

# Changes in Families in Ireland from the 19th Century to the Early 20th Century

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## 1. Introduction

First and foremost, a common understanding is necessary that in general, families consist of two elements, family norms and family situations, and that families are structured by the mutually defining relationship of these two elements.

In the history of family comparisons, the approaches used can be divided into two major categories: the nuclear family system approach and the stem family system approach. The representative study using the nuclear family approach is by the Cambridge Group in England. In Germany, Mitterauer takes the position of the nuclear family system, and interprets the formation of stem families as a step in the family life cycle or in relation to the retirement system<sup>1)</sup>.

According to Saito, the European approach towards studies of families is basically that families have the possibility of forming stem families as a part of the family cycle, but this is considered a variation of the nuclear

family system, and the approach explores the conditions under which formation of such a family is observed. On the other hand, the Japanese approach views stem family from the point of view of the stem family system, in which family forms can become either nuclear family or stem family depending on the family cycle<sup>2)</sup>. The author believes that both approaches are necessary in order to understand Irish families in Ireland.

In "The Explanation of Ideology," E. Todd has already confirmed the existence of four different types of families in Europe: exogamous community family, authoritarian family, egalitarian nuclear family, and absolute nuclear family<sup>3)</sup> considering Irish families to represent the stem family type.

Now, in "Family and community in Ireland," a pioneering research on study of families in Ireland by American cultural anthropologists C. M. Arensberg and S. T. Kimball, explain the stem family through the dowry, matchmaking and inheritance system, and conclude that the rural communities of Ireland in the 1930s had a well-unified and relatively stable society due to these stem families.<sup>4)</sup>

Their work was a descriptive study of Irish families, but the mainstream of Irish family research that followed was quantitative investigation of families from the 19th century to the early 20th century based on census data. Representative scholars of such research were F. J. Carney<sup>5)</sup>, P. Gibbon & C. Curtin<sup>6)</sup>, T. G. M. Gabriel<sup>7)</sup>, Breen, R. J.<sup>8)</sup>, D. Fitzpatrick<sup>9)</sup>, K. O'Neill<sup>10)</sup>, V. Morgan & W. Macafee<sup>11)</sup>, C. Corrigan<sup>12)</sup>, D. Birdwell-Phesant<sup>13)</sup> and T. Guinnane.<sup>14)</sup>

The first study was that of F. J. Carney on family structure from the 19th century to the early 20th century, based on census data. He took the census samples from 1821 and 1911, and focused on the change of families

from simple family households to extended family households, as well as the miniaturization of household size that took place during this period<sup>15)</sup>.

However, what brought greater impact onto later Irish family research was the work of P. Gibbon and C. Curtin. The characteristics of their work is that they used sample data of fifteenth townlands from seven Counties in the 1911 census returns, and associated stem families with element of norms and element of situation; they identified that stem families are easily formed in mid-sized farming areas.<sup>16)</sup> Plus, the fact that by using the 1911 census returns which had just been made available for use, their research opened up the research route of using census data, a primary historical resource, and this must receive high recognition. However, since their research is based on the data from the census of only 1911, the research result is limited.

## **2. The Theory of the Irish Family Structure**

The family system in Ireland prior to the Great Irish Famine in 1845 typically took the form of the nuclear family. In the nuclear family system, the family consists of a married couple and their single children, with some special circumstances such as a child receiving partible inheritance early on or leaving the family without inheriting, and in the end, the family, now consisting only of the aged couple, is terminated by their deaths. The nuclear family system is formed within certain family situations that have the norm of the nuclear family; certain situations that supported the norm of the nuclear family before 1840 included the existence of extensive wasteland, the ease of land subdivision, an abundant potato harvest, high marriage rate, high birthrate, early marriages and a large number of laborers, and development of proto-industrialization that absorbed labor

power<sup>17)</sup>. In addition, such families had the possibility of forming stem families as well, depending on the family cycle, by living with parents of either the husband or the wife in order to reduce the economic risks of the newly-weds.

On the other hand, Irish families began to change from around 1840, and the tendency towards stem families can be observed. Deliberation of Irish stem family system from the elements of its members and inheritance is as follows. First, the members of the family would consist of a married couple and their children, and second, the child designated by the father as the heir (normally, the oldest son tended to be chosen) would form a new family with the dowry from the partner and the matchmaking system, and the first couple and the new couple living under one roof would complete the typical stem family within the stem family system. And, due to the one-heir norm from the 1850s onwards, the possibility for the children marrying later becomes very high. In other words, the power of the older couple as the head of a household is prolonged, and the heir cannot marry until the said power is forfeited or transferred, thus resulting in a high percentage of single people or later marriages. The non-heir siblings must make a choice around the time the heir is determined to either leave the family by emigration, employment, or marriage into the wife's family, or to remain single in the original household.

If the Fitzpatrick theory is employed for the element of inheritance, it can be said that partible inheritance up to 1852 was replaced by impartible inheritance, creating a land ownership norm.<sup>18)</sup> It is observed that in farms, the inheritance norm is that most of the land is inherited by one person; the farm, the house and the assets are passed from father to son, resulting in a one-heir patrilineal inheritance, and this is especially prominent in land

inheritance. However, this does not necessarily mean a strict one-heir inheritance, since support is provided for women that are not the heir by way of dowry.

With such a family norm, certain family situations such as reduced dependency on potatoes after the famine, the landlords evicting tenant farmers in order to unify lands instead of dividing lands and realize commercial agriculture, limitation of arable lands, decrease of farm labourers and general labourers caused by emigration to UK and America after the Great Famine, convergence of the agricultural management, drop in marriage rate, and increase in single people and late marriages are seen as what would supported the stem family system.<sup>19)</sup>

With the above understanding of the nuclear family system and the stem family system, the author would like to make and deliberate on the hypothesis that Irish families went through drastic changes from the time of the Great Famine onwards, which is around the time when the systems of dowry, matchmaking system and impartible inheritance were established, and by the early 20th century, the form of stem family had replaced the form of nuclear family as the majority. Research from this perspective had hardly been conducted in studies of Irish families before.

### **3. The Attribute of Using the Data**

The first substantive census in Ireland was the 1821 census. The census returns of 1861, 1871, 1881 and 1891 were disposed of early on, and the census returns for 1821, 1841, and 1851 were almost completely lost when the National Archives burnt down in 1922 during the Irish Civil War. Currently, the census returns that still remain in the National Archives are Co. Cavan, Co. Fermanagh, Co. Galway, Co. Meath and Co. Offaly of 1821,

Co. Cavan of 1841, and Co. Antrim and a part of Co. Cork in 1851; the only returns that are complete are 1901 and 1911. Normally, public records in England and Ireland are not supposed to be disclosed for 100 years, but the Irish government deemed these to be historical documents of the colonial period, and disclosed the 1911 census early.

First, the items on the 1821 census (q. v. Picture 1) were first name, last name, age, relationship with the household head, occupation, and area of owned land, but there are blank fields depending on the region, and also, the reliability of the data is limited since the items on the census are so few. The basic items of the 1841 census asked people that were members of the household as of June 6, 1841 to list the first name, last name, age, gender, relationship with the household head, marital status, age of marriage, occupation, education (ability to read and write), and birthplace. Therefore, the basic form of the Irish census was established by the 1841 census, and it can be said that from this point on, the reliability of the census increased. The items of the 1851 census are basically the same as that of the 1841.

Next, the items on the 1901 census were first name, last name, relationship with the household head, religion, education (ability to read and write), age, gender, occupation, marital status, birthplace, Gaelic language capacity and English language capacity. The 1911 census basically employs the format of 1901, but adds items of number of births, number of surviving children, and years of marriage.

Picture 1.  
Sample of 1821 Census Return (Co. Cavan)

No. 2		Townland of <i>Mullagh...</i> in the Parish of <i>Mullagh...</i>		
N. B.—In Counties where Townlands or other denominations are in use, the word "Townland"				
Col. 1. No. of House	Col. 2. No. of Stories	Column 3. NAMES OF INHABITANTS.	Col. 4. AGE.	
			Column 5. OCCUPATION.	
19	1	<i>Andrew Lee his Son</i>	20	<i>Labourer</i>
		<i>Francis Lee his Son</i>	16	<i>Do</i>
		<i>Peter Lee</i>	62	<i>Farmer</i>
		<i>Mary Lee his wife</i>	60	<i>Spinner</i>
		<i>Mary Lee his Daughter</i>	16	<i>Do</i>
<i>Townland of Mullagh</i>			<i>Baron of Mullagh</i>	
19	1	<i>Mary Lee his Daughter</i>	13	<i>Spinner</i>
		<i>Fanny Lee his Daughter</i>	11	
		<i>Barnes Martin</i>	50	<i>Farmer</i>
		<i>Mary Martin his Daughter</i>	40	<i>Spinner</i>
		<i>William Martin his Son</i>	17	<i>Labourer</i>
		<i>Phillip Martin his Son</i>	12	
		<i>Thomas Martin his Son</i>	11	
		<i>Michael Martin his Do</i>	10	
		<i>James Martin his Son</i>	8	
		<i>Barnes Martin his Do</i>	6	
		<i>Kevin Martin his Do</i>	4	
		<i>Ann Martin his Daughter</i>	20	<i>Spinner</i>
		<i>Bridget Martin his Do</i>	6	
20	1	<i>Andrew Connor</i>	65	<i>Farmer</i>
		<i>Mary Connor his wife</i>	50	<i>Spinner</i>
		<i>John Connor his Son</i>	25	<i>Labourer</i>
		<i>Mathia Connor his Do</i>	20	<i>Do</i>
		<i>Andrew Connor his Do</i>	16	<i>Do</i>
		<i>Eleanor Connor his Daughter</i>	23	<i>Spinner</i>
		<i>Bozzy Do</i>	15	<i>Do</i>
21	1	<i>Henry Farley his Gr Child</i>	6	
		<i>Edward Farley his Gr Child</i>	59	
		<i>Frank Farley his wife</i>	46	
		<i>Edward Farley his Son</i>	23	
		<i>Philip Farley his Do</i>	11	

## 4. The Irish Family Structure

### The Attribute of the Household Head

The basic unit of the census is “household,” and as a rule, this is a category that includes everyone that resides in one residential space; therefore, although this unit includes non-related people such as visitors, lodgers, boarders and servants<sup>20)</sup>, they are direct variables. On the other hand, a “family” is a category that excludes these non-relatives and is based on the unit of domestic budget and spending; constructed variables. The author mainly uses the data of family category in the following analysis. According to Table 1 data<sup>21)</sup> used in Irish family analysis is about

Table 1.  
Attribute of Using Data

	1821	1841	1851	1901	1911
Total population	13434	15203	20725	11434	10489
Total households	2472	2328	3976	2359	2215
Mean of household size	5.4	4.9	4.7	4.8	4.7
Mean of family size	5.2	4.8	4.6	4.5	4.5

Table 2.  
Age of Household Heads (%)

Age	1821	1841	1851	1901	1911
~24	2.9	4.5	4.1	1.3	0.8
25~34	23.4	19.8	16.9	8.2	6.7
35~44	24.7	27.7	23.7	17.3	14.1
45~54	22.8	22.6	23.0	21.1	18.2
55~64	17.7	16.4	17.6	28.2	20.5
64~	8.4	9.1	14.8	23.7	39.6
N	2472	2328	3973	2346	2210



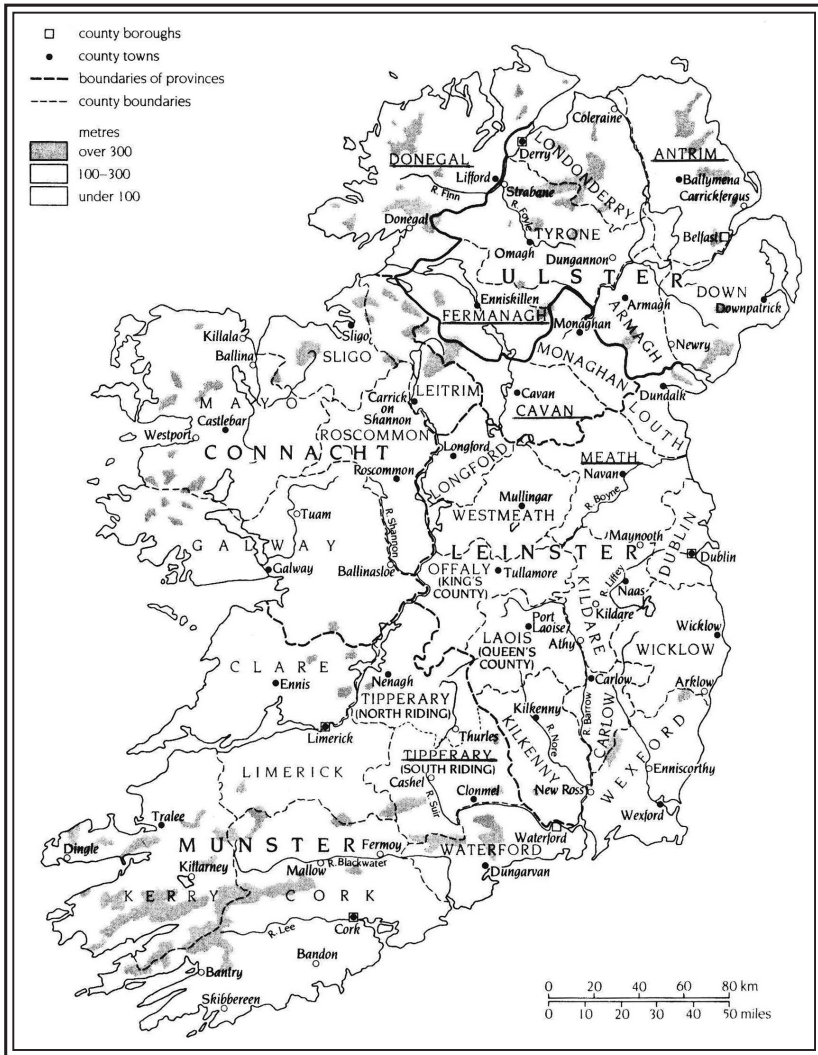


Figure 1.  
 MODERN IRELAND: TOWNS, COUNTIES, AND PROVINCES

Note: The underlines of County are the area of Census Returns of this study.

Source: R.F.Foster(ed.) The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland, 1991, Oxford University Press, p,212

10,000 to 20,000 per period, and 2,000 to 3,000 households. These were not chosen by sampling, but obviously by arbitrary samples.

Next is the attribute of household heads of the target data from the perspective of age and occupation. Age distribution of household head in Table 2 shows significantly inverted results; from 1821 to 1851, those aged 54 and under accounted for around 70%, but in 1901 and 1911, those aged 55 and older accounted for 52 to 60%. This shows that the age of household heads had significantly increased between 1821 and 1911.

In other words, it can be said that the increase in age of household heads is caused by delayed inheritance by heir and subsequently later marriages due to prolonged household headship without transfer. Therefore, it can be said that this strongly reflects the norm of the stem family, and this should be understood in relation with the changes in the inheritance system which occurred from the 1850s.

Table 3.  
Occupation of Household Heads (%)

Occupations	1821	1841	1851	1901	1911
1.Farmer	57.7	34.1	32.2	65.4	64.7
2.Professionals	0.8	1.8	1.0	1.5	1.4
3.Employers,managers,Owners	0.8	2.6	2.8	4.9	4.2
4.Supervisors,Foremen	0.0	0.6	1.0	0.7	0.9
5.Other Non-Manual	0.2	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.8
6.Skilled & Semi-Skilled Manual	20.0	20.8	34.9	8.8	5.7
7.Unskilled Manual	17.8	28.3	19.0	12.2	10.1
8.Other	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.9	1.9
9.No Occupation	2.0	10.4	7.3	5.0	10.2
N	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Next, Table 3 indicating the changes in occupation of the household head shows that in 1821, Farmers were the majority at 58%, Skilled & Semi-Skilled Manual laborers accounted for 20%, and Unskilled Manual laborers accounted for 18%. In 1841 and 1851, Farmers decreased a little, but farming still remained the main occupation. Most of the Skilled & Semi-Skilled Manual laborers were the weavers and spinners of the linen domestic industry that thrived in and around Belfast since the late 18th century; they were mostly landless laborers or part-time farmers owning a few acres of land, and were able to depart from their original home and form a new household by marrying early. Therefore, they formed simple families. Unskilled laborers were mainly the farm laborers, but they either remained in their original home, or even when they left, they could not marry and more than likely ended up forming a non-family household or became lodgers/boarders. However, with the decline of the linen industry from this point on, young people chose to emigrate to England and America rather than to be employed by the undeveloped industry in neighboring cities; this resulted in a drastic decrease of Skilled & Semi-Skilled Manual and Unskilled Manual laborers from 1901 and on, changing the occupation distribution where Farmers (65%) were the unparalleled majority. In the case of farmers, as stated later on, the family strategy where the male heir waits for the inheritance of the farmland is chosen.

## **5. The Size of the Irish Family**

First, the size of family in Table 4 shows that in 1821 the mean family size was 5.2 members while the mean household size of 5.4 members, but the number gradually decreases, and in 1911, the mean family size was down to 4.5 members and the mean household size was at or under 4.8

Table 4.  
Size of Family (%)

Number	1821	1841	1851	1901	1911
1~3	30.5	33.8	35.9	40.4	40.2
4~7	56.2	51.0	51.3	46.1	47.1
8~	13.2	15.2	12.9	13.5	12.6
N	2472	2328	3976	2358	2215
Mean	5.2	4.8	4.6	4.5	4.5

members. The breakdown of family size shows that from 1841 onwards, a families of 1 to 3 members had increased, and those of 4 to 7 members had decreased, showing a significant contrast. This shows the shrinking of family size in Irish families, corresponding with the decreased population.

Table 5.  
The Percentage of Number of Children (%)

Number	1821	1841	1851	1901	1911
1	18.7	20.5	21.4	22.2	25.0
2	20.2	18.7	18.9	22.0	23.4
3	17.3	17.5	19.3	18.6	16.9
4	15.8	14.8	14.8	13.8	13.1
5	12.7	11.3	10.8	8.7	8.5
6	7.6	8.9	7.4	5.3	5.4
7	4.7	4.5	3.9	5.3	3.8
8~	2.9	3.3	3.3	4.1	4.0
N	2088	1864	3041	1716	1618
Mean	2.8	2.8	2.5	2.4	2.3

This shrinking of family size is attributed to the decrease in number of children. According to Table 5, the mean of number of children decreased from 2.8 to 2.3 from 1821 to 1911, and this has strong correlative

relationship with the shrinking of family size. The characteristics are that the number of families with 1 to 2 children increased, while families with 4 to 7 members decreased and families with 8 or more children increased. Shrinking of family size is greatly affected especially by the decrease of number of children from 1851 to 1901. This decrease in number of children is greatly influenced by the early departure or independence of children from the family from 1821 to 1851, but it is also affected by the lower marriage rate due to permanently single people that increased from 1851 onwards.

The gender and age distribution of children show that males and females aged 0 to 20 accounts for 80% in 1821 and 1841, but the number decreases for males and females after 1841, and on the other hand, males and females aged 20 to 40 accounted for 10 to 20% in 1821 and 1841, but the percentage increased to the age of twenties for both in 1841, the males increased to the age of thirties and females increased to the age of twenties in 1901 and 1911. It must be noted that in 1901 and 1911, the existence of single males aged 40 and older is characteristic. This indicates an increase in single people and later marriages for both males and females, and it is also seen in the later marriages of heirs waiting for inheritance, caused by prolonged household headship by the parents.

## **6. The Character of the Irish Family Structure**

Below, the characteristic of Irish families is extracted based on household the classification of Hammel=Laslett<sup>22)</sup>.

According to Table 6, the dominance of simple family gradually decreases from 82% in 1821 to 56% in 1911. On the other hand, the extended family and multiple family show an increase from 13% to 19%,

Table 6.  
Irish Family Type by Hammel=Laslett Classification (%)

Categories	1821	1841	1851	1901	1911
1.Solitaries	2.2	3.4	4.4	5.9	5.9
2.No family	3.5	6.0	8.8	9.9	11.0
3.Simple family	81.7	71.2	67.5	62.4	57.8
4.Extended family	10.5	17.4	16.1	18.1	20.0
5.Multiple family	2.0	1.9	3.2	3.7	5.3

19%, 22% and 25%. This is a significant characteristic. The percentage of extended family and multiple family in Ireland is greater than that of England calculated by the Cambridge Group (The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure), which was 15%, based on this, it can be concluded that the formation of extended family and multiple family began in or after 1841.

Further, by looking at the breakdown of family structure in Table 7, the increase of single or unknown under solitaries (1 b) and increase in coresident siblings under no family (2 a) reflects the increase of permanently single people and later marriages after the Great Famine. In simple family, the characteristic is that its typical form of nuclear family (3 b) has decreased from 58% in 1821 to the 30% in 1901. The large number of widows with children (3 d) is attributed to early deaths of husbands. In extended family, the increase in the extended upwards (4 a) where parent couple and child couple reside together and extended laterally (4 c) are significant. Further, in multiple family, the secondary unit down (5 a), the typical stem family, has obviously increased. From the above results, it can be understood that until around the Great Famine, simple family is dominant, but from then on, extended family and multiple family increased

Table 7.  
Irish Family Type by Hammel=Laslett Classification (%)

Categories	Classes	1821	1841	1851	1901	1911
1.Solitaries	1a.Widowed	0.6	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.0
	1b.Single or unknown	1.6	1.4	2.3	3.5	3.9
2.No family	2a.Coresident siblings	1.4	1.9	3.1	5.6	6.2
	2b.Coresident relatives	0.7	2.6	3.1	2.2	3.0
	2c.Persons not evidently related	1.4	1.5	2.6	2.1	1.8
3.Simple family	3a.Married couples	6.7	6.7	6.2	7.5	6.3
	3b.Married couples with children	58.2	49.8	45.5	36.6	34.8
	3c.Widowers with children	5.4	4.3	4.4	6.2	5.6
	3d.Widows with children	11.4	10.4	11.4	12.1	11.0
4.Extended family	4a.Extended upwards	2.3	3.2	4.0	6.5	6.3
	4b.Extended downwards	5.1	6.3	8.0	5.2	5.7
	4c.Extended laterally	2.5	7.1	3.3	5.2	6.8
	4d.Combinations of 4a-4c	0.6	0.7	0.8	1.2	1.2
5.Multiple family	5a.Secondary unit up	1.7	1.2	1.7	3.3	4.2
	5b.Secondary unit down	0.2	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.5
	5c.Units all one level	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
	5d.Frereches	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	5e.Other multiple families	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.5
N		2472	2327	3972	2340	2206

significantly.

Here is a look at the relationship of occupation and family structure in Table 8. In simple family, laborers outnumber farmers in every period, contrasting with the data that farmers outnumber laborers in extended family and multiple family. This can be understood from the fact that farmer families have a strong norm of the stem family, along with the effect of family situational elements.

Table 8.

The Difference of Irish Family Type between the Farmers and the Laborers(%)

Categories	Occupation	1821	1841	1851	1901	1911
1.Solitaries	Farmers	0.5	0.6	1.7	4.1	3.5
	Laborers	3.4	3.5	4.3	9.9	11.3
2.No family	Farmers	3.3	4.8	10.7	8.6	11.0
	Laborers	3.6	5.5	6.3	8.7	7.2
3.Simple family	Farmers	83.1	71.1	62.9	63.6	58.7
	Laborers	81.1	75.0	74.3	64.3	63.8
4.Extended family	Farmers	10.4	21.3	20.6	19.9	21.3
	Laborers	2.6	14.4	13.3	13.8	15.6
5.Multiple family	Farmers	2.6	2.3	4.1	3.8	5.5
	Laborers	1.8	1.9	2.7	3.2	2.0
N	Farmers	1439	795	1279	1541	1430
	Laborers	943	1143	2142	493	345

Such an increase in extended family and multiple family can be confirmed from the distribution of the relationship with the household head. Table 9 shows the distribution of the relationship of related members residing together with the household head in unit of 100 households.<sup>23)</sup> this can serve as the measurement indicator of nuclear family and stem family.

According to Table 9, the total number of related members per 100 households between 1821 and 1911 was 26 in 1821, and gradually increased until reaching 69 in 1911. In England, it was 32 in 1851<sup>25)</sup>; this shows that Irish families in 1821 were similar to those in England, and that in the early 19th century, Irish families were dominantly simple family. However, the number of related members began to increase, and extended family and multiple family were formed.

Compared with traditional families in Japan, the Japanese stem family is



Table 9.  
Resident Relatives by Relationship to Household Head

Relations	1821	1841	1851	1901	1911	Japan(1920)	England (1851)
Parents	4	4	5	4	4	26	4
Siblings	8	10	12	18	22	11	7
Siblings in law	1	3	2	2	4	1	2
Children in law	1	2	2	8	10	12	2
Nephews or Nieces	3	5	8	7	8	3	5
Grandchildren	7	10	14	22	32	24	12
Other relatives	2	6	3	4	4	4	1
Total	26	40	46	65	84	81	32
Servants	35	31	39	16	13		

(Note) Japan=Toda, T.<sup>24</sup>, England=Wall, R

typically the parent couple and the child couple residing together. However, in Ireland, families are mainly the child couple and grandchildren, with less parent couples, and have the weak horizontal extension that is typical of stem family. The difference is the coexistence of lateral extension including collateral relatives, mainly siblings, nephews and nieces, and vertical extension. However, the lower distribution of families with parent couples can be interpreted to be caused by prolonged household headship by and life span of the parent couple.

From the above, it can be said that until 1851, children separated from their original household by partible inheritance and employment, but after that, the household head began to hold on to the headship until greater age, resulting in delay in the succession of household headship by the children, and this caused the increase in the overall age of household heads. The transfer of household headship is usually attributed to physical deterioration or death of parents. Therefore, before the Great Famine, the

norm of the nuclear family was that children either departed from the household early through marriage or employment, or else married early to form a family. In the Ulster Country where census data exists, the domestic linen industry was flourishing at the time where men worked as weavers and women worked as spinners, and a family strategy of having more children to provide labor power was prominent. The family situational element that children were able to marry early and form a family if they worked for the domestic linen industry needs to be confirmed. On the other hand, from 1901 onwards, the inheritance of children took longer, corresponding with the prolonged household headship. This variable, in relation with the increased numbers of single people and later marriages, seems to have an impact on the formation of no family, continuation of simple family and lateral extension of extended family.

Table 10.  
The Status of over 65 years old persons in Ireland (%)

Categories	1821	1841	1851	1901	1911
1.Solitaries	2.6	4.8	4.7	4.3	3.5
2.No family	2.9	6.1	9.9	7.2	7.9
3.Simple family households	56.4	43.9	44.0	48.6	49.5
4.Extended family households	28.5	39.4	32.5	29.7	27.4
5.Multiple family households	9.6	5.9	9.0	9.6	11.7
Percentage of over 65 years persons	2.6	4.2	4.8	7.6	13.3
N	344	374	992	867	1398

Lastly, Table 10 shows family categories to which elderly those aged 65 and upwards belong. From this table, even though the percentage those aged upwards has increased from 2.6% to 13.3% between 1821 to 1911, the

percentage of solitaries is very small, from 2% to 5%, and in 1911 when the percentage of those aged 65 and upwards was at its highest (13.3%), 88% of the elderly reside with families; this clearly shows that the Ruggles's theory<sup>26)</sup> applies to Ireland also.

## **7. Conclusions**

From the above census data analysis, simple family was the dominant form in 1821, but from then on, significant increase of extended family was observed while simple family was maintained, and further, extended family and multiple family increased from 1901 and on. Especially due to the increase of multiple family (5 a), a typical stem family form, the norms of stem family became firmly established. It can be assumed that this is related to the longer life span of the household heads. As the result the age marriage of their heir was late and the celibacy and single persons increased. The hypothesis of the author has been confirmed.

However, this merely means that the existence of norms of stem family was confirmed through the census data, and further deliberation on the inheritance system through historical documents (such as wills) and deeper interpretation in the historical context of Ireland will be needed in the future.

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## Note

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## Changes in Families in Ireland from the 19th Century to the Early 20th Century

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This paper seeks to verify that the hypothesis that the Irish family structure changed from the nuclear family-type to the stem family after the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Ireland. While I use the data of Census Returns of 1821, 1841, 1851, 1901 and 1911, the Census Returns of 1821, 1841 and 1851 are fragmentary and thus the data for 1901 and 1911 are the only complete data to my hypothesis.

There are two perspectives for family structure, namely the nuclear family system and the stem family system in the European family. However the Cambridge Group pointed out that the English family system was dominated by the nuclear family-type before the Industrial Revolution. In Ireland before the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the dominant family type was the nuclear family with the partible inheritance and early marriage supporting nuclear family form.

After that time it changed a stem family norm, which combined dowry, matchmaking and impartible inheritance in support of the stem family system. In conclusion I would test my hypothesis by using the Irish Census Returns.

Keywords: Irish family, Family change, Stem family system, Matchmaking,  
Dowry, Change of inheritance system