

The Structure of Irish Households of Early 20th Century : Comparing Results for Co. Clare and Co. Meath

SHIMIZU Yoshifumi

Keywords : Co. Clare, Co. Meath, Stem family, Middle farmer,
Large farmer

Introduction

The author has previously looked at household structures in early 20th century western Ireland, using the 1901 and 1911 census returns data, roughly 20 percent of households were extended family households and multiple family households. It was observed in particular that a stem family norm supported by the family situation was emerging.

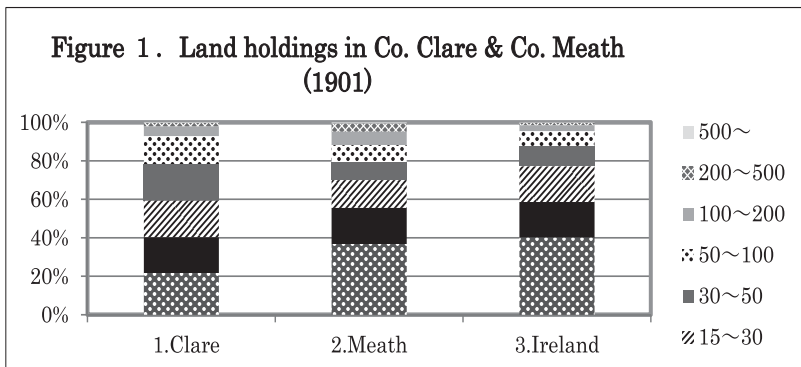
By contrast, there has been little or no research to date that analyzes the household structures of eastern Ireland, although its agriculture, agricultural communities and history have been studied by Matsuo [1995], Wilson [T. M. Wilson, 1984, 1985, 1988, and 1990], Gilligan [1998] and Connell [2004].

This paper sets out to identify the differences between household structures in the west and east of Ireland, based on the 100 percent's 1901

and 1911 census returns data for Co. Clare, a region of medium-sized farms surveyed by Arensberg and Kimball, and Co. Meath, Leinster Province, a region considered to have been advanced in the adoption of large-scale agriculture.

1 . Agricultural Overview of Co. Clare and Co. Meath

Looking first at the size of landholdings in 1901, holdings of up to 30 acres constituted 56.9 percent of the total in Co. Clare, holdings of 50 to 200 acres accounted for 18.9 percent and holdings of 200 acres or more accounted for 2.1 percent. Corresponding percentages in Co. Meath were 70 percent, 16.1 percent and 4.9 percent respectively. The high percentage in the 30 acres or less bracket is due to the large number (23.4 percent of the total in 1901) of holdings of less than of one acre. In the whole of Ireland, landholdings measuring 30 acres or less amounted to 71.3 percent (Figure.1). It is possible to deduce from these figures that Co. Clare had a comparatively large number of small and medium-sized farm households, while Co. Meath households were polarized into both landless and large-scale households.



Source: Agricultural Statistics of Ireland, 1901.

Photo 1. Traditional Farm Work in Co. Clare in 1860

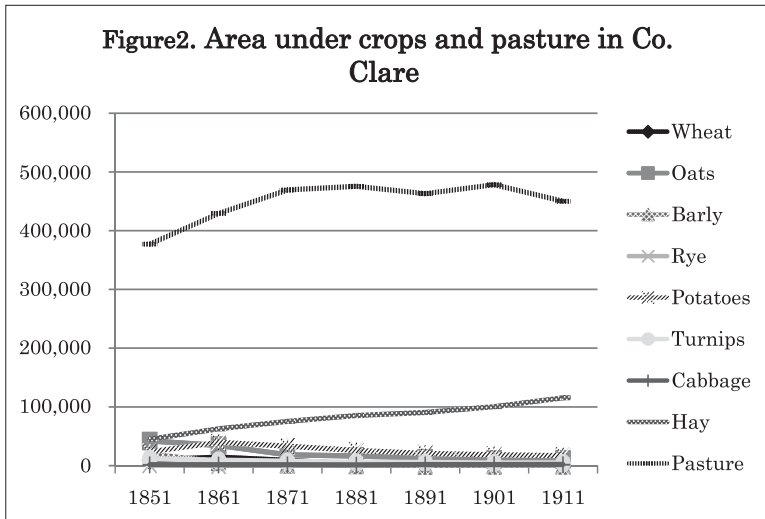


Source: Clare County Library, <http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/genealogy>

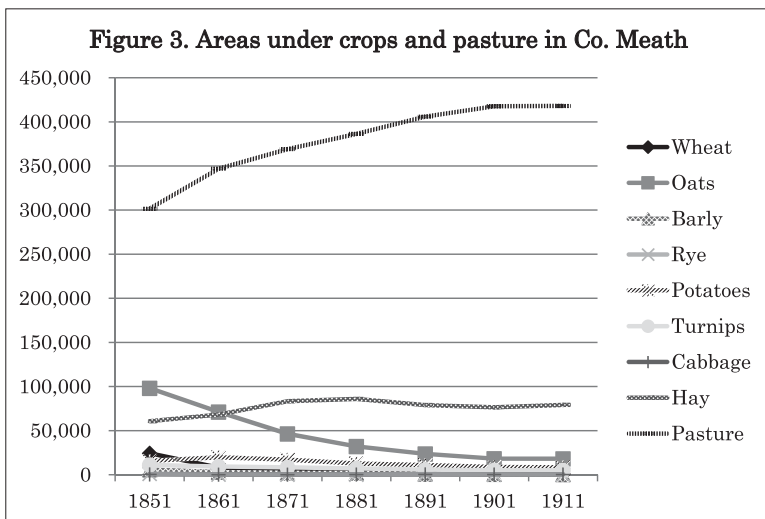
Map 1:Map of Ireland



Source: Brian Mitchell, A New Genealogical Atlas of Ireland, 1986.



Source: Agricultural Statistics, 1847-1926, 1930, The Stationary Office

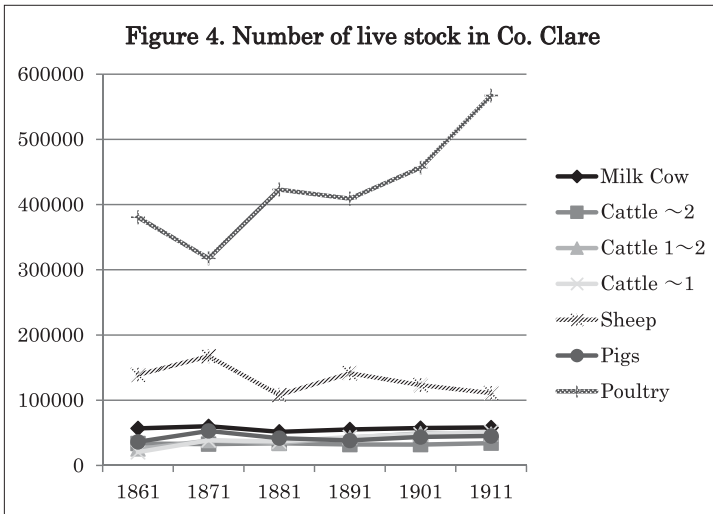


Source: Agricultural Statistics, 1847-1926, 1930, The Stationary Office

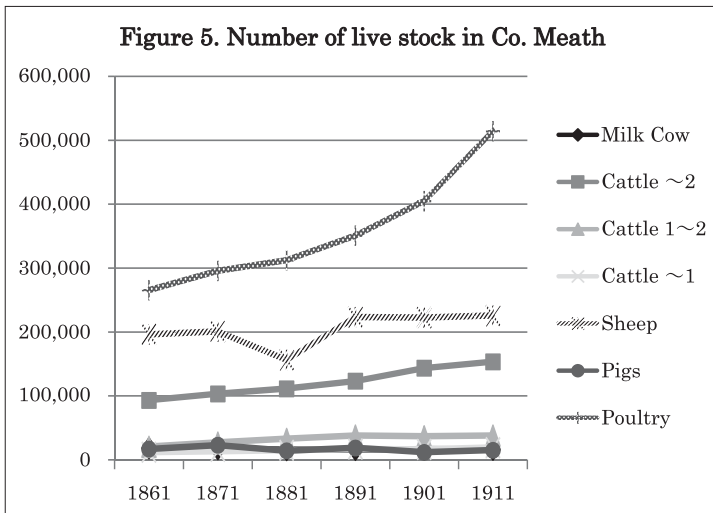
Looking at crop cultivation between 1851 and 1911, there are no prominent shifts during the period, either in Co. Clare or Co. Meath. However, in Co. Meath there is a noticeable drop in the cultivation of oats, while pasture land shows a sharp rise between 1861 and 1871, indicating a shift from crops to livestock farming (Figs.2 and 3). A specialized form of commercial stockbreeding was developing, in which beef cattle were bred and raised in western Ireland until 2-years old, after which they were moved to eastern Ireland to be fattened until they were $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ years old for markets in Dublin or Britain [David Jones, 1995, 4].

This development is evidenced by shifts in livestock numbers: the total number of cattle showed an increase in both Co. Clare and Co. Meath: in Co. Clare the number of cattle aged up to two years old increased, while in Co. Meath there was a significant increase in cattle aged above two. Another difference between the two counties is that pigs and poultry increased while sheep decreased in Co. Clare, in contrast to Co. Meath, where both cattle and sheep increased under the apparent shift from crop farming to livestock farming (Figures.4, 5 and 6), another indication that the division of roles between western Ireland, where cattle were bred, and eastern Ireland, where cattle were fattened, was becoming established.

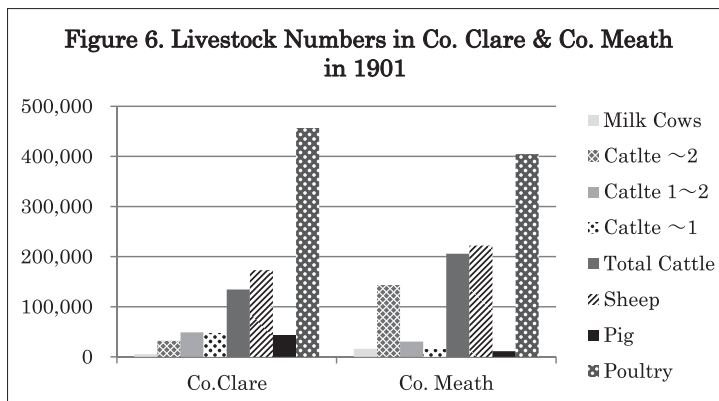
The next part of the paper will look at the ramifications this regional differentiation has had on the household structures of western Ireland, where traditional farming was prevalent and of eastern Ireland, where more advanced commercial farming was developing.



Source: Agricultural Statistics 1847–1926, 1930, The Stationary Office



Source: Agricultural Statistics 1847–1926, 1930, The Stationary Office



Source: Agricultural Statistics of Ireland, 1901.

2. Hypothesis on Household Structures

Based on analysis of microdata from censuses carried out between 1821 and 1911, the author has observed that the predominant family structure in early 19th century Ireland was the nuclear family, supported by the potentiality of expanding land for cultivation, ease of potato cultivation, a partible inheritance system, early marriage age and high marriage rate [Clarkson, 1981, 237; Y. Shimizu, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2014b]. Subsequent changes to the inheritance system, however, brought drastic changes to family structures. There is not a clear-cut date for the changes, but the shift to impartible inheritance probably followed the 1852 land reform act, which banned the division of property for inheritance [C. M. Arensberg & S. T. Kimball, 2001, 237]. Factors in support of the ban included landlord resistance to land division, expulsion of tenants by landlord enclosures, especially from the mid-19th century onward and depletion of arable land [Clarkson, 1981, 237].

Dowry and matchmaking systems, on the other hand, were already a

family norm from before the Great Famine [S. Yonemura, 1981, 141]. The impartible inheritance system and the dowry and matchmaking systems combined in post-Famine times to form a stem family norm, under which, where family circumstances permitted, stem families emerged. Once the stem family norm was established, the household head exercised strong control over land and agricultural labor and came to possess a strong desire to maintain that control and keep the family name on the land [L. Kennedy, 1991, 478]. In other words, patriarchy manifested itself among Irish families [Rita M. Rhodes, 1992, 88]. Furthermore, family heads not only actually maintained control, but tended to delay the appointment of heirs and the transfer of headship and estate to appointed heirs.

This forced sons to wait for the physical decline or demise of their fathers, resulting in the prevalence of late marriage and celibacy. Increased celibacy and late marriage contributed to the low marriage rates in contemporary Ireland. This tendency prevailed until the pension reform of 1908. Sons who were not appointed heirs faced the choice of receiving small amounts of money before leaving home to seek employment in large cities like Dublin, Belfast or Cork, emigrating to Britain or the United States, or remaining at home. Thus the stem family norm was most prevalent in Ireland between the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Arensberg and Kimball aptly proposed the presence in small and medium-sized agricultural communities in Co. Clare in western Ireland, of a family structure with a stem family norm. Stem families, however, were less frequent in eastern Ireland [Matsuo, 1995, 51]. This resulted from the presence in eastern Ireland of both landless laborers and large farmers. In the case of occupiers of large farms, the family head typically held on to headship and landownership until death. Resultant family situations

included delay of prospective heirs' inheritance and marriage, early departure from home of sons and even lack of heirs due to non-marriage of household heads. In the case of the households of landless laborers, offspring left home at an early age and could also form their own households at an early age if conditions allowed.

Migration in Ireland is classified into internal migration, international migration and Atlantic migration [Steidl, Annemarie, 2007, 1–2; Steidl, Annemarie, 2009, 7–9]. A factor that encouraged internal migration in Co. Meath was the labor market in the adjacent capital, Dublin. Employment in Dublin and emigration to Britain or the U.S. were options for landless laborers and their children. This can be deduced, as described below, from the small number of continuing households in Co. Meath over the decade between 1901 and 1911, especially from the fact that cases of discontinued households and of new households were frequent among laborers.

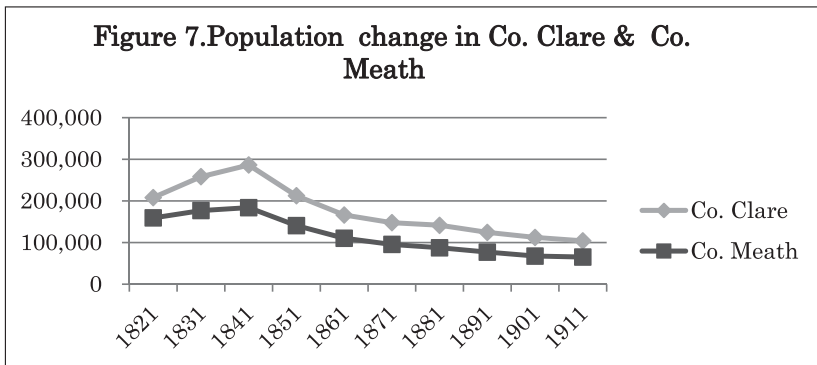
However, such household mobility was less pronounced in Co. Clare. For Clare's medium-sized and larger rural households, staying put until succeeding to parental land was a more advantageous family strategy than moving elsewhere. In Co. Clare, households were typically formed by arranged marriages at the time of inheritance. In Co. Meath, on the other hand, heirs could either marry immediately upon inheritance, or choose to adopt a strategy of remaining single while running the family farm with the aid of children or siblings who remained at home. As landholdings of 100 acres or more required hired agricultural labor or servants in addition to family labor, unmarried children or siblings remaining at home were an important component of the workforce.

The household structures of Co. Meath included a larger number of landholders who either married late in life or remained single than in Co.

Clare. This also was likely to create a higher likelihood of internal, international and Atlantic migration among residents, a feature which is also reflected in the county's population structure.

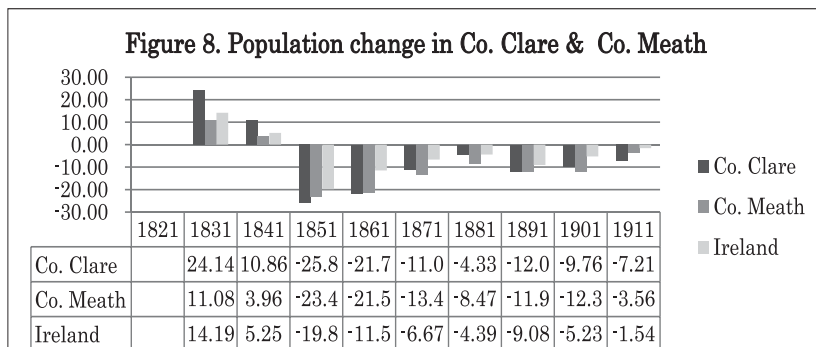
From the above, it is possible to hypothesize that while households in both Co. Meath and Co. Clare were based on the stem family norm, family situational factors controlling the stem family norm became more varied in Co. Meath, resulting in lower occurrences of extended and multiple family households and greater degrees of family dissolution and diversity in household formation type compared to Co. Clare.

3. Demographic Characteristics of Co. Clare and Co. Meath



Source: W.E. Vaughan & A.J. Fitzpatrick, 1977, 7-8

When one looks at population trends over the years, pre-Great Famine Co. Clare saw a significant population growth due to the spread of the potato crop. In terms of population shifts over ten-year periods, the population drop following the Great Famine was sharper in both counties than in Ireland as a whole. Co. Meath experienced heavier population declines than Co. Clare from 1891 onward (Figs.7 and 8). According to



Source: W.E. Vaughan & A.J. Fitzpatrick, 1977, 7-8

internal mobility in the townland of Bective, Co. Meath, what were 19 households in 1901 became 11 households in 1911. There were 12 discontinued households ; the 11 households of 1911 were made up of seven continuing households, and four new households. Most of the discontinued and new households were of landless laborers.

In other words, Co. Meath was characterized by the prevalence of landless laborers and their high mobility. An analysis of census returns from the 1911 census carried out in Dublin confirms that more people relocated to Dublin from Co. Meath than from any other county. One can also infer that international and Atlantic migrations were also more frequent in Co. Meath than in other counties.

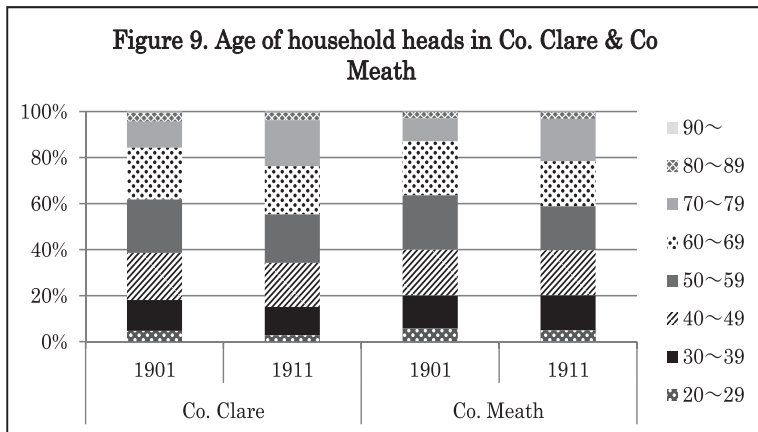
By contrast, South Lough, Co. Clare had 17 households both in 1901 and 1911, of which 15 were continuing households, indicating that household mobility was low in Co. Clare. This difference in household mobility had a significant impact on the extent of household formation diversity in both county.

4. Household Head Characteristics

Table 1. Household heads grouped by age in Co. Clare & Co. Meath

age	Co. Clare		Co. Meath	
	1901	1911	1901	1911
~19	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
20~29	4.6	2.7	5.6	4.7
30~39	13.4	12.3	14.2	15.2
40~49	20.5	19.1	19.9	19.6
50~59	23.2	21.1	23.6	19.1
60~69	22.5	20.9	23.4	19.6
70~79	11.4	20.0	10.1	18.4
80~89	3.9	3.4	2.7	2.9
90~	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	21,117	20,292	14,861	14,758
Average	53.2	56.3	52.1	54.4

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901, 1911



Source: Agricultural Statistics, 1901, 1911

The average age of household heads in Co. Clare was 53.2 in 1901 and 56.3 in 1911. In Co. Meath this was 52.1 and 54.4, respectively showing that

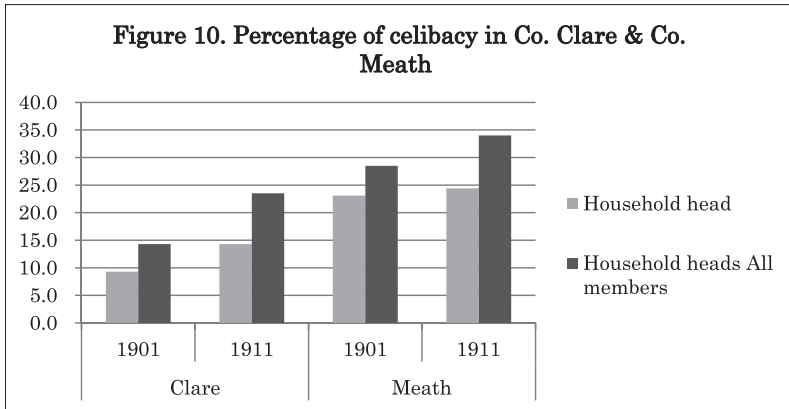
the average of household heads was higher in Co. Clare than in Co. Meath and that average ages were higher in 1911 than in 1901. Co. Clare's 40 to 60 cohort in 1901 expands into a 40 to 80 cohort in 1911. In Co. Meath the 1901 figures were similar to those for Co. Clare, while 1911 figures became distributed across ages 30 to 80 (Table 1 and Figure.9).

Both counties had a very low percentage of young household heads. Household heads aged between 20 and 29 accounted only for 3 to 5 percent in both counties and even those in their 30s accounted only for 13 to 15 percent (Table 2). This was true for all parts of Ireland and in Co. Clare the advanced age of household heads indicates that the headship was maintained for long periods of time, further raising the age of household heads in 1911¹⁾. Co. Meath also shows this characteristic, although younger members of its population were more likely to become household heads than their counterparts in Clare, because early marriages were more likely

Table 2. Percentage of Married household in Co. Clare and Co. Meath. 1901 and 1911

Age	Co. Clare		Co. Meath	
	1901	1911	1901	1911
10~19	10.3	14.3	2.8	0.0
20~29	48.9	51.6	49.2	48.5
30~39	73.3	71.7	64.4	67.2
40~49	74.4	75.5	60.2	64.1
50~59	65.9	70.0	54.2	57.1
60~69	58.1	58.3	47.5	46.0
70~79	51.7	44.7	39.3	35.4
80~89	40.7	41.8	23.7	29.5
90~	32.4	27.6	7.9	12.2
Total	63.1	62.1	52.4	52.4
N	21,117	20,292	14,861	14,758

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath, 1901, 1911



Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1910, 1911

among landless laborers.

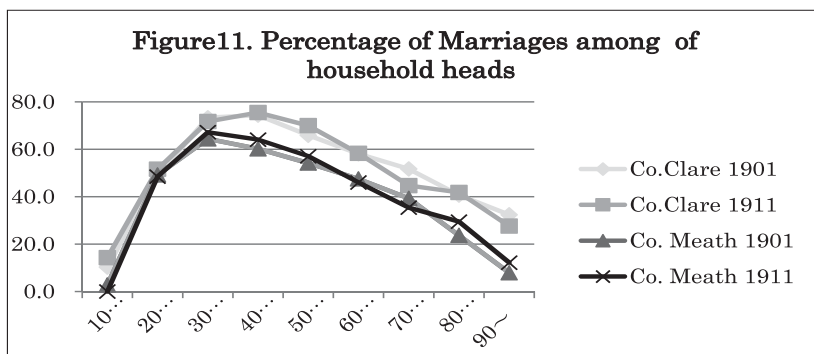
The proportion of married household heads was higher in Co. Clare than in Co. Meath: in 1901, 63.1 percent of Co. Clare's household heads were married and 62.1 percent in 1911. In Co. Meath the percentage was 52.4 in both years. In both years, household heads in their 40s were the most likely to be married in Co. Clare, while in Co. Meath the highest proportion of married household heads was found in the 30s age group. The proportion who never married among Co. Clare's general population was 14.3 percent in 1901 and 23.5 percent in 1911. Among Co. Clare's household heads, the proportion who never married was 9.3 percent in 1901 and 14.3 percent in 1911. In Co. Meath, the figures were 28.5 percent and 34.0 percent for the general population and 23.1 percent and 24.4 percent for household heads. Co. Meath had a lower proportion of married household heads and the county's proportion who never married was far higher than in Co. Clare (Figure.10).

In other words, Co. Clare is characterized by a higher proportion of

household heads who married late in life and Co. Meath by a higher proportion of household heads who never married. These distinct marital trends significantly impacted the formation of households. In Co. Clare, the wait to inherit resulted in late marriages and in Co. Meath, lifelong celibacy contributed to the formation of co-resident sibling households.

A look at the percentage of household heads engaged in occupations with shares of 0.5 percent or more among the 414 occupational categories [Schurer, Kevin & Matthew Woollard, 2002, 46–52] reveals that farmers ranked as the top occupation among Co. Clare household heads in both 1901 and 1911 at 56.8 percent in both years. This was followed by agricultural laborers at 6.6 percent in 1901 and 5.4 percent in 1911, general laborers at 5.4 percent and 5.8 percent, servants at 3.7 percent and 1.4 percent, shopkeepers at 2.4 percent and 2.2 percent and inn and hotel keepers and publicans at 1.3 percent and 1.1 percent.

In Co. Meath, farmers ranked top at 46.5 percent and 44.4 percent in 1901 and 1911 respectively followed by agricultural laborers at 18.3 percent and 20.6 percent, general laborers at 8.4 percent and 12.9 percent,



Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath, 1901 and 1911

Table 3. Occupations of household heads in Co. Clear & Co. Meath, 1901, 1911

Code	Occupation	Clare		Meath	
		1901	1911	1901	1911
2	Civil Servants (officers and clerks)	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.2
5	Police	0.7	0.9	0.5	0.1
12	Army Pensioners	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1
33	Teachers	0.8	0.8	0.1	0.6
55	Domestic Gardeners	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5
56	Domestic Indoor Servants	3.7	1.4	3.8	1.1
62	Charwomen	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.2
81	Other Railway Officials and Servants	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5
84	Coachmen	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.5
100	Farmers	56.8	56.8	46.5	44.4
103	Agricultural Laborers	6.6	5.4	18.3	20.6
104	Shepherds	0.9	1.6	3.7	3.6
112	Gardeners (not domestic)	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.5
114	Grooms, Horse Keepers	0	0	0.6	0.8
121	Fishermen	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1
168	Carpenters, Joiners	0.9	0.9	1.5	1.7
214	Innkeepers, Hotel Keepers, Publicans	1.3	1.1	0.9	1
236	Grocers	0.6	0.7	0.4	0.4
282	Tailors	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.5
290	Shoe, Boot-Makers, Traders	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.7
377	Blacksmiths	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.8
399	General Shopkeepers, Traders	2.4	2.2	0.6	0.4
404	General Labourers	5.4	5.8	8.4	12.9
	Total	85.3	81.3	90.2	92.2
	N	20,873	20,085	11,900	10,747

Note: over 0.5% of total occupation

Source: Census of Returns of Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath, 1901, 1911

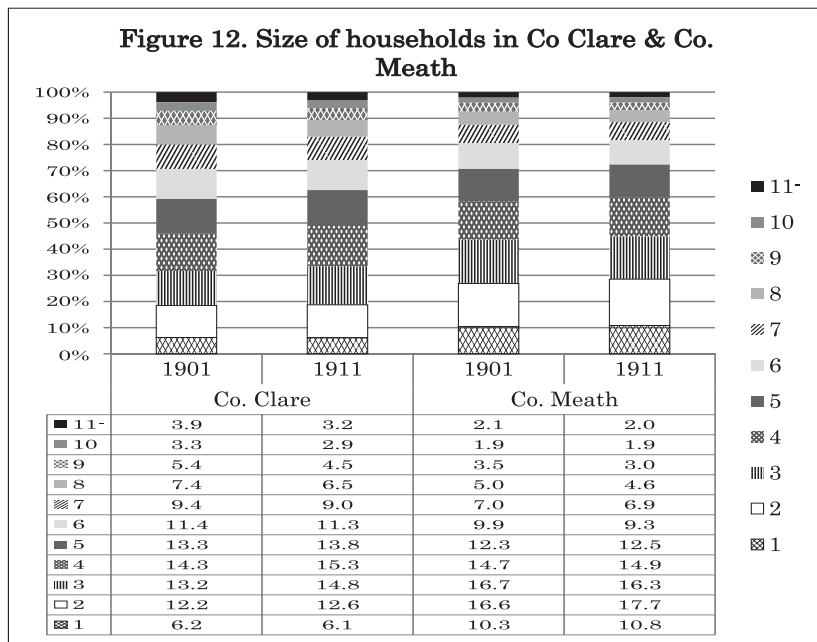
shepherds at 3.7 percent and 3.6 percent and servants at 3.8 percent and 1.1 percent (Table 3).

The prevalence in Co. Meath of agricultural laborers and shepherds is a clear indication of the predominance of large-scale livestock farming in the county. The prevalence of general laborers [i.e. labourers who were not agricultural labourers], on the other hand must have been the result of pull factors such as labor markets in the county towns of Navan, Trim and Kells as well as neighboring Dublin.

By comparison, Co. Clare was a more traditional agricultural region, although it had towns such as Ennis, Ennistymon and Kilrush. Unlike Co. Meath, it lacked a large city in its immediate vicinity. The following part of

the paper will examine how differences in the pattern of household heads affected household structures in the two counties.

5. Household Size



Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath, 1901 and 1911

The average number of household members in Co. Clare was 5.2 persons in 1901 and 5.0 persons in 1911. In Co. Meath this was 4.4 and 4.3 persons, respectively meaning that there was a difference of 0.7 to 0.8 persons between the two counties. A closer look reveals that Co. Meath had a large proportion of households comprising one to four people, unlike Co. Clare, which had a greater proportion of households with four or more household members, a contrast that is reflected in the difference in average

household size between the two counties (Figure.12).

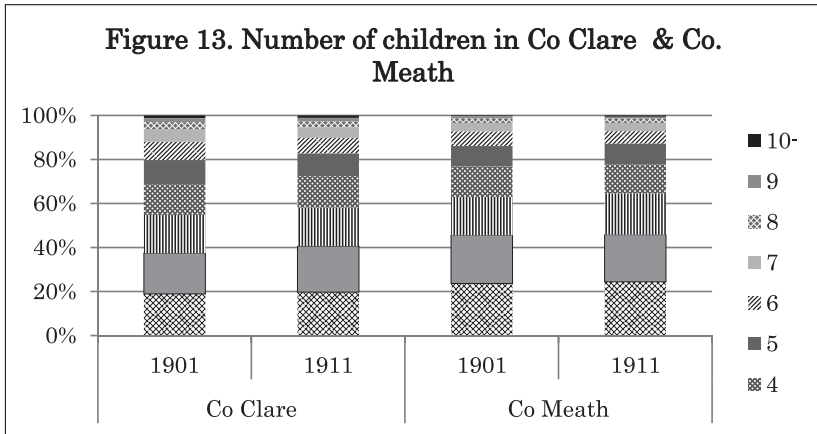
Factors that affected household size most are thought to be the number of children and co-resident non-relatives.

The average number of children in Co. Clare was 3.6 in 1901 and 3.5 in 1911. In Co. Meath the numbers were 3.2 and 3.1 in the same years, a 0.4 difference from Co. Clare (Table 4; Figure.13). The number of co-resident non-relatives, such as servants, boarders, lodgers and visitors showed a slight decline from 1901 to 1911 in both counties (Figure.14). The decline of children and co-resident non-relative numbers contributed to the reduction in household size.

Table 4. Number of children households in Co. Clare & Co. Meath, 1901 and 1911

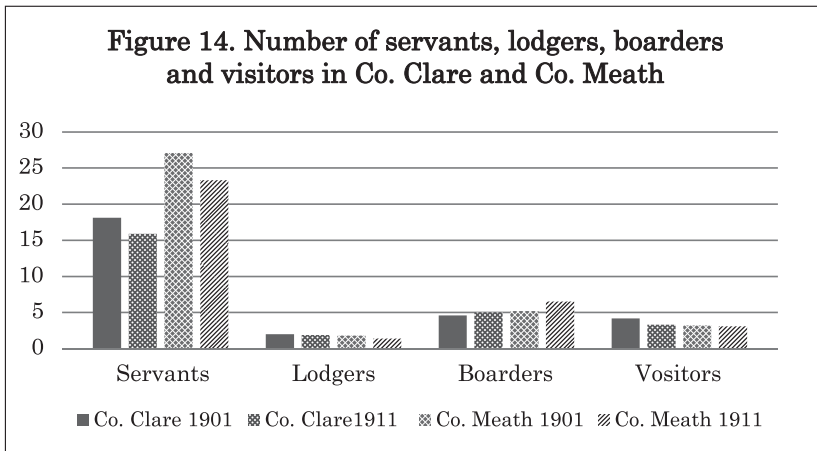
No	Co. Clare		Co. Meath	
	1901	1911	1901	1911
1	18.9	19.7	23.6	24.4
2	18.5	21	21.8	21.5
3	17.4	17.5	17.5	18.8
4	14	14.3	13.8	13.2
5	10.9	10.3	9.3	9.3
6	8.3	7.1	6.6	5.7
7	5.8	4.8	3.9	3.8
8	3.1	2.7	2.1	2
9	1.8	1.6	0.9	0.8
10-	1.3	1.1	0.4	0.6
Total	100	100	100	100
N	15,833	14,911	9,762	9,041
Average	3.6	3.5	3.2	3.1

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911



Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911

Figure 14. Number of servants, boarders, lodgers and visitors in Co. Clare & Co. Meath



Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911

Table 5. Percentage of unmarried children in age cohorts, Co. Clare & Co. Meath, 1901, 1911

age	Co. Clare				Co. Meath			
	1901		1911		1901		1911	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0~4	14.8	17.5	14.9	18.0	16.1	18.4	16.6	20.3
5~9	17.8	20.0	17.2	19.5	17.1	19.8	17.6	21.1
10~14	18.2	20.4	17.0	19.6	17.3	19.9	16.1	19.4
15~19	16.5	18.5	15.9	16.9	15.2	16.2	13.7	14.1
20~24	14.1	13.0	12.1	11.2	13.9	12.4	11.7	9.5
25~29	9.5	6.7	8.5	7.2	9.3	7.5	9.0	7.1
30~34	5.3	2.4	6.4	4.0	5.9	3.1	6.7	3.9
35~39	2.4	0.9	4.5	2.0	3.0	1.4	4.3	2.5
40~44	0.9	0.4	2.1	0.8	1.3	0.7	2.3	1.1
45~49	0.4	0.2	1.4	0.7	0.8	0.6	2.0	1.1
Tortal	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	31,170	25,556	27,931	22,861	16,030	13,303	15,461	12,204

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911

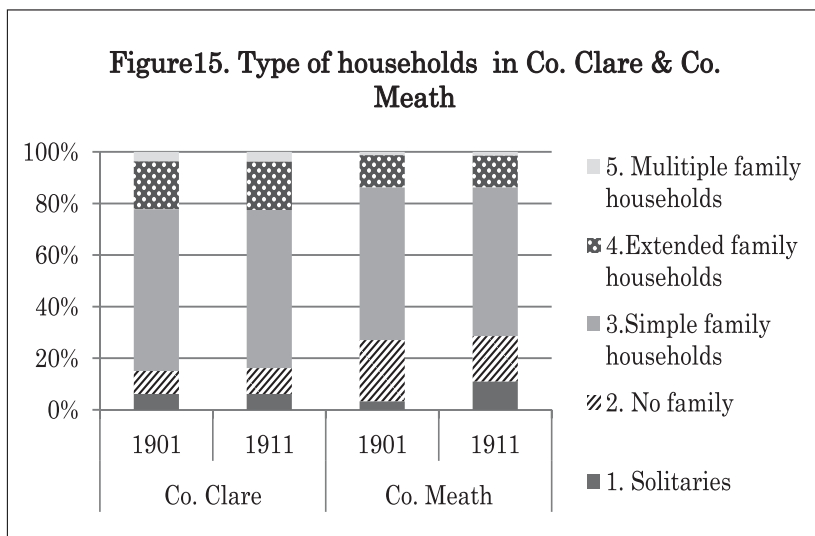
When one looks at the proportion of households with unmarried children by age, in Co. Clare the figures for males drop at 25–29 in both years, while females begin to decline at 20–24. Results were similar in Co. Meath where the marriage rate was lower than in Co. Clare. Figures for Co. Clare males aged between 30 and 39 were 7.7 percent in 1901 and 10.9 percent in 1911. In Co. Meath this was 8.9 percent and 11.0 percent (Table 5). Two factors contributed to the result: postponement of marriage until inheritance and the rise of the proportion never married, which became a nationwide trend in Ireland from around 1881.

6. Household Types

When one looks at the households in Co. Clare and Co. Meath according to the Hammel-Laslett household classification [Hammel, Laslett, 1974, 96], simple family households were the most prevalent type in Co. Clare,

accounting for 62.6 percent of households in 1901 and 61.3 percent in 1911. This was followed by extended family households, which accounted for 18.5 percent and 18.7 percent respectively, no family households at 8.9 percent and 10.0 percent and solitaries at 6.1 percent. Extended family households and multiple family households combined made up 22.2 percent in 1901 and 22.5 percent in 1911. Since it has already been verified that extended family households and multiple family households accounted for roughly 20 percent of households in western Ireland, Co. Clare can be seen as typical of the region.

On the other hand, in Co. Meath simple family households amounted to 59.1 percent of households in 1901 and 57.6 percent in 1911. No family households occupied a 23.8 percent share in 1901 and 17.6 percent share in 1911. The share of solitaries also increased sharply from 3.2 percent in 1901 to 10.9 percent in 1911 (Figure.15 and Table 6).



Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911

Co. Meath had lower percentages of extended family households and multiple family households than Co. Clare. In both years, they accounted for only 3.8 percent of Co. Meath households. Compared with Co. Clare, Co. Meath had a distinctly higher proportion of solitaries and no family households and lower proportions of extended family households and multiple family households. The prevalence of solitaries and no family households was interpreted by Matsuo as an indication of loosening familial bonds [Matsuo, 1995: 51].

Table 6. Composition of households in Co. Clare and Co. Meath, 1901, 1911

Categories	Class	Co. Clare		Co. Meath	
		1901	1911	1901	1911
1. Solitaries	1a Widow	3.2	2.4	3.2	3.1
	1b Single	3.0	3.7	7.1	7.8
2. No family	2a Co-residence siblings	4.0	5.2	8.9	9.0
	2b Co-residence kin	2.7	2.6	4.5	4.7
	2c Persons not related	2.3	2.3	3.6	4.0
3. Simple family households	3a Married couple	5.9	6.0	6.8	7.6
	3b Married couple with children	38.6	37.9	34.1	33.7
	3c Widowers with children	5.1	4.9	5.2	4.7
	3d Widows with children	13.0	12.6	12.7	11.7
4. Extended family households	4a Extended upwards	7.1	7.2	3.3	3.3
	4b Extended downwards	5.8	5.6	5.1	5.0
	4c Extended laterally	4.3	4.9	3.6	3.3
	4d Combinations of 4a-4c	1.3	1.0	0.6	0.6
5. Multiple family households	5a Secondary units upwards	1.7	2.0	0.3	0.3
	5b Secondary units downwards	2.0	1.8	1.0	1.1
	5c Secondary units lateral	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	5d <i>Frdreches</i>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	5e Other multiple family households	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N		20,833	20,347	14,853	14,733

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare & C. Meath, 1901, 1911

If one takes a closer look at each class of household in Co. Clare where there was less variety in family strategy than in Co. Meath, a farm household would have been formed in the wake of inheritance and an arranged marriage based on a dowry system after the household head's

demise. Such a family strategy must have been the most appropriate choice for Co. Clare's many small and medium-sized farm households.

Co. Meath households were characterized by a high occurrence of unmarried persons among solitaries and high frequency of co-resident siblings, relatives and non-relatives constituting no family households. The low occurrence of upward and lateral extensions among extended family households and the low occurrence of upward extensions among multiple family households were also characteristic of Co. Meath households. Such characteristics had not been observed in western Ireland.

Several factors coincided to bring about these characteristics. Prolonged household headship by the parent forced offspring to wait for the parent's physical decline or demise before succeeding to landholdings and headship, which increased the likelihood of the heir delaying marriage and maintaining co-residence with siblings. There was also the possibility of the mother becoming the heir after the death of the father, in which case offspring came into their inheritance only after the mother's death, further delaying marriage. Furthermore, when it finally came to marriage by matchmaking, heirs of small and medium-sized farm households, who had aged in the process of waiting for inheritance, had more difficulty finding matches compared to heirs of large farm households who could find local matches more readily [Irish Folklore Commission, ms. 1460]. Offspring of Co. Meath farm households were more likely to remain at home increasing their chances of remaining single. Unmarried only-child heirs would have chosen to co-reside with relatives or non-relatives. More choice was available to offspring of laborer households, including seeking employment in surrounding areas or in Dublin, or emigrating to Britain or the U.S., which in turn would have increased their likelihood of leaving parental

homes at an early age to start new families.

If all children left home early, this could create households composed of married couples without children and an absence of heirs. In that case, available options included bringing a sibling back as heir to the parental household, transferring the inheritance to offspring of relatives or selling off the landholding. Heirs of large farm households in Co. Meath, however, were more likely to wait for their inheritance in the meantime taking part in running the family farm under the control of the household head, rather than leave home. This diversity of possible family strategies resulted in the diversity of Co. Meath's household structures.

The polarization of Co. Meath households into large farm households and landless farm households contributed to the formation of households adapted to diverse family strategies. Although multiple family households accounted only for 1.3 to 1.4 percent of Co. Meath households, the combined sum of multiple family households and extended family households accounted for 13.8 percent, which may be interpreted as an indication of the presence of a stem family norm, suggesting the possibility that in farm households family circumstances might favour the stem family norm in eastern Ireland as well.

To find out which occupations were most likely among extended family households and multiple family households, these households were divided into farmers, laborers and others. Among Co. Clare farming households, 22.0 percent were extended family households and 5.3 percent were multiple family households. The figures were roughly the same for 1911. The share of extended and multiple family households among laborers and other occupations, however, was lower at 15 to 16 percent. An apparent characteristic among farmers is the tendency of their extended family

households to be stem families (Tables 7 and 8).

Table 7. Composition of household by occupation in Co. Clare, 1901, 1911

Year	1901			1911		
	Farmer	Laborer	Other	Farmer	Laborer	Other
Solitaries	2.4	9.7	9.8	2.6	10.8	9.4
No family	6.9	6.1	13.8	9.0	6.9	13.9
Simple family households	63.3	68.0	60.5	60.3	66.8	60.8
Extended family households	22.0	14.2	14.2	22.7	13.4	13.7
Multiple family households	5.3	1.9	1.7	5.3	2.0	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (households)	111,883	2,787	4,800	11,107	2,218	2,151

Laborer includes agricultural and general laborers

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911

Table 8. Composition of households by occupation in Co. Meath, 1901,1911

Year	1901			1911		
	Farmer	Laborer	Other	Farmer	Laborer	Other
Solitaries	1.6	2.8	4.7	8.2	11.7	11.1
No family	25.9	19.4	24.2	23.8	11.8	16.5
Simple family households	56.7	65.0	58.3	53.3	63.3	59.7
Extended family households	14.1	11.6	12.0	13.1	11.8	11.7
Multiple family households	1.7	1.2	0.9	1.6	1.4	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (households)	5,522	3,614	2,683	4,763	3,974	1,898

Laborer includes agricultural and general laborers

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911

In Co. Meath extended family households among farmers in 1901 stood at 14.1 percent and multiple family households at 1.7 percent with little change in 1911. Ratios among laborers and other occupations were lower than among farmers at 12 to 13 percent.

Furthermore, a comparison of Co. Clare and Co. Meath shows that the numerical values reflect countywide tendencies as described earlier. In Co. Clare extended family households and multiple family households were

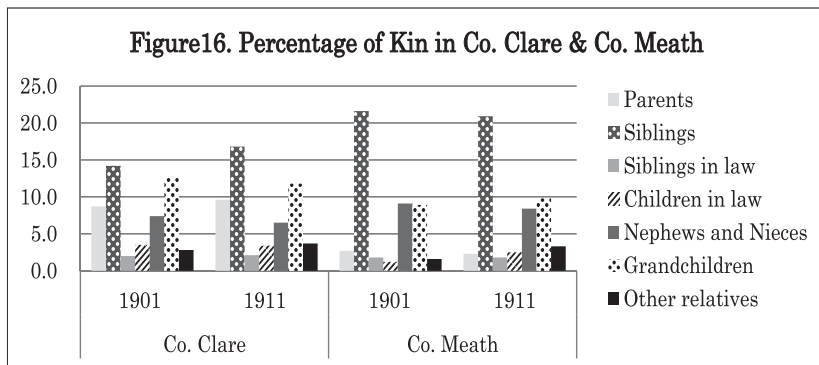
found more frequently among farmers than in other occupations, while in Co. Meath there was no noticeable difference between occupations in the frequency of extended and multiple family households. However, no family households occurred more frequently with farmers than with other occupations and solitaries were more frequent among farmers. This can be seen as a manifestation of the situation in which the heir did not form a family immediately after inheriting the property on a parent's death.

7. Number of Relatives

Discussed here are the numbers of co-resident relatives per 100 households according to the relative's relationship to the household head. The household head, spouse and their children are excluded [R. Wall, 1983, 500]. The number of relatives in Co. Clare was 51.3 persons in 1901 and 53.9 persons in 1911. In Co. Meath this was 46.9 persons and 49 persons in respective years. Co. Clare surpassed Co. Meath by 4.4 persons in 1901 and 4.9 persons in 1911 (Table 9). These figures indicate that Co. Meath had fewer extended family households and multiple family households than Co. Clare, although figures for Co. Clare were lower than Co. Donegal's 70 to 90 persons and higher than England's 32 persons [R. Wall, 1983, 500]. The figures for Co. Clare are thought to be close to the average for Ireland.

A more detailed look reveals that the occurrence of stem family variables such as parents, children in law (many of whom were spouses of children) and grandchildren was more pronounced in Co. Clare than in Co. Meath (Figure.16, Table 9). In Co. Meath such variables occurred less frequently, meaning there were fewer stem families. Siblings, on the other hand, occurred more frequently in Co. Meath corresponding to the higher frequency of no family households.

The number of servants declined throughout the whole of Ireland after 1901 [R. Breen, 1983, 88]. Likewise in Co. Meath the number of servants declined from 27 in 1901 to 23 in 1911, but this still exceeded Co. Clare's 7 to 9 servants by a fair margin, reflecting the larger scale of farm operations in Co. Meath.



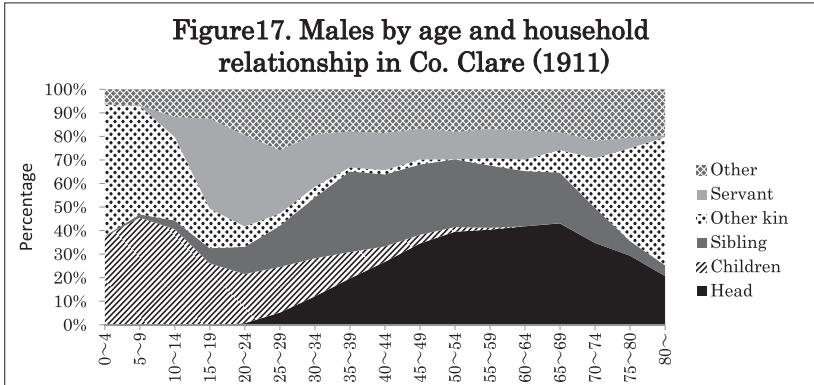
Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911

Table 9. Resident relatives and others by relation to household head in Co. Meath by per 100 households

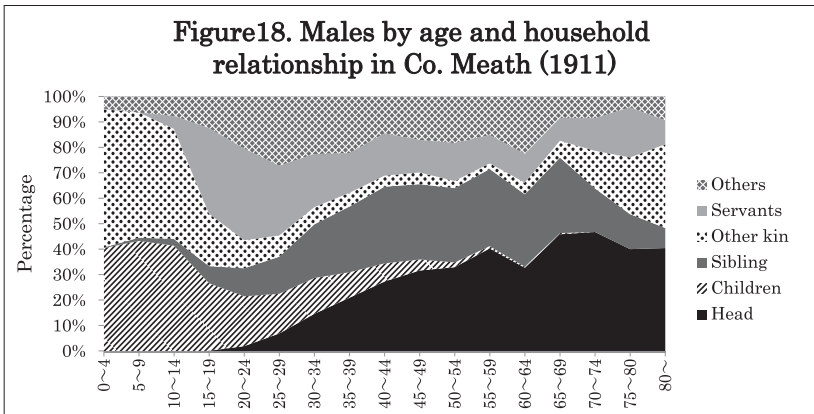
	Co. Clare		Co. Meath	
	1901	1911	1901	1911
Parents	8.7	9.6	2.7	2.3
Siblings	14.2	16.8	21.6	20.9
Siblings in law	2.0	2.1	1.8	1.8
Children in la	3.5	3.4	1.2	2.5
Nephews and	7.4	6.5	9.1	8.4
Grandchildre	12.7	11.8	8.9	9.8
Other relative	2.8	3.7	1.6	3.3
Total kin	51.3	53.9	46.9	49.0
Servants	18.1	15.9	27.1	23.3
Lodgers	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.4
Boarders	4.6	5.0	5.2	6.5
Visitors	4.2	3.3	3.2	3.1

Note and Source: unit =persons, Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911

8. Life Course of Household Heads and Formation of Households



Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911



Source: Census Returns for Ireland, Co. Clare and Co. Meath 1901 and 1911

As mentioned earlier, as a desire existed among household heads to hold on to headships and landholdings for as long as possible and keep the family name on the land, it prevented heirs from inheriting such privileges at an early stage. This led to heirs, viewed as a form of family labor, being

forced to remain single. To look at Co. Clare in 1911 in terms of the life course of household heads, household heads formed a gently sloping upward series of age cohorts from the 20s to the 60s, while resident siblings could be found even in their 50s (Figure.17).

Siblings peaked at the 30s and 40s. They included younger generations than household heads and their distribution shifted in parallel to that of household heads. Parents increased from the 60s onward. The most prominent overall shift observed in both years was the expansion of children in their 40s and 50s.

In Co. Meath the age distribution of household heads age ranged from heads in the 20s to 60s, though dropping slightly in the early 60s, a peak well beyond the 60s. Distribution of siblings continued into the 50s and siblings aged between 20 and 80 are seen co-residing with household heads. Co-resident parents, on the other hand, started to increase from the late 60s (Figure.18).

The comparison of the life course of family members in Co. Clare and Co. Meath indicates that there was prolonged co-residence of children in Co. Clare and at the next stage they changed to co-residence of siblings in Co. Meath. Co. Clare had a distinctly higher proportion of co-resident parents. As for servants in Co. Clare, they peaked in the younger age groups, whereas the groups were spread out more evenly in Co. Meath. The differences in the life course of these two counties significantly influenced the high occurrence of extended and multiple family households in Co. Clare and their low occurrence in Co. Meath. In other words, household heads in Co. Clare maintained headship for longer periods than their counterparts in Co. Meath.

9. Conclusions

Based on the assumption that Co. Clare's stem family model proposed by Aresnberg and Kimball was the proto-typical Irish family, the author set out to identify the differences between household structures in western and eastern Ireland by looking at 1901 and 1911 census returns.

In Co. Clare in western Ireland, household structures were characterized by the prevalence of small and medium-scale farmers, low household mobility and a pattern of relatively prolonged headship. The household head typically preferred to maintain his headship for as long as he lived rather than transferring it to an heir. In consequence the heir, presumptive, remaining unmarried, took part in running the farm. Consequently, marriages tended to be late and in the form of arranged marriages once an heir came into his inheritance. However, total 25 percent of households were formed extended family households and multiple family households. These were mainly families, which possessed strong stem family norms and which were influenced by family situational factors.

In Co. Meath in eastern Ireland, households tended to consist of large-scale farm households and landless laborer households. Landless laborers had high mobility, typically taking part in internal migration, international migration or Atlantic migration. Large-scale farmers primarily engaged in livestock farming rather than crop farming and like farmers in Co. Clare, household heads preferred to maintain their headships for long. In turn, heirs adopted the family strategy of participating in running the farm in anticipation of inheriting upon the household head's demise. Even after coming into their inheritance, the marriage rate for Co. Meath heirs

was lower than for Co. Clare and the percentage of those who never married was twice that of Clare. This led to a high occurrence of households formed by children and siblings remaining in the parental home and a low occurrence of extended family households and multiple family households. This indicated a pattern of dissolution in household formation, a result of circumstances which altered the family norm in forming households.

(Notes)

(1) Rhodes pointed out that 'increasing age at marriage in the post-Famine period reflected these concerns as did the aging of the farmer class itself. The percentage of farmers 65 years and over almost doubled from 17.8% in 1871 to 33.3% in 1911 [Rita M. Rhodes, 1992, 88–9].

Acknowledgments

I am deep thanks to Emeritus Professor Louis M. Cullen of Trinity College Dublin for supporting and correcting this paper. I got lots of help from Associate Professor Arne Solli of University of Bergen for operating of my data. I had benefitted from a grant the 2013–15, Grand-in-Aid Scientific Research (C), Project Number 25380722.

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The Structure of Irish Households
of Early 20th Century:
Comparing Results for Co. Clare and Co. Meath

SHIMIZU Yoshifumi

This paper sets out to clarify the characteristics of Irish household structure from a perspective of comparing Co. Clare of middle-class farmer's region and Co. Meath of large farmer region.

My hypothesis that the type of stem family was more dominant in Co. Clare than Co. Meath., because the norm of stem family in Co. Meath was weaker than Co. Clare. Sons in Co. Meath who were not appointed heirs faced the choice of receiving small amounts of money before leaving home to seek employment in large cities like Dublin, Belfast or Cork, and emigrating to Britain or the United States. But sons in Co Clare were not easy to get job at near town and they wanted to wait for inheritance of landholding.

To verify this hypothesis, I used the 1901 and 1911 census returns (100% data) and have arrived at the following results.

Firstly I found the average of size of household in Co. Clare was 5.2 members and 1901 and 5.0 in 1911 and this number was larger than those in Co. Meath (4.4 and 4.3).

It seems that partly the small number of children born due to influenced by the late marriage and the practice of celibacy in Co. Meath.

Secondly I believe the type dominant household was stem family (extended family household and multiple family household), its number of 23.8% in 1901 and 17.6% in 1911, but in Co. Meath simple family type was dominant.

Thirdly looking at a detailed tabulation of kinship groups in 100

households, the household had 51 (1901) to 54 (1911) persons in Co Clare, but in Co. Meath from 47 to 49 persons. In that situation we saw to construct the stem family in Co. Clare.

I have mostly verified the above my hypothesis by using agricultural and census data.

Keywords : Co. Clare, Co. Meath, Stem family, Middle farmer, Large farmer