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**THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY
OF THE POOR OF FLORENCE
IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY**

by

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The domestic economy of the poor of Florence
in the early nineteenth century

The internal workings of the domestic economy of poor families are only infrequently the object of historical study, and then primarily in the context of the work process (as in studies of proto-industrialisation) rather than in relation to problems of subsistence. This is hardly surprising, given that adequately detailed information about job-skills and employment in the records is normally confined to the head of household and rarely relates to the other members of the family. Yet over most centuries families dependent (wholly or almost wholly) on their labour relied on the capability of most of their members to employ their labour remuneratively; hence the length of working lives, from the age of about six until extreme old age became identified with physical or mental incapacity. Even the major restructuring of gender roles around the mid-nineteenth century, to which recent research has pointed, in which the assertion of the male head's position as sole bread-winner was accompanied in complementary fashion by the social discrediting of married women's waged work and the consequential confinement of the wife to the house (1), did not diminish the dependence on the collective effort of all family members for those substantial groups of the population in a condition of permanent or periodic indigence. Hence records limited to the head of household are always insufficient,

and often distortive, indicators of what Amartya Sen calls a family's "entitlement relations", its ability that is to generate products to exchange for the basic commodities of subsistence (2); the insufficiency is the greater in that written records, because of their usually "official" origin, rarely acknowledge non-monetary forms of income.

The closer one approaches what is nowadays called the poverty line, the less satisfactory is the evidence, not merely through the inadequacy of the available information, but because of the conceptual difficulties in identifying on the one hand what constituted minimum subsistence needs in different times and places, and on the other hand what resources (ownership endowment and exchange entitlement, in Sen's terminology) families deployed to avoid starvation. The severity of deprivation has always varied enormously within the ranks of the poor at any particular moment and over the life-cycles of poor individuals and families. There is, I suspect, an inverse relationship between the quality of available information and the level of deprivation: the deeper the poverty, the less reliable the information. Hence it is not surprising that the archival sources, when unexpectedly informative, should be so about persons and families rarely or only occasionally below the poverty line (3).

In a number of earlier studies of applications for assistance to the largest Florentine charitable institution responsible for outdoor relief, I have examined various aspects

of the relationships between poverty, the individual life course and family cycle, the types of job-skills possessed (or at least declared) by members of these families and their relative earnings (4). The segment of the urban population I examined can be located at a low (though not the lowest) level of Florence's overall population, in both economic and social terms. In a society still characterised by artisan skills and status (despite the abolition of the guilds and the economic crisis of these years of the Continental Blockade), the clients of the Congregation of San Giovanni Battista were predominantly unskilled and earned low wages: the vast majority of these families, irrespective of their size or composition, declared earnings which were insufficient to ensure subsistence; their component members were mostly employed, irregularly, in the earlier stages of processes of artisan production, occasional labour or street peddling. Precisely because they were urban dwellers, they were unable to sidestep the market exchange relationships, as (at least, theoretically) could those sectors of the peasantry with some contractual rights to the use of land. Hence they were particularly vulnerable to the vagaries of market demand. They were the early nineteenth century Florentine equivalent of that sector of the London poor assigned three quarters of a century later by Charles Booth to his "category B", the "very poor" dependent on casual labour or unfit to work (5).

Evidence about the domestic economy of this stratum of urban society is of particular interest as its social location is close, indeed contiguous to and overlapping that of skilled artisans and shopkeepers, whose life-style is so often assumed to be exemplary of the urban labouring classes. Hence questions can be posed not merely about the nature of the relationships and ties between the independent artisans and these unskilled families, but also as to whether qualities ascribed characteristically to the life-style of the former can also be identified among the latter. The purpose of the present essay is to explore more closely two particular qualities normally attributed to artisan families--neighbourhood ties, and the relationship between family composition and transmission of skills. But before discussing what the evidence can be made to yield about these problems, let us turn to the answers it offers about our initial query--family income of the poor of Florence and the relative contribution of individual members.

1. The basis for this, as for my earlier studies, is a sample of the applications for outdoor relief made to the Florentine Congregation of San Giovanni Battista in the years 1810-12. To analyse the information it contains at a detailed micro-level, I recoded the material I had already utilised in order to obtain a much finer grid, particularly of job-skills and the topography of habitation. The population of poor is identical to that of the previous studies, i.e. from the sec-

and sestiere of Florence, but there are minimal differences in the numbers, which amount to 4436 individuals (instead of 4498) grouped in 1206 households (instead of 1219).

The information required by these standardised forms is unusually rich in that applicants for assistance were required to list both the job-skills and weekly earnings (when existent) of each member of the household. Whatever the drawbacks of such officially required information--which I have discussed in my earlier article and which make it likely that the earnings were slightly under-declared--it remains an exceptional source as it allows a quantifiable analysis of family income below (though usually not much below) the poverty line.

In an earlier study I analysed the relationships between size and composition of household and family earnings. I concluded that, although there was a relationship between size of household and income, it was not directly proportionate, because of the variable number of individuals within a family able to earn an income, as well as their variable earning capacities. There were three structural limits to the generation of larger incomes: the compression of wages for reasons of sex and age; the growing proportion of child earners as families increased in size; and an absolute limit on the number of earners in any family, irrespective of its size (6).

In order to test the relative importance of these factors I have now grouped the households solely on the basis of the number of earners, excluding all non-earners. (Hence 'size of

household' does not coincide, except for households of one, with absolute numbers of individuals in these households). Within each size household, I have then listed the different family compositions. To simplify the comparisons, I have also divided the earners into only three categories--fathers, mothers and children. In consequence other earners in the household are excluded--but these only number 99 or 4.8% of the total. A further consequence is that I cannot include in the analysis the relative weight of the age factor, as each of the three categories refers to a family relationship, ignoring age; however, since in my earlier article I demonstrated the close and consistent connection between age and earnings for both sexes, there is little need to repeat the exercise here. Earnings were low for children, rising slowly to reach their highest level for young adults between their twenties and forties, thereafter steadily declining as the adults aged; men earned consistently more than women at all ages (7).

Tables 1, 2 and 3 summarize the evidence. Table 1 shows the disparity between contributions to the family income of fathers, mothers and children, relative to the size of family. Table 2 has been constructed to demonstrate the relative contribution to the family income of men, women and children irrespective of size of household, by expressing such contributions as a percentage relative to the mean for each size of household. The result shows the absolute disproportion in the adult male's contribution compared to that of all other mem-

bers. In all cases where an adult male earner was present (except for the two extreme instances of a father with 4 children), the family income was greater than the mean for the size of household; in all cases where the mother was the only adult earner, the family income was less than the mean. Table 3 demonstrates that the mother's contribution to family earnings remained consistently between 40% and 50% of that of the husband, and that of each earning child between 28% and 33% (with the sole exception of families consisting of a father and 3 children); the potential earnings of children, however, were greater than those of the mother, as can be seen in Table 3 (b).

Given the close tie between wages, sex and age I demonstrated in my earlier article, these results are not surprising. They reflect the hierarchy of job-skills. For individual earnings, irrespective of hours worked or number of pieces completed, were structurally limited within certain broad bands:

40-60 soldi per week for textiles and clothing
(female)

60-80 soldi for artisan trades (hides, wood, clays,
metals, barbers), and services (porters,
servants, pedlars, shopkeepers) (male)

80-100 soldi for foodstuffs (male)

over 100 soldi for building, carters, and clerks
(male).

It was a gender-based hierarchy, making it improbable that women could earn enough to support their family.

It is difficult to compare this disaggregation of family income of the unskilled poor to that of skilled artisans and shopkeepers because comparable data is lacking. But the very nature of guilds--exclusively male-based and hierarchical--could be argued to point towards an even smaller, and almost certainly less monetised, contribution of the wife; the exception to this would probably be masters' widows, whose inherited role and property must normally have ensured them greater resources to avoid destitution than socially less fortunate widows. But this must remain speculation until further research.

2. Precisely because so many of these families, particularly those without a male adult member, were barely capable or unable continuously to earn enough money to pay for their subsistence, it is necessary to search for their alternative strategies of coping with their condition of deprivation. I have discussed elsewhere (8) the role of charity in such survival strategies. There can be little doubt that, apart from usually brief periods of serious crisis, the extent of urban poverty depended directly on the provision of charity, whether institutionalised or informal. For the largest proportion of the poor could always be ranked at the less deep levels of indigence--only occasionally, recurrently or

shallowly beneath whatever we define as a poverty line--and it was in good part to these families that charity was given. Institutionalised charity was of course only one part of a complex of measures which all cities adopted to enable poor families to retain their economic independence--public works, food provisioning systems, subsidies or guaranteed purchase of manufactured products to uphold employment are other examples.

But however important formal charity was, it can rarely have proved adequate on a continuous basis, except for a minority of privileged individuals and families, and normally must have been deployed by the poor as an extraordinary, sometimes even as a last resource. Informal charity is a different matter, but its very informality has meant that little more than its shadow has passed the written record. It leads directly into another important, but equally unexplored field, that of patron-client relations in terms of access to employment, charity and assistance in all forms.

Family and kin-ties were always assumed by contemporaries to function as the normal and morally and socially appropriate structure of assistance. The research inspired by Peter Laslett and the Cambridge Group for the History of Population has argued, in the English context, strongly against the existence of extended families or the effective functioning of family solidarities. There is no need, in the present context, to review again the discussion about the possibilities and limitations of census and census-related sources for the study

of the family. I have suggested elsewhere, and Marzio Barbagli's recent book (8) seems to me to reinforce what is a fairly obvious conclusion, that for poor urban households the nuclear family was not peculiar to England or north-western Europe, but its characteristic condition over a long period of western European history. Lack of living space and low earnings combined against the presence of extended families among the poor, although one can point to the co-habitation of a number of truncated family units, usually with some kin-ties but also including extraneous individuals, whose function seems to me that of a defensive mechanism (9). Of course the departure of the children in their late teens or early twenties to set up separate households does not prove that they no longer gave any material help to their parents. Indeed the occasional reference by the charity's deputies to close relatives residing near-by could be argued to indicate that kin networks existed and were expected to function (10). But even if one could demonstrate that, among these poor families, neo-local kin residence was not infrequent (e.g. by examining surnames and addresses in these charitable applications, and then linking them to parish register data of births, deaths and marriages), it would still not be possible to conclude--as Tim Wales has done for an English seventeenth century village (11)--whether or not it was of any benefit to relatives in need.

Integrally related to all these subsistence strategies is their spatial dimension. Given the degree of mobility in the search for work, the level of illiteracy and the slowness and inadequacy of communications until well into the nineteenth century, families fragmented easily and usually permanently. (The delighted surprise at the reunion of long-lost relatives, which figures as a leitmotiv of European literature, is a reflection of the frequency with which, in real life, close kin disappeared). Hence the place of dwelling acquires a central function in virtually all the relationships deriving from poverty: not just the fact of having a fixed abode, but the neighbourhood where one lived could be crucial for obtaining employment, for access to charity, for patron-client ties, for looser links of friendship, and so on. The sources are not generous about these implications of residence. But it is sometimes possible, as on the basis of these applications for charity, at least to enquire whether neighbourhood patterns of work and earnings existed.

The records can yield so much and no more. They do not often let us know whether the family was complete, or whether the request for assistance derived from its temporary or permanent breakdown through the absence of one or more of its members, for example in search of employment. It may be, since Florence in the early nineteenth century was a city of unusually low mobility (13), that charity was less geared than at Turin or Dijon (14) to the negative consequences on the

domestic economy of a migratory work cycle (though not of employment fluctuations within the city). What the records do tell us is about patterns of habitation and workplaces within the neighbourhood among those domiciled there (at least officially) for some years. We cannot conclude from such patterns that they constituted networks of mutual assistance. But they represented the material premise for many forms of solidarity, from the transmission of useful information to the multiple facets of friendship and solidary support. In order to test this hypothesis, in my recoding of the material I focused particularly on the topography of habitation.

The area of Florence in my sample, the second sestiere, runs from the parish of Borgo Ognissanti to that of Santa Maria Novella and then north-east to the streets surrounding the present-day central market of San Lorenzo. The possibility of carrying out so detailed a study is offered by the existence of civic numbering for all the houses in Florence, introduced by the Napoleonic administrators of Tuscany, from palazzo Vecchio as number 1 to number 8027 in via Mozza near the church of Santa Croce.

The streets contained in the second sestiere included a maximum of 2043 houses (12). In 732 or 36% of these houses lived poor families who applied to our Congregation for charity between 1810 and 1812; but the total number of such poor families living in these houses was 1206 (Table 4). The size and number of rooms within the houses certainly varied;

once the habitation figures for the 1810 census of the city of Florence have been analysed by Giovanni Gozzini, it will be possible to make precise comparisons. But what is already clear is that there were concentrations of poor families both within certain streets and within individual houses. For example, in Via Chiara (near the market), 64 poor families lived in 32 of the total 42 houses; in Via Gora (off Borgo Ognissanti) 55 poor families lived in 32 of the total 45 houses; in the Tana d'Orso alley (near the market) 7 poor families lived in 4 of the 6 houses. As many as three out of every four houses in some streets contained at least one poor family; and six, seven and even eight poor families lived in some houses (Table 5). Indeed, if the number of individuals within these families is also taken into account, one can identify eight houses with between 21 and 31 poor persons living in each of them. Such numbers, especially if taken together with the description of the appalling conditions of the rooms reported by the Congregation's visitors, call to mind present-day problems, like inner city slums.

The significance of these figures for possible neighbourhood ties derives from the close proximity in which these families and their members spent their daily lives. In 311 of these houses (42%) at least two families, and in 102 houses (13.9%) at least three families, were so poor that they felt the need to turn to charity. The experience of two out of every three individuals was to live in the same house with

other non-kin families who, like themselves, had been visited at least once by a couple of well-dressed, educated strangers asking questions about whether they really were in such desperate need. There can hardly have failed to be contact, on a daily basis, in the 40 houses where 13 to 28 individuals were all so indigent, or indeed in the 127 houses where at least 10 such persons lived. Equally indicative is the frequency with which these families, when not lodged in the same house, lived in contiguous ones: in Via Gora, they lived in every house from civic number 3366 to 3374 (19 families), from 3377 to 3381 (6 families), 3384 and 3385 (4 families), 3387 to 3391 (7 families), 3394 and 3395 (4 families), 3398 to 3401 (7 families), 3404 (1 family), 3406 to 3408 (6 families). Even in long streets, such as Sul Prato or Via Palazzuolo (with 165 and 164 houses respectively), where only 40 to 50% of the houses contained any poor families, they frequently lived in three or four adjoining houses. While it would be anachronistic to apply to early nineteenth century Florence the assumptions derived from studies of working-class communities in Edwardian and more recent times in England (13), it seems reasonable to conclude (particularly in societies where the middle class cult of privacy was still far from achieving any hegemony) that intimate knowledge of each other's circumstances among members of these families was everyday currency.

However, suppositions about neighbourhood ties need not be limited to data about where people ate and slept. The information the poor provided about their job-skills is also highly suggestive. Of the 3214 individuals who stated that they exercised some skill, however rudimentary, only 495 (15%) also declared where they exercised it. Over half (55%) claimed no fixed place of work, not surprisingly, given the substantial presence of pedlars, street-hawkers, casual labourers, errand-boys and similar. However, if we bear in mind that among the entire labouring population declaring a profession 46% (1452) were engaged in textile work, almost wholly in the early processes of spinning and reeling, it would not be unreasonable to expect a substantial proportion to be working at home. In fact, of the textile and clothing workers who declared their place of work (207), only 25% stated they worked at home. So it may be imprudent to place too much stress just on work at home as a form of neighbourhood network. As against this, we should remember that 85% did not state where they practised their job-skill. Hence it would seem more appropriate to examine the topographical location of individuals exercising different trades, as well as the numbers and residence of those declaring their place of work as a shop (bottega).

That many, particularly manufacturing guilds tended to concentrate their activities in specific streets is commonplace knowledge. Such a concentration, however, referred

to the botteghe of the master artisans and not, as far as I know, to the domicile of the journeymen or the far greater numbers of dependent outworkers responsible for the earlier, menial tasks. Our Florentine poor belonged predominantly to this latter category. Hence it is particularly interesting to identify similar connections (even in the absence so far of a systematic analysis) between particular job-skills, streets and even multi-family houses. 138 individuals worked in the skin and hide trade, and formed part of 125 separate households; 41 of these individuals, in 19 families, lived in 9 houses; 56 individuals lived in 5 streets. It is possible to point to similar agglomerations for most trades, although of course the relatively small numbers with which one is dealing at this micro-level reduce the conclusiveness of the evidence. But even among silk workers, 918 in all, constituting 29% of the entire body with skills, there are heavy concentrations in specific streets, where between half and even two thirds of the houses with poor families include at least one silk worker, with more than one family with a silk-worker living in the same house, and rows of adjacent houses similarly involved. If we turn to a smaller sector, similar concentrations can be found among those working with wood, furniture and straw (such as carpenters, upholsterers or basket-makers): of the total 134, 23 lived in 15 houses in Via Palazzuolo and 3 of these houses contained 6 families with wood or straw-workers; in Via Chiara a further 19 lived in 12

houses, of whom 12 (coming from 10 families) lived in only 5 of these houses; smaller groups lived close to each other in Via Ariento, Via Romita and Sul Prato, in contrast to the remaining 50% who lived fairly generally across the rest of the sestiere. Even pedlars (venditori ambulanti) seem to show analogous convergence, with 25 of the 45 living in four interconnecting streets (Sul Prato, Vie Gora, Palazzuolo, Benedetta). As with the topography of where the poor lived, this agglomeration of individuals working in specific trades in certain streets, even more or less contiguous houses in these streets, is suggestive--though not conclusive--of neighbourhood networks.

A further indicator is offered by those who declared that they worked in a bottega. Only 182 offered such information, occasionally giving the name of the bottega-owner, never its address. If, hypothetically, no family had contained more than one such member and they had lived at regular intervals in all the houses of the sestiere, there would have been one 'bottega-worker' every 11 houses, or one in every fourth house containing a poor family. In fact, nearly two thirds of the total consisted of (almost always) single family members with homes spread quite generally across the sestiere; there were also a few families with 3 to 5 living in 2 adjacent houses. But in 7 cases there are small concentrations of people living in close groups of houses: 8 in 17 contiguous houses between Via Gora and San Salvatore, 11 in 19 adjoining houses (with a

twelfth four houses along) in Borgo Corbolini, 8 in 16 consecutive houses in Via Palazzuolo and Sul Prato, 14 in 19 contiguous houses in Via Ariento, etc. The number of such 'bottega-workers' living in close contact represents about 30% of the entire category. It would be inappropriate to place too much weight on such limited evidence. The agglomeration of 'bottega-workers' may be primarily explicable through the location of the bottega itself (though, were this so, it would strengthen the supposition of networks among the families involved, through the vicinity of home and workplace). But, taken together with the other indications of housing and job-skill concentrations, it is at least suggestive of neighbourhood networks among the poor--although the function of such networks in relationship to the needs of the poor families remains unknowable from our documentation.

3. The proportion of the poor population aged over six declaring job-skills amounted to 83.5% (14). The much finer grid for job-skills of the present study confirms the overwhelming gender division of labour noted in my earlier study (see Table 6): of the silk-workers, over 90% were female, as was a similar proportion of linen, hemp and cotton workers. As one would expect, men were equally dominant among building workers, in the skin and hide trade, among metal-workers, those working with clays or paper, wood and straw

(136 or 87.2%), as among porters and barbers. The less marked division in the clothing sectors (Hatters; Tailoring) is explicable in terms of the variety of jobs they covered, from hat and glove-makers to sock and wool knitters; as from tailors to embroiderers, washerwomen and ironers. Although domestic service remained strongly male (63.9%), the gender division was far less marked, with women as chars. Perhaps more unexpected is the male dominance of the distribution sector. The preponderance (86.7%) of men as shopkeepers, with a fixed location, is far higher than that of male heads of household (65%); and if the male monopoly of foodstuffs is understandable as it includes traditionally male preparation of foods (from olive oil to chocolate powder, from bakers to beer distillers), this is not the case for pedlars, who sold everything from tripe or ciambelle to ribbons or ash, as well as including traditional male trades such as knife-grinders and rag-and-bone men.

By recoding the source, it has proved possible to carry out a detailed analysis of the extent to which job-skills were "learnt" within the family. In my earlier study, I came to a negative conclusion about transmitted skills within the families (15), which I explained in terms of the unskilled and casual nature of the jobs. In fact, the present detailed analysis of families within each trade points to a far more nuanced conclusion. In order to test whether skills were transmitted by 'learning through doing' I identified all

households with two or more members working in the identical sector; so as to compare like to like, I excluded from the total number of families in each sector one-member families (solitaries) and those with only one person declaring a job-skill (Table 7). Here too, the results are highly suggestive. Although for the great majority the jobs declared by members of families seem not to relate to each other, this is not the case for a proportion of households varying according to sector but rising to as high as 32% in the largest sector of all--silk. As might be expected, the strongest relationship is that between mother and daughters; closely connected to this is the category of sisters (whether of the elder generation of mother and sister, or the younger one of daughters); the number of sons declaring the same skill as their mother, almost exclusively in the textile sector, is unexpected. Less numerous, but still very clear, is the father-son relationship, with the linked category of brothers. Husband and wife working in the same trade appear less frequently, but on occasion they expand into what approximates to an integrated family activity with one or more children with the same skill. The sectors where family transmission of skills was most marked were female-dominated textiles; male artisan professions--hides, wood, building, barbers--on the contrary were the weakest, together with service professions (shopkeepers, pedlars, inn-keepers). The relative smallness of the figures advise prudence. But they raise questions about

the possibilities of transmitting skills for subordinate workers dependent on intermittent employment in artisan-structured trades, as well as about what the transmission of skills or its absence signified for the domestic economy. It is not surprising that mothers should have been more successful in teaching their daughters, given the predominantly domestic nature of female textile work for both economic reasons (the organization of the production process) and social ones (protection of female sexual honour).

The present study offers a detailed level of analysis, indeed of micro-analysis, which seems to me essential in order to understand the mechanisms of the domestic economy, albeit imperfectly. The results offer an unequivocal explanation of why families deprived of the male head of household figure so extensively in lists of applicants for charity. They also suggest that at this level of indigence, it was difficult for fathers to transmit to their sons skills which might have enabled them to cope more adequately with their poverty. And they point towards neighbourhood solidarities, rather than kin, as one possible cushion against the consequences of inadequate subsistence earnings. At least in these parishes of Florence in the early nineteenth century.

Notes

*I wish to thank Lieven De Winter for assistance with the computing programme.

1. The forthcoming book by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall on gender divisions in England 1750-1850 will provide a major fully researched basis for future discussion. The most recent, polemical and impressionistic contribution is W. Seccombe, 'Patriarchy stabilized: the construction of the male breadwinner wage norm in nineteenth-century Britain', Social History, 11:1 (1986), pp. 53-76.
2. A. Sen, Poverty and famines. An essay on entitlement and deprivation, Oxford, 1981.
3. Sen, op. cit., p. 157, referring to the past half-century, has noted that public policy aimed at diminishing or removing poverty has tended to concentrate on those just below the poverty line. This seems to me to apply to earlier periods too, with the exception of particularly vulnerable groups (infants, aged women) who could be in a state of severe deprivation.
4. 'Charité, pauvreté et structure des ménages à Florence', Annales E.S.C. (1984); 'Language and social reality: job-skills at Florence in the early nineteenth century', in G. Lepschy (ed.), Su/Per Meneghello, Milan, 1983; 'Charity and family subsistence: Florence in the early nineteenth century', E.U.I. Working Paper, No. 85/131 (1985).
5. Charles Booth, Life and Labour of the People of London, London 1889-91. In the very different world of late nineteenth century concern about the "social problem", Booth saw the removal from the labour market of these "very poor" (to labour colonies) as the most effective means to relieve the ordinarily poor: E.P. Hennock, 'Poverty and social theory in England: the experience of the eighteen eighties', Social History, 1:1 (1976), pp. 73-78.
6. 'Charité', cit., pp. 371-73.
7. 'Charité', cit., pp. 369-70.
8. Charité, cit., pp. 374-80; 'Charity and family subsistence', cit.
9. M. Barbagli, Sotto lo stesso tetto. Mutamenti della famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX secolo, Bologna, 1984.

10. 'Charité', cit., pp. 365-66.
11. 'Charity and family subsistence', cit., pp. 15-16: son-in-law unable to support his mother-in-law living in another house. The question about the existence of relatives was regularly asked in considering applications for assistance, and occasional answers (such relatives exist, but are too poor to help) leave no doubt that neo-local residence is what is referred to.
12. T. Wales, 'Poverty, poor relief and the life cycle', in R.M. Smith (ed.), Land, Kinship and Life Cycle, Cambridge, 1984.
13. According to the census of the city of Florence of 1810, 82% of the population was born in or on the outskirts of Florence: Charité, cit., p. 357.
14. S. Cavallo, 'Nozioni di povertà e assistenza a Torino nella seconda metà del settecento'; and C. Lamarre, 'La Vie des enfants et des vieillards assistés à Dijon au XVIII^e siècle', papers presented to the E.U.I. colloquium on "Work and Family in Pre-Industrial Europe", Badia Fiesolana, 11-13 February 1986.
15. So far I have not managed to identify the actual boundaries of the entire sestiere. Hence some streets, which cross parish boundaries, may extend into other sestieri (e.g. Borgo Ognissanti, Sul Prato, Via della Scala, Via Valfonda, Via Faenza, Via Evangelista). This would reduce the total number of houses.
16. P. Thompson, The Edwardians, London, 1984; M. Young and P. Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London, London, 1962.
17. In the earlier study, 'Charité', cit., p. 367, the proportion was lower, 75.1%, because of the exclusion of those stating that they were "at school"; it rises to 81.5% with their inclusion.
18. 'Charité', cit., p. 368.

Table 1. Distribution of Earnings within Household,
of Adult Men, Women and Children

Household Size according to No. Earners*	No.*	Mean Total Household Earnings (soldi)	Contribution of Individuals					
			M		W		C	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>H of 1</u>	357	69						
M	86	136	86					
W	238	44			238			
C	33	49					33	
<u>H of 2</u>	363	129						
M + W	218	152	218	69.9	218	30.1		
M + C	13	139	13	78.2			13	21.9
W + C	111	93			111	50.6	111	49.3
2C	21	98					42	45.9
<u>H of 3</u>	165	182						
M + W + C	76	183	76	55.3	76	27.3	76	17.4
M + 2C	21	194	21	59.3			42	19.9
W + 2C	61	167			61	27.9	122	33.4
3C	7	182					21	30.0
<u>H of 4</u>	99	207						
M + W + 2C	59	217	59	45.9	59	22.6	118	14.7
M + 3C	8	235	8	33.9			24	21.6
W + 3C	31	179			31	24.1	93	24.4
4C	1	129					4	17.9
<u>H of 5 to 7</u>	54	276						
M + W + 3/5C	38	283	38	39.4	38	18.1	126	12.8
M + 4/6C	2	151	2	47.0			8	13.2
W + 4/6C	13	251			13	18.4	54	19.6
5/7C	1	501					5	20.0

*

M = Father/Husband

W = Mother/Wife

C = Sons and Daughters

The size of Households is calculated according to the number of those with earnings, without reference to additional non-earning members.

Besides the three categories of M, W and C (1952, or 95.2% of the total 2051 Earners), a further 99 individuals, or 4.8% (grandparents, grandchildren, brothers and sisters, nephews, cousins, other relatives and non-kin living in the household) also contributed to the Total Household Earnings. They are excluded from the table, and account for the occasional small differences between the numbers and proportions of the sub-groups within each Size of Household, the Contributions of Individuals, and the Totals.

Table 2

Composition of Total Household Earnings
Difference from Mean for Each Size Household*
Expressed as % Relative to Mean

Household Size	No.	Mean (soldi)	% Difference from Mean
1	357	69	
M	86		+97.1
W	238		-36.2
C	33		-28.9
2	363	129	
M + W	218		+17.8
M + C	13		+ 7.7
W + C	111		-27.9
2C	21		-24.0
3	165	182	
M + W + C	76		+ 0.5
M + 2C	21		+ 6.5
W + 2C	61		- 8.2
3C	7		0
4	67	207	
M + W + 2C	59		+ 4.8
M + 3C	8		+12.4
W + 3C	31		-14.3
4C	1		-38.2
5-7	54	276	
M + W + 3/5C	38		+ 2.5
M + 4/6C	2		-45.3
W + 4/6C	13		- 9.1
5/7C	1		+81.5

M = Adult Men

W = Adult Women

C = Child(ren)

*Size Household = Number of Earners within Household

Table 3 (a)

Proportion of Contribution to Total Household Earnings
of Wife (W) and Child (C)
Expressed as % of Husband's (M) Contribution

Household Size	No.	W	C
2	363		
M + W	218	43.1	
M + C	13	--	28.0
3	165		
M + W + C	76	49.3	31.5
M + 2C	21	--	33.5
4	67		
M + W + 2C	59	49.2	32.0
M + 3C	8	--	63.7
5-7	54		
M + W + 3/5C	38	45.9	32.5
M + 4/6C	2	--	28.2

Table 3 (b)

Proportion of Contribution to Total Household Earnings
of Child (C)
Expressed as % of Mother's (W) Contribution

Household Size	
2	W + C 97.4
3	W + 2C 119.7
4	W + 3C 101.2
5-7	W + 4C 106.5

Table 4.

Topographical density of poor homes

Street*	No. Houses	Houses with Poor Families		Total Poor Families in Houses
		No.	%	
Borgo Ognissanti	132	45	34.1	64
Via S. Salvatore	11	7	63.4	13
Via Gora	45	32	71.1	55
Sul Prato	165	56	41.5	81
Via Palazzuolo	164	82	50.0	127
Via dell'Albero	16	5	31.2	8
Via dei Canacci	23	13	56.5	30
Via Benedetta	22	13	59.0	25
Via Codasnessa	14	6	42.8	11
Via Nuova S.M.N.	74	26	35.1	37
Tana d'Orso	6	4	66.7	7
Via dei Federighi	12	4	33.3	6
Via del Moro	27	13	48.1	30
Via della Vigna Nuova	29	8	27.6	12
Via del Purgatorio	8	4	50.0	10
Via del Parione	18	4	22.2	7
Tratto dell'Asino	9	3	33.3	7
Piazza Nuova S. Maria Novella	30	5	16.7	5
Via della Scala	106	18	17.0	22
Via Valfonda	109	30	27.5	39
Via dell'Amore	23	5	21.7	9
Via dell'Amorino	20	7	35.0	11
Via dei Cenni (Acenni)	22	5	22.7	5
Via dell'Alloro	20	9	45.0	17
Via della Stipa	17	10	58.8	14
Via Faenza	90	29	32.2	51
Via Panicale	38	7	18.4	11
Borgo Corbolini	14	8	57.1	14
Campo Corbolini	2	1	50.0	2
Via dell'Ariento	71	45	63.4	87
Gomitolo dell'Oro	14	8	57.1	19
Borgo La Noce	34	13	38.2	17
Via Porciaia	35	21	60.0	33
Via Chiara	42	32	76.2	64
Via Romita	39	26	66.7	52
Via delle Marmelucche	6	4	66.7	6
Via della Stufa	12	2	16.7	3
Via Taddea	27	13	48.1	18
Via dei Maccheroni	16	4	25.0	6
Via Tedesca	42	19	45.2	22
Probable Total** Sestiere	2043	732	35.8	1206

*Not all streets have been included; those listed comprise about 3/4 of the total number of houses.

**See note 15 for reasons why the total number of houses in the sestiere might be smaller.

Table 5. Number of Poor Households and Individuals
Living in Single House

No. Poor Households in Single House	Total Households		Total Individuals	
	No.	%	No.	%
1	421	57.5	1575	35.5
2	209	28.6	1544	34.8
3	68	9.3	756	17.0
4	22	3.0	316	7.1
5	4	0.5	59	1.3
6	3	0.4	60	1.3
7	3	0.4	71	1.6
8	2	0.3	55	1.2
	<u>732</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>4436</u>	<u>99.8</u>

Table 6. Job-skills according to Gender

	M		F		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	
Silk	56	6.1	862	93.9	918
Wool	14	43.8	18	56.3	32
Linen, hemp, cotton	38	7.6	464	92.4	502
Hatters & clothing	15	50.0	15	50.0	30
Tailoring, sewing, washing	44	22.6	151	77.4	195
Building	26	96.3	1	3.7	27
Wood, straw	136	87.2	20	12.8	156
Skins, hides	137	99.3	1	0.7	138
Metals	97	98.0	2	2.0	99
Clays, paper	14	100.0	---	---	14
Porterage	41	97.6	1	2.4	42
Barbers	35	97.2	1	2.8	36
Servants	85	63.9	48	36.1	133
Pedlars	48	94.1	3	5.9	51
Carters	12	92.3	1	7.7	13
Foodstuffs	27	100.0	---	---	27
Shopkeepers	111	86.7	17	13.3	128
Wholesalers	4	100.0	---	---	4

Some professions, such as peasants, clerks, army service, clergy, unspecified casual workers, beggars, have been omitted.

Table 7.

"Inherited" job-skills in poor families

	M-D	S	M-UR	M-Son	H-W	H-W-C	B-S	F-Son	B	F-D	Total	Total H in Sector*	%
<u>Silk</u>													
H of 2	126	14	7	6	12	-	-	1	-	-			
H of 3+	26	3	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-			
All H	152	17	7	7	12	3	-	1	-	-	199	589	33.8
<u>Linen, Hemp, Cotton</u>													
H of 2	38	23	1	3	3	-	1	1	1	-			
H of 3+	19	3	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-			
All H	57	26	1	5	3	1	1	2	1	-	97	338	28.7
<u>Wool</u>													
H of 2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
H of 3+	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
All H	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	25	20.0
<u>Tailoring, Sewing,</u>													
<u>Washing</u>													
H of 2	8	8	1	3	1	-	2	2	-	2			
H of 3+	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-			
All H	10	8	1	3	1	2	2	2	-	2	31	151	20.5
<u>Hides</u>													
H of 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2	-			
H of 3+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-			
All H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	2	-	11	124	8.1
<u>Wood, straw</u>													
H of 2	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	11	3	-			
H of 3+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-			
All H	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	14	3	-	21	131	16.6
<u>Building</u>													
H of 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-			
H of 3+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-			
All H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	23	13.4
<u>Barbers</u>													
H of 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-			
H of 3+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
All H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	34	5.9
<u>Shopkeepers, Innkeepers</u>													
H of 2	1	1	-	1	-	-	3	6	6	1			
H of 3+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-			
All H	1	1	-	1	-	-	3	11	6	1	24	151	15.9
<u>Pedlars</u>													
H of 2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	-			
H of 3+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
All H	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	6	45	13.3

M = Mother
S = Sister
H = Husband
C = Child
F = Father

D = Daughter, Step-Daughter, Daughter-in-Law, Niece, Grand-daughter
UR = Unspecified Relative
W = Wife
B = Brother

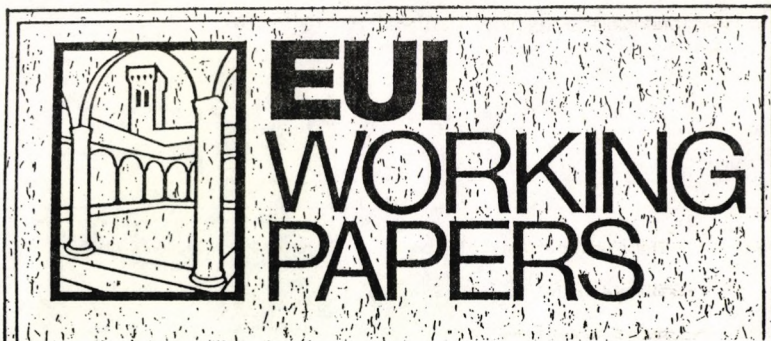
*The total number of households in each profession/sector excludes single-member households and households with only one member declaring a job-skill.

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