth-century, parish-financed system for boarding and nursing the poor and the sick represented the formalisation, to some extent, of earlier private practices that were visible from the sixteenth century.

In terms of relevant future research, the project’s demographic data will be used in a new project to be funded by the Wellcome Trust. This will investigate shifts in the epidemiological regime throughout England, by examining variations in short term mortality in urban areas, market towns and rural parishes. Two current GIS mapping projects associated with the Centre for Metropolitan History will also be using the project’s datasets in their outputs.

e) Contributions to wider ESRC initiatives (eg Research Programmes or Networks)
If your project was part of a wider ESRC initiative, please describe your contributions to the initiative’s objectives and activities and note any effect on your project resulting from participation. [Max. 200 words]

N/A

3. EARLY AND ANTICIPATED IMPACTS

a) Summary of Impacts to date
Please summarise any impacts of the project to date, referring where appropriate to associated outputs recorded on the ESRC website. This should include both scientific impacts (relevant to the academic community) and economic and societal impacts (relevant to broader society). The impact can be relevant to any organisation, community or individual. [Max. 400 words]

The project has already had a successful impact on the academic community in a number of respects. For example, in 2009 an article published in London Journal described the research team’s methodology for the use of contemporary inhabitants lists, and compared the structure of domestic groups in the study area with those in central London parishes. This revealed obvious differences based on their respective social status and wealth, but found that their underlying structure was more comparable than previous accounts had suggested.

Members of the project team delivered well over twenty seminar and conference papers, based on their research and its findings, to international, national and local audiences during the
duration of the award. At an international level, a paper on neighbourly interactions was delivered at the 2009 Anglo-American conference; two methodological papers were presented to a conference on European families and households in London in 2010; and two papers – on social relations and housing stock – were given at the European Association for Urban History Conference in 2010.

Papers were delivered to a number of prominent national conferences, including three at a session devoted to the project at the 2011 Economic History Society conference, and one at the 2010 British Society for Population Studies Conference. Numerous other papers were presented at seminars and conferences in London, Cambridge and Newcastle. Furthermore, during the final months of the project, a symposium was held in London to showcase its methods and key findings to invited participants from both the academic and non-academic community.

Outside academia, knowledge of the project and its forthcoming digital outputs – which will be freely available online – was disseminated via talks given in 2010 at the Guildhall Library in London and to the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society (LAMAS) at the Museum of London. Relationships based on the project and its findings were also established with three non-academic stakeholders – LAMAS, English Heritage and Tower Hamlets Local History Library and Archives – during the development of a follow-on funding proposal, which, much to our disappointment, did not receive funding.

Finally, a number of conference papers are freely available via SAS-Space, the University of London’s online library (http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/); and digital editions of the project’s sources have begun to appear on British History Online (http://www.british-history.ac.uk/Default.aspx). These resources will be of interest not only to academic specialists, but also to amateur historians, genealogists and those with a general interest in the history of London.

b) Anticipated/Potential Future Impacts

Please outline any anticipated or potential impacts (scientific or economic and societal) that you believe your project might have in future. [Max. 200 words]

The project anticipates generating further impact in both academic and non-academic circles through the dissemination of its findings and datasets via a variety of mediums. Scientific impact will be generated through the scholarly publication of its results. At least three articles will be published in peer reviewed journals or edited collections. A collection of working papers - which will include a discussion of sources, methodologies and results, as well as containing analytical maps – will also be produced. Finally, a gazetteer, containing the detailed property histories of approximately thirty dwellings in the study area, will be published.

A range of digital outputs, which will be freely available online, will be of interest to both specialists and members of the public. Structured transcriptions of original sources and processed datasets created during research analysis (with accompanying documentation) will be made available via SAS-Space. Meanwhile, in association with a separate project at the Institute of Historical Research, the parish clerk’s memoranda books will be available in a tagged-format and with associated tools that will allow users to search via linguistic, historical and thematic criteria, and connect and link passages of text, in a way which significantly surpasses what had originally been envisaged.
4. DECLARATIONS
Please ensure that sections A, B and C below are completed and signed by the appropriate individuals. The End of Award Report will not be accepted unless all sections are signed. Please note hard copies are NOT required; electronic signatures are accepted and should be used.

A: To be completed by Grant Holder

Please read the following statements. Tick ONE statement under ii) and iii), then sign with an electronic signature at the end of the section (this should be an image of your actual signature).

i) The Project

| This Report is an accurate overview of the project, its findings and impacts. All co-investigators named in the proposal to ESRC or appointed subsequently have seen and approved the Report. | ✗ |

ii) Submissions to the ESRC website (research catalogue)

| Output and impact information has been submitted to the ESRC website. Details of any future outputs and impacts will be submitted as soon as they become available. | ✗ |
| OR | This grant has not yet produced any outputs or impacts. Details of any future outputs and impacts will be submitted to the ESRC website as soon as they become available. | □ |
| OR | This grant is not listed on the ESRC website. | □ |

iii) Submission of Datasets

| Datasets arising from this grant have been offered for deposit with the Economic and Social Data Service. | ✗ |
| OR | Datasets that were anticipated in the grant proposal have not been produced and the Economic and Social Data Service has been notified. | □ |
| OR | No datasets were proposed or produced from this grant. | □ |