

Transition of the Irish Household Structure: Comparing Results from the 1901 and 1911 Census Returns, with Reference to Two Cases of Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

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Introduction

Existing household classifications for analyzing household structures can be divided into the following two: the family classification based on the stem family system prevalent in Japan, and the classification based on the nuclear family system dominant in Europe and the United States. By comparing the stem-family-based household classification developed by family sociology in Japan, and the Hamme=Laslett classification, which is representative of the nuclear-family-based household classification, this paper reexamines the value of the Hammel=Laslett household classification, and by applying the Hammel=Laslett scheme to an analysis of early 20th-century Irish household structures aims to identify characteristics of family structures in Ireland. In accordance with Laslett, the study simply defines households as indicating “the fact of shared

location, kinship and activity" [P. Laslett, 1972, 28] and therefore includes "solitaries" and "servants" as household members.

1. Study of Household Formation

1) Europe and the United States

In Europe the classification of family by Frédéric Le Play was the first and famous typology. According to Steven Ruggles, the first systematic investigation of change in the configuration of families was conducted by the reactionary mid-nineteenth century social scientist Frédéric Le Play [1855, 1871, 1872]. Le Play gathered case studies describing individual families across Europe and Western Asia and concluded that there were just three family systems found at all times and places: the joint family (*famille patriarcale*), the stem family (*famille souche*), and the nuclear family (*famille instable*) [Steven Ruggles, 2012, 427].

Ruggles summarized Le Play's three types of families in the following [S. Ruggles, 2012, 427].

Joint families and stem families are both multigenerational. In joint families, "parents always retain near them all their married sons, and the children issuing from such marriages," whereas in stem families, "the father transmits his fireside and place of labor to that one of his children which he thinks most capable," and sends the other children out into the world (Le Play 1872, pp. 40–41). Le Play observed joint families mainly in Eastern Europe, and argued that stem families predominated in many parts of Western Europe, including parts of France.

The nuclear families Le Play identified were mainly located in England and the manufacturing districts of Western Europe. There, "the young

Portrait. Frédéric Le Play
(1806–1882)



Source: [es.wikipedia.org/wiki/
Frederic_Le_Play](https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederic_Le_Play)

Portrait 2. Peter Laslett
(1915–2001)



Source: Making History, School of Advanced
Study, University Of London
[www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/
laslett_thomas.html](http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/laslett_thomas.html)

adults leave their parental firesides as soon as they gain any confidence in themselves” (Le Play 1872, p.41). The result was disastrous: “the parents are isolated in their old age and die abandoned” (Le Play 1871, p.9). Stem families, Le Play believed, were ideal. They offered greater flexibility than joint families without the instability of nuclear families. Accordingly, Le Play was alarmed by what he saw as a gradual shift from stem families to nuclear families. In part, he blamed Napoleonic inheritance laws, which mandated equal division of property among all heirs, eliminating the power of the patriarch to designate his successor. At the root, however, he saw the changing organization of labor as a fundamental threat to the stem family. For the stem family to succeed, the patriarch must be the proprietor of the family farm or workshop. With the rise of large commercial and manufacturing populations, the tie between work and family was severed, and the stem family was undermined. In these circumstances, the younger generation was vulnerable to the lure of high wages and the “attractions of city life” (Le Play 1872, p.79).

Above mentioned Le Play's above mentioned family classification the greatly influenced the household classification by P. Laslett, a member of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. In Britain, Laslett proposed a nuclear family system based approach. In *Household and Family in Past Times* published in 1972, he proposed five household classes based on conjugal family units. These are "simple family households," "extended family households," and "multiple family households," plus "solitaries" and "no family households," the latter two being classes that do not constitute conjugal families. Laslett's household classification is characterized by the presence of sub-categories under each class. For instance, extended family households and multiple family households are divided into ones that are seen to extend upward if the conjugal family units (CFU) of the parent-generation is the householder, downward if the CFU of child-generation is the householder, and laterally if the household includes two or more CFUs comprising siblings or cousins. In terms of diagrammatic representation, methods used by cultural anthropology for illustrating conjugal relations were modified, leading to a more refined household classification. This contribution was made by cultural anthropologist Hammel, which is why the scheme is called the Hammel=Laslett household classification.

Among criticisms of the Hammel=Laslett typology voiced by L. M. Berkner [L. K. Berkner 1972], S. Ruggles, and R. Wall, this paper will look at the one by R. Wall, who was Laslett's very close assistant. Wall argues that from the viewpoint of kinship relationships, the individual should be made the unit of household classification, unlike Laslett's system which is based on CFUs, because the CFU framework fails to capture economical and other support extended to parents by married children who live apart

[R. Wall, 6–7]. In other words, Wall's criticism was made from a viewpoint of the kinship system, that the rigid application of CFUs to household classifications failed to pay due attention to relatives excluding household head, spouse and children [R. Wall, 7–8]. To consistently compensate for what he considered a shortcoming of Laslett's household typology, Wall proposed a formula for working out the number of relatives and kinship relationships for a unit of 100 households.

Wall proposed a new household classification, shown in Table 1. This classification, however, is based on the nuclear family system, and was a classification necessary for studying the elderly population, meaning it falls short of a fundamental criticism of the entire Hammel=Laslett scheme. Similar intentions are evident in S. Ruggles's work during the 1980s. The United States in 1850 had a low frequency of the extended households. This was due to premature deaths, late marriages and high birthrates, and from the perspective of the elderly with co-resident children, demonstrates through data that the extended family household existed as a family norm, and that there was a norm where the younger generation remained at the

Table 1.
Household Classification of R. Wall

1. Alone
2. Non-relatives only
3. Married couple
4. Married couple with unmarried children
5. Married couple with relatives
6. Married couple with non-relatives
7. Lone parent with unmarried children
8. Lone parent with unmarried children, relatives
9. Lone parent with unmarried children, non-relatives

Source: Author's interview with Richard Wall

parent's household beyond adulthood, as opposed to the elderly moving in with their children [S. Ruggles, 24]. Ruggles classified households into "fragmentary households," "conjugal households" and "extended households" and further divided fragmentary households into "primary individual" and "single parent" households, and conjugal households into "childless couple" and "couple with children" households [S. Ruggles, 1994, 107].

However, when Laslett created the household classification, he had already focused on the stem family and prepared four classification items for it. In this, the author of this report sees the underlying influence of Filmer's patriarchal theory, which Laslett had studied earlier.

Nonetheless, criticisms of Hammel=Laslett are based on classifications dependent on the perspective of each researcher. Despite feeling a strong need to examine the meaning of the collateral relative's presence when analyzing lineal families, the present author is confident that the Hammel=Laslett household classification is indispensable for comparative family research, since an essential criticism against it has yet to be found.

2) Japan

The first person to study household formation in Japan was Teizo Toda. To understand the traditional lineal family in Japan, Toda used a 1/1000 sample of Japan's first national census, taken in 1920. Toda's study verified that Japanese household sizes were small at the time, when households were predominantly stem families under the *ie* system. Toda initially assumed the *ie* or traditional Japanese family to be large and predominantly to be non stem families. However, the analysis revealed the mean family size to be 4.9 persons nationwide, 4.4 to 4.6 persons in urban areas, and 5.3 to 5.6 persons in rural areas, with stem families accounting

for 30 percent of households. Although the results contradicted his assumptions, they enabled Toda to develop a theoretical construction of the small family [Toda, 1970, 143]. It is notable that Toda was proposing a small family theory in 1937, preceding the appearance of Murdock's nuclear family theory in 1949. Toda's work was also the first serious study of the family in Japan. At the time Toda did not conduct a detailed classification of households, but proposed 42 types of families based on relationships of family members obtained from the national census. These include 21 types composed of the householder's lineal relatives, plus 21 types that include collateral relatives [Toda, 1970, 306–310]. As mentioned below, it is also remarkable that Toda had already compiled region-by-region data revealing the size of co-resident relatives as shown by R. Wall, a fact pointed out by Saito [O. Saito 2002: 23, 1998: 172].

Takashi Koyama succeeded Toda's research. Koyama initially studied large families in well-known Japanese villages such as Gokayama in Toyama Prefecture and Shirakawa in Gifu Prefecture. He subsequently conducted factual investigations of Edo-period and postwar Japanese families and classified family forms, a task left undone by Toda. As shown in Table 2, Koyama classified family compositions into three basic forms: a) conjugal families, consisting of married couples and unmarried children; b) stem families, including other lineal relatives; and c) joint families, including collateral relatives. These three were further divided into seven family types.

Koyama can be regarded as a successor to Toda's family theory, since the 21 types proposed by Toda are set down alongside Koyama's own classifications [Koyama 1959, 213–215]. Table 1 shows that in 1920, conjugal families accounted for 54 percent of households, and stem families for 30

Table 2.
Percentage of Japanese Household Types (1920, %)

	Sub-Type	Japan (1930)	Rural	Urban
Elementary Form	I Single	6.0	5.2	9.1
	II Married couple without children	10.3	9.4	14.3
	III Married couple with unmarried children	43.7	42.3	49.8
Stem Family	IV Married couple with married child couple and grandchildren	2.3	2.6	1.1
	V Married couple with lineal ancestor kin	2.8	2.6	3.6
	VI Married couple with lineal ancestor kin and lineal descendant kin	25.2	27.9	13.6
Joint Family	VII Household with collateral kin and other kin	1.0	1	0.9

Source: Takashi Koyama, *Classification of family composition, 1959*, 216, Table 2

percent. Koyama also analyzed a total of 1,556 households based on Yamanashi Prefecture's population registers or *ninbetsu-cho* for the period from 1802 to 1861, and revealed that 40.5 percent were conjugal families, 29.0 percent were stem families, and 16.1 percent were joint families.

This precedes the research currently conducted by the Hayami group on the history of the family based on Edo-period population registers or *shushi aratame-cho* [Koyama 1959, 70–72].

As seen above, the study of family sociology in Japan has rested on theories about lineal families, and as a result, detailed family and household classifications remain underdeveloped.

3) The approach of the classification of households

In examining the study of households in Europe, USA and Japan and the approach of the classification of households adopted in this article for the classification of households is the following. In accordance with Kiyomi Morioka, we will examine the family type and classification proposed,

regarding family type as an “ideal type” applicable to families across cultural spheres. It classifies families into three types: the conjugal family system, stem family system, and joint family system. However, Morioka believed that since family types are ideal types, they lack the concreteness required for studying families in specific cultures, and that one must therefore establish, under each type, archetypes with a specific cultural content. For example, *ie* is an archetype of the Japanese lineal family system.

Morioka, who felt the need for a typology applied to the real world while maintaining a logical relationship with the types, classified families into conjugal family, stem family and joint family, and considered that the conjugal family is most likely to correspond to the conjugal family system, the stem family to the stem family system, and the joint family to the joint family system. Morioka argues that there is a logical discrepancy between classification and type in that classification deals purely with the external form of the family, whereas type deals with the institutional orientation of the family, which is the program that forms the family [Morioka 1983, 12–16]. The relationship between type and classification as seen by Morioka is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1.
Relationship of Type and Classification of Family by Morioka

	Conjugal Family	Stem Family	Joint Family
Conjugal family system	◎	○	•
Stem family system	○	◎	○
Joint family system	○	○	◎

Note: High possibility is marked with ◎, marked ○ means less than ◎, • is less than ○ and • means a little possibility.

Source: K. Morioka, 1983, 16 Figure 2–8

Based upon the preceding studies mentioned above, the present author believes that there is little meaning in simply criticizing household classifications, and that essentially, what is important is the relationship between household classification and household type. As Morioka pointed out, family types are ideal types that are cross-cultural, and because they are concepts that are composed in a logically consistent manner, they are effective for understanding meanings and characteristics of actual conditions, but are limited in their capacity to sift diverse examples. Classification is therefore necessary to supplement type, and it is necessary to think of it as a category for processing actual conditions without omissions or overlaps [Morioka, 1983, 14–15].

When it comes to comparing Japanese lineal families with those in Ireland, the classifications proposed by Japanese scholars such as Koyama and Morioka are too sweeping, and in that sense the Hammel=Laslett household classification is more effective. It is ultimately impossible to universalize household classifications, and a reasonable method would be to regard household classifications as categories or operational concepts that are modified according to the household type being studied.

2. A Hypothesis on Irish Family Structures

The predominant form of Irish farm families in the early 19th century was the nuclear family based on the farm holding. A number of situational factors after the mid 19th century—the Great Famine caused by the potato blight from around 1845; integration of land through enclosure and expulsion of tenants by landlords; landlords' resistance to land division; depletion of arable land; industrial underdevelopment in Ireland; collapse of the Belfast area's proto-industry of home manufactured linen—prompted

the 1852 act while prohibited subdivision [Arensberg & Kimball, 149]. As a result, inheritance of land holdings by farmers changed from a “partible” inheritance system to an “impartible” inheritance system [Clarkson, L.A. 1981, 237]. This change meant that only one child inherited the estate; the head of the household appointed an heir and passed on the estate at some point.

Conceptually it can be said that through the union of this inheritance system and the system of matchmaking accompanied by a dowry system, the norm for establishing the stem family, as well as family situations that support such a norm, was established.

As such, one can hypothesize that the stem family took shape from the mid 19th century onward due to changes to the inheritance system and its combination with a matchmaking system accompanied by a dowry system. In the Hammel=Laslett household classification, 5 a (secondary unit up) and 5 b (secondary units down) of multiple family households in the class of their structure of households can be identified as typical forms of this stem family. Establishment of the stem family norm gave the head of the household strong control over land and agricultural labor, and also provided strong motivation to maintain such control, and to mark the land with the family name [Gabriel, Tom, 1977, 73]. Indeed, in reality household heads did tend to hold on to their power, and as a matter of family strategy, delayed appointing an heir, or delayed giving up patriarchal rights to the heir.

This kept sons from marriage or inheritance until physical decline or demise of their parents, causing an increasing number of them to marry late or remain unmarried. This resulted in delayed marriages and in non-marriages across the whole of Ireland. Sons who were not appointed heirs

faced a choice of receiving a small amount of money and seeking employment in cities like Dublin, Belfast or Cork, emigrating to Britain or the United States, or remaining at home. For this reason, in Ireland the late 19th to early 20th centuries was when the stem family norm was most pronounced.



Figure 2. Map of Ireland

Note: The Underline of county means two researching areas.

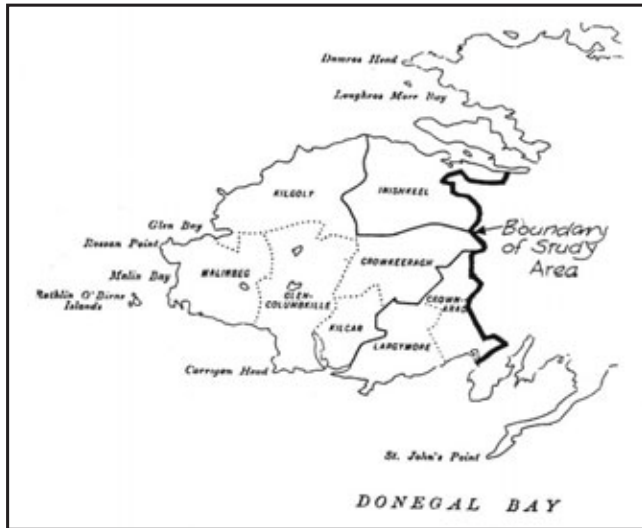


Figure 3. Map of Glenties (Poor Law Union) in Co. Donegal

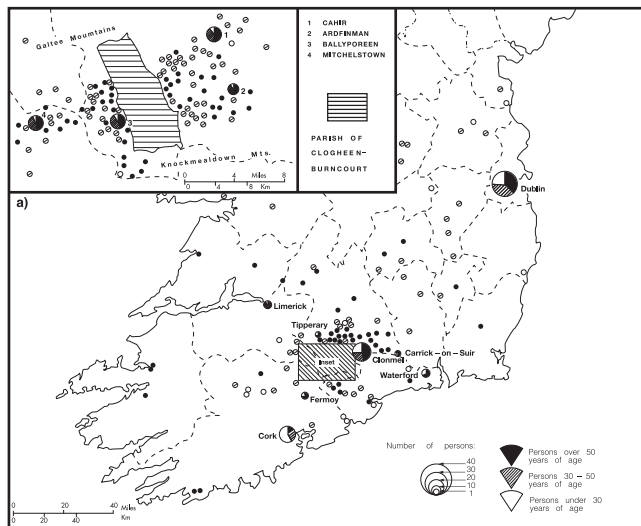


Figure 4. Map of Clogheen in Co. Tipperary

Source: W.J. Smyth, 2000, p.12, Figure 1.a)

Comparing the Irish stem family structure to that of Japan, one notices that the Irish stem family norm is less rigid than the Japanese *ie* norm, and that the Irish norm can be regarded as having a greater degree of elasticity determined by situational elements. In the Japanese *ie*, the eldest male is intended as the future heir at birth. The *ie* norm clearly sets out who makes up the family, the eldest son remaining and all other male offspring leaving home dictated that only one child inherits the estate. The formative principle of the stem family was established because the *ie*'s situational elements powerfully supported the family norm. The Irish family norm by comparison had a greater degree of flexibility by situational elements. Although it allowed only one heir and gave preference to the eldest male offspring, other male offspring or other relatives could also become heirs depending on the family situation. The above hypothesis regarding family structures in Ireland and Japan made from a perspective of comparative history can be verified through the case studies in two Irish areas, Glencolumbkille in Co. Donegal and Burncourt/Clogheen in Co. Tipperary in and the present author of this article hopes to verify that the Hammel=Laslett household classification is effective for such an analysis.

3. An Analysis of Irish Households in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

1) Character of data

Table 4 presents the census returns for County Donegal and County Tipperary in the years 1901 and 1911 and the Glencolumbkille and Burncourt/Clogheenter (Clogheen is used in the following), both populations and numbers of households have decreased. The percentage of

Table 4.
Number of Population and Households in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

	Population		Percentage Change	Households (Families)		Percentage Change	Rate of Continuous Households
	1901	1911		1901	1911		
Glencolumbkille	4489	4103	(8.6)	902	806	(10.6)	77.4
Co. Donegal	173,722	168,437	(3.0)	35,092	34,927	(0.5)	
Clogheen	1602	1433	(10.6)	309	291	(5.8)	79.3
Co. Tipperary	160,232	152,433	(4.9)	31,449	31,233	(0.7)	
Total for Ireland	4,458,775	4,390,219	(1.5)	919,356	912,711	(0.7)	

Note: Numbers in () indicate a negative percentage.

Source: Donegal, Tipperary—Census Returns of 1901 and 1911 and Co. Donegal, Co. Tipperary—Reports of Census 1901, 1911

continuous households was 90 percent in Glencolumbkille, 80 percent in Clogheen, indicating that mobility was low and households tended to be continuous in both communities. It is therefore feasible to track household heads in these two communities over a ten-year period.

2) Age of Household Head in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

As shown in Table 5, the mean age of household heads in Glencolumbkille was 55 in 1901 and 60 in 1911, whereas in Clogheen it was 53 in 1901 and 55 in 1911. A marked difference between the two locations is that Clogheen householders were younger than those in Glencolumbkille by about 1 to 4 years in both 1901 and 1911. This is also reflected in the breakdown. This can be interpreted as Glencolumbkille household heads maintaining their patriarchal rights for longer, while Clogheen household heads appointed their heirs and relinquished their patriarchal rights somewhat earlier. Furthermore, in Glencolumbkille in Co. Donegal more prospective heirs were made to wait unmarried until they inherited their

Table 5.
Percentage of Age of Household Head in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen (%)

Age	Glencolumbkille		Clogheen	
	1901	1911	1901	1911
10~19	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3
20~29	3.5	0.6	2.9	4.2
30~39	10.2	10.2	11.4	9.0
40~49	18.4	15.7	21.1	23.5
50~59	17.7	21.9	26.3	23.2
60~69	30.8	19.6	25.0	21.5
70~79	12.7	22.8	8.8	16.6
80~	6.7	9.3	4.2	1.7
N	598	540	308	289
Mean	55.4	60.0	53.4	54.6

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, 1901 and 1911

Table 6.
Age of Married Household Heads in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

	Glencolumbkille		Clogheen	
	1901	1911	1901	1911
20~29	1.9	0.4	1.6	1.7
30~39	11.5	12.3	12.0	9.5
40~49	19.9	20.1	26.2	27.4
50~59	22.7	24.5	29.3	25.1
60~69	27.1	20.8	20.4	20.1
70~79	12.5	17.8	7.3	15.1
80~89	4.0	3.7	2.6	1.1
90~	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.0
N	321	269	191	179
Mean	55.4	60.0	53.4	54.6

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, 1901 and 1911

privileges as household heads, particularly landed estate. Table 6 shows the marital status of household heads. In Glencolumbkille the 60s age bracket has the highest rate in 1901 and the 50s age bracket in 1911. In marked contrast, in Clogheen in Co. Tipperary the peak shifts from the 50s to the 40s over the same decade. As discussed below, this is strongly influenced by the tendency in Glencolumbkille for sons to marry late in life.

3) Occupation of Household Head in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

Table 7 looks at the occupations of household heads. Farmers account for 70 percent of Glencolumbkille household heads. Other occupations that constitute the bulk of remaining household heads in Glencolumbkille include servants and woolen workers. By contrast, while farmers account for 60 percent of Clogheen household heads, which is less than in Glencolumbkille, Clogheen has a high percentage of agricultural laborers and general laborers. This is a reflection of the scale of farm operations. It is a clear indication that Clogheen farms could not be operated by family labor alone, and required hired help. Next, the report will examine the structures of the families headed by householders who possessed these characteristics.

4) Household Size in in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

Table 8 shows household size. The mean household size in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen was five persons in both years, meaning there was little regional difference or change over the decade. When looked at in detail, in Glencolumbkille the peak has shifted from four persons in 1901 to three persons in 1911, and in Clogheen from five persons to four persons, but there is no significant difference in the share of each

Table 7.
Occupation of Household Heads in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

Code	Occupation	Glencolumbkille		Clogheen	
		1901	1911	1901	1911
23	Church, Chapel, Cemetery Officer, Servant	1.7	1.8	0.3	0.3
56	Domestic Indoor Servant	3.5	0.4	3.6	0.3
100	Farmer	69.1	69.2	61.5	60.9
102	Farm Bailiff		0.2	0.6	0.7
103	Agricultural Laborer, Farm Servant	0.3		9.7	6.6
104	Shepherd			1.6	1.0
112	Gardner			0.6	0.3
118	Gamekeeper	0.2	0.4	0.3	1.0
121	Fisherman	2.2	2.8		
167	Builder				
168	Carpenter	0.5	0.4	1.3	1.4
170	Mason			0.3	1.4
174	Plumber			0.6	
214	Hotel Keeper, Publican	0.7	0.6		0.7
236	Grocer	0.7	0.4		
240	Woolen Cloth Manufacture	4.3	0.7		
261	Other in Cotton and Flax	0.2	0.4		
171	Factory Hand (Textile, undefined)	0.8			
278	Embroiderer	0.7	0.2		
282	Tailor	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.7
283	Dressmaker	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.3
285	Seamstress	0.3	0.2	0.3	
290	Shoe, Boot Maker, Dealer	0.3		0.6	0.7
321	Timber, Wood Merchant, Dealer				0.7
377	Blacksmith	0.3	0.4	0.3	1.0
399	Shopkeeper, Dealer	2.3	3.1	1.6	0.3
404	General Laborer	0.3	0.2	8.4	11.1
414	Persons Returned by Property and No Special Occupation	2.0	0.4	3.2	1.4
999	Blank field or illegible	6.8	16.6	2.6	6.2
	N	601	542	309	289

Note: Over 0.5% of Occupation

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, 1901 1911

Table 8.
Size of Households in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

	Glencolumbkille		Clogheen	
	1901	1911	1901	1911
1	6.0	5.7	7.8	5.5
2	12.1	12.0	12.3	13.1
3	13.4	15.7	11.7	15.6
4	15.8	14.6	13.3	16.6
5	13.4	11.3	17.8	12.8
6	11.4	10.7	10.4	11.1
7	7.6	10.5	7.1	9.0
8	7.3	7.2	6.1	6.6
9	6.3	5.2	6.1	4.8
10	3.2	3.1	4.2	1.4
11-	3.6	4.1	3.1	3.3
N	603	542	309	289
Mean of size	5.1	5.1	5.1	4.9

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, 1901 and 1911

family size.

The paper will next look at children to identify any characteristics in household sizes. Glencolumbkille households had an average of 3.5 children in 1901, 3.3 in 1911. Average number of children for Clogheen was 3.7 in 1901 and 3.2 in 1911. Again, there is no significant difference in the share of the number of children. However, Table 9, which shows the percentage of children by cohort, indicates that in Glencolumbkille the line of demarcation where numbers start to decline is at age group 25 to 29, whereas in Clogheen the decline begins at age group 20 to 24. With respect to female offspring, the decline in Glencolumbkille begins at age group 20–24 and that in Clogheen from 20–24. Mean age of unmarried children in Glencolumbkille was 17.1 for males and 15.1 for females in 1901, and 19.6

Table 9.
Age of children (Male and Female) in Co. Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

	Glencolumbkille				Clogheen			
	1901		1911		1901		1911	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0~4	10.7	13.7	12.3	9.3	15.3	17.1	14.8	20.3
5~9	15.4	18.0	12.7	16.8	17.1	21.8	19.0	21.4
10~14	18.5	19.7	13.1	18.5	16.2	21.8	17.5	19.7
15~19	13.6	16.9	18.2	20.4	11.9	19.9	16.3	15.9
20~24	17.1	15.5	12.3	15.8	18.5	8.8	10.7	9.3
25~29	14.3	8.3	8.4	7.0	11.3	5.8	6.8	7.6
30~34	5.3	4.8	8.4	3.1	5.2	1.7	8.0	2.4
35~39	2.6	2	5.7	3.1	1.6	1.7	5.6	1.7
40~44	1.7	0.6	4.6	2.3	1.8	1.1	0.7	0.7
45~	0.7	0.7	4.3	3.0	1.1	0.3	0.4	1.0
N	831	795	724	647	444	302	411	290

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, 1901 and 1911

for males and 17.2 for females in 1911. In Clogheen this was 16 and 13 in 1901, 15.9 and 13.3 in 1911, indicating that the mean age of unmarried children was higher in Glencolumbkille. Furthermore, looking at the age cohorts of unmarried offspring, 25–29 year-old males stand at 13.7 percent in 1901, and 8.3 percent in 1911 in the case of Glencolumbkille, while in Clogheen the same amounts for 11.3 percent and 6.8 percent, respectively, which are lower than in Glencolumbkille.

This can be understood to indicate that Clogheen children left home at an earlier age than in Glencolumbkille. It is possible to surmise that since Glencolumbkille household heads adopted the family strategy of maintaining patriarchal rights for longer, their children in turn chose to adopt the strategy of inheriting land over leaving home for employment elsewhere, regarding the inheritance of land as an important strategy,

notwithstanding the small the size of their agricultural operation. Likely contributors to the comparatively younger age at which Clogheen children left home are the possibility of mid-scale farming households selecting heirs at an earlier point, and the availability of employment in the immediate environs of Clogheen.

5) Household Classification in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

The paper will now look at household classification, which is the main topic of this paper. Table 10 shows classification based on categories by Hammel-Laslett. Table 11 shows sub-categories.

Table 10 shows that Glencolumbkille has fewer simple family households than Clogheen. Simple family households have a 50–56 percent share in Glencolumbkille, and a 61–62 percent share in Clogheen, resulting in a 5–10 percent difference. Glencolumbkille on the other hand has a higher frequency of extended family households and multiple family households than Clogheen. The sum of both households make up 26.7 percent of Glencolumbkille households in 1901, and 33.2 percent in 1911, while in

Table 10.
Composition of Households in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen (%)

Categories	Glencolumbkille		Clogheen	
	1901	1911	1901	1911
1. Solitaires	6.0	5.5	7.4	5.2
2. No family	10.6	10.7	8.1	9.7
3. Simple family households	56.7	50.7	62.1	61.2
4. Extended family households	21.2	26.2	18.8	19.7
5. Multiple family households	5.5	7.0	3.6	4.2
N	603	542	309	289

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, 1901 and 1911

Clogheen the ratio is 22.4 percent and 23.9 percent, respectively. It is particularly noteworthy that multiple family households account for 7.0 percent of Glencolumbkille households in 1911.

Table 11.
Composition of Households in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen (1901, 1911, %)

Categories	Class	Glencolumbkille		Clogheen	
		1901	1911	1901	1911
1. Solitaires	1a Widow	1.0	1.1	3.6	1.0
	1b Single	5.0	4.4	3.9	4.2
2. No family	2a Co-resident siblings	6.3	5.9	4.2	6.2
	2b Co-resident kin	3.0	3.7	1.6	1.4
	2c Persons not related	1.3	1.1	2.3	2.1
3. Simple family households	3a Married couple	3.8	4.4	8.7	7.6
	3b Married couple with children	34.2	27.9	37.2	36.0
	3c Widowers with children	6.6	6.3	4.9	7.3
	3d Widows with children	12.1	12.0	11.3	10.4
4. Extended family households	4a Extended upwards	8.1	8.1	8.7	5.5
	4b Extended downwards	5.6	7.7	4.9	4.8
	4c Extended laterally	5.5	8.3	3.2	8.5
	4d Combinations of 4a-4c	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.0
5. Multiple family households	5a Secondary units upwards	0.5	0.4	1.0	0.7
	5b Secondary units downwards	4.6	6.3	2.6	3.1
	5c Secondary units lateral	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
	5d <i>Frdreches</i>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	5e Other multiple family households	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.3
N		603	542	309	289

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, 1901, 1911

Table 11 shows the breakdown for each category, and reveals characteristics not apparent from the table of categories alone. For instance, with regard to solitaries, Glencolumbkille has more unmarried single-person households than Clogheen in both 1901 and 1911, and Clogheen also sees a rise in this type of household in 1911. In the Hammel=Laslett classification's controversial "no family" category, which are households not based on conjugal family units, it is notable that both Glencolumbkille and Clogheen have a high percentage (4.2 to 6.3 percent) of co-resident sibling households (2 a in class of categories). Glencolumbkille has a relatively high percentage of households composed of householder and other co-resident kin as well. While conjugal families naturally constitute the bulk of simple family households, it is also noteworthy that widow/widower-and-child households make up 16 to 18 percent, of which the rate of widow-and-child households is especially high, largely due to premature deaths of household heads.

A notable feature regarding extended family households is that upward extension, which forms the stem family, is seen more frequently in Glencolumbkille.

More multiple family households in both Glencolumbkille and Clogheen are extended downward than upward. In particular, the rate of such extensions is 6.3 percent in Glencolumbkille in 1911, which enables one to identify, from the prevalence of such typical stem families, the prolonged span of patriarchal power.

The sum of multiple family households extended upward and downward range between 5.1 to 6.7 percent in Glencolumbkille, and 3.6 to 3.8 percent in Clogheen, indicating that lineal families are more frequent in Glencolumbkille.

The above analysis reveals characteristics not available from the category table. However, the need to examine the two categories of “extended family household” and “multiple family household” for the purpose of identifying the presence of stem families, and the criticism that “no families” that do not constitute conjugal families cannot be examined, seems valid. One effective method for overcoming these issues would be to obtain the relationships between household heads and kin, using the formula proposed by Wall.

6) Composition of Kin in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

Table 12 is based on a formula proposed by Wall in 1983, and shows values per 100 households representing the composition of the co-resident

Table 12.
Composition of Kin Groups within the Household: Ireland and Japan

	Ireland				Japan		
	Glencolumbkille		Clogheen		Whole Country	Rural Only	Urban Only
	1901	1911	1901	1901	1920	1920	1920
Parents	2	3	8	8	26	29	17
Siblings	20	27	18	24	12	12	10
Son/daughter in law	10	11	5	2	12	14	4
Nephew/niece	7	11	5	5	3	3	3
Grandchildren	27	40	10	9	24	28	8
Other	5	6	2	2	4	4	3
Total	71	98	48	50	81	90	45
N (Household)	603	542	309	289	11,119	8,989	2,130
Servants	7	6	38	34			

Source: Ireland—Census Returns for Ireland, 1901 and 1911; Japan—Teizo Toda, *Kazoku kousei* (Tokyo: 1937, reprinted 1970) ; Osamu Saito, (1998, 173, Table 2)

kin group's relationship with the household head, and the size of that kinship relation. A feature of this method is that it excludes the marital status of the household head and the household head's children [R. Wall, 1983, 500, Osamu Saito, 1998, 171].

Firstly, when one looks at the total number of relatives, there is a marked difference in that Glencolumbkille's ranges between 71 and 98 persons, and Clogheen between 48 and 50 persons. As already indicated by the analysis of household classifications, Clogheen is more centered on simple family households than Glencolumbkille, which has more extended family households and multiple family households than Clogheen, and this reflects itself in the total number of relatives as well. Although the only difference between Glencolumbkille and Clogheen apparent from a comparison of the breakdown is that Glencolumbkille has more siblings, sons/daughters-in-law, nephews, nieces, and grandchildren among household members, while Clogheen has a higher portion of parents, Ireland as a whole can be identified to have a large portion of extended family households and multiple family households.

When Irish and Japanese households are compared, total numbers of relatives are similar between Glencolumbkille and Japan. A clear difference between the two, however, is that Japan has a higher portion of lineal relatives, such as parents, children-in-law and grandchildren, who are family members that constitute typical stem families, while Ireland has a higher percentage of collateral relatives.

This is where the Hammel=Laslett classification's perceived inability to sufficiently capture collateral relatives comes into light. Namely, in Ireland the typical household head appoints an heir at a late stage; the son in the meantime, who sees strategic advantage in inheriting the land, remains

unmarried and engages in running the farm; after the heir is appointed, other sons also have the possibility to remain home, and if they remain beyond the heir's marriage, such siblings are relegated to the peripheral role of components of a laterally-extended family household, or of a multiple family household.

In the case of large families in prewar Japan, where the heir was allowed to marry, but as a matter of family strategy, the second and third sons remained unmarried and stayed at home as workforce, Koyama regarded these as collateral families. Therefore it would also be significant to examine, in the case of Ireland, the position of collateral relatives who have been excluded from the CFU.

It should also be noted that in both 1901 and 1911 Clogheen had over five times more servants than Glencolumbkille. For example, in 1901 there were over 17 servants in Shanrahan Townland, Clogheen. At the 104-acre Tonna Cashin household there were three male servants and one female servant. The 116 acre Patrick Mahony household also had three male and one female servants. In other words, farmsteads over 60 acres required hired workers, who are thought to have engaged mainly in farm work.

In the next section, the report will link the 1901 and 1911 census returns, which will enable an understanding of household dynamics over the decade, and consequently reveal the presence of a lineal family norm in Ireland.

7) Household Dynamics in Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

Tables 13 and 14 show the dynamics of household types in the decade from 1901 to 1911. In Glencolumbkille, 73 percent of simple family households were continuous, 19 percent transformed into extended family

Table 13.
Intercensal Transitions between Household Types in Glencolumbkille (%)

	Household Types (1911)					
Household Types (1901)	1	2	3	4	5	N
1	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8
2	18.2	72.7	0.0	9.1	0.0	22
3	1.0	0.5	72.9	19.3	6.3	192
4	0.0	0.0	29.7	56.3	14.1	64
5	0.0	0.0	20.0	26.7	53.3	15

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, 1901 and 1911

Table 14.
Intercensal Transitions between Household Types in Clogheen (%)

	Household Types (1911)					
Household Types (1901)	1	2	3	4	5	N
1	37.5	25.0	37.5	0.0	0.0	8
2	0.0	75.0	18.8	6.3	0.0	16
3	0.9	0.9	82.9	10.3	5.1	117
4	0.0	2.9	55.9	41.2	0.0	34
5	0.0	0.0	55.0	25.0	25.0	4

Source: Census Returns for Ireland, 1901 and 1911

households and six percent into multiple family households. As for extended family households, 56.3 percent were continuous, 30 percent turned into simple family households, and 14 percent into multiple family households. In the case of multiple family households, 53 percent were continuous, 27 percent changed into extended family households, and 20 percent into simple family households.

In Clogheen on the other hand, 83 percent of simple family households

were continuous, 10 percent turned into extended family households and five percent into multiple family households. Only 41 percent of extended family households were continuous, and as much as 56 percent of them changed into simple family households. As for multiple family households, 25 percent were continuous, 55 percent changed into simple family households, and 25 percent into extended family households.

It can be deduced therefore that in Glencolumbkille, households shifted toward extended and multiple family households, and in marked contrast, Clogheen's simple family households were largely continuous, and any shift toward the extended or multiple family household was small. In other words it may be inferred that the stem family norm exercised a stronger effect on Glencolumbkille households than on Clogheen households. This also confirms the general assumption that the west of Ireland has a higher frequency of extended/multiple family households that include stem families.

4. Conclusion

Many theories on lineal families have been developed to understand the *ie*, or traditional Japanese family. Most recently, the Hayami group is studying historical demography and the history of the family using Edo-period *shushi aratame-cho* as source data. In the field of family sociology, although study of the lineal family was continued throughout the prewar and postwar periods by Toda, Koyama and Morioka, classifications of families and households were underdeveloped, because the field focused more on the theoretical study of the *ie*.

The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure in the United Kingdom commenced research on the history of the family in

the 1960s, and in the 1970s the Hammel=Laslett household classification was proposed and became adopted worldwide. Although the Hammel=Laslett classification is not free of criticism, a fundamental criticism of the Hammel=Laslett classification has yet to be identified, and many of the criticisms in fact argue for modifications to the Hammel=Laslett scheme. For example, Laslett's research partner Hammel in his work "Household structure in fourteenth-century Macedonia" extracts 50 household types from surveyed households, and classifies them into "nuclear family households," "lineally extended family households," "collaterally extended family households" and "lineally and collaterally extended family households." Hammel further divides nuclear family households into four classes, lineally extended households and collaterally extended family households into two classes respectively, and with these nine classes of households reveals the household structure of a large family unit called *zadruga* [E.A. Hammel, 1980, 260–261]. Likewise the present author's of the present preferred approach is to modify the Hammel=Laslett household classification as necessitated by household types corresponding to the locality being studied.

The author selected two economically diverse localities, and by applying the Hammel=Laslett household classification was able to identify the characteristics of households in these communities. The analysis verified the author's hypothesis that in contrast to Clogheen in south-central Ireland, around 30 percent of households in early 20th century Glencolumbkille, an agrarian community in the west of Ireland, were extended family households and multiple family households, both of which include stem families, indicating the presence therein of a stem family norm. However, a marked difference between Japan and Ireland was that

while the typical Japanese stem family, as apparent from the distribution of relatives, consists of parents, sons (including sons/daughters-in-law) and grandchildren, in Ireland the extended family household and multiple family household coexist with the stem family (including those with parents-in-law) and the laterally extended family household. A better way of understanding this might be that while the Japanese stem family is supported by the *ie* norm and its corresponding situational elements, Irish households, although governed by family-norm-like elements, are invested with a greater degree of elasticity in structure by situational elements.

Questions regarding the Hammel=Laslett household classification remain nonetheless. Outstanding issues may include the meaning of collateral relatives who are not heirs in Irish stem families; whether kinship relationships involving household head and co-resident parent, especially household head and co-resident parent-in-law, can be regarded as stem families; and also, the possible need to investigate the meaning of the fact that nieces/nephews and grandchildren who do not live with their parents acquire a peripheral nature when seen from the CFU.

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Transition of the Irish Household Structure:
Comparing Results from the 1901 and 1911
Census Returns, with Reference to Two
Cases of Glencolumbkille and Clogheen

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The following two household classification are used for analyzing the structure of the household: family classification based on the nuclear family dominant in the West, and the family classification based on the stem family dominant in Japan. I re-examine the significance of the Hammel=Laslett household classification by comparing typical household classification under Hammel=Laslett based on the nuclear family with classification based on the stem family that have been employed in family sociology in Japan.

The Hammel=Laslett household classification system was developed in the 1970s and traces its origins to the study of family historians by Cambridge Group in UK in subject to various forms of criticisms, no essential criticism of efforts at revision. Therefore, I take the position that, if necessary, the Hammel=Laslett household classification should be modified in light of specific characteristics of household type that may exist in the study area.

In this paper, using Hammel=Laslett household classification system, I attempt to identify the characteristics of households in two economically diverse regions of Ireland (Glencolumbkille and Clogheen).

Results of comparison indicate that in the early 20th century, about 30% of the household in Glencolumbkille (Co. Donegal) where multiple and extended family households, including stem families. From this, the

presence of stem family as the norm can be verified. However, the comparison shows that the stem family norms was weaker in Clogheen (Co. Tipperary) than in Glencolumbkille

Keywords: Ireland, Household classification, Stem family, Glencolumbkille, Clogheen